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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ii

PREFACE v

Chapter

I. "THE SETTING" 1

From Slave to Bishop
The Vital Impulse
'I Shall Neither Fawn Nor Cringe
... Nor Stoop to Beg... For My Rights.'

II. "GENESIS" 24

From Carpenter to Rebel Minister
The Cry From Rama
Dwane in America: First Trip
The 'Archmischief Maker' Goes to South Africa
Reaction to Bishop Turner's Visit
Dwane in America: Second Trip
Government Pressure Begins
The Pressure Intensifies

III. "EXODUS" 172

The Dwane Revolt
The Trickle Begins: Charles Satchell Morris
and Conrad A. Rideout
The Appointment of Levi J. Coppin
Rideout in Pondoland
A Clean Slate: Turner Relinquishes the
Voice of Missions
Chapter IV. "THE COPPIN YEARS, 1901-1904" 231

The Arrival
The Struggle for Sites
The Accusations Begin
Attaway Enters South Africa
Rideout in Basutoland
Attaway at the Helm
The Official Inquiry is Launched
Harry Dean in Pondoland
Coppin Returns and Relinquishes the Bishopric
The AMEC and Lewanika of Barotseland

Chapter V. "THE STRUGGLE IN TRANSVAAL" 423

Letters of Exemption
Railway Concession Tickets

Chapter VI. "THE SMITH-DERRICK-JOHNSON YEARS, 1904-1910" 444

The Thorn Comes to Cape Town
The Second Convulsion
A. Henry Attaway and the Chatsworth Scheme
The Second Hatchet Man: W.B. Derrick
A New Beginning: J. Albert Johnson

CONCLUSION 511
APPENDICES 526
BIBLIOGRAPHY 552
PREFACE

The 1976 wave of riots in the South African townships, the Black Consciousness Movement with its attendant slogan of Amanbla Ngawethu (the power is ours) and the raised, clenched fist were reminiscent of scenes in the urban areas of the U.S. in the late 60's. The parallels between the American and South African situations were not lost to the South African Government, and so the cry of "external influence" was raised. Clearly one important component of this external influence was Black Americans.

The contact between Black Americans and South Africans has been a long and continuous one, and the commonalities between the two are several: Both are urban and proletarian; both are subjected to the particularly virulent form of racism in an advanced capitalist society; and both by virtue of their exploitation and oppression were forced to create their own social institutions. One such institution was their independent churches.

The establishment of the independent Ethiopian Church as a protest organization in the Transvaal in 1893 and its subsequent merger with the American, African Methodist Episcopal
Church generated the first accusations from a South African Government that Africans were being negatively influenced by Black Americans.

The topic of independent churches or what is generally referred to as "Ethiopianism," has inspired a number of studies all of which mention the importance of the A.M.E. Church and yet none of them has satisfactorily answered the question of what exactly the Church did to warrant the opprobrium it received from the South African churches and governments in being the "parent" of Ethiopianism. This paper is an examination of the principal activists and their activities in the A.M.E. Church in South Africa, and an analysis of church and state reaction to those activities.

Shepperson, e.g., pointed out the pitfalls involved in utilizing the word "Ethiopianism," which was initially applied to all the secessions from the established South African churches and which subsequently became a catch-all word to describe the proto-nationalist aspirations all over sub-Saharan Africa.

Sundkler in his landmark study attempted to classify the myriad independent churches by distinguishing between what he


labelled the 'Ethiopian,' 'Zionist,' and 'Messianic' varieties.

Some attempt has also been made to study the independent churches and/or their leaders on an area basis: James Webster has written about the independent churches in Nigeria; as has E.A. Ayandele. T.O. Ranger has researched the independents in Rhodesia, and David Barrett has worked on a continental basis though his study differs in that he has dealt with the metaphysical side of the question.

We are concerned in this paper with what Shepperson refers to as the "classical period" of Ethiopianism, specifically the years 1896, when merger was effected between the South Africans and African-Americans, and 1910 when the South African Union was effected. Surprisingly, there have been few studies on the foreign activity of the alleged progenitor of the Ethiopian Movement.


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1 James Webster, The African Churches Among the Yoruba 1882-1922, London.
4 David Barrett, Schism and Renewal, Oxford.
Both authors were hampered in their efforts to fully deal with the activities of the A.M.E. Church in Southern Africa because of their inability to use the records inside South Africa.

Generally this paper is a companion piece to both studies. Specifically it is an addendeum to Coan's study which told the story from the American side. His was a remarkable piece of work given the paucity and dispersal of the AME records still extant.
CHAPTER I

"THE SETTING"

From Slave to Bishop

The establishment and expansion of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (hereafter referred to as AMEC) must be viewed within the context of the social and political contradiction of 18th century America. That is to say, the "Founding Fathers" recently struggled for independence because of their avowed belief in "certain inalienable rights" while denying both to an integral segment of the country's population. Because its name was "African" did not make it any less Methodist and thus the African Methodist Episcopal Church's history is rooted in the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church (hereafter referred to as MEC) in America.

In response to the call from some Wesleyans who had emigrated to the colonies, John Wesley dispatched Thomas Coke, whom he ordained a Bishop, and Francis Asbury to

1Unless otherwise indicated, the bulk of this section is derived from C. V. R. George's, Segregated Sabbaths, Richard Allen and the Emergence of Independent Black Churches 1760-1840 (New York: Oxford Press, 1973).
take charge of the scattered Methodist societies. On their arrival, Coke ordained Asbury the Church's second Bishop at the 1784 Conference which formally launched the establishment of the MEC in America.

From its inception, Africans were accepted as members of the MEC: they sat in the same pews, worshipped at the same communion table, and were buried in the same churchyard. Indeed, Harry Hoosier also known as "Black Harry" became one of the Church's most celebrated preachers. He traveled about New England with Bishops Coke or Asbury as their personal servant and occasionally substituting for them when they were indisposed. He is given much of the credit for opening up New England to Methodism.¹ Nonetheless, the MEC did not begin to ordain its African ministers until the early 19th century and then only under certain circumstances. This suggests that although the church pews may have been shared, some distance was maintained between the races.

The first African to be ordained an MEC deacon was Richard Allen, born in 1760. Allen and his entire family were sold eight years later to a Delaware farmer. Allen was converted by an itinerant Methodist preacher while an adolescent and the conversion changed his life completely.

He became a more diligent worker so much so that his owner was moved to investigate the institution which had so metamorphosized him and he too became a believer. Because of the anti-slavery position of the MEC, Allen's owner offered him the opportunity to purchase his freedom. Allen was manumitted at the age of 20 and worked at various menial jobs to pay for his freedom. Allen wandered about for several years preaching and earning a precarious living. He declined an offer to preach and travel in the South as Asbury's servant, opting instead to settle in his hometown Philadelphia, where there was a representative number of freedmen like himself. Allen joined the local MEC, St. George's where there were four other African members. Through his personal initiative and prayer group sessions, the number of Africans increased to 42. At this juncture Allen suggested erecting a separate church building as an adjunct to St. George's. The idea was vetoed by both the Black and White church members.

Instead, Allen and some of the St. George's African members formed the Free African Society, a self-help, mutual-aid society that was theoretically non-religious and nonsectarian. In addition to his work with this group, Allen continued his ministrations at St. George's. The African membership steadily increased to the point where there were too many people for the church's limited seats. The question became one of who was going to stand.
A campaign to raise money with which to build new seats attracted White and Black labor and money. When the seats were completed, the Africans were assigned to a separate section, no longer being permitted the freedom to choose where they wanted to sit. The trustees of the church in effect created a church within a church. And yet, the Whites did not want the Blacks to leave. After a particularly unpleasant episode over the seating of Africans during a regular service, Richard Allen and his supporters withdrew completely. This was in the year 1797.

In a sense, Allen's withdrawal from St. George's was a calculated move. He was well aware that the MEC's anti-slavery stand was becoming less firm in order to assuage its southern supporters. Increasingly, Africans were being assigned to separate sections of ME Churches and they had begun to follow the Europeans to the communion table. Other African prayer groups had begun to organize themselves into quasi-independent societies though they did not seem to have the success that Allen and his group had. Allen used the Free African Society as a base for evolving his future plans. The Free African Society meetings were used as strategy sessions for dealing with the problems of St. George's and it is predictable that this ostensibly non-religious group would become less so. But to Allen's consternation, the society tended toward Quakerism and so the committed Methodist, Allen, and some of his supporters withdrew,
splintering the Society into two camps.

Allen sought the financial aid of two local white philanthropists and with their aid, he was able to secure a church which was dedicated and named Bethel in June, 1794. The dedicatory services were presided over by Bishop Asbury which underlines the fact that the Bethelites had not totally severed themselves from the overall Methodist body. In fact, they continued in this quasi-independent position for the next ten years prompted as much by necessity as desire. Because Allen had only been ordained a deacon, the Bethelites were dependent on MEC elders to administer the sacrament.

During those ten years, there were frequent attempts to coerce the Bethelites back into total MEC control. For example, the MEC General Conference claimed ownership of Bethel Church property, and the Church threatened to forbid its ministers to administer the sacrament. However, at each new ploy, the Bethelites strenuously resisted. Finally, in 1816, buttressed by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court's decision that Bethel Church was the property of its African members rather than the MEC connection, the Bethelites severed all ties with the MEC and became a wholly autonomous body.

Several months before the Philadelphia troubles began, the African Methodists of Baltimore who had also been chafing under their church's discriminatory practices of excluding them from certain meetings and services, had
requested a separate church building. Their request had also been denied and it was viewed with suspicion. They were branded trouble-mongers and malcontents. Unfortunate for the Baltimore group, it had neither the leadership of a Richard Allen nor a core group around which to coalesce like the Free African Society. As a result, the Baltimore people floundered until the arrival of Daniel Coker who took charge and opened a school for African children as well.¹

When the Bethelites actually broke with the MEC, Allen extended an invitation to the Baltimore brethren to meet in assembly for the purpose of uniting their efforts. Delegates from Maryland, Pennsylvania, Delaware and New Jersey attended the conference in April, 1816, at which the African Methodist Episcopal Church of North America was officially organized, and Richard Allen was ordained its first Bishop. It was the first independent African Church to be established on a national level and it was also the first national organization of African people in the United States.

¹Coker is generally credited with being the first African-American to vindicate the place of Africans in History. His "A Dialogue between a Virginian and an African Minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Baltimore, humbly dedicated to the people of color in the United States of America," which was published in 1810, contains a section titled: "A List of Names of Descendants of the African Race, who have given Proof of Talents." See James H. Handy, Scraps of A.M.E. History (Philadelphia: AME Book Concern, 1891), p. 37.
For the most part, the AMEC patterned itself after the MEC in polity and policy. It differed in its strong anti-slavery platform (the MEC's original position on the issue had become increasingly accommodationist to its southern members, particularly after 1800) and the AMEC limited its office-holders to people of African descent although it did not limit its membership to one racial group. Because it was an African-controlled organization, it was rather limited in its possibilities for expansion. It operated with great difficulty in Charleston, South Carolina, among the freed population and after the Denmark Vesey conspiracy of 1822 and the AMEC's alleged participation in the conspiracy, it was outlawed altogether. Thus the church confined itself to the northern, midwestern and western states until after the Civil War.

Bishop Allen (and through him, his church) involved himself in other non-religious spheres. His church members as well as his own family frequently housed runaway slaves until they could be spirited off to Canada. Several of these escapees were converted and planted AME societies in their new country. The Bishop used his position to recruit Africans to help in the defense of Philadelphia during the War of 1812. Bethel Church was in a very real sense a social-welfare agency offering goods and services and advice to its members and to the wider community as well. The organizing convention for "The American Society of Free Persons of Color, for
Improving their Condition in the United States; for Purchasing Lands and for the Establishing of a Settlement in Upper Canada" was held in Bethel Church and it ushered in the "Negro Convention Movement" phase of African-American History. Thus, Richard Allen is the prototype of the African-American socially conscious, minister/politico activist which was taken to its highest level in the person of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
"The Vital Impulse"¹

The AMEC was a relative late-comer to the foreign missions arena. For the most part, prior to the 1880's, the Church's primary missionary thrust was centered toward the domestic front. AME missionaries sought out those Blacks who were non-slaves and who resided in the western, northern and central states. Following the Civil War, emphasis was placed on the "redemption" of the newly freed brethren in the South.

As we have already stated, African Methodism was first exported out of the United States by the underground railroad escapees who went to Canada. And indeed, these first emigrating emissaries set the pattern for AME inroads into West Africa and the West Indies.

The AMEC was introduced into West Africa in 1820 by Daniel Coker who accompanied the 88 Africans comprising the American Colonization Society's (ACS) first group of emigrants to Liberia. Although Bishop Allen was an ACS opponent, he did not oppose voluntary African emigration. He was opposed to the ACS' racist supporters and statements and to its coercive tendencies. He blessed Coker's efforts because

¹The title and much of the material in this section is taken from Josephous R. Coan's, "Redemption of Africa: The Vital Impulse of Black American Overseas Missionaries," The Journal of the Interdenominational Theological Center, (Spring, 1974).
the Bishop too felt a special obligation to the "Motherland," as evidenced by the fact that at the 1822 General Conference over which Allen presided, an elder and deacon were ordained expressly for Africa.¹

In 1824, the Rev. Scipio Beanes organized the AMEC in Haiti at the request of people who had been members of Bethel in Philadelphia and who had emigrated to the country at the special invitation of President Boyer. Beanes was the first foreign missionary officially appointed by the General Conference to actually assume office.

The missionary program was finally institutionalized by the Church in 1844 as its "Home and Foreign Missionary Department" though the department did not begin to actually function until almost 20 years later. The preamble to the constitution of the Home and Foreign Missionary Society clearly set forth its intention to minister to the needs of "our brothers 'bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh' who inhabit both hemispheres North and South America, Africa, Asia, and the Isles of the Sea."²

The female members of the church organized themselves into a separate body called the Parent Mite


²Coan, op. cit., p. 32.
Missionary Society in 1874. In the early years of its existence, this organization concerned itself with raising money for the Haitian field. With the exception of Sarah J. Gorham, the first woman to be appointed to a foreign field by the church, who joined the Rev. Frederick, a West Indian AME minister working in Sierra Leone, the foreign missions policy of the AMEC was at best erratic.

To be sure, there was a sharp division within the church over the wisdom of establishing an extensive foreign missions program. It was a division between the pragmatists who believed that the church was financially unable to support a viable missions program and between those visionaries who believed that the "spirit" of missions was inherent in early AMEism and thus its foreign obligations could not be ignored. These visionaries believed it was the special duty and obligation of the AMEC to "look after perishing Africa, the West India Islands, St. Domingo, and others—and all those who are not Christianized."¹

This sense of duty, this obligation felt by Black churchmen regarding Africa is indisputably a characteristic of the African church in America. Coan discovered during his researches that the overwhelming majority of Black foreign missionaries were stationed on the African

And, Coan attributes this feeling of duty and obligation toward Africa on the part of Black churchmen to two factors: (1) the general biblical dictate to spread the gospel throughout the world and (2) the fact that due to the segregation of American society, the mission activities of Blacks had generally been limited to people of their own color, which may have prompted people like Samuel Hopkins and organizations like the ACS to propound the idea that if the whole of Africa were to be "redeemed" it would have to be done by people of color.

Perhaps L. G. Jordan, Secretary of the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention (Black), best summed it up: "Jesus Christ," said Jordan, "came to His own first." 2  

H. B. Parks, Secretary of Missions for the AMEC took the argument a step further when he said: "The American Negro is the bone and sinew of the African Negro" and as such, he could not divorce himself from "nor refuse to feel an interest in and love for the members of his own family that no other race can feel." 3  

From the preceding

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1Coan, op. cit., p. 27.  
statements it can be seen that these sentiments were held by the African Methodists as well as the Black Baptists.

Clearly one of the reasons the idea that people of color should be evangelized by people of color gained currency was because of the myth that Blacks were constitutionally better suited to withstand tropical climates. Coupled with the idea of superior physical fitness was the idea of the providential design of slavery, the cyclical concept: That is, Africans were stolen from Africa to imbibe the civilization of the European with which he was to return and "uplift" his brethren. Access to American educational institutions, life in a more industrialized society with its sophisticated techniques, so the theory went, enriched the African stock and so out of gratitude, the transplanted African owed it to the Christian community at large to aid in leading Africa out of "darkness."¹ These same sentiments were voiced by the Rev. Charles Spencer Morris, missionary with the National Baptist Convention, in his speech before the Ecumenical Missionary Conference of 1900. "I believe," he said,

That God is going to put it into the hearts of these black boys and girls in the schools of the South to go with the message to South Africa and to West Africa, and vindicate American slavery

as far as it can be vindicated by taking across the ocean the stream of life.¹

It is particularly interesting that the clamor for the evangelization of Africa on the part of Africans in America took place at about the time Europe was involved in the last stages of its scramble for Africa. It was at this point that Blacks in a consistent way began to proclaim their special duty toward their "kith and kin." The Congress on Africa, an international, interracial and interdenominational conference sponsored by the Stewart Missionary Foundation for Africa held in December, 1895, had as its theme "Africa and the American Negro." The active role of African-Americans in Africa was thoroughly discussed by missionaries, editors, explorers and educators. It was a fitting close to the century in which Black missionary activity reached its height.

"I Shall Neither Fawn nor Cringe...Nor Stoop to Beg...For My Rights."¹

The moving force behind the AMEC's sustained entry into the foreign missions competition was Bishop Henry McNeal Turner. Though free born in 1834, Turner's life varied little from the slaves alongside whom he toiled in the cotton-fields of South Carolina. Turner's mother was characterized as a "conscientious race" woman who claimed to be the daughter of an African prince and so it would seem he grew to manhood with positive images of Africa.

By sheer force of will, Turner managed to acquire a rudimentary education and in 1848, he joined the MEC and became an itinerant minister under the supervision of a white man. Ten years later, he joined the AMEC where he served for 46 years during which time he acted at various points as: Business Manager of the AME Book Concern; President of the Sunday School Union; Church Historiographer; editor of three AME periodicals and Chancellor of Morris Brown College. In 1880, he was elected the 12th Bishop of the Church, the highest honor which could be conferred by his church.

With the outbreak of the Civil War, Turner became a recruiting agent for the Union Army and he used his Washington, D.C. church as a recruiting station. His efforts were brought to the attention of Lincoln who appointed him chaplain to the Black regiments. In this capacity he acted as war correspondent for his church's newspaper, The Christian Recorder. He was later appointed by Andrew Johnson as a chaplain for the entire army, the first of his color to hold the position.

Turner began grumbling about the differential treatment meted out to the Black soldiers while the war was in progress and when it ended, his enthusiasm about the future of the newly freed slaves really began to wane. He was particularly concerned when the Black soldiers were mustered out of the service and disarmed by executive order. The latter move made him especially suspicious.

Following the war, Turner worked for a time with the Freedman's Bureau but soon left because of white bigotry. In 1867 he was elected a member of the Georgia Constitutional Convention and was delegated by the National Republican Committee to stump the state organizing Blacks for the forthcoming presidential election; a task which he admirably performed by keeping one step ahead of irate Klanners. In 1868, he was elected a Georgia State Representative but when martial law was withdrawn, he was ousted along with the other
Black representatives. Because of his efforts in behalf of the Republican Party, Ulysses Grant appointed him postmaster of Macon, Georgia but once more he was forced to resign from a position because of white opposition. After Georgia was again placed under Congressional military rule, Turner was reinstated as a congressman only a few months later to be ejected once more from the House of Representatives and symbolically from the American mainstream.

Turner's frustrating experiences with the white power structure in spite of the recent war led him to bitterly announce:

We have tried this hypocritical, treacherous nation again and again . . . trying it with the test of loyalty; and everytime we have been sold out, given away, and diabolically throttled.

Starting with his ejection from the House of Representatives, Turner increasingly became more vociferous in his condemnation of the United States and he arrived at the conclusion that in order to escape from psychological and physical genocide, his people would have to leave the U.S. Thus he formulated the slogan "Emigration or Extermination Awaits the Black Man."

From about 1872 onward, Turner turned his back on the US and faced toward Africa as the place of refuge for African people in the entire Western hemisphere for he believed that the tentacles of US imperialism and racism
would ultimately reach into South America and the West Indies. It was for this reason that he took a decided anti-war stance against US military incursions into Cuba and the Philippines. He actively discouraged Black participation in both wars on the grounds of race solidarity, an action which caused him to be labelled a traitor.

As Turner viewed it, the position of Africans in America had not radically changed in spite of the Civil War and Reconstruction or the passage of the 14th and 15th Amendments. In the aggregate, Black people had no real power; they owned nothing but their labor and it could be argued that they did not own even that. He believed that the Republican Party had abandoned his people; that their usefulness as a labor reservoir was being vitiated by southern European emigrants and that the courts of the land were deaf to his people's grievances.

More perniciously, for Turner was the fact that unlike the other ethnic groups, Africans in America had no diplomats to speak up for them, to pressure the government into acknowledging their rights. Moreover, he believed that as insidious as were the political and economic disabilities under which Africans in America labored were the psychological ones. The concept fostered in US society which associated all that was good and beautiful with the color white and all that evil and unattractive with the color black meant for his people deep-seated feelings of self-
effacement and self-abnegation. And he believed that the concept was perpetuated in the country's educational institutions. It was as much annoyance as conviction that made him declare "God is a Negro."

In Turner's view, so long as the African remained in America he would remain "a dwarf and a distorted figure." Only by "manipulating and running the machinery of government" would his "manhood" be acknowledged by the international community. Once in Africa, he could aid his brethren in repelling the incursions of Europeans. It would be an alliance of mutual aid for Turner was also a believer in the providential design of slavery. He was a firm believer that Africans were sent to America to attend the grandest "industrial school" of them all after which they were to return to the Continent to create a United States of Africa using the AMEC as a basis of unity transcending ethnic and geographical differences.

Thus the Bishop acted as manager of a fundraising drive to support the education of missionaries and teachers at Wilberforce who would be specially sent to West Africa.¹

Toward this end of establishing a nation on the African continent, Bishop Turner took a leading role, if not the leading role, in the emigration movement from the late 1880's to the early 1900's. He was connected with the first

post Civil War emigration agency, Martin Delany's Liberian Exodus Joint Stock Steamship Co of 1878. He was even elected a vice-president of the ACS though he shied away from actual support of the organization.

In 1892 the Bishop was instrumental in forming within the AMEC a "Committee on the African Steamship Line" which was created to study ways of generating direct steamship links with Africa. He was a vocal supporter of the Afro-American Stemaship and Mercantile Co., an all-Black company which proposed to sell shares to buy and operate steamships to ply between the US and Africa thus predating Garvey's Black Star Line.

The Bishop convened in 1893 a national convention in Cincinnati, Ohio to gain consensus support for his emigration position but failed in the attempt. He sat on the advisory board of the International Migration Society of 1894 and finally in 1901, the various local emigration agencies merged into one umbrella organization called the Colored National Emigration Association for which the Bishop acted a chancellor and treasurer.

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2 Ibid., 172-73.  
3 Ibid., 173.

4 Ibid., 195.  
5 Ibid., 264.
Although the Bishop never emigrated to Africa, he did visit West Africa three times (1891, 1893, 1895) and South Africa in 1898. His visits in theory were church related but he managed to combine the secular with the ecclesiastical. He sent home glowing letters describing the marvelous opportunities in Africa for would-be emigrants and investors in African trade. He touched base with the activists of West Africa, particularly Blyden, and so good were his relations with the West African press that the Lagos Weekly Record referred to him as "... not only the ablest but the only (italics) representative which Africa at this moment possesses in America."¹ The Liberian Government even appointed him its representative to the United States.

Though Bishop Turner frequently gave press interviews, wrote journal articles and delivered speeches nationwide, the primary channels through which he put forth his views on Africa and America were the newspapers the Voice of Missions which he founded and edited from 1893-1901 and the Voice of the People, the official organ of the Colored National Emigration Association (1901-1909). The Voice of Missions was in theory a church organ founded after his first trip to Africa for the purpose of disseminating missions

¹The Lagos Weekly Record, 16 July 1894.
news. In actuality, the Voice of Missions was very much Turner's personal mouthpiece. The paper had subscribers in West Africa, the West Indies, Europe, Canada, South and Central America, India, Hawaii and the Philippines. Letters from such race men as Casely-Hayford, Mojola Agbebi, J. Albert Thorne, Theodore Holly, were printed in the Voice as were letters from lesser personages, most of whom were from foreign lands. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the Bishop's paper reached more people of African descent than any other African-American paper with the possible exception of Garvey's Negro World. Perhaps Edward Blyden best described Turner's gifts as an editor. He called him "... frightfully pugnacious, beyond comparison the most combative writer who controls a Negro journal or any other journal in America."\(^1\)

It was the Bishop's nationalist ideology, his idea on the unity of the race propounded in such a "pugnacious" way which created for the Bishop a number of unrelenting foes and loyal friends. He was considered by many in the US to be a dangerous and irresponsible man. And this reputation was transported to South Africa. The government authorities read the sentiments expressed in the Voice of Missions which was circulating throughout the colonies

with a growing sense of alarm. This militant and forthright man channeled his aggression through a most unique and important newspaper. The Ethiopian Church became associated with his radicalism and it was this connection which made the Church appear to the South African authorities a subversive organization.
CHAPTER II

"GENESIS"

From Carpenter to Rebel Minister

In October, 1892, Rev. George Weavind, the Wesleyan principal of Kilnerton Institute of Pretoria, received the following letter:

I hereby give you notice that at the end of this month I will leave the Wesleyan Church ministry and serve God in my own way. It is no use to stop me for I won't change. . . .

The letter was signed "Your grumbling servant, Mangena Maake Mokone."

To be sure, other "grumbling" Southern African ministers preceded Mokone's secession from a European denomination. Indeed, in the early 1800's the Xhosa prophet, Makanda sought to create a "hybrid religion" as a reaction against the onslaughts of Christianity as projected by whites. ¹ However, in terms of a separatist Christian Church, Nehemiah Tile is credited with being the first of the newly emerged, mission educated Africans to establish an independent church in 1884. Because his "Tembu Church" was

initially inseparable from Tembuland politics, it was somewhat limited in its appeal though C. C. Saunders argues that Tile was less of an ethnicist than is generally assumed.¹

Although Tile's church was the first of the independent African-led religious bodies in the subcontinent, it is not credited with being the first independent African church. This distinction is given to a church established in 1872 as the result of a revolt by African members of a Paris Evangelical Mission (PEM) station in Basutoland said to have been led by a dissident European minister.² There were, of course, other sporadic eruptions within the established missions which led to short-lived, autonomous churches: There was the 1885 Native Independent Congregational Church formed among the Tswana; there was Joseph Kanyane's Anglican derivative "African Church" formed in the Transvaal in 1889. And, in the same year, there was formed an independent Lutheran Church among the Bapedi by an "over zealous" white minister of the Berlin Mission.³


In any case, Mokone's resignation resulted in the loss to the Wesleyan Church of if not one of its brightest African ministers certainly one of its most dedicated. Born in 1861 in Sekukuniland, Mokone left for Natal in his late teens to work on a sugar plantation. From the plantation he moved to Durban where he worked as houseboy to a local family. He was encouraged by his employer to attend a weekly night-class at a nearby Wesleyan church where he learned to read and write thus initiating an association with that church which was to last more than 18 years.¹

Mokone's advancement within Wesleyan ranks was steady rather than swift. In 1875 he left Durban for Pietermaritzburg where he attended school to Standard IV. Among the courses he took was one in elemental theology which suggests that he had already given thoughts to becoming a minister. Mokone requested a transfer to the Cape to attend Healdtown, the Wesleyan institution for training ministers and teachers, but he was told by his teacher that Standard IV was sufficient for his needs. The Wesleyans explained to him that his services would be better utilized in Natal. They feared that if he went to Healdtown he would more than likely remain in the Cape where there was already a sufficient number of African ministers. It is worth noting that had Mokone

been allowed to proceed to Healdtown he would have become a member of the John Jabavu, James Dwane, Charles Padla, Nehemiah Tile coterie of African ministers then studying at the institution, all of whom later became political activists.

Mokone was discouraged by the decision of his Wesleyan supervisors and so he ceased all further educational effort and concentrated on his skill as a carpenter. Between 1875 and 1879 he worked at his trade by day and preached by night. Finally, at the 1880 Annual conference of his church in Pretoria, he successfully passed his catechism and scripture exams and was given his first ministerial appointment. He was assigned to Swaziland but owing to the disturbances between the Afrikaners and the British over the annexation of the Transvaal, he was prevented from taking up his post.

For 18 months Mokone bided his time in Natal eventually moving to Pretoria where he helped establish a Wesleyan church and school for which he built the tables and chairs. In addition to preaching and teaching at the church and school, he was instrumental in providing teachers for the children of African workers on outlying white farms. It is alleged that at his urging the Wesleyans purchased a farm outside Pretoria which they named Kilnerton after John Kilner, a Wesleyan official from England who had been on tour in South Africa in 1880 and who was one
of the Institute's largest contributors. Important to this study is the fact that Kilner's tour was prompted by the desire on the part of the South African church to gain a greater measure of independence from the parent body, a move which was surely noted by Mokone. In fact, in the very year that Mokone was given his first ministerial assignment, the South African Wesleyans held a Queenstown conference to draft a constitution for the proposed South African Conference which was to be separate from the parent body. Also important to this study is the fact that during Kilner's tour, "... a large addition was made all at once to the native ministry."¹ Mokone's appointment to Swaziland may have been a component of this "large addition."

The nucleus for the African community which eventually settled on the farm at Kilnerton was composed of those African workers whose children had been given a teacher by Mokone. The workers had been evicted from a local farm whose European owner objected to the presence of a school teacher.² Kilnerton offered basic courses in reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, English history and of course, scripture.³ The Institute was run by George

²Mokone, op. cit., p. 8.
³Whiteside, op. cit., p. 428.
Weavind and it replaced the old Potchestroom Institute which had been established at the request of the African members who wanted indigenous teachers and ministers trained for service in Wesleyan churches and schools.¹

In 1888, after 13 years active church service, Mokone was ordained an elder and was appointed to Kilnerton where he remained for a year. He was afterward assigned to Makapanstad. Following a three month appointment in Johannesburg where Weavind had been recently assigned to minister to the mineworkers, Mokone was reassigned to Kilnerton, this time as principal and minister.² His appointment as principal was a position he shared with Owen Watkins, an Englishman who settled in Pretoria after the 1880 war. Watkins had been sent out to work specifically among the Africans in Swaziland, Sekukuniland and Bechuana-land.³ In any case, Watkins fell ill in late 1891 and was sent back to England. Weavind was then ordered to leave Johannesburg and to go back to Pretoria to take charge of Kilnerton.⁴ Mokone submitted his resignation several months later.

¹Ibid.

²Mokone, op. cit., p. 9.

³Whiteside, op. cit., p. 424.

⁴Ibid., 444.
The pre-resignation picture we get of Mokone is that he is ambitious, resourceful, eager for personal improvement and integrally involved in the education of his people. What then prompted his rebellion?

In part the answer lies in the history of Wesleyan policy toward its African members. Ironically, in the very year the AMEC was organized in America, the Wesleyan Church initiated its missionary activities in South Africa. The first emissary despatched by the Wesleyans to South Africa was sent at the request of some British soldiers who had been stationed in the Cape since the first British occupation. Governor Somerset refused the Wesleyan minister permission to preach among the soldiers fearing that strong churchmen made poor soldiers. The Dutch Reformed Church was also opposed fearing that Wesley's anti-slavery sentiments would agitate the minds of the slave population. Since the missionary was already at the Cape, as an afterthought, he decided to take the message to the "heathen." Somerset sanctioned the idea because he was anxious that the Africans be taught "habits of industry." Thus, the Rev. Barnabas

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1As late as 1901, Mokone was still trying to improve himself scholastically. He enrolled in a correspondence course in theology at an AME institution in the US.


3Whiteside, op. cit., p. 38.
Shaw began his activities among the Namaquas.

By virtue of the emphasis placed on itinerancy, on the seeking out of members which was inherent in Wesleyan Methodism, there was not the necessity for established houses of worship. Thus, Wesleyan town services were not infrequently held out of doors where the audiences were integrated or alternatively, the message was taken to African kraals and reserves often by newly converted Black men who returned home to these kraals. DuPlessis mentions the difficulty of tracing the early history of Wesleyan activities among Africans because even if they wrote progress reports, the missionaries made no distinction between their work among Europeans and Africans.¹ In fact, a distinction was not made till 1872 and then only when practicable.²

It seems that the first segregation practices in the Cape churches were established in part because of the language differences. Services in English and Dutch were held for the English colonists and the Coloureds at different times within the same church and when possible at separate churches altogether. Further divisions were made between Coloureds, Fingoes, Xhosas, etc., each having its own

¹ DuPlessis, op. cit., p. 294.

² Whiteside, op. cit., p. 383.
place of worship when possible.1

The immensely successful revival conducted in 1866 by a San Francisco street preacher, Rev. Taylor, convinced him that the church would have to delegate more authority to its African ministers if the country were to be won to Methodism. The strained coffers of the English headquarters made sending out more Europeans impractical. Till Taylor's arrival, the Wesleyan Church had adhered to the Moravian Missions' dictate that Africans should be utilized sparingly because of the 'general weakness of their minds and consequent aptness to grow conceited.'2

As a result of Taylor's revival, several Africans were placed in charge of minor stations under the direction of white supervisors and a theological training course for Africans was offered for the first time at Healdtown. More important, Taylor left Charles Padjlaa, his African interpreter, in charge of the African reserves. This African leadership set in motion bands of Christians who carried the message into the kraals and reserves in the vicinity of Natal. It is possible that Mokone may have come into contact with people involved in this movement during his sojourn in Durban.

1Ibid., 115.

2Whiteside, op. cit., p. 414.
These African evangelists aroused the ire and alarm of European missionaries who viewed their activities as a step toward ecclesiastical independence. Their reaction, in effect, foreshadowed the hysteria of the later Ethiopian movement. In any case, the Wesleyan Church soon co-opted the movement and organized it as the "Wesleyan Native Home Mission."\(^1\)

Methodist activity in Transvaal had an altogether different history. The republican denial of equality between Black and White in Church and State, the dearth of English colonists in the area prior to the gold rush and the lack of money to send over more European missionaries meant that the primary inroads of Methodism were made among Africans by Africans who took the message even further afield, into Swaziland and Bechuanaland.

This relatively common African leadership in expanding the Methodist Church can be seen by the fact that an African minister who styled himself a Methodist was in 1871 preaching and holding class meetings in Potchefstroom without supervision and without the knowledge of the church. The European minister who was eventually assigned to the area was much surprised to find a nucleus group of Methodists already in existence when he arrived.\(^2\)

\(^{1}\)DuPlessis, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 302.

\(^{2}\)Whiteside, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 419-420.
Men who had worked temporarily in the Cape and Natal or in the mines in Transvaal and who had been converted to Methodism, often returned to their reserves and organized Methodist societies, sometimes even building churches. As Whiteside describes it: "For years they had toiled on, unvisited by any missionary, unaided by any church, unpaid by any society..."

Owen Watkins discovered during his tours of the Transvaal "small parties of native Christians worshipping God, holding prayer meetings, where no European missionary had spread." In addition, prior to Mokone's secession, it was the custom in Johannesburg that on Sundays, African preachers travelled along the Reef and elsewhere in pairs preaching and holding prayer meetings.

Thus, in the Transvaal especially, there was a long tradition of African leadership in the church, even though it may not have been official, or acknowledged or financially supported by Europeans. Mokone's secession was novel only in the sense that he made a formal break with the church, proclaiming the right to do much as he had been doing for years. The significance of Mokone's church is that it transcended ethnic, geographical and eventually national boundaries. For a time, it even absorbed the various dissident remnants of the Tile and Kanyane churches.

Mokone had spent 13 years active service in the

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1Ibid., 425-26. 
2Ibid., 428. 
3Ibid., 443.
Church clearly bent on a religious career and yet he had only attained the position of elder. He expressed his desire to go further than Standard IV only to be told that further education was unnecessary. He was appointed co-principal of Kilnerton, an institution the creation of which he claims was his idea, though it is questionable whether Mokone was in actuality principal. It is more likely that he was an assistant who probably did much of the work involved in the day-to-day operation of the Institute and was thus principal in all but name. The fact that Weavind was removed from Johannesburg, a post which was evidently important enough to move him from Kilnerton earlier simply because Watkins, Mokone's ostensible co-worker had left, must have been a personal affront to Mokone and a reflection on his capability to run the institution alone.

Though Mokone felt aggrieved by many things as evidenced by his "Founder's Declaration," it may have been Weavind's return which gave him the push he needed to make so momentous a step as secession.

In his "Declaration," Mokone listed 14 complaints, all of which had to do with differential treatment given to African and European ministers by the Wesleyan authorities: differentials in position, salary and workload. What Mokone essentially said in his Declaration was that Africans did all the basic, day-to-day donkey's work of the connection while the European ministers received the credit:
Europeans had the titles and the concomitant renumeration. More important, African ministers had absolutely no influence on policy formulation within the church nor were they informed of the general program once it was formulated. Mokone was to later state that the final straw, as it were, was the fact that after 1886, the Wesleyan district meetings were segregated and not only was the "color line . . . drawn," the Africans were required to have whites preside over their meetings.

Indeed, the priority of Mokone's grievances seem to support this contention. Grievances 1 and 2 of his Founder's Declaration state:

Our district meetings have been separated from the European since 1886. And yet we were compelled to have a white chairman and secretary.

Our district meetings were held in a more or less barbaric manner. We are just like a lot of Kaffirs before the landrost for passes. What the white man says is infallable [sic] . . .

Mokone asked at the conclusion of his Declaration:

Where is Justice? Where is brotherly love? Where is Christian sympathy?

Clearly the central issue was that of equity.

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1 See Appendix I for Founder's Declaration.


3 Mokone, op. cit., pp. 10-12.
After submitting his resignation, Mokone moved to the Marabastad Location in Pretoria. From there he wrote to Weavind reminding him of his intention to "initiate an independent mission and school." He requested Weavind to forward a certificate attesting to his ordination as a Wesleyan minister and attesting to the fact that he had left the Church willingly and in good standing.

The implication of this letter is that Weavind already knew of Mokone's plans to establish his own church. He began the letter by telling Weavind "As you are aware of my intention to begin an independent mission ..." And it would seem that he had given some consideration to the idea of resignation long before he did so. His was not an impetuous act. It was well thought out and well planned. The African ministers in his synod later told Weavind that Mokone had been in communication with them prior to his resignation with a view to gaining their support for a mass walkout.¹

A few weeks after Mokone's departure, Weavind visited the Wesleyan Church in the Marabastad Location and informed the congregation that Mokone had left the Church to establish one of his own. He assured the congregation that should Mokone return to the Wesleyans, he would be welcomed back. The congregation of course already knew about Mokone's

¹Ibid., 13.
action and announced its intention to follow him.\textsuperscript{1}

The response of the congregation further attests to the fact that Mokone's resignation was a deliberate act. Mokone must have discussed his plans with the Marabstad members. It is unlikely that he would have made his move without some prior promises of support.

As requested, Weavind sent Mokone his certificate of ordination along with a letter informing him that the African ministers in his synod disclaimed any sympathy with his movement and deprecated his rash action.\textsuperscript{2} His certificate in hand, Mokone established his Ethiopian Church and Mission among the 50 men and women of the Marabstad congregation. Services were held in a tin structure donated by a sympathetic African Wesleyan.

A year later, the tiny membership moved from its humble church to a newly erected stone building for which Mokone supplied the furniture. George Weavind was invited to preach the dedicatory sermon, paralleling the invitation of the AMEC to Bishop Asbury to dedicate Bethel. Weavind was unable to attend the ceremony sending instead a substitute who ironically took as his text the biblical passage used by Asbury during his dedicatory sermon. And as a further parallel, it is important to note that just as the relations between the Bethelites and MEC were initially

\textsuperscript{1}\textit{Ibid.}, 10. \textsuperscript{2}\textit{Ibid.}, 13.
cordial and fraternal, so also were the relations between the Mokoneites and the Wesleyans. The hostility between the two groups which later developed was nowhere evident. Because Mokone's group was so small and seemed of little consequence, Weavind was undoubtedly of the opinion that the group would be short-lived and would return to the Wesleyan fold.

In addition to the new building, Mokone and his group secured the services of a Dutchman, A. A. Willemse (about which little is known) to act as agent for the church. Presumably through his overtures, in January, 1893, several South African Field Coronets sent the Ethiopian Church a letter which certified that permission was given to the "Missionary Society at Pretoria to call and hold meetings of natives for church and religious purposes" in three wards of Pretoria.¹

This document was viewed by the Ethiopians as official government recognition of their church. The interpretation of this document later became a cardinal issue of dispute between government and the AMEs who were locked in a battle over church recognition in the Transvaal. The important thing to note about the certificate is the fact that the State Secretary referred to Willemse as

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¹Republic of South Africa Government Archives, Pretoria, Lieutenant Governor Correspondence Files, LTG 144. Superintendent of Natives to A. A. Willemse, 17 January 1893.
"manager" of the Ethiopian Mission Society. It would appear that the society was given government approval in the belief that the Ethiopians were supervised by a European.

Till the time of the dedicatory services, Mangena Mokone was the only ordained minister in the Ethiopian Church. He was assisted by several local African laymen but ordained ministers were a pressing need to lend legitimacy to his church. At about the time of the dedication, rumors about his movement began filtering outside Pretoria.

J. Z. Tantsi, a Wesleyan minister operating in Johannesburg, heard about Mokone and his church and went to Pretoria to join it. He was accepted as a probationary minister, entered into a course of study and two years later, he was ordained by Mokone.¹ Tantsi allegedly advised Mokone to contact Jonas Goduka who had assumed leadership of the Tillites, with a view to forming an alliance between the two groups. The two men met and "a favourable understanding" ensued. As a result of the meeting, Goduka sent one of his ministers, P. S. Kuze, to assist Mokone.² Both Tantsi and Kuze were to become steadying influences within the church during its time of troubles.

¹ Mokone, op. cit., p. 12.

Jacobus Xaba, a Healdtown educated Wesleyan minister operating out of the Orange Free State had in 1892 attended a Wesleyan conference representing several hundred African churchmen. In behalf of the group, he publicly renounced allegiance to the Church of England, the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) and the Wesleyan Church. For his activities, Xaba was jailed on several occasions. On hearing about Mokone's church, Xaba contacted him and was invited to the 1894 Ethiopian district conference. During the conference, Xaba was "re-obligated" into the Ethiopian Church by Mokone with the assistance of J. P. Kanyane, formerly of the Anglican splinter group, the independent "African Church." 

In the meantime, J. Z. Tantsi had been laboring successfully in the Johannesburg area and so on February 24, 1895, the Ethiopians were in the position to open a new church in the city. The church was dedicated by Mokone with the assistance of a local chief, a precedent which was to be followed whenever possible by the Ethiopians and later the African Methodists. In the same year that the Ethiopian Church was formally established in Johannesburg, the McAdoo Jubilee Singers, an African-American choral group emanating from Hampton Institute, were touring South Africa for the second

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2 Mokone, op. cit., p. 17.
time, singing their songs of hope and renewal, inspiring at least two young men to want to go to the United States for study.¹

This 1895 tour was the Jubilee's second visit to South Africa. Orpheus Myron McAdoo and his troupe first visited South Africa in 1890. During this first trip McAdoo sent progress reports to Colonel Armstrong, principal of Hampton, describing the sights and sounds. The McAdoos toured Lovedale at the invitation of James Stewart and entertained some 500 students. The troupe was given a personal tour of the institution by John Knox Bokwe. McAdoo mentioned meeting several African-Americans living in South Africa who owned businesses which were registered in the names of white men.² McAdoo found the prejudice in South Africa to be comparable to any found in Georgia though he as a foreign Black was not subjected to the same restrictions

¹ Hampton was Booker T. Washington's alma mater and the prototype for Tuskegee. It is credited with being the first of those education of the head, hand, and heart institutions for Blacks which proliferated in the South after the Civil War. Its philosophy captured the imagination of educationalists in the U.S. and abroad. See Kenneth King's, Pan-Africanism and Education (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

McAdoo told Armstrong of his plan to send a South African youth to Hampton to be educated. The South African press somehow learned of his intention and a committee of European ministers and laymen met with McAdoo in an attempt to dissuade him. A young South African was in fact sent to Hampton by McAdoo but he died en route. One result of the first Jubilee tour was a flood of letters from essentially penniless Africans seeking admission to the school. One of those interested was Tengo Jabavu. Armstrong sent him some pamphlets on Hampton via the American Consul in Cape Town.

The 1890 McAdoo tour is important because it is probably the first organizational contact between African-Americans and South Africans which took place inside South Africa. The impression made on Whites as well as Blacks was a favorable one. Africans mistook the singers for local residents, spoke to them in the vernacular and were puzzled as to why the singers could not respond. They were even more puzzled as to why they could not attend the concerts to listen to Black men sing. The McAdoos eventually rented cheaper halls and held separate concerts to accommodate those Africans wishing to see them; not unlike the current

1 Southern Workmen, February, 1891.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
arrangements made by African-American entertainers performing in present day South Africa, the much touted multi-racial concerts notwithstanding.

As a result of the Jubilees' favorable impression, The Cape Journal was moved to note:

We are naturally drawn to the conclusion that there is an immense possibility of improvement in the aboriginees of this part of the world—when we see what American life and education have been able to do for the descendants of West African slaves.

The paper pointed out that some of the singers were obviously of mixed ancestry but others presumably were not.¹ The article continued:

... the inference we would suggest appears to hold good—namely that the Kaffir, Fingo, and Bechuana races, which are naturally not inferior to the negro races, should be capable of being developed into an equal aptitude for music and song, and an equal power of industrious application, and of civilisation generally... The races of this country have only been the objects of instruction for two or three generations; while America has had the negro in hand for several centuries... we see that the rough discipline of slavery was not without its beneficial effects in inuring the negroes to that habit of regular toil which seems very foreign to the aboriginal African mind.²

¹ Interestingly, an Englishman touring the US for the purpose of viewing the "Race Problem" firsthand noted that Hampton was of particular interest because of the absence of a large mulatto population. See, William Archer, Through Afro-America (London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1910), p. 125.

² The Cape Mercury, 18 October 1890.
Due to the resounding success of the Jubilee Singers' first trip—large, enthusiastic, paying crowds met them wherever they stopped—an enterprising minister in Kimberley was "inspired" to organize a troupe of local singers who became known as the "African Jubilees," whom he trained for a tour of the British Isles. One of those recruited for the troupe was Charlotte Manye who was born at Fort Beaufort in the Cape Colony. She was educated in Uitenhage and later moved to Kimberley as a teacher in a Wesleyan school. Joining the African Jubilees as a contralto, Charlotte toured Britain for two years, a highlight of the tour being a performance before Queen Victoria and the Royal Family, a precedent set by the McAdoo Singers. Charlotte returned to South Africa only to leave again for a tour of the U.S. and Canada in 1893.

The troupe travelled around North America approximately two years and at some point it was "stranded" or "disbanded." The plight of the troupe caught the attention of the AMEC (possibly through its Canadian connection) and thus the

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1 Ibid., 15 November 1890.


4 Skota, op. cit., p. 158.
Voice of Missions for February, 1895 solicited support from the benevolent of Church. It seems the members of the troupe had expressed their wish to be educated in the U.S. Interested persons and organizations "adopted" individual students and paid their expenses at various colleges. Charlotte Manye's expenses at Wilberforce were paid by an AME women's missionary group. She was the first member of the troupe to be admitted to a university in 1895. The others followed suit at either Wilberforce, Morris Brown, or Meharry after 1896. Presumably the others held jobs or travelled around before entering school.

While the African Jubilees were being settled in the U.S., the McAdoo Singers were touring the second time in South Africa, "electrif(ing)" Africans, with their singing of the Negro Spirituals, and told of the sufferings and rapid rise of the Negroes in America from Slavery to the exalted posts in the American Democracy.¹

One parliamentary member from Victoria East later said of that visit that the McAdoo Singers, gave the intelligent natives some new ideas . . . made the natives feel that they might become more than 'hewers of wood and drawers of water.'

More important for the M.L.A., the singers gave their African listeners other ideas as well. They saw the McAdoos travel around without passes, living in white

¹Mokone, op. cit., p. 17.
hotels totally unencumbered though their skins were black.¹

In May, 1895, Mokone was in Johannesburg on business. It is possible that he saw the singers but it is almost certain that he knew of their presence. While in Johannesburg, Mokone visited his niece, Charlotte Manye's sister, and he was shown a letter written by Charlotte on stationary which listed H. M. Turner as Senior Bishop of the AME Church. The letter described the schools and churches and other properties owned and operated by African-Americans and there was a good deal of information about Wilberforce. The letter was of interest to Mokone and so he duly noted the address. Mangena Mokone had a plan.

¹*The Christian Express*, 6 September 1897.
Mokone's first letter to Bishop Turner was dated 31 May 1895 and significantly the subject of the communication was education. He introduced himself by saying:

I am the minister of the (Ethiopian) mission and also originator of the same. . . . It is entirely managed by us blacks in South Africa.

He asked the Bishop for details concerning school fees stating that he had several youths whom he wanted to be trained as teachers.¹

The significance of Mokone's first letter to Turner is two-fold: (1) It is clear that Mokone had an educational scheme in mind for his church in that he wanted his students sent to the States for teacher training; (2) His appeal is based on feelings of racial affinity. He made it a point to stress that his Ethiopian Mission, like the AMEC was "entirely managed" by Black men.

Although Bishop Turner gave no editorial attention to Mokone's first letter, possibly because his paper received so many letters from foreign parts and possibly because the correspondent made no mention of his favorite topic, emigration, the Bishop evidently sent back a friendly packet of information in reply.

¹Voice of Missions, September, 1895.
In Mokone's second letter which was published in the *Voice*, Mokone thanked the Bishop for his "gracious" reply and for sending him a copy of the *Voice* to which Mokone expressed a wish to subscribe. More important, Mokone requested copies of the polity and constitution as well as the conference minutes of the Church. Mokone described how his mission was prospering and he ended:

We feel most happy to see that your mission on the western side of Africa is doing good to our country people.¹

This last statement is in reference to the Bishop's recent trip to West Africa, the details of which were printed in the *Voice*.

There is no record of Turner's reply to Mokone's second letter though one can certainly speculate on its content. It would have been in keeping with Turner's personality for him to have not only told Mokone about the AME schools and colleges but also about its publishing house and other property holdings as well as its membership purported to be 800,000 or more.

It is not unlikely that Turner expressed his solidarity with the struggling South African mission or that he drew parallels between his church and Mokone's. As one AME historian described the initial correspondence,

¹M. Mokone and J. G. Xaba to H. Turner, 18 September 1895, *Voice of Missions*, December 1895.
Turner gave Mokone information respecting the church "and the open door of opportunity for the South African."¹ In any case, Mokone's copy of the Voice of Missions certainly made the Bishop's political and philosophical position clear. Not surprisingly, Mokone's second letter was given front-page status as well as the short comment that the letter doubtless would be read "with eagerness all over the country."²

Several weeks later, J. G. Xaba, secretary of the "Ethiopian Church and Mission", wrote to the Bishop praising the missions newspaper, the circulation of which had excited his community. He and his colleagues had found the paper to be enlightening and knowledgeable. He described it as "a most sublime organ . . . especially to the Ethiopians at large." According to Xaba, even the unconverted South African was interested in the paper which suggests that Mokone may have circulated it. Xaba went on:

... It never was so revealed to us, and we neither sustained a thought that the Americans were so enthusiastically thirsty and hungry for to save their country people, naturally the African. . . . This has been a mystery to us, now revealed by 'The Voice of Missions.'

We never dreamed that they recognized us as their fellow country people originally, they have succumbed in their privileges of education,

¹Berry, op. cit., 74.
²Voice of Missions, December 1895.
Christianity and civilization, and we, still under the kingdom of ignorance and heathenism. . . .

Xaba told the Bishop that he was reconfirmed in his belief that the course of the Ethiopian Church was the correct one in light of the achievements made in the areas of education and evangelization on the West coast of Africa, presumably made by the AMEC; achievements which were duly noted in the **Voice of Missions**. Xaba went on to say that the prophecy made in Psalm 68 that "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands into God," was being realized though for the most part, the Continent was yet "dark." Perhaps alluding to his experiences with white missionaries, Xaba said:

. . . in those places where people think the gospel exists, the cake has been half baked and left uncooked.

The Secretary expressed the hope that the entire Continent would soon be rid of all "ignorance, darkness and sin."

The points to be stressed in Xaba's letter are (1) his surprise and elation over the fact that African-Americans did consider themselves "kin" to the South Africans, that they were concerned about the welfare of their brethren and on reading the **Voice**, one would get that impression and (2) the order of Xaba's words: African-Americans had "succumbed in the privileges of education, Christianity and civilization"; Africa labored under "ignorance and heathenism," ignorance, darkness and sin."
Xaba's emphasis is clearly on learning, on the education of his people.

Xaba was a supporter of the idea current among Black churches at the time, and the AMEC in particular, that African-Americans were peculiarly equipped and providentially inspired "to save their country people, naturally the African."¹

The next letter from South Africa printed in the Voice was not written by an Ethiopian Church member but was written by an African Baptist minister, John Tule who later in 1896 journeyed to the U.S., married a Black Canadian and returned to the Cape. Tule was operating out of the Cape under the supervision of R. A. Jackson, an African-American missionary living in Cape Town. Jackson was sent over by the Baptist Convention in 1894 so that this denomination preceded the AMEC in South Africa.

Tule complained about the ill-treatment meted out to his people in the Transkei and he was particularly bitter about European ministers who served as government agents and who pitted one chief and ethnic group against the other. Tule wrote:

My honest brother, this is a cry from Rama, send us ministers. . . . When I saw in your paper your freedom, I could not help shedding tears for my poor native country. You are born of God (as

¹J. G. Xaba to H. Turner, 26 October 1895, Voice of Missions, December 1895.
Moses of Egypt). Brothers, consider that clearly. Don't put those talents in safes and use them not to purchase the freedom of your brothers in South Africa or in the whole of Africa.1

This letter was a challenge by the African for the African-American to assume his obligation, his duty, to save, to lead out from "Egypt" his African kin. Bishop Turner viewed the letter as a "strong appeal" to the AMEC to deliver South Africans from "the treachery of our brothers in white, who pretend to be very holy till they get to be government agents." And, for the first time, Bishop Turner held out South Africa as a possibility for the emigration of the professional class of Black Americans. The Bishop noted that South Africa was sub-tropical, therefore there was no danger of African fever and the country could use Black teachers, doctors and lawyers. He stated that young members of the race would be of particular benefit to the harassed African chiefs by acting as their advisors and councilors, a remarkably prescient statement considering the later turn of events.

That Mokone's motivation in initially contacting the AMEC was one of educational rather than religious opportunism is borne out by the fact that Mokone was also in contact with Prof. W. H. Councill, President of the State

1J. Tule to the AMEC, 12 November 1895, Voice of Missions, March, 1896.
Normal and Industrial College in Alabama.

In an undated letter (the body of which indicates that he had already received a communication from Councill) Mokone makes clear his aims and objectives:

Here it is amid persecutions and oppositions from the surrounding brothers, who are supposed to be missionaries. They have displayed conspicuous and prominent scope in writing newspapers against the colored people's education, giving vain false reasons that education and Christianity spoil the colored . . . and we, the colored, have looked upon that as a betrayal. . . . We pay every year for our education. . . . There is no progress whatever of any description and consequently we have taken a disbelief on them. . . . This is the only reason we have started our own mission by ourselves to try to teach, Christianize and civilize our own country.1

This statement appears to reflect on Mokone's personal experience with the Wesleyan missionary who discouraged him from attending school past Standard IV. In actual fact of course the few educational institutions available to South Africans were mission run and supported though the type of courses offered were often of the most rudimentary nature.

Mokone's letter to Councill also contains reference to some students he wished to send over for schooling and

1M. Mokone to W. H. Councill, n.d., Voice of Missions, April, 1896. Cf. Whiteside's description of how African parents who belonged to the Wesleyan Church were constantly pleading for institutions utilizing English instruction which would prepare their children to be civil servants, teachers and preachers rather than servants. The Wesleyan answer to these pleas was to establish places like the Lamplough Training Institute which prepared females to do domestic work or in the Industrial School for Boys in Clarkesbury which trained its students in handicrafts. Whiteside, op. cit., p. 285.
from Mokone's comments, it is apparent that Council agreed to accept them. The only thing which seems to have held up the plans was the fact that Mokone had no money.

Because the letter is undated, it is not clear whether Mokone wrote to Turner or Council first. It is possible that Turner may have given Mokone Council's address or that Mokone obtained it from the pages of the Voice, or Charlotte Manye could have passed it on to him. In any case, Council was a member of the AME Church; he was a proponent of emigration and he in fact chaired the Committee on Emigration which delivered a report to Turner's Cincinnati Convention.\(^1\) Needless to say, he was also a firm believer that African-Americans were responsible for the "redemption" of Africa.

Bishop Turner had only the highest praise for Council's Alabama State Normal Institute. He described it as the most "racial" in the country because: "... There the glory and the worth of the black man in all ages are held up for inspection and emulation. ... Prof. Council is not ashamed of his race, and all of his students have caught his spirit.\(^2\)

In the meantime, on 17 March 1896, the third annual

\(^1\)Redkey, op. cit., p. 188.

\(^2\)Voice of Missions, June, 1896.
conference of the Ethiopian Church was held at the Marabstad Location in Pretoria. The conference members resolved to seek amalgamation with the AME Church and deputed J. G. Xaba and a newcomer, James M. Dwane to go to the U.S. to effect the union. The church secretary wrote to Bishop Turner explaining:

The fact that the African Methodist Episcopal Church was originated and is being managed by our own countrymen under whose care it has for many years been made means of turning thousands from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God has weighed very much with us and we have felt therefore that our union with you would be to the glory of God and the salvation of souls.¹

It is important to bear in mind the fact that the AMEC was invited to South Africa. Dwane was dispatched to effect merger which had been consented to by the Ethiopian Church members before his departure. Sundkler² and more recently Peter Walshe,³ maintain that Dwane persuaded his Ethiopian Church members to merge with the AMEC after his return from the States.

That Mokone would seek amalgamation is not at all surprising. He had requested a copy of the polity and constitution of the Church in the latter part of 1895. The Ethiopian Church was after all a small, struggling group and

¹J. G. Xaba to H. Turner, n.d., Berry, op. cit., p. 75.

²Sundkler, op. cit., p. 40.

if he hoped to attract a large number of followers, he needed to offer them something the larger European churches could or would not. He had already explained to Councill that the aim of his mission was to "teach, Christianize and civilize" his people and by dissociating himself from the Wesleyans, he had cut off all access to the few sources of education which were potentially available to him.

Obviously Mokone could not turn to other European denominations for to do so would have placed him in the same subordinate position he had left and, there were doctrinal considerations as well. Merger with the AMEC offered the ideal solution. It was an institution which was racially and doctrinally compatible with his Ethiopian Church.

Clearly James M. Dwane was among the most educated and gifted of the men Mokone attracted to his church. Dwane was born in 1848 in the district of Kingwilliamstown, the seat of a long tradition of African Wesleyanism beginning in the 1820's with the conversion of the Xhosa chief, Kama.¹

While still a youth, Dwane was entrusted to the care of a local Wesleyan station headmaster and in return for his services as houseboy, Dwane was given a rudimentary education. In 1867 Dwane was licensed to preach and appointed to the Port Elizabeth circuit. After completing a training

¹Whiteside, op. cit., p. 196.
course at Healdtown Institute, he was ordained a Wesleyan minister in 1881. Three years after his ordination, Dwane submitted his resignation because of what he considered "class legislation" in the church. The date of Dwane's resignation is interesting when it is recalled that Tile formed his Tembu Church in 1884. C. C. Saunders states that while Tile was at Healdtown he may have come under the influence of leading Wesleyans like Dwane. It is possible that Dwane may have resigned and worked for a time with Tile or he may have resigned as a gesture of solidarity. In any case, the resignation was not accepted and it was eventually withdrawn.

In 1893, Dwane toured England, Wales and Ireland to raise funds for an African college which he planned to build at his mission near Kingwilliamstown. When he returned to South Africa, he was not permitted to spend the money he had raised having instead to turn it over to a general Wesleyan fund. Once more he submitted his resignation.

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4Voice of Missions, December, 1898.
Having had some experience in editing the Wesleyan journal, Umwesile, which was published in Grahamstown, Dwane worked for a time with Tengo Jabavu on Imvo Zabantsundu. It is not clear whether Dwane went to the Pretoria conference to write an article for Imvo or whether he went by special invitation. It is possible that Jacobus Xaba, another Healdtown alumnus, may have told him about it and asked him to attend. Dwane not only attended the conference but he joined the Ethiopian Church. He was also elected along with Xaba as a delegate to the U.S. to effect merger with the AME Church.

It will be recalled that the AMEC was already in operation in West Africa and Bishop Turner with his expansionist plans to make the Church "the church of Africa" especially welcomed and supported the merger. It is not certain when the subject of establishing an AME


3 Dwane later testified before the South African Native Affairs Commission (SANAC) that representatives from the Ethiopian Church journeyed from Transvaal to the Cape in December, 1895 with the view of enlisting his aid and membership. Dwane told the Commission that he was reluctant to join them initially because he feared the merger with the AMEC would be interpreted as anti-English. South African Native Affairs Commission, Minutes of Evidence Vol. II, Report, 1903-1905 (Capetown: Cape Times Ltd., Government Printers, n.d.), pp. 708-709. Hereafter referred to as SANAC Report.
institution of learning in South Africa was first discussed but it is clear that prior to merger the problem of education had been brought to the Bishop's attention. After all, it was the issue which foremost prompted Mokone to make his initial contact with the Church.

At the time of merger, the AME Church was operating 14 institutions of higher learning in the U.S. and it is not unlikely that Turner may have even held out these schools as an inducement for merger. Certainly Dwane would not have journeyed some thousands of miles if his church were not sure of a successful mission.

In addition to the decision on merger, the Pretoria conference members also drafted a note of thanks to President Paul Kruger. Mokone directed his Dutch agent (who was still referred to by the authorities as "manager" of the Society), A. A. Willemse to extend to Kruger the Church's appreciation for the "protection" which the government had extended to it since 1893 and to request that it be continued.

The State Secretary replied that government was pleased to know that the Ethiopian Church appreciated the "privilege" granted to it of allowing the church to conduct its activities "unhindered". The State Secretary assured Willemse that so long as the Church confined its activities solely to matters of religion, the government would continue its protection.¹ Following on the heels of

¹State Secretary to A. A. Willemse, 15 April 1896, LTG 144.
this letter, the Superintendent of Natives issued a certificate stating that the Ethiopian Mission and Church was "recognised by the Government as a church working within the boundary of the ZAR."¹

Thus, in the year 1896 when the Ethiopian Church merged with the AMEC, it was a relatively small group, principally confined to the South African Republic and apparently of no particular concern to the government or to the other European denominations. The government permitted the church to conduct services in several districts in Pretoria and it was recognized as a "church" operating in the Republic. After 1896, when the Ethiopian Church had been absorbed by the AMEC, the government's attitude would not be so phlegmatic.

¹Mokone, op. cit., p. 18.
Bishop Turner, Dr. Parks, Rev. Flipper, and Rev. Dwane in Atlanta C.A.
Dwane in America: First Trip

Bishop Turner duly announced in the Voice of Missions that Dwane and Xaba were expected at any time and that they were en route to the U.S. in order to discuss union with the African Methodist Episcopal Church.¹ He assured the delegates they would be given a grand reception in his city and he hoped the same would be forthcoming wherever they stopped. However, only Dwane actually made the trip and his arrival caught the New York brethren totally unaware and so, no welcoming committee was at the pier to meet him. After disembarking, Dwane made his way to Bethel Church and told those in attendance that he was the representative of the Ethiopian Church and he had come to America to effect union with the AMEC. H. B. Parks, the newly elected Secretary of Missions was nowhere to be found. After a series of frantic telegrams was sent out, Parks was located in Philadelphia and Dwane was put aboard a train to join him. Dwane was too late to attend the General Conference which had just adjourned but while in Philadelphia he did get a chance to observe some sessions of the Philadelphia Annual Conference. Accompanied by H. B. Parks, Dwane made his way to Atlanta.²

¹Voice of Missions, June, 1896.
²The A.M.E. Christian Recorder, 30 March 1899.
There are two main versions of the amalgamation ceremony. The Dwane/Turner account is that J. S. Flipper, a local Georgia minister, presented Dwane to Bishop Turner at a special session of the North Georgia Annual Conference, which fell within Turner's episcopal district as Bishop. After presenting his credentials to the Conference, Dwane was examined by a committee of seven. On the recommendation of the committee, Dwane and the entire Ethiopian Church were received into the AMEC and he was appointed General Superintendent and traveling elder for the South African work which was to be henceforth known as the South African Annual Conference of the AMEC. As General Superintendent, Dwane was to oversee the work of the connection until a regular Bishop could be assigned to the work, presumably at the forthcoming 1900 General Conference.  

Dwane was then given a document relating to the constitution of the AMEC in South Africa signed by Turner and the Secretary of the House of Bishops, B. W. Arnett. The document also contained a statement signed by the Governor of Georgia attesting to the legal standing of the Church in the U.S. It was stamped with the seal of the State of Georgia and of the AMEC.  

1Arnett, op. cit., p. 18; Voice of Missions, July, September 1896.  

2Ibid., pp. 36-37.
J. S. Flipper's account differs radically from the Dwane/Turner version. According to Flipper, Turner received Dwane and Xaba as representatives of the Ethiopian Church in Turner's home in the presence of only two individuals: himself and H. B. Parks. Their merger was made, said Flipper, "without orders and before the thing was known."\(^1\) Flipper's account gives the Turner action a kind of surreptitious, extra-legal air but there is no evidence to suggest that the Bishop's action was other than above board.

Dwane later admitted that he had gone to the United States with mixed feelings. Prior to his visit, he said he had been ridiculed by local Europeans for desiring to unite with another black church. He said he was condemned as "dangerous to the peace of the country," and that associations were formed to destroy his movement. He alleged that government was appealed to by the "enemies" of the Ethiopian Church to aid them in the suppression of his church and as a result, several magistrates aided and abetted his detractors. Dwane even alleged that members of his own family threatened to take custody of his children unless he cancelled his trip. To be sure not all Dwane's critics were white. Some of the most vocal were Africans who were

\(^1\)J. H. Lankford, untitled manuscript, Henry McNeal Turner Papers, Moorland-Spingarn Collection, Howard University, Washington, D.C.
either committed to the European denominations for a number of practical reasons or they had supported him prior to the uproar over his proposed visit but later dissociated themselves from him lest they be accused of being anti-white.¹

What exactly did Dwane bring to the AMEC when he sought unification and what did he want in return? He offered Bishop Turner an established church with an active membership of 2800 including 7 elders, 13 deacons and 59 unordained ministers; a church which owned 14 chapels and several mission stations.² The Ethiopian Church also offered an unlimited number of people who had expressed to Dwane their desire to join once merger had been effected thus offering Bishop Turner an army with which to belt the continent with AMEism. Dwane also presented the Bishop with a list of subscribers to the Voice of Missions, all of whom were from the Cape. The list included the names of such luminaries as Chiefs Sigcau and Dalindyebo and W. Kirkland Soga.³ Dalindyebo's name is particularly interesting in light of the fact that he broke with the Tilites in 1895 because of Wesleyan pressure and returned to the Wesleyan

¹Arnett, op. cit., pp. 35-38.
²Berry, op. cit., p. 77.
³Voice of Missions, July, 1898.
The fact that the Ethiopians sought him out and that he was receptive would seem to indicate that he had not severed his ties completely with the dissidents.

Dwane claimed with uncharacteristic modesty that the Ethiopian Church had 'nothing to offer' to the people in America but 'our needs.' The major need, of course, was "aid . . . in erecting a first-class institution of learning for the proper training of young men for the ministry." Throughout his visit, Dwane left no doubt as to what was his number one priority. It was the one thing no other denomination in South Africa offered: a "first-class" college, an educational institution for Africans run by Africans and it is not unfair to say that Dwane envisioned himself as its first chancellor.

After the merger was completed, Dwane spent the next several weeks touring the U.S. In the South, where he was the houseguest of Bishop Turner, he was received, as Turner described it, like a "prince." The Bishop made sure his guest was highly visible and audible. At one Atlanta reception Turner described Dwane's effect on his audience:

The remarks of Mr. Dwane were timely, spirited and instructive. He was frequently cheered during its delivery, especially when he assured the vast audience that the Africans would never allow the

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1 Saunders, "Tile and the Thembu Church . . .", 565.

2 Keto, op. cit., p. 184.

3 Voice of Missions, July 1896.
white man to dominate and ride rough shod over their country. Rev. Dwane assured them the Africans were rapidly imbibing civilized habits, and would soon be able to run great civilized governments. They would say to the European nations, 'hands of.'\(^1\) His speech had a telling effect, and put South Africa in a new light before the people.\(^2\)

Dwane was given a full-page picture and article in a local Atlanta paper. He was described as a "leading man" of his country, as a "personal" friend of Paul Kruger, as a "literary" man who was in the country "for the good of his race."\(^3\)

While Dwane was still in the U.S., Mokone sent Bishop Turner a progress report on the South African end of the work. A new church had been built and dedicated in the Orange Free State. The service was attended by a goodly number of Africans and Europeans. Mokone said that he had been visited by an African chief to whom he showed pictures of the AME clergy which were printed in the *Voice*. The chief was delighted and conveyed his fraternal greetings. At the church services, Mokone made it a point to read the *Voice* to the congregation, especially those articles

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\(^1\) Quoted in *Imvo* with an exclamation point (Roux, *op. cit.*, p. 81). It is not surprising that Jabavu was a staunch critic of the AMEs. He was a committed Wesleyan who had earlier used the pages of his paper to attack the Tile movement. (Saunders, "Tile and the Thembu Church," 565).

\(^2\) *Voice of Missions*, July 1896.

\(^3\) "Scrapbook on Africa," Gammon Seminary Collection, Atlanta, Georgia.
involved Dwane. Said Mokone:

Everyone seems to like our church, ruled by our own countrymen... we believe and feel sure that when our brother comes back in this country, the devil shall tremble, and the enemies of Ethiopia and of the anti-African civilized [sic].

In another progress report, the Church in America was told that regular revivals were being conducted by itinerant Ethiopians; services which were primarily directed toward the "red heathen." A fair number of them joined the church as did a number of Wesleyan backsliders who attended the meetings. This report seems to contradict the charge later levelled by the European missionaries that the AMEC pilfered from established fields rather than worked in virgin soil.

When Dwane returned to South Africa in early September, 1896, his reception was the antithesis of the one received in the U.S. According to him, church and secular papers, including his old employer, Imvo, directed a volley of criticism toward him. The AMEs called a public meeting in Queenstown to give Dwane a chance to explain his position to his detractors but they declined the invitation.

Dwane travelled to Cape Town accompanied by Mokone to establish a branch of the AMEC at which time he gave an

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1 Voice of Missions, October 1896.

interview to The Cape Argus. He told the correspondent that since his return from the States, he had travelled throughout the Colony, and the two republics reorganizing the Ethiopian Church into the AMEC. He also said that the church was recognized by the Republican Governments. Dwane said that he was awaiting the arrival of an American Bishop to formally establish the work.¹

The following month, The Christian Express stated that Dwane had been interviewed by an Argus reporter at which time he said Bishop Turner was due to come to South Africa and that two women "of independent means ... nationality not stated" were also on their way to South Africa to aid him in his church work.² This writer was unable to find any such interview in The Cape Argus.

This American connection prompted a member of Parliament for Victoria East to say that the Christian Africans looked to their "countrymen" in the United States for guidance in matters of religion and education. As a result, the activities of Dwane and his people were being carefully scrutinized. As he described it, "very important political and ecclesiastical results may flow from the visit of Mr. Dwanie [sic] and his present labours."³

¹The Cape Argus, 9 March 1897.
²The Christian Express, 1 April 1897.
³Ibid., 6 September 1897.
Dwane's first letter to Bishop Turner after his return to South Africa was one of optimism regarding his visions of church expansion. He told the Bishop that one of his first moves on his return was to approach the Orange Free State, Transvaal and Cape Colony Governments for church recognition. According to him: "... notwithstanding the opposition and persecutions which I had to go through, I have succeeded finely." He reported that new converts as well as some established Christians were daily adding their names to the AME roll. He told how he had been travelling over the country, preaching, organizing and receiving people into the church. He said that he was en route to Cape Town to receive a church of 150 into the AME fold. Then he went on to the crux of his message:

Our great need in this country is a first-class institution of learning ... people in this country are very anxious about higher education. I hope the AMEC will soon take up this question in earnest. You have not the least idea ... how much depends on this question. The failure of the white churches to do so is a source of much discontent and our church must take the matter up. ... Everybody in Africa is watching how we, the (AME) are going to deal with this great question.

Dwane then suggested that three colleges--one in Cape Colony, Transvaal and Orange Free State--could be sustained at no greater cost than the one AME college, Morris Brown, in Atlanta. He said that he had about twelve students to send to the U.S., one of whom was his son. Then Dwane expanded on a topic which had been briefly alluded to in earlier
correspondence from South Africa; the subject of emigration.

South Africa offers the greatest field for usefulness to the young men and women of America, especially those who have been blessed to obtain higher education, of any place in the world . . . no one need fear sickness nor any fatal results. . . . Our climate is among the finest on earth.1

For the first time in print the idea of African-American emigration to South Africa was put forth by a South African member of the AMEC. It was obvious to Dwane that if in fact his anticipated college were built, it would have to be staffed by qualified Blacks. South Africa simply did not have enough of them. And because Bishop Turner regularly discussed in the Voice of Missions the problems young Black college graduates had in securing employment commensurate with their abilities because of the closed nature of American society, it is likely that Dwane held out the possibility of emigration to assure support for his college scheme. At this point then, Dwane is talking about three colleges and African-Americans to staff them. Interestingly, Bishop Turner did not comment on the

1 Dwane to Turner, 22 February 1897, Voice of Missions, May 1897. The possibility of death by "African Fever" was a fear very much played upon by the anti-emigrationists in the US. It was one of their most effective weapons in dampening the spirit of those African-Americans who were undecided about emigration though obviously the spectre of "African Fever" did not dissuade those committed to emigration. See Tom Shick's, "A Quantitative Analysis of Liberian Colonization from 1820-1843 With Special Reference to Mortality," Journal of African History, XII, I (1971), 45-59.
emigration aspect of Dwane's letter possibly because he did want to jeopardize church support for the college scheme by entangling it with the controversy raging within his church over his activities in the emigration movement. Then too, although Turner printed letters from people advocating emigration to everywhere from Hawaii to Mexico, his personal choice always remained Liberia. As for Dwane's suggestions about the colleges, Turner simply referred the letter to the attention of the AME Educational Department. In any case, Dwane ended his letter on an optimistic note:

Although confronted with many trials . . . and unpleasant opposition, the AMEC is alright, and the sun of our future prospects is shining brightly.

And indeed it looked so. The 12 March 1897 edition of the Cape Colony Times carried an item on the formation of a branch of the AMEC in Cape Town. Dwane and Mokone conducted services in a rented hall and baptized several children. Dwane was scheduled to return to Cape Town to conduct revival services after the April Annual Conference at the special request of the Cape Town residents attending the dedicatory services.¹

The formal move of the AMEC out of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State into Cape Colony was viewed by some Europeans as a bit too ambitious for Africans.

¹Voice of Missions, May 1897.
The Christian Express in its 1 April 1897 edition carried an article titled "The New Church and Possible Trouble." The editor took issue with the Church's expansion into the Cape Colony where the mission field had long been occupied by other denominations. They felt the new church should have confined its activities to the northern Republics where there was still much work to be done. The Express reported hearing that representatives from the church had held meetings in Kingwilliamstown and East London and an effort was being made to establish the work in Cape Town (the Church had already been established in Cape Town in March). The editor took issue with the Church's protestations of being an "indigenous" institution when it had links with a church in America.

The editor admitted the difficulty of obtaining concrete information on the AMEC but he said that he knew enough to say that the AME ministers had no real ministerial training and they were prompted in the quest for independency by "real or fancied grievances." The editor said that the danger of the movement lay in the fact that it was not confined to virgin fields but was consciously being taken into areas already occupied by other denominations; the AME churchmen were introducing an entirely foreign denomination into a well occupied field.

J. G. Xaba wrote a rebuttal letter to the editor of The Christian Express. He defended his church against
the "false reports and unreasonable statements" made in the press. Xaba stated that Cape Colony, Natal and the two Republics had enough unsaved individuals to share among any number of denominations. He denied that the aim of the Ethiopian Church was to foment dissension. Its goal, he said, was to "promote Christianity and unity in the whole continent of Africa." To confine it within the boundaries of the two Republics was to defeat its aim.

Xaba told the editor that he personally knew European ministers who had no special training or qualifications and he denied that information on his church was unavailable. He told the editor it was a simple matter of asking any member of the church for it. Xaba concluded:

> We expect sympathy from Christian brethren, not derision and contemptuous expressions such as we have received from different persuasions. What we want is harmony; but if other churches hate us we cannot help it.¹

James Dwane chaired the first session of the South African Annual Conference of the AMEC. The conference was convened 6-11 April 1897 at Lesseytown, another stronghold of Wesleyan Methodism.² From this point onward, the central focus of the AMEC and the major activities of the church would be in Cape Colony. Dwane successfully co-opted

¹*The Christian Express*, 2 August 1897.

Mokone's essentially Transvaal movement and transferred it to his home and the seat of his influence.

Dwane produced the documents given to him by Bishop Turner during the amalgamation ceremonies and he told the delegates that the varied governments had been informed of the change; that the Republican Governments as well as the Colony had all recognized the new church. Dwane spoke glowingly and movingly of all he had seen on his tour of the U.S. He described the eloquence of the AME Bishops and ministers. He talked of the Black controlled churches, colleges and universities he had visited and in the words of the secretary for the conference:

... He spoke of the wonderful progress our countrymen have made in the United States since their emancipation from slavery ... notwithstanding the painful fact that all means possible for advancement ... were hopelessly closed against them and their posterities, so that humanely speaking, it was impossible for the Negroes to rise and make any improvement ... but, thank the heavens, the Negroes have risen and are today a power in the states, and the great AME Church is creating and leading public opinion in the defence of elevation of the colored races.

The conference delegates also formed a committee to deal with the subject of buying property for the church. Four new deacons were ordained: S. J. Brander, S. H. Sinamela, P. J. Mavanna and J. G. Sishuba. All four men were to play leading parts in the expansion of their church.

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1 Voice of Missions, November 1897.
J. G. Sishuba is a particularly interesting example of the type of persons attracted to the Church. He was a relative of Charles Paaula and received his earlier education from this Wesleyan minister. Sishuba attended both Lovedale and Zonnebloem and eventually joined the Primitive Methodists. In 1896, he withdrew from this sect and organized an independent church of his own in which he held a day and night school. He linked his group with the AMEC in 1897.¹ As with a number of other persons like Dwane and J. G. Xaba, Sishuba had a prior history of independent action within the established churches.

J. M. N. Kanyane, former Anglican and founder of the "African Church", and recent Dwane appointee to the presiding eldership, introduced a new theme in the South African correspondence: the providential design in the enslavement of Africans taken to America. The enslavement was providential in that "... God was fashioning and fitting them to become a nation, for nowhere else but Africa." As we have seen, this is an idea often repeated by Bishop Turner, introduced into West Africa by E. W. Blyden and it would seem that it filtered down into South Africa as well. Kanyane reported that his new Pretoria church was almost complete and that he had married and baptized several

¹Talbert, op. cit., pp. 190-92.
people. Kanyane's statement that he had married several people is important because it underscores the fact that at this point, government was recognizing AME ministers as marriage officers and it is significant that this recognition came from an Afrikaner government. The right of AME ministers to perform marriages later became a major issue between the AMEs and the Imperialist Government.

In the meantime, A. L. Ridgel's *Africa and African Methodism* was circulating in South Africa and perhaps it inspired the South Africans to new heights of evangelical fervor. J. Z. Tantsi who had earlier written informing the church of his work among the "heathen," had more stories of conversion to tell. He reported that he was continuing his out-reach program to the unconverted on the farms and kraals outside Queenstown. He was so successful in his activities that even Dwane was taken aback. Tantsi stated that he planned a major revival movement for the whole of 1897. As a matter of interest, Tantsi also mentioned that many of the older people among whom he worked believed that the AMEC was somehow connected with the Nongquase "mania" of

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1 J. M. N. Kanyane to Turner, 29 April 1897, *Voice of Missions*, July 1897.

2 Ridgel was an AME minister stationed in Liberia. He wrote the book in an attempt to enlighten those who underrated and overestimated the possibilities of the AMEC in Africa. Ridgel called on the AMEC to fully shoulder its responsibilities in West Africa and he advocated limited emigration of Blacks to the African continent for the purpose of being "renegroized."
1856. Tantsi went to great lengths to assure them that it was not true. The fact that some people believed there was a connection raises some intriguing questions about what the adherents of the Ethiopian Church were preaching and what the rumor mongers said that they were preaching.

On the other hand, Mokone was still operating out of the Transvaal. He reported going to Johannesburg to accept a Coloured independent church which had heard about the AMEC and had expressed the wish to join it. The Christian Express a few months later reported that a Coloured deputation from somewhere in Cape Colony had journeyed to Johannesburg to seek affiliation with Mokone's church. Both reports indicate that the AMEC attracted both Africans and Coloureds and it was probably one of the few organizations at the time which had both African and Coloured members.

Mokone predicted that in future, the AMEC would become the "father and mother" of the whole of Africa and he invited the people of America and West Africa to pray unitedly for the redemption of the land of their ancestors. He directed this appeal to Afro-America:

Don't you weep when you remember Africa? Here in Africa all the nations are gathered together except Negroes, my own people. . . . All are

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1 Tantsi to Turner, 11 May 1897, Voice of Missions, July 1897.

2 The Christian Express, 6 September 1897.
doing the work but we are sleeping and will not come to visit the fatherland and then when all is taken . . . we shall begin to cry like Esau . . . let ministers or bishops, doctors, teachers, merchandise traders come to do business here. Let Africans teach one another. No race on earth love each other more than they. I am sure we are not inferior to any--only ignorant . . . in short why not live like brothers? Every one can have a congregation. Every one can keep a school for children here.  

In this letter, Mokone introduces a new element into the correspondence. In shades of Bishop Turner, he talks about unity of the race not only for the evangelization of Africa for its internal economic development as well. He talks about European encroachment on African land and the possibilities of regaining it and he calls upon those with skills and expertise to come to South Africa to aid him in the task. He speaks to the issue of birthright--the loss of it to all Africans--unless positive action is taken. In short, his appeal is directed to the educated of the race to save his people--their people--from the rapaciousness of other "nations."

Following on the Mokone letter was the one written by Dwane to inform the Bishop that two South African students, Marshall Maxeke and James Y. Tantsi, were en route to the US. to study for the ministry at Wilberforce.  

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1 Mokone to Turner, 22 May 1897, Voice of Missions, July 1897.

2 The two men arrived in the US. in August 1897. Maxeke was another of the Lovedalians. He decided to go
Dwane reminded the Bishop about the proposed South African university and he expressed the hope that the educational board of the church was seriously looking into the matter.

"Nothing you could do," he told the Bishop,

Would add so much to the honor and influence of our great AMEC as the establishment of such a school, besides it would give employment to so many of our scholarly ministers and professors in your section of the globe.¹

Turner printed the letter and noted that he had received a number of inquiries from Black academicians who were interested in possible positions in South Africa.

Tantsi sent another of his reports on the special services held among the "red heathen." He reported having converted over 100 during the year and among them were several "witch doctors." He also mentioned to the Bishop that in a leading article in Imvo, the Bishop was quoted as having given instructions for Blacks in America to shoot the whites.²

Tantsi's last bit of information was in reference to the US. to study music after hearing the McAdooos perform in Johannesburg. He did in fact receive a B.A. in Classics and Mathematics from Wilberforce and of course he later married Charlotte Manye. In later years Maxeke edited the Umteteli wa Bantu, a weekly published in Johannesburg and he achieved prominence in the ANC (Skota, op. cit., p. 70). Young Tantsi enrolled in the teacher training course at Wilberforce. (The Ecumenical Budget of the A.M.E. Church, 1901, p. 27).

¹Dwane to Turner, 7 June 1897, Voice of Missions, August 1897.
²Tantsi to Turner, 14 June 1897, Voice of Missions, September 1897.
to Bishop Turner's "Get Guns" editorial which appeared in the March, 1857 edition of the *Voice*. Turner advised his readers to purchase fire arms in order to protect themselves and their families from would-be lynchers. He did not advise his readers to use them offensively. Needless to say the article caused a furore in the US and he was strongly condemned by several of his own churchmen. The fact that it was reported on in *Imvo* indicates that his *Voice of Missions* was being ardently read.

After Dwane's return from the US, Mokone reiterated his call for the emigration of Black Americans to South Africa to help their brethren and themselves in return. Turner quoted him as saying:

> Oh, that I had wings like a dove, I would fly over and protest against the American Negro for neglecting such privileges and birthrights of this land of Ham where they are so much needed and could achieve such grand results. We want immigrants badly—we want traders . . . teachers . . . doctors . . . lawyers . . . able divines . . . learned scientists . . . mechanics and manufacturers, colleges and universities . . . we want all the trades and professions. The teachers and divines must be self-denying men, and not seekers of office.¹

¹ On reading this appeal from Mokone, one wonders if he were saying in a veiled way that Black Americans coming to South Africa should not come with the intention of monopolizing the leadership positions within that branch of the Church. The charge that they attempted to assume all such positions was certainly later levelled against them and was the cause of a secession within the Church. See C. Nontishinga-Citashe, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-30, and S. J. Brande's testimony before the South African Native Affairs Commission, *SANAC Report*, Vol. IV, pp. 40 and 819. In any case, the possibility of African-Americans
While we cannot promise them beautiful two-story houses, we can promise them . . . great wealth in the near future if they will labor for it.

And in typical Turner hyperbole, Mokone went on to say that South Africa was filled with gold which was accessible to anyone willing to dig for it; that the land itself was a potential paradise and that there was territory enough to give all emigrants a home.¹

To round off the AMEC's first year of existence in South Africa, on 5 December 1897, St. Peter's Church, located in Pretoria and pastored by Kanyane, officially opened. An estimated 1,000 people, European and African were in attendance. Many of them had walked great distances to be present for the occasion. In his dedicatory address, Dwane stressed the loyalty of the AMEC to government, emphasized its determination to remain apolitical and admonished his followers to remain steadfast in spite of the opposition levelled against them.²

relocating in South Africa to teach and preach moved one Member of the Legislative Assembly to remark:

If the new church movement is such as to induce some natives from America to come here and become teachers and ministers, there is in my mind no doubt that the race as a race, will become attached to their American brethren, and will look to America to give them what they think we are not willing to bestow. Because they will soon find that an American negro will never be required to submit to Colonial native legislation.  (The Christian Express, 6 October 1897).

¹Mokone to Turner, 13 and 27 September 1897, Voice of Missions, December 1897.
²Arnett, op. cit., pp. 5-7.
It is significant and symbolic that the AMEC in South Africa should round off its first year of existence by opening a new church. Before its merger with the AMEC, the Ethiopian Church had been wholly self-sufficient and self-supporting (as Turner was quick to point out to the American brethren). The Church was continuing that policy after its merger. Unlike their West African counterparts who were supervised by American AMEs, the South Africans were supervised from within. In addition, by 1897, the church membership had more than doubled from its 2800 membership in 1896 to 7,000. The groundwork had been well laid. Though beset by some hostility and suspicion from rival denominations, the Church seemed to be progressing satisfactorily. All the Church needed at this point was some structural organization.
The "Arch Mischiefmaker" Goes to South Africa

During his visit to America, James Dwane was appointed General Superintendent to supervise the South African work until a Bishop from the US could take charge. Dwane returned to South Africa and travelled about the country in an attempt to organize the work into an episcopal form as best he could. It will be recalled that he arrived in the US too late to attend the General Conference and having been a member of the Wesleyan Church, which did not have the episcopate form of government, there were probably many things about the episcopate with which he still remained unfamiliar.

An equally important reason why it was necessary for an American to observe the South African situation first-hand was the fact that plans were under discussion for raising and expending funds on a school in South Africa. Clearly nothing concrete could be done until the feasibility of such a scheme had been investigated. In fact, the Church Missionary Department at its annual Board meeting for 1897 ordered that no more money was to be expended on the South African work until after a Bishop had visited the connection.¹

The obvious person to observe the situation was

¹A.M.E. Missionary Board Records, 1897, A.M.E. Department of Missions, New York.
Bishop Turner. He was after all the unofficial "Missionary Bishop of Africa." He had been in communication with several of the South African members for well over a year and he was personally acquainted with Dwane. More important, he was available and he wanted to go.

South African preparations for the Bishop's visit had been ongoing since the Lesseyton conference. Plans were being finalized just at the point when on many levels AME morale in South Africa was at its lowest ebb.¹

By early 1898, the Cape Colony Government officials were becoming increasingly difficult and obstructionist in their dealings with the AMEs. In February, 1898, Dwane applied for church sites, which were to be used for school purposes as well, in four different Tembu locations. Prior to forwarding the applications to the Native Affairs Department in Cape Town, the Chief Magistrate of Umtata wrote a letter to the minister in charge of the Wesleyan Church in Umtata, Rev. Frank J. Cosnett, asking him for information on Dwane and his church.

Cosnett replied that he had no "official" information

¹Chalmers Nyombolo, The Origin and Development of Ethiopianism in South Africa (New York: Foley Press, n.d.), p. 9. Nyombolo was a former Wesleyan who joined the AMEC and also took charge of Mzimba's breakaway congregation while Mzimba was embroiled in the property dispute with the Church of Scotland which was later settled in the courts. There is another AME/Mzimba connection: For a time, Mzimba acted as subscription agent for the Voice of Missions in Cape Colony.
on Dwane or his church but he knew that Dwane had been connected with the Wesleyans, had severed his ties with them and then had begun as he put it, "leading a movement uncompromisingly hostile, the chief feature of which seems to be repudiation of the control of white men."

Cosnett told the Chief Magistrate that he had received several complaints from European missionaries that the Dwaneites did not seek out new fields but instead stirred up "disaffection and strife" among established Wesleyan bodies. Cosnett volunteered the information that the AMEC tended to attract the "unstable" from the established missions and that the district in which Dwane desired sites was the same district in which he (Dwane) formerly worked as a Wesleyan minister.¹

In a subsequent letter written to Elliot, Cosnett stated that at the forthcoming Wesleyan Conference to be held in April, 1898, one of the items on the agenda was a discussion of the advisability of contacting the AMEC in America with a view to getting them to "restrain" their South African agents. Cosnett advised Elliot to delay his decision on Dwane's applications until after the Wesleyan conference.²

¹Republic of South Africa Government Archives, Cape Town, Correspondence Files No. 96, 1898-1906, "Papers Relating to the African Methodist Episcopal Church, African Native Church, Presbyterian Church of Africa, Ethiopian Church Movement, National Baptist Church of America," NA 497, Frank Cosnett to H. C. Elliot, 22 February 1898.

²Ibid., 23 February 1898.
The Chief Magistrate forwarded Dwane's application to the Native Affairs Department (NAD) in Cape Town with a cover letter telling the Superintendent that for the past two years, Fingoes had been trying to establish African churches on the "Tilite principle"; churches which were void of all the rules and principles guiding Christian denominations. Elliot also told the Superintendent that the persons involved in the movement had been dismissed by the Wesleyans for misconduct and because they were only partially trained as catechists or scripture readers, they were dangerous to their more "ignorant" brethren who were gullible and easily led. The Chief Magistrate advised:

The movement should be discouraged by all legitimate means but not so as to give an appearance of being martyred. The refusal of government to recognize them in any way and to treat the movement contemptuously probably would be the most effective way of stopping its spread.1

It is important to note how Dwane's site applications were handled because it set the pattern which was to be followed in future.

The Chief Magistrate relied on a rival missionary for information concerning the AMEs and the fact that a missionary was consulted underlines the fact that missionaries were often the eyes and ears of the local magistrates and in

1Ibid., Elliot to Secretary of the Native Affairs Department (SNDA), 24 February 1898.
some cases wore the cap of magistrate as well. In fact, this missionary even advised Elliot to delay a decision on the applications. It is to be expected that in relying on a rival missionary for information, the information received would not be particularly objective and it would in fact be of questionable validity.

The Chief Magistrate took this erroneous information and amplified it. He expressed doubt as to the Christian principles of the AMEs and he claimed that those involved in the movement had been ejected from their former churches. The leaders of the AMEC had in actuality resigned from their churches. Elliot then went on to recommend that government should refuse all recognition of the group and should treat it with contempt, in essence to do all short of actual suppression.

Following on the heel of the Dwane applications was one made by Rev. Joseph Moyedi for a site in the Herschel Division at Ndofela. The site had been chosen by the local headman and the location residents. Moyedi sent the application to the Superintendent of Native Locations, C. Dovey, who in turn forwarded it to the Civil Commissioner (CC) at Herschel along with his approval.

Dovey told the CC that he had inspected the site

\[1\] Cf. Tule's allegations. See above.
and that it was some 46 yards distant from the Wesleyan
chapel in the location. In so far as his instructions
went regarding sites for chapels and schools, the proposed
spot "would not in any way interfere with grazing or lands."  

It would seem then, that the only criteria for site
allocation was that the proposed site could not interfere
with the grazing area or the boundaries of public and private
property and that the site be approved by the Inspector of
Native Locations.

The Civil Commissioner (CC) forwarded Dovey's letter
of endorsement along with Moyedi's application to the Superin-
tendent of Native Affairs Department (SNAD) in Cape Town.
The CC stated in his cover letter that he felt the proposed
site was too close to the Wesleyans. He told the Superin-
tendent that there had already been some trouble between the
two denominations and so in order to avoid any more difficulty,
he recommended that a distance of at least 500 yards should
be maintained between them.  

A decision on both the Dwane and Moyedi applications
was held in abeyance either because of the usual sluggishness
of colonial bureaucracy or because the Superintendent of
Native Affairs decided to wait for the arrival of Bishop
Turner in order to settle certain questions he had regarding

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1Dovey to the Civil Commissioner, 9 March 1898, NA 497.

2Ibid., A. W. Preston to the Superintendent of the
Native Affairs Department, 15 March 1898. "Superintendent"
or "Secretary" of Native Affairs was used interchangeably.
the constitutionality of Dwane's church.

Prior to his departure, Bishop Turner gave an interview to an Atlanta Journal reporter to explain his reasons for going to South Africa. He denied that he was going to South Africa in the interest of emigration and he assured the reporter that he was going only for church business: to preside over some conferences and to ordain some ministers.¹

The charge that the Bishop was an emigration agent was certainly not without some foundation. Emigration to South Africa had been suggested in the Voice. The paper was always filled with schemes for emigration to one place or the other and the Bishop was the most vociferous proponent of African emigration active at the time. And though he did tend to deemphasize it, the Bishop was a vice-president of the American Colonization Society.

When pressed on the South Africa emigration question, Turner admitted that South Africa was not so desirable as Liberia for emigration purposes because the country was under European control but he did not discount the possibility. It was his opinion that for the educated, professional African-American, even South Africa was preferable to the United States. Then in either an amazing display of

¹At the time of merger, Dwane placed the number of unordained Ethiopian Church ministers at 59. It is not clear how many people Dwane or Mokone ordained or how valid the ordinations were. Presumably ordination by the Bishop of an established church would be less open to question.
ignorance about the African situation or in his usual hyperbolic style, the Bishop denied there was a color bar in Africa and he asserted that Africans were eligible to any office within the colonial administration.¹

Bishop Turner's arrival in South Africa, March, 1898, was literally Ethiopia stretching forth her hands. The sheer psychological effect of the presence of a Black Bishop, something which had never before been seen in the country, cannot be underestimated. His visit was carefully orchestrated by the AMEs for maximum effect. He was in every sense given a hero's welcome because he was in a sense a hero. No other foreign Black man has ever received the press coverage Bishop Turner received with the exception of J. E. K. Aggrey whose visit took place within the same month 33 years later.

The Bishop disembarked in Cape Town and was met by Mokone and Kanyane (who had come down from Pretoria for the occasion), Marcus Gabashane and John Tule of the Baptist Church. He was given declarations of welcome from the Pretoria and Johannesburg delegations, both addressed to the "Archbishop of the AMEC of the US and Ethiopia" both of which expressed their joy at receiving him and their hope that his visit would benefit the South African AMEs spiritually and socially.²

¹Voice of Missions, February 1898.
²"Address of Welcome," Henry McNeal/Papers, Moorland-Spingarn Collection, Howard University, Washington, D.C.
Refusing accommodation at a Cape Town hotel, the Bishop stayed instead with a local minister. On his first evening in the city, he delivered "a very forcible address" which dealt mainly with the origins and aims of his church. The Cape Times reported that he had a large African audience in attendance. Three days later, the Bishop spoke at a welcoming meeting which was advertised in The Cape Times. The advert read:

All lovers of the Race Come and Welcome the First Coloured Bishop of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church of America, that ever visited or set foot in South Africa.

The official welcoming committee included representatives from the AMEC, the Cape Coloured community, the African Baptists and the American Consulate. According to The Times, Turner was "visibly affected" by the reception he received and his speech affected his audience as well. The Times correspondent reported:

... it is difficult to describe the effect which the Bishop's eloquent address produced. ... He touched briefly upon almost every point that affects the race's well-being and well-doing. Their past sufferings--their present success--notwithstanding innumerable oppositions and prejudices and the great possibilities that lie before them.

The Bishop urged the youth in his audience to grasp every opportunity and to aim at "higher living and nobility of character." And, as if to allay the fears of his detractors as to his purpose for coming to South Africa. He declared:

1The Cape Times, 22 March 1898.
... I do not come to South Africa to interfere with any church or organization. I am here ... by the urgent appeal of my beloved brethren of the Church of England to come and give permanent establishment to the South African missionary work, which is henceforth to be conducted as a branch of the AMEC in America. I have no time to interfere with other churches but only pray for them and wish them Godspeed.

In spite of his disclaimer, the Bishop's address simply added credence to the contention of The Christian Express editor that color consciousness permeated the movement. The editor alleged that Dwane was very open about the fact that at the root of his movement lay the 'colour question' and so it was expected that racialism would be integral to the philosophy and history of the Church in South Africa. In his review of the speech, The Express editor said that Turner had,

... Struck rather a false and discreditable note in his first address at Cape Town when he dilated on the wrongs which the African had endured at the hands of the white man ... it does not appear quite clear what any appeal based on the wrongs endured by Africans in the days of the slave trade, has to do with the founding of a new church except to create race feelings and race prejudice.¹

In a frontpage article titled, "Missionary Raiders," the editor reprinted Turner's disclaimer with the comment, "This is all very good but it is not very logical, seeing that he helps create another sect where there are already too many." In addition to the AMEC, the editor pointed out that the Black Baptists, under the leadership of

¹The Christian Express, 1 July 1898.
Rev. J. Buchanan who had arrived in South Africa sometime around 1897,¹ and had begun work in a locality where two Lovedalians, P. J. Mzimba and Elijah Makiwane, were already operating.

The editor could neither understand why two new denominations would enter an already overcrowded field nor why Africans would "desert" the churches which had done so much for them. In addition, said the editor, the conversion rate claimed by the independents was "contrary to all missionary experience," therefore some of their converts had to have come from other missions. The editor warned the "intelligent Natives" to be wary of the newcomers for their people had already been the victims of one delusion, Nongquase.² The Express people had particular reason to be incensed for it should be recalled that during the Turner visit, Mzimba broke with the Church of Scotland.

From Cape Town, the Bishop accompanied by Mokone and Kanyane travelled via Johannesburg to Pretoria. In Johannesburg he was met by a contingent of White and Black Americans, a group which included the Jubilee Singers who were

¹Buchanan had actually arrived in South Africa in the 1880's, had settled in Cape Town and operated a mission in the city. When R. A. Jackson arrived in 1894, Buchanan turned his mission work over to Jackson and he went into the interior. (L. G. Jordan, Up the Ladder in Foreign Missions [Nashville: National Baptist Publishing Board, 1901], pp. 125-26).

²The Christian Express, 1 April 1898.
on yet another South African tour. The Bishop conducted several church services which were so heavily attended that they had to be held out of doors.

Leaving Johannesburg, the Bishop arrived in Pretoria where he co-chaired with Dwane the first AME conference of South Africa. The purpose of the conference was to give organic validity to the new branch of the Church and to demonstrate to the delegates the AME way of holding conferences. The conference lasted one week during which time "two kings and one chief" attended the sessions. They had come a great distance to see a Black Bishop. According to Turner one of the "kings" offered to make the AMEC the church of his "kingdom." The Bishop was very much impressed with the manner and caliber of the men surrounding him at the conference, so much so, that he predicted in a few years some of the leading men of the race would be found in South Africa. Although the conference was well-attended, many of the delegates failed to reach Pretoria in time to attend it. In part because of the distance the Bishop divided the conference into two components: The Transvaal and Orange Free State would in future form the Transvaal Annual Conference and Cape Colony, Zululand and Natal would comprise the South African Annual Conference.

1Arnett, op. cit., p. 21.

2Voice of Missions, June 1898.

3Arnett, op. cit., p. 22.
It was at this Pretoria Conference that Turner was to make the most controversial and ultimately costly of all his moves in South Africa: the appointment of James Dwane as Vicar-Bishop of the South African work; the first of his race to be so designated by any denomination.

Resolutions were made and adopted by the Transvaal Conference members in which they requested the Bishop to consecrate their General Superintendent, Dwane, thus investing in him the power of ordination. They made this request of the Bishop for the purpose of having resident in South Africa some recognized authority, someone on the spot with the authority to speak for the church in America. The delegates justified their request on the following:

1. the distance between South Africa and the US. made travel between the two points both costly and time consuming;
2. the South Africans needed authoritative supervision.

As the white denominations had resident supervisors so also the AMEC needed one. Supporters of the resolutions reaffirmed their allegiance to the anticipated South African Bishop yet to be elected and they assured Turner that should Dwane be consecrated, he would in all things be subordinate to the forthcoming Bishop. Interestingly, Mokone and Kanyane were not signatories to the resolutions.

After considering the matter for several days, the Bishop asked Dwane for his feelings on the matter. After reaffirming his loyalty to the Church and to the forthcoming
Bishop, and after pledging to die a loyal AME, Dwane told the Bishop that if he wanted him for the post he would accept and when asked to relinquish it, he would resign. At first Turner rejected the resolutions but on reconsideration, he relented and appointed Dwane Vicar-Bishop.

While the conference was in session, the Bishop reordained 8 ministers who insisted on having certificates of ordination from the AMEC. Perhaps they felt a certificate from an American Bishop would be more acceptable to the government which was beginning to take a hard line on "rebel" ministers. In connection with the trouble AME ministers were beginning to have with government in terms of their recognition as "ministers," the Bishop met with President Paul Kruger whom he described as "a statesman of large calibre and shrewdness."¹ The purpose of the interview was to refute some misrepresentations made against the AMEC and to seek some recognition for his ministers. From this interview, the Bishop said he was assured that his ministers could perform marriages without any interference from the Transvaal Government.²

From Pretoria, the Bishop began working his way southward, to Queenstown in order to hold the second church

²Voice of Missions, June 1898.
conference. En route he stopped off again in Johannesburg and from there he went on to Bloemfontein.

On his second stop in Johannesburg, the Bishop accepted the ministers and members of some Presbyterian, Congregational and Independent Methodist churches. Turner would later boast that when he arrived in Johannesburg there were only two AME churches and when he left there were five. Several other churches invited him to come and formally receive them into the AME fold but neither time nor funds permitted the Bishop to accept the invitations.¹

In Bloemfontein, Turner met with President Steyn whom he described as "a perfect gentleman in every respect."² At the meeting, the two men discussed the problems his ministers were having in being recognized as legitimate ministers in the Orange Free State. He reiterated to the President that the aim of his church was to save sinners. It was not the intention of his church to stir up disaffection and confusion or to wrangle with other denominations.

The Bishop had earlier written a letter to the Orange Free State Government seeking clarification on who was to be permitted to solemnize marriages. He was told that any priests, ministers or missionaries of "recognized

¹ Arnett, op. cit., pp. 22-24; Voice of Missions, June 1898.
or tolerated" churches within the State could perform marriages. Presumably as a result of his personal overtures, the Government Secretary of the Orange Free State recognized the AMEC as a "Christian Church Society of the State." While in the Orange Free State, he visited the State House and attended a parliamentary debate which he ruefully admitted was in Dutch and therefore unintelligible to him. In addition, the Bishop also found time to hold several church services which were attended to the point of overflowing.

The Queenstown conference convened in a rented Salvation Army hall, filled with AMEs and the curious who were eager to see a Black Bishop. The business of the conference ran smoothly. There was more discussion on the AME college or seminary to be constructed in South Africa and the Bishop said he was assured "by high authority" that the government would provide matching funds for any


2 The Friend of the Free State and Bloemfontein Gazette, 13 and 15 April 1898; Voice of Missions, June 1898.

3 At that point, the AMEC did not own any buildings in Cape Colony so that they were forced to hold meetings in various rented halls. In November 1897, the Bishop was told that the Cape Town AMEs had purchased a plot of land, had the transfer papers in hand, had engaged an architect to draw up the plans for a church and were waiting for the sanction of the Town Council in order to commence building. (J. Kuze to Turner, n.d., Voice of Missions, January 1898.)
educational establishment the AMEC erected.\(^1\)

Turner was obviously referring to government support of the European mission schools. It was incredibly optimistic of the South Africans to think government would help support their proposed college but then there was no way of knowing for certain that the government would not subsidize it. Africans had not previously approached the government to subsidize a college that they themselves would build.

In any case, during his visit the Bishop purchased 12 acres in Queenstown as a site for the college. While he was on tour, the Women's Mite Mission Society of the North Ohio Conference wrote to Dwane telling him that they intended to make the South African college their special fund-raising project. They asked Dwane to give them an estimate of the total cost of the college and they informed him that they had already subscribed $120 for the project.\(^2\)

From Queenstown, the Bishop returned to Cape Town. He delivered two addresses at the local Opera House and it was the first time a reception for a Black man had ever been held in the building.\(^3\) The meetings were held under the auspices of the Coloured Men's Christian Association (see below). In a front page advertisement for the gathering, the Bishop was called one of the "greatest (the) Race has

\(^1\)Voice of Missions, June 1898.

\(^2\)Ibid., December 1898.  \(^3\)Nyombolo, op. cit., p. 9.
ever produced."\(^1\) In his first speech, which was geared toward the Cape Town youth, the Bishop spoke on "The Unity of the Race". At the evening session which was open to the public, his topic was "The Impending Crisis."\(^2\)

On the evening of 26 April, a large and enthusiastic audience comprised of diplomats, European churchmen, assorted AMEs, R. A. Jackson of the Baptist Church, Francis Gow, a local photographer, and W. A. Roberts, President of the Coloured People's Association gathered to say farewell.

Roberts invited those present to unite for concerted action in behalf of the Race. He asked the Bishop to convey their fraternal greetings to the brethren in the U.S. After a standing ovation, the Bishop repeated his prophecy of a great South Africa; he warned his audience about the evils of strong drink and he made comparisons between the condition of Blacks in South Africa and those in the U.S. He advised the South Africans to unite and pool their resources for the purpose of building colleges and schools because Black men had to outthink Whites if they were to ever gain parity.\(^3\) On this fraternal note, the

\(^1\)The Cape Argus, 23 April 1898.

\(^2\)Ibid., 25 April 1898. No copies of these addresses have been found.

\(^3\)Ibid., 27 April 1898.
Bishop left South Africa accompanied by Adelaide Tantsi, daughter of J. Z. Tantsi, who was to be educated and cared for by the Parent Mite Missionary Society in America. Though on the face of it Turner's public speeches in South Africa were harmless, within the context of South Africa's racial situation, they were revolutionary. Jabavu alluded to this when he declared that the AMEC was conducted on color lines in the US. and that Bishop Turner was importing its racialist doctrines into South Africa.

"The question of colour," said Jabavu, was "one of politics, pure and simple," it was a pernicious doctrine which "Bodes ill for the future happiness and success of the Natives," particularly in such a heterogeneous country as South Africa. And to underscore his point, Jabavu reprinted articles from The New York Age and The Atlanta Evening Journal wherein Turner discussed the deplorable situation of Blacks in America and put forth his panacea for the situation—emigration.

The Bishop's pronouncements on unity to people who outnumbered Europeans by an overwhelming majority and who were obviously disaffected was understandably alarming.

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1The Bishop later reported that some 75-100 young people wanted to return with him to the US in order to further their education. The Bishop persuaded them to postpone the trip till the new school term began. (Voice of Missions, July 1898).

2Imvo Zabantsundu, 20 April 1898.
For the time, his speeches were indeed radical and there is no way of knowing what the Bishop preached behind closed doors. Nonetheless, Turner's impact was exaggerated by certain people, particularly Daniel Thwaite who said of the Bishop's visit:

... He fired the country with his flaming oratory, belching forth like a volcano in full eruption, exploding like a lighted power-magazine, he sent the natives wild with hysterical exultation and filled the whites with alarm. ... As he aroused the nationalism of the Americans, it now stirred that of the Africans.¹

On his return to the U.S., Bishop Turner submitted his report to the Bishops' Council. In the report, which he read before the Council, Turner outlined his reasons for going to South Africa and he justified his extraordinary action in ordaining Dwane Vicar-Bishop.

The Bishop told the Council that no better place than South Africa could be found for the talents of AME ministers and teachers who were moved by the spirit of missions. He told them that Cape Town was filled with intelligent, wealthy people who would welcome membership in the church for they had only lately discovered that churches of their own, ministered by learned men of their race would benefit them far more than worshipping among whites who forced them into subordinate positions.

He stressed the point that the South Africans did

not approach the AMEC with hat in hand. They did not ask for assistance in maintaining their churches and ministers and families. All they asked for was assistance with which to build a college and some volunteer teachers from America to staff it. He told the Bishops that if the Mother Church would provide the staff and the funds for the construction of the college the South Africans would provide the land and they would secure matching grants from the Government with which they would pay the salaries of the teachers.

Turner repeated his story that "kings" and "chiefs" had attended his conferences and had offered land and building materials to the AMEC if the church would merely send teachers to staff the schools. He reported AME membership at 7,175 in the Transvaal Conference and 3,625 in the South African Conference.¹ He reported that he had ordained 31 elders and 29deacons, eight of the elders having insisted on re-ordination so that they could hold ordination papers from a church in America.²

¹Though the headquarters of the AMEC had been moved to Cape Colony, the bulk of the membership was still in Transvaal and Orange Free State.

²Thwaite placed the figure at 2,000 (p. 38) but then he also said that Turner belonged to the Watchtower Movement! The editor of The Christian Express said that Turner ordained more people during his South African blitz than all the South African missions combined had ever done within any one year over the last 50 years. The Express reprinted a letter purportedly written by one of the
The most important component of the Bishop's Report was his justification for his ordination of Dwane as Vicar-Bishop. Since AME Bishops have always been elected by the delegates at the General Conferences, Turner anticipated a furore because in his report he admitted that he had initially decided not to honor the South Africans' request to consecrate Dwane because he feared:

... a number of non-progressive men, void of the spirit of missions, and caring nothing for Africa and never having a progressive thought, seek conspicuousity by fault-finding ... would try to raise a howl by pretending that we were doing some great wrong.1

Nonetheless, Bishop Turner did ordain Dwane as Vicar-Bishop giving the following as his reasons:

a. The European denominations had Bishops and supervisors in South Africa who represented their churches vis-a-vis the South African governments;

b. Dwane was multi-lingual, self-sacrificing, dedicated and a man of strong character;

ministers Turner ordained who happened to be a former Lovedale pupil and had only gone to Standard III. The Express found it "grotesque" that a man of such minor qualifications would actually be placed in charge of a congregation (May 2, 1898). But, this was the sort of man Turner had always sought out for the ministry when he was organizing any connection. Though one of the foremost supporters of an educated ministry within the church, he was also a realist. If there were no educated candidates he used what was at hand. On this point see John T. Jenifer's, Centennial Retrospect History of the AME Church (Nashville: Sunday School Union Printers, 1916), p. 393.

1Arnett, op. cit., p. 28.
c. It was costly in time and money to bridge the distance between South Africa and the U.S. and the money could be better spent on other projects like the South African college;

d. The recent death of one of the American Bishops required dividing the deceased's district among all the Bishops which meant none of them could be spared for the South African work for at least 3 years. Within those three years, a number of South African ministers would require ordination;

e. The South Africans did not ask that Dwane be ordained a regular bishop but simply as a substitute bishop, subject to the bishop who was to be assigned at the forthcoming 1900 General Conference.

Most important for the Bishop, he ordained Dwane because he believed in the self-sufficiency of the foreign posts and in indigenous leadership for those posts.

The Bishop included in his report a list of the African ministers whom he ordained and assigned to districts which he created out of the two conferences. The Transvaal Annual Conference consisted of Pretoria, Orange Free State, Johannesburg and Potchefstroom districts. The South African Conference was composed of the Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Queentown, Kingwilliamstown and Pondoland districts. The Bishop also submitted the names of James Dwane, J. Z. Tantsi, Jacobus Xaba and Mangene Mokone as the elected delegates to the 1900 conference.

After hearing the report, the Bishops' Council accepted it and went on record as being pleased with the
success of the South African trip.\textsuperscript{1}

The Christian Express reprinted the Bishop's report in full in the interest, the editor said, of providing its readers with the "views and aspirations which this visit of Bishop Turner is likely to create." The editors characterized the language used by the Bishop as "exaggerated" and they described the report as one the likes of which no English missionary would dare submit to his superiors. The editor went on, "Our readers will no doubt form their own conclusions . . . on this development as to the future Native Church of South Africa."\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{1}Ibid., 34.

\textsuperscript{2}The Christian Express, 1 September 1898.
Reaction to Bishop Turner's Visit

In the wake of the Bishop's trip to South Africa, the Voice of Missions received a flurry of complimentary letters. W. H. Councill predicted that his trip and the work in South Africa would result in "redemption, civilization, development and Negro independence in Africa."\(^1\)

J. Z. Tantsi wrote a letter to Bishop Grant who was connected with the education department of the Church thanking the House of Bishops for sending the Bishop to South Africa. Tantsi was especially pleased with the Bishop's lectures in which he described the struggles of Black people in the U.S. who had risen from the position of slaves to men and women of mark by dint of their hard study. He continued:

> You will learn from our dear Bishop the urgent necessity of learned ministry in our church. I hope the House of Bishops will take up warmly the matter to it through Bishop Turner, of establishing a High School for the education of our youths. Except the AMEC take the whole matter of education on herself our work will not be successful.\(^2\)

Grant replied assuring Tantsi that Turner had presented the case for a higher institution of learning in South Africa

\(^1\)Voice of Missions, August 1898.

\(^2\)The proposed school was at various times referred to as a "college," a "university," a "seminary." This is the first time it is referred to as a "High School." It is possible that after seeing things first-hand, the Bishop decided that an intermediate school was more realistic.
to the Missionary Board (of which Turner was President) and $300 had already been subscribed for the school. Grant assured Tantsi that he would use all his influence to see that the wish of the South African brethren was fulfilled but Grant warned that no people ever achieved positions of importance who did not depend upon themselves, who did not marshall their own resources. "You will see," cautioned Grant, "that I am not in sympathy with the expression that you must depend entirely upon our church in this country for an institution in which higher education may be taught."

Horatio Scott, a Black American living in Bulawayo and employed by the British South Africa Company, wrote saying that men like Bishop Turner were sorely needed in Africa for his presence demonstrated "to the native what a man of color can do." Scott told Turner that he had shown his picture to the young Ndebele who were moved to try to learn to read and write so that they could become like the Black Bishops in America. In Scott's opinion, "The African has become a nation without a home" and so he implored the American people of color to come to Southern Africa to compete with the Europeans who were everywhere confiscating the land and cattle of the indigenous people. He told the Bishop that he would be returning to the U.S. shortly with a group

1Voices of Missions, November 1898.
of Ndebele youths whom he was going to place in American schools. Only in American schools, said Scott, could African youth "fix their social condition." ¹

Simon Sinamela operating out of the Orange Free State said that the day of Turner's arrival in South Africa had been a "red-letter day" for Africans. His visit had demonstrated to the Europeans that Black men were the "heirs" to the African soil spiritually and politically. He invited Black Americans to come to South Africa for the benefit of the AMEC and the Race. Their arrival would be the fulfillment of the prophecy that Ethiopia would stretch forth her hands unto God. Sinamela said that he had read in Ridgel's book, Africa and African Methodism, that Black Americans had emigrated to West Africa for the "safety of the African race," and so he was extending the invitation from his portion of the continent. Emigration would not only benefit the Race in Africa but the brethren in America would also be benefited. "I believe," he said, "you are more respected here in Africa than there where you are. Therefore come over . . ." ²

J. G. Xaba sent in a progress report from the Orange Free State showing an increase in membership since the

¹Scott to Turner, 30 July 1898, Voice of Missions, October 1898.

²Sinamela to Turner, 17 August 1898, Voice of Missions, October 1898.
Bishop's departure from South Africa. The work in Bloemfontein was going well. Xaba reported that he had recently accepted an entire congregation plus church building from a group which had seceded from the Anglican Church. In Kroonstad, he said the church was flourishing, school attendance was high and a collection was underway for the erection of a church building on a piece of ground granted by the local municipal corporation.¹ Xaba reported that mission stations were in existence in Basutoland although no resident AME ministers were yet in the country. He informed the Bishop that he and Dwane were planning a visit to Natal via Pondoland as soon as the weather permitted.²

From Cape Town, Alexander Morrison, a West Indian AME minister, reported that since the Bishop's visit, two new places of worship had been established. He said that he was considering building a mission in the Cape Town suburbs but lack of funds delayed the project. He too put in a plea for the "first-class" school in South Africa to be located, he hoped, in the Cape Colony. He insisted:

> If we want to lift up the race and establish our church, that is our first step . . . we must have sound men and women, otherwise it is best left alone. We want a school as the best you have in America.³

¹It is important to note that at this point, the AMEC was being granted sites in the two Republics.

²Xaba to Turner, 30 August 1898, Voice of Missions, November 1898.

³Morrison to Turner, 15 September 1898, Voice of Missions, November 1898.
In response to the requests from the South African brethren, H. B. Parks, Secretary of Missions, issued a special appeal to the ministers of the AMEC and kindred churches and to the "Christian and Philanthrophic People of the United States." It was a straightforward request for funds to aid his church in its missionary enterprise in South Africa. He issued the special appeal because the 1898 Easter Day Collection which traditionally went toward missions fell far short of his or Turner's expectations. Parks appealed to the sense of missions and patriotism of his audience, feeling that "The love of the church, the pride of race and the cause of humanity, will urge upon you this patriotic duty and necessity over every other obligation."¹ This sense of "duty" and "obligation" seeped over into other AME institutions as well. The prize winning essay at Wilberforce University for 1899 was titled "The Future of Africa" and the ending passages assured the African brethren that their "cry" was heard; that the American Negro was "coming."²

Bishop Turner took up the cry for financial support of the South African work, particularly in the area of education. He carried a clipping from the New York Sun which stated that the MEC Bishop Joseph Hartzell (who had recently

¹Voice of Missions, November 1898.

²Ibid., July 1899.
been in South Africa and in fact preceded Turner) had received a grant from his Board of Missions with which to plant the American public school system in Africa. The program was to be initiated in Liberia utilizing several African-American teachers. Turner applauded Hartzell's efforts but he told his readers that the AMEC was "properly" the Church of Africa and therefore the AMEs had to let their African brethren see that they were as much concerned with their welfare if not more concerned than their white counterparts. The Bishop explained:

We are satisfied that the white nations of the earth propose to take Africa away from the black man if they can . . . in proportion as the whites educate the native African, just in that proportion will the native African lose interest in his own race . . . So let our church the African Church, do her part.¹

The favorable reports which flowed in from South Africa more than justified the Bishop's concern. Samuel James Brander who was operating out of Pretoria reported that the work in his section was progressing satisfactorily. A chief in Dwaars River promised his support and offered to build a church for the AMEs in return for which he wanted them to operate a school out of the church building and to provide a teacher. Brander went from Dwaars River to Sekukuniland accompanied by Mokone. The field looked promising so he left the Rev. Nathaniel Phala in charge of developing the Church in that part of the country.²

¹Ibid., October 1898.
²Brander to Turner, 17 October 1898, Voice of Missions, January 1899.
In a letter captioned "South African Explorations," Marcus Gabashane reported on an eight week tour he had taken of Mashonaland and Bechuanaland.

Gabashane visited Kunana, the home of the Baralong King Montshiwa, whom Gabashane characterized as "internally" Christian. Though King Montshiwa paid nominal homage to the London Missionary Society (LMS) (his grandfather had been Robert Moffat's host in 1824) he decided before his death to join the AMEC along with a former LMS probationer, John S. Morolong. It was to formally accept Morolong and his former LMS congregation that Gabashane went to Kunana.

From Kunana Gabashane travelled to Mafeking where he met with King Besele and the two men discussed establishing the AMEC at his place. From Kunana, Gabashane went to Kanye, the home of Chief Bathoen I who was also connected with the LMS. Gabashane talked to Bathoen about the AMEC and the king gave him hope that he might establish the AMEC in Kanye. However Bathoen was more definite about his desire to send his son to the U.S. to be educated. Bathoen gave Gabashane money and transportation to his next stop.

From Kanye, Gabashane made his way southward where he met Chief Samuel Moroka. Moroka was at the Pretoria Conference and had met Bishop Turner. Moroka was in the process of moving to Francis Town, the northward point, said Gabashane, of AME influence.
Gabashane left Moroka and moved on to visit Chief Mphoeng, brother of Khama III. Gabashane gave him background information on the AMEC and answered several questions Mphoeng had about the church. Mphoeng also expressed the wish to send his sons to America for education. Although he was open to persuasion, the Chief was unwilling to make a firm commitment to the Church.¹

Given his reception, Gabashane predicted in a short time the AMEC banner would fly over the whole of Bechuanaland. Gabashane said that in all his talks with the various regents, there was one overriding request: "education." This was their "cry" because they all understood its value. Gabashane issued a challenge to the church members in America:

... What people can educate them? What people can build up the destroyed and scattered African kingdoms? No other people but Africans can do such things for their own race. ...

Let men come out and teach the poor Africans ... not to ... know God only, but trades of any kind. ... Come now men who love God and race; act now, show what you are make [sic] of. Show that you were made stronger and healthier than the opposite race ... we hope soon to have some Afro-Americans who have been putting their lights under a bushel, awake and on the scene, handling and doing their duties.

The letter was signed "Yours for the church and race."²

¹In a later letter to the Bishop, Gabashane said that when his son, Abel, came over for the 1900 General Conference, he would bring with him three African "princes" who were to be placed in American schools. (Voice of Missions, October 1899).

²M. Gabashane to Voice of Missions, 5 December 1898, Voice of Missions, February 1899.
John Tule, the Cape Town Baptist minister working under R. A. Jackson, wrote another letter to the Church describing the effect the Bishop's visit had on South Africans. As Tule saw it, the visit had given new life to the "dry bones of Ham." Tule reasoned that the bad spirit which had existed between West Indians and African-Americans had at last been eradicated.¹ Both groups were now working hand-in-hand and it was all due to the appearance of Turner, "the great man of the race."²

R. A. Jackson sent a letter commenting on all the recent correspondence dealing with South Africa as a potential home for African-American emigrants. Jackson spoke from experience for he had lived in South Africa since 1894.³

¹It is unclear whether Tule was speaking of the Cape Town or the American milieu. There was in Cape Town at the time a sizable number of West Indians and a sufficient number of African-Americans to create a "foreign" Black community in which there may have been some dissension.

²Tule to Voice of Missions, 30 January 1899, Voice of Missions, June 1899.

³Robert Andrew Jackson, a Mississippian, had been operating the African Baptist Church in Cape Town under the auspices of the American Negro Baptist Convention since 1894. While in South Africa, Bishop Turner was entertained by Jackson and his wife. According to the Bishop, Jackson's church was the only exclusively African church until the establishment of the AMEC (Turner to Voice of Missions, 24 March 1898, Voice of Missions, June 1898). Jackson was at the time of Turner's visit in a horrendous financial position because the American Baptists were not supporting him as they had promised (Ibid., July 1898). Peregrino also mentioned the severe financial handicap under which Jackson
He too believed that Africa was the true home of the Black man and that Blacks faced certain genocide should they remain in the U.S. However, he stressed the point that South Africa was a place of extremes. The country was filled with diamonds, gold and fertile land; she had a system of communications, railroads, trolley cars, etc., but she also had Europeans in a sizable number which meant "certain death to natives and certain destruction to his real advancement." Therefore, for Jackson, any type of mass emigration to South Africa was impractical. He advised the poor to remain in the U.S. He suggested that those with money and the willingness to face hardship should form themselves into contingents, pool their resources and come out with some communal, investable capital. He suggested

labored (The South African Spectator, here after referred to as SAS, 25 January 1902.) Jackson eventually severed his connection with the American body (Ibid., 8 February 1902). The colonial government refused to recognize him or his church because the Baptist Union of South Africa refused him recognition (Ibid.) Given his financial restraints and the refusal of Church and State to recognize him, Jackson nonetheless pressed ahead in his attempts to win converts. He was implicated in a secessionist movement in Idulyma; (John Thomson to Dr. Smith, 15 November 1898, Church Missionary Society Papers, #59-60, Edinburgh Scotland.) a movement which involved the son of a chief in the district, which made the activity particularly "threatening." (Ibid., #165-169, Thomson to Smith, 3 March 1900). In spite of his problems, Jackson found time to run a local school in Cape Town, (SAS, 15 June 1901) a tradition which was continued by his daughter, Janet Jackson from 1910 onward (George Manuel, District Six (London: Longmans, 1968), p. 104).
that each contingent settle in a different area, and invest its money in numerous large trade centers thus providing its members with all the necessities as well as some profit-making surplus. He told the Voice readers:

You need not violate any existing law, and should secure every advantage under them. Comply with every demand of the law, become practically law-abiding citizens of the Colony. (underlinings mine) Enter honest competition for business and so enter the land to possess it. If you willfully neglect or refuse to cross this stream now, the enemy may burn the bridge and you will never cross it at all.¹

¹Jackson to Turner, 15 February 1899, Voice of Missions, April, 1899.
Dwane in America: Second Trip

At some point after the Bishop’s visit, Dwane went to see the Under Secretary of Native Affairs in Cape Town. The purpose of his interview was to discuss his applications for the church and school sites which he made in February, 1898.

The Under Secretary asked Dwane to produce documents relating to the constitution of the AMEC which he would use to help him make a fair recommendation to his superior, the Superintendent of Native Affairs.

Dwane complied with the request by sending the Native Affairs Department a copy of the AME Book of Discipline, a copy of the Voice of Missions, and various other documents relating to the church. In his letter to the Superintendent of Native Affairs which was written on AME stationery listing himself as “Bishop,” Dwane asked that the documents be returned to him.¹

On the Pretoria end, it seems that one of the AME members in Johannesburg donated money with which a church was built on a site allocated by government. There was a dispute between the donor and Mokone over who owned the

¹Dwane to the Secretary of Native Affairs (hereafter referred to as SNA), 13 August 1898, NA 497.
building: whether the property belonged to the AMEC or to the donor. The dispute was settled in court in the donor's favor. Mokone was ordered to pay court costs and when the money was not forthcoming, the court threatened to confiscate AME property in Pretoria.

Mokone informed Dwane of the threat and Dwane in turn wrote to the Under Secretary of State telling him that the property in Pretoria belonged to the AME Church; it was not Mokone's personal property and so the Church could not be held responsible for Mokone's debts.¹

The Under Secretary replied that it was not a question of individual guilt as Mokone entered the court as a representative of the Church and thus the AMEC was responsible for court costs.² In the midst of this correspondence, Dwane was summoned by Bishop Turner to the United States. Dwane assured the State Secretary that he would lay all the correspondence concerning the matter before his Senior Bishop in the hope that the matter would be settled.³

Dwane left for the U.S. in September. He had been summoned by Bishop Turner for the purpose of being trained

¹Republic of South Africa Government Archives, Pretoria, SAR Staatssekretaris Inkomende Stukke, SSA 714. Dwane to Onder-Staatssecretaris Buitenlandsche Zaken, 14 August 1898.

²Ibid., Onder-Staatssecretaris to Dwane, 15 September 1898.

³Ibid., Dwane to the State Secretary, 22 September 1898.
as the AME resident administrator in South Africa. His method of training was to observe first-hand several annual conferences which were about to convene in the Southern U.S. To say that Dwane was preoccupied with administrative difficulties within his church is an understatement. There was the Mokone trouble in the Transvaal; there were his application sites which had been delayed in the Native Affairs Department since February about which he had received no word at all; and, there were the church site applications filed by other AME ministers also pending and about which there had been no decision despite the constant letters of inquiry which had been sent to Cape Town.

There was also the matter of the proposed college about which there had been much talk but very little concrete action. Admittedly, the Bishop had purchased 12 acres in Queenstown on which the college was to be built but no money from the Mother Church had been forthcoming to begin construction. As he and other AME ministers had persistently and eloquently pointed out, the success of the church depended on this issue. He and his ministers had taken the banner of AMEism into the Cape Colony, Orange Free State, Transvaal, Bechuanaland, and Basutoland. They had cultivated much excitement and interest in the "Black Man's" church, especially among the indigenous leaders, and presumably, they had used the issue of education and the establishment of the college, as an inducement for support.
They had held out a number of promises and the IOUs were due.

Dwane bore the added pressure of being under constant ecclesiastical and personal attack. His churches were called "Caves of Adullam" to which the disaffected and the indebted could flee. His people were ridiculed for opting for "American negro" supervision over that of Europeans, an exchange which was described as not necessarily a "great improvement."\(^1\) The *South African Congregational Magazine* referred to the "curly pow" of the African ministers in a sarcastic and insulting article and Dwane was all but called a fool.\(^2\) It was at the height of these pressures that Dwane made his second trip to the United States.

Dwane arrived in New York, 26 October and made his way southward. As we have stated, his purpose for being in the States was to observe AME methodology and toward this end, he attended several sessions of various annual conferences at which he preached and lectured. At all of his stops, he

\(^{1}\) *The Christian Express*, July 1898.

\(^{2}\) *The South African Congregational Magazine*, August 1898. Bishop Turner said of the various critics: "If this is the civilization our European brethren are carrying into South Africa, the AMEC goes none too soon. . . . The idea of white Europeans reflecting upon the hair and black faces of the native Africans, and posing as the moral teachers of the same people shows beyond question they regard the native Africans fools. . . . We can now understand why our Ethiopian brethren desired unity with a church of their own kith and kin, with whom they could worship God on fraternal conditions." (Voice of Missions, December 1898).
told the story of his own personal conversion, and he put in a plea for his South African college which he proposed to call 'Turner Normal School.' He also had good words to say about the Senior Bishop, Henry McNeal Turner, praising him for his far-sightedness and vision. The conferences which he attended and which were held in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina all passed resolutions either endorsing his ordination as Vicar-Bishop or supporting and pledging money for his South African College scheme.

Dwane was eloquent and convincing, completely capturing the imagination of all who saw him. He was feted wherever he went even by the Southern whites whom he found (as Turner had found the Boers) to be courtly and courteous. Complimentary letters about Dwane poured into the Voice of Missions; babies and chapels were named after him. He completely vindicated the Bishop's faith in him and some minds were eased concerning the wisdom of appointing him Vicar-Bishop.

Parks later admitted that prior to Dwane's arrival, it was rumored within the church that the Vicar-Bishop would not meet Turner's high estimate.

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2 Ibid., pp. 193-199. 3 Voice of Missions, February 1899.
4 Coan, "Expansion," op. cit., p. 211.
5 The A.M.E. Christian Recorder, 2 March 1899.
Some minds were eased by Dwane's demeanor but not all. Josephous Coan characterized Turner's ordination of Dwane as Vicar-Bishop as an "emergency act" which was in fact subject to the approval of the Bishops' Council and the General Conference. Since the General Conference was not due to be convened until May, 1900, the Bishops' Council was the highest legislative body in the interim.\(^1\) The Council had gone on record as being "pleased" with Turner's efforts in South Africa and the resolution had been unanimously adopted by the Council.\(^2\) However, for months, the Church had been rife with rumors that Turner had contravened church law in his ordination action.\(^3\)

To be sure, Turner had his supporters. The *Voice of Missions* for June, July and August, 1898 and *The Christian Recorder* for August, 1898 carried articles of encouragement and endorsement for his action. But he had his detractors as well. And one of them, Bishop W. J. Gaines, said by Coan to be of "conservative" temperament,\(^4\) decided to voice his opposition publicly. Unfortunately, he decided to make his


\(^2\)The *A.M.E. Christian Recorder*, 30 June 1898.

\(^3\)Coan, "Expansion," *op. cit.*, p. 185.

opposition known in the midst of Dwane's American tour.

The Christian Recorder for 1 December 1898, published an article titled "Defence of Church Law" written by Gaines in which he took Turner to task for ordaining Dwane a Bishop, accusing him of having broken church law and saying among other things that if a new Bishop were necessary, he should have chosen an American. In his rebuttal printed in The Christian Recorder's December 15 edition, Turner pointed out that his action had been endorsed almost unanimously by the Bishops' Council (the report carried in The Christian Recorder said it had been unanimous) Gaines being the only exception, and he admitted that his action was subject to the General Conference's approval (although approval by the Bishops' Council made it an almost certainty.) Turner also contrasted Dwane's contribution to the Church with that of Gaines' saying in effect Dwane had given the Church some 12,000 members in less than three years and Gaines had not done as well in a whole lifetime. More important, he posed the question as to why Gaines waited so long to make his objections known.

Gaines countered Turner's arguments by charging him with "a usurpation of authority and a violation of the organic law of the A.M.E. Church." Gaines said that Turner had produced no justification for his action. He said that he had remained quiet for so long because Turner had assured him at the Bishops' Council meeting that he had not meant to
usurp the authority of the church, that he had only done what he thought was best for the church. As Gaines put it:

> While never doubting for one moment the illegality of his actions, I did not care, if it could possibly be avoided, to come into conflict with one of my colleagues. When . . . he persisted in his purpose and actually brought his self-appointed and self-elected Vicar-Bishop around among the conferences I thought it was time to speak out.¹

Although the editor of The Christian Recorder declared his neutrality on the issue of whether or not Turner violated church law, one wonders why the editor permitted the issue to be resurrected in such an open way and during the time when the subject in question, Dwane, was in the U.S. as a guest of the Church. Gaines' 29 December article was an insult to Dwane as a man and as an African. When the House of Bishops eventually ordered a moratorium on the discussion of the question in all the church organs,² the damage had already been done. The reverberations from the controversy had reached all the way to the Prime Minister's office in Cape Town.

Given the obvious strain under which Dwane must have been operating, he nevertheless presented an optimistic progress report on the South African work to the Bishops' Council meeting which convened in Baltimore, in early January, 1899.

¹The A.M.E. Christian Recorder, 29 December 1898.
²Voice of Missions, February 1899.
Dwane reported that in 1896 church membership stood at 3,000; when Turner arrived in South Africa it had increased to 10,000. As of January, 1899, another 1,000 members had been added. The work, he said, encompassed Cape Colony, Natal, Orange Free State, Transvaal, and the "native territories." Dwane's aim was to push upward and outward. He told the delegates that he had spoken to Cecil Rhodes about establishing a branch of the Church in Mashonaland.

The South Africans planned to venture into the Kalahari Desert and to cross the Zambezi in order to establish missions. The Abyssinian members of the Church who were working and living in South Africa pledged to infiltrate Egypt and Sudan as well. Dwane claimed that he had contacted Menelik and anticipated accompanying the Abyssinian missionaries back to their homeland where he would remain till the work was established.

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1Dwane told a Commercial Advertiser reporter that Rhodes had been "friendly" toward the idea of the proposed college and was prepared to employ its graduates (The A.M.E. Christian Recorder, 9 March 1899). The Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Joseph Hartzell, also claimed Rhodes' South Africa Company had given his church a tract of land in Eastern Rhodesia as well as some buildings which were to be used for MEC school purposes (Voice of Missions, October 1898). For more on Hartzell and Rhodes see his article, "American Methodism in Africa," The Missionary Review of the World, XXII, 8 (August 1909), 572.

2A. A. Morrison, the West Indian AME minister working in Cape Town, later suggested that Menelik should be approached with a view to establishing the AMEC in Abyssinia while he was in Paris at the 1900 Exposition. Bishop B. W. Arnett was also in Paris at the time but there
To be sure, Dwane felt humiliated by the controversy over his position as Vicar-Bishop which was raging within the Church. He had already been insulted and ridiculed in the South African press and he had come to the United States to be faced yet again with questions about his capabilities; questions which in part reflected on his being an African and which were raised by people within a church which purported to be particularly concerned with the salvation of their "kith and kin." His aggravation showed in his report.

Dwane had a number of things to say about the whole idea of African-Americans acting in the role of "Moses" leading his people out of "Egypt." He found much to be wanting in the men placed in the position of testing new ministers for ordination, a view also shared by Bishop Turner.\(^1\)

In point of fact, Dwane was in many ways as qualified if not

is no evidence to suggest that he met the Emperor let alone talked to him about the AMEC (Voice of Missions, August 1900). There is however a link of sorts between the AMEC and Menelik. William Henry Ellis, the millionaire "Moor" of Wall Street and an earlier supporter of emigration-to-Mexico, communicated with Turner about his commercial ideas for Africa. Emperor Menelik invited Ellis to Abyssinia to investigate the feasibility of American investment in the country. Ellis led an enormous caravan into Abyssinia and he was given a tumultuous welcome. (Voice of the People, October, 1903; Ellis to Turner September 21, 1903, Voice of the People, November 1903; Voice of the People, February 1904. See also: "Americanisation of Abyssinia, How a Negro Obtained a Treaty," The Review of Reviews, 28, #169 (January, 1904).

\(^1\)Voice of Missions, January, 1899.
more so than the average AME minister in the U.S. so far as education was concerned. Certainly his world view was more cosmopolitan in that he had travelled outside his own continent at least three times and doubtless this fact made the Gaines letter rankle even more.

Dwane also had some reservations about African-Americans going to Africa as missionaries. Perhaps Bishop Turner's visit to South Africa set him thinking about the wisdom of sending African-Americans to Africa in that the conference proceedings had to be translated for the Bishop and for the conference members. Dwane suggested that an African language be taught in AME universities as part of the curriculum for aspiring missionaries. There were clearly cultural considerations with which Bishop Turner had to contend, some of which he could not begin to comprehend. It was a situation which ultimately might have enormous consequences on the progress of the church.

In any case, Dwane told the Bishops' Council that he advocated self-sustaining missions run by indigenous ministers who could speak the language and appreciate the customs of the people for whom they labored. "Our great anxiety," he said, "is not to Europeanize Africans but to Christianize them." He told the Bishops that serious harm had been done by missionaries and teachers who did not understand and therefore could not appreciate the traditions of his people. And he theorized, just as African scholars, linguists
and ministers would be useless in the United States so also that in some quarters their presence would be "unacceptable to some few friends as mine have [sic] been." Dwane went on to say that he was not thin-skinned that he could take any amount of criticism but his sense of courtesy was such that he would oppose anyone in his country attempting to expose the shortcomings or limitations of a visitor.

Although Dwane found African-American ministers unacceptable, he did welcome Black American teachers and professors because he believed his people needed English medium instruction.\(^1\) Dwane then chided the church for sticking too closely to what he described as "little technicalities of law" which when they stood in the way of progress, of "bettering humanity," ought to have been ignored.

Dwane also spoke to the needs for a modification of AME polity to meet the peculiar needs of the South African situation. He suggested specifically that the term of service for ministerial appointments should be lengthened thus enabling the ministers to more effectively deal with the opposition to the work within South Africa, a request which

\(^1\) The medium of instruction is still very much a central issue within South Africa. The spark which set off the recent wave of riots in South Africa was the issue of English v. Afrikaans as the medium of school instruction. Dwane's position re: African-American ministers as opposed to teachers was based on some very practical considerations as well as cultural ones. His country had a sufficient number of African ministers. It was deficient in schools and qualified teachers.
was to be repeated four years later. And of course, Dwane once again put forth his theory that the success of the AMEC was directly linked to the provision of educational facilities for his people. The South African AME ministers who wrote to the *Voice* were self-supporting. From their local members they raised the funds with which to build and sustain mission stations and rudimentary schools. All they asked from the U.S. was money with which to build an institution of higher learning.\(^1\) The South African AMEs talked often about their branch of the church equalling the Mother Church in numbers and influence. They went to great pains to underline the fact that they did not want church support for their ministers or teachers. They only wanted aid in building and staffing their proposed college, all of which was in keeping with their vision of a basically federational relationship with the church in America; a vision prompted by, if nothing else, the reality of the immense distance between the two countries.

After listening to the report, the Secretary of the House of Bishops announced the Council's endorsement of the plan to establish a South African school "as soon as possible."

\(^1\)Arnett, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-45.
Government Pressure Begins

While Dwane was on tour in the U.S., the Native Affairs Department began to act on Dwane's site applications. The Superintendent of Native Affairs, W. E. Stanford, wrote to the Chief Magistrate of Tembuland, H. C. Elliot, asking him if he were prepared to recommend approval of the applications despite his previously stated reservations in his letter of 24 February. Stanford suggested that if the sites were approved and the church were in no other way treated as a recognized denomination, the government would not appear to be discriminatory thus garnering the AMEs some new, sympathetic recruits. Stanford pointed out that even if the sites were not approved, there was nothing to prevent the AMEs from procuring sites by purchase or application in other magistracies.¹

Elliot wrote back saying that he agreed with Stanford's views, that he was prepared to approve the site applications so long as the residents of the location approved of the AMEC presence in their location and so long as the AMEC understood that the sites were not permanently alienated to them. Elliot stated that in any case, the subject was purely academic for he was convinced the movement was a short-lived one. As he understood things,

¹W. E. Stanford to H. C. Elliot, 10 October 1898, NA 497.
the Church was wholly financed through local contributions and when competing with the other denominations which were supported from abroad, the AMEs had little chance of survival.\footnote{Ibid., Stanford to Elliot, 17 October 1898. Elliot made the same optimistic prediction to the Committee on the working of the Glen Grey Act. He dismissed any danger emanating from the movement. It was his belief that Africans were notoriously dependent on others for the support of their institutions \textit{(The Christian Express, 2 January 1899).}}

Although it would appear at this stage that Dwane's applications would be approved, his colleague, Joseph Moyedi, did not fare so well. His application was still pending in the Civil Commissioner's office. It had not even reached the Native Affairs Department. It will be recalled that the Civil Commissioner was not amenable to approving the site because he reckoned it was too close to a Wesleyan station and there had already been some friction between the two groups.

Nonetheless, Moyedi had gone ahead with construction on his proposed site. Initially he had approached the local headman who in turn approached the Superintendent of Native Locations, C. Dovey. Dovey asked Moyedi to file a formal application. Dovey then inspected the site accompanied by several AMEs, the headman and various onlookers. Dovey told the AMEs confidentially that they could have the site but he did not tell them publicly because he wanted to avoid a confrontation with the church's "enemies" whom he identified as Wesleyans. It seems that the Wesleyans were in the crowd accompanying him on his inspection of the
proposed site. Moyedi and his group commenced construction only to have a halt called to their activities eight months later by the Resident Magistrate, A. W. Preston. Preston had given the order because someone had lodged a complaint with his office. It is not difficult to guess who made the complaint.

The Resident Magistrate, accompanied by the local Wesleyan minister and Superintendent Dovey, called another meeting at the location. A headcount was taken to see how many belonged to the AME and Wesleyan churches. There turned out to be more AMEs. Not satisfied, Preston asked the headman who authorized the construction. The headman feigned ignorance of the whole affair. Moyedi was asked who gave him permission to commence building on the site and Moyedi simply said a magistrate (giving no name) gave him permission. Dovey said nothing. The Resident Magistrate announced that construction was not to be renewed but if the AMEs wished, they could have another site, at a greater distance from the Wesleyan station. However, the procedure for site allocation would have to begin afresh.

The AMEs asked Preston if he were acting under government's instruction, if he had the support of government for his action, and if there were in fact rules governing specified distances between different churches. The Resident Magistrate answered in the negative to all three questions.
At a later date, the AMEs again approached Preston about the hardship under which they suffered due to his orders out-lawing construction on the site. The Resident Magistrate remained firm in his decision and told them if they wished they could apply for another site. He chastized them for building without his specific consent and he had some unflattering things to say about their church. The delegation asked him why he did not take the matter up with their supervisor, James Dwane to which the Resident Magistrate responded that neither he nor government recognized Dwane as the head of anything and he threatened to use all his influence with government to keep them out of his district. The AMEs informed him that they were going to take the matter to a higher authority for they considered his action arbitrary and high-handed. They pointed out that prior to their advent, all church sites in the district had been allocated by the headman with the permission of the Superintendent of Native Locations.  

The AMEs made good their threat to take their grievance to a higher authority. P. J. Mavavana, Presiding Elder of the Queenstown district, and H. R. Ngcayiya, a district minister, sent off a telegram to the Prime Minister's office accusing Preston of having "entangled" himself in a

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church site matter.¹ The telegram was passed on to the Under Secretary of Agriculture who assured Mavavana that the matter was being looked into and the results would be communicated to him. Mavavana and Ngcayiya sent off a similar telegram to the Commissioner of Public Works.² The two men also sent off a packet containing a copy of their original site application as well as a full report on the various location meetings involving Preston, Inspector Dovey the headman and themselves. They requested the Commissioner of Public Works to allow them to personally meet with him at which time they would fully explain their case.³

For obvious reasons, the AMEs were incensed. They felt that they had borne the brunt of some arbitrary and for them, unprecedented action on the part of their Resident Magistrate. In spite of Dovey's endorsement of their application, a Wesleyan minister had approached Preston and on the basis of his objections, the Resident Magistrate

¹Ibid., 15 November 1898.

²Republic of South Africa Government Archives, Cape Town, Correspondence Files No. 896 1899-1902, "Papers Relating to the African Methodist Episcopal Church, African Native Church, Presbyterian Church of Africa, Ethiopian Church Movement, National Baptist Church of America," NA 498. Mavavana et al. to Commissioner of Public Works, 17 November 1898.

³Mavavana et al. to Commissioner of Public Works, 19 November 1898, NA 497.
was prepared to overlook Superintendent Dovey's endorsement. The AMEs were unwilling to sit idly by and accept the Resident Magistrate's decision, which he admitted was made without consultation from his superiors. Thus the churchmen lodged a complaint with the Resident Magistrate's superiors, a complaint which was highly critical in tone. The fact that Preston was by-passed very likely made the AMEs even more unpalatable to him. It should be recalled that his district, Herschel, had been the seat of religious ferment since the heyday of Nehemiah Tile.

The various communications sent by the AMEs to the Prime Minister and other officials obviously forced government to pay some notice. In November, 1898, W. E. Stanford circulated a memorandum on, "Applications from AMEC for grants of land for Church and School Purposes."

Stanford stated in the memo that the question of to what extent the newly emerged African independent churches should be recognized by government was increasingly capturing government's attention in two ways: (1) the recognition of the ministers as marriage officers; (2) the allocation of land sites for church and school purposes.

At that point the Native Affairs Department was aware of only 3 African independent churches: Mzimba's Presbyterian breakaway group; Goduka's breakaway Wesleyan group, \(^1\) and

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\(^1\)It will be recalled that at an early point in the history of the Ethiopian Church, Goduka joined forces with
Dwane's AMEs. Of the three, only AME marriage certificates were accepted by government because the AMEC had produced evidence demonstrating that it was a recognized body in the U.S.

Stanford recommended that a law be passed defining what constituted a minister of religion and specifying which churches would be recognized as competent to ordain ministers as marriage officers. He suggested that only those bodies organized on a "sound and permanent" basis should be so recognized and that new denominations should be recognized only when they had demonstrated stability; he defined stability as existence for a specified extended period.

As regards the AME church site applications, the Superintendent's view was that since the AMEC had no funds with which to purchase land, the church was at the mercy of government. To refuse the church sites would only make its members martyrs thus causing "ill-feeling and general unrest." In his opinion, the best course would be to approve the applications on the understanding that the sites were on loan and that they could be used for no purpose other than for schools and churches. Stanford attached to his memo copies of The Christian Express articles to demonstrate the attitude of the established missions toward the AMEC.¹

Mokone and some of the former "Tilites" joined the Baptist Church under Tule. Evidently by 1898, Goduka had once again formed his own "Church of Africa."

¹Stanford Memorandum, 30 November 1898, NA 497.
There are two points that should be stressed about this memorandum: (1) the government was in 1898 accepting marriage forms submitted by AME ministers because the government was satisfied that the AMEC was a recognized church; (2) the Superintendent was calling for the enactment of totally new legislation which would seriously curtail the effectiveness of new religious persuasions and so also the leaders of these new groups. To withhold recognition from a body which had not been in existence for an extended period of time was to effectively neutralize it and insure that it would never meet the "stability" criterion.

In the meantime, Mavavana and Ngcayiya sent a petition to J. W. Sauer, member of the Legislative Assembly and one of Jabavu's triad of "friendly members," to the "Native Cause," the other two being Richard Rose-Innes and John X. Merriman. The two men petitioned Sauer to speak to the Prime Minister on their behalf. They reiterated their claim that Preston had subjected them to unnecessary hardship by halting their site construction which had been ongoing for

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1 It should be recalled that Mavavana and Ngcayiya worked in areas on which Sauer was dependent for votes. Jabavu worked unceasingly for the election of these men, touting them as friendly to the interests of the African and so it is predictable that the two AME ministers would approach him with their problem. For more on Jabavu and African participation in Cape electoral politics see Stanley Trapido's, "African Divisional Politics in the Cape Colony 1884 to 1910," Journal of African History, IX, I (1968), 79-98 and Edward Roux, op. cit., Chapter VII.
eight months. They pointed out to Sauer that Dwane had laid the cornerstone of the building at a special service held in July, 1898. The Vicar-Bishop had duly informed the Resident Magistrate of his intention to do so and Preston had raised no objection. They told Sauer that the Resident Magistrate had in fact only raised an objection three months later at the instigation of a Wesleyan minister. The two men pointed out that the Resident Magistrate's action was arbitrary in that they had applied for the site in the usual manner under Act 37, Section 15 of 1884 which empowered the Inspector of Native Locations to grant church and school sites.¹

Sauer forwarded the petition to Prime Minister Schreiner along with a note reminding him that it pertained to a matter on which they had conversed on a number of occasions.²

Given the Stanford memorandum and Sauer's representations as well as the AME communications to his office, the Prime Minister was moved to make a statement on the site applications and requests for marriage officer recognition. Schreiner submitted a communication to his Ministers in which he advocated the "liberal approach" in dealing with the African religious bodies. In his words, the new

¹Petitioners to Sauer, 7 December 1898, NA 497.
²Ibid., Sauer to Prime Minister, 9 December 1898.
denominations owed their inception to "a race feeling" and the desire on the part of Africans for religious independence from Europeans.

Schreiner viewed the movement as "inevitable" and capable of producing "grave consequences" but he nonetheless found the articles in The Christian Express "intolerant" and a reflection on the Presbyterians' sincerity as Christians, a sentiment he was sure was not lost on the Africans.

The Prime Minister viewed all religions as equally useful to the magistrates and so he could not see why the African churchmen should not be placed on par with their white counterparts since both taught the same doctrines. "It may be inconvenient," he said, "but I think it is just."

As far as the ratification of marriages was concerned, the Prime Minister did not see why a man of Mzimba's qualifications should not be permitted to ratify a civil contract. He was as capable as "the very illiterate gentleman who acts as Inspector of Native Locations."

Though Schreiner tended to view the movement with benevolence he was still somewhat uneasy about the ultimate consequences of it. He concluded his communication:

... I dread and dislike the movement and still more the spirit that seems to underlie it, and I wish I could regard these native stirrings with the

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1 In the final copy of the communication, the word "illiterate" was deleted. It is important to note that these "illiterate" men immediately affected the activities of the African ministers.
same cheerful optimism that the Chief Magistrate of Tembuland evinces.1

Again, we have another cautious but basically unalarmed attitude toward the church independents on the part of a government official, this time the Prime Minister himself. He expresses some misgivings about the movement but he is willing to concede to the African churchmen their rights as churchmen, as Christians and their rights as ministers to ratify marriages.

In any case Dwane's site applications were still pending in Stanford's office in the beginning of the new year, in spite of the Superintendent's earlier assertion in his memorandum of 30 November that he was inclined to grant the site requests and in spite of the Chief Magistrate of Tembuland, H. C. Elliot's expressed willingness to endorse the applications. Before giving his final approval, Stanford ordered Elliot to have the Resident Magistrates for each of the locations concerned to submit reports to him detailing: how long the AMEs had been in their respective locations; how often they conducted church services; what number and "class" of people attended the services; what the percentage of membership was vis-a-vis the remainder of the location population; whether the residents were amenable to the church being established in the location; what other denominations

1 Schreiner Memorandum, 17 December 1898, NA 497.
were operating in the location and the approximate distances between the proposed sites and the established missions.¹

The reports submitted by the Resident Magistrates were all unfavorable. In several instances the Resident Magistrates relied on Wesleyan sources for their information. And so it is not surprising that the Resident Magistrates all alleged that the AME residents were in the minority and that the majority of the location residents were opposed to the establishment of the AMEC. The Resident Magistrate for the Seplan district went so far as to say that the establishment of new churches in his district was unnecessary. Because the Wesleyans and Anglicans were already operating in his district and had been doing so for a number of years, he saw no reason to allow the Africans an alternative to the two denominations. Moreover he stated that a new church would only cause dissen¬sion within the location. It was his opinion that the AMEC adherents were composed of people who had left the various denominations because they were unwilling to submit to the required discipline.²

On the basis of these reports Stanford circulated a memorandum stating that due to the opposition of the location residents, the Resident Magistrates and the Chief Magistrate,  

¹Ibid., Stanford to Elliot, 30 January 1899.  
²Ibid., Resident Magistrate Seplan to Chief Magistrate Tembuland, n.d.
he could not see his way clear to approve Dwane's applications. He proposed informing Dwane that the government would not refuse any "reasonable" requests for sites, but it could not endorse his present applications because the feelings of the majority of the location residents had to be taken into consideration.

Stanford suggested that Dwane should in future select sites in areas where he had the support of the majority of the people and that he be made to understand that under no circumstances would title to land be granted to him or to his church. Schreiner approved his Superintendent of Native Affairs' recommendations and instructed that a letter be sent to Dwane setting forth the points Stanford raised. In fact, earlier in the year Schreiner told Stanford that it was "unwise and of questionable legality" to approve sites for every "self-constituted" leader of a new church. He did admit that Dwane was in a "special position" as were those associated with him because they held some claim to recognition due to the fact that they had produced documents to the Sprigg government showing that Dwane had been set apart and ordained as a Bishop by the church in America. In addition, he had a considerable following, particularly in the Herschel division where the Prime Minister had already approved a site. He told Stanford that because he had

\[1\text{Ibid.},\ Stanford\ Memorandum,\ 22\ June\ 1899.\]
approved one site did not mean he would do so again. "Every case," he said, "must be considered on its own merits as it arises." The Prime Minister stated that at that point he had no evidence which would justify Dwane's requests of February 1898.¹

Thus, Dwane's applications were denied on the grounds that the majority of the location residents were said to have been against the establishment of the AMEC in their locality. And it would appear that the Resident Magistrates and the Chief Magistrate based their disapproval on the same grounds: the majority ruled.

In the beginning of the new year, Mavavana was once again sending communications to the Prime Minister concerning his site application (for the Ndofela Location) and he even went to Cape Town during the parliamentary sessions to put forth his complaints. He informed the Prime Minister that he had sent two petitions to his office and had received no reply to either. He told the Prime Minister that he very much regretted having to write so often but his persistency was prompted by the fact that his letters went unanswered. Mavavana repeated his argument that the Resident Magistrate had been arbitrary in his decision to put a stop to construction on the site and he stressed the fact that his people were being unfairly treated. He pointed out that they had

¹Ibid., Schreiner to Stanford, 21 January 1899.
invested money in the building which was being destroyed by the elements and after all their money and effort, they still had nowhere to worship properly.\footnote{Ibid., Mavavana to Prime Minister, 16 January 1899.}

The Prime Minister instructed Stanford to reply to Mavavana assuring him that his problem was receiving government's attention. Stanford wrote Mavavana telling him that the Prime Minister was giving the matter his personal attention because of all the controversy surrounding it. Stanford told Mavavana he must understand that the Superintendent of Native Locations had no power to approve sites because he was an officer with "limited powers." It was the Prime Minister's view that Mavavana and his people had been hasty in assuming that their Superintendent of Native Locations had the final word. In any case, the site originally selected was "inconveniently" near an established denomination "whose claims for consideration it is impossible to overlook." Therefore a new site was in order. Mavavana was further told that the Prime Minister had instructed and empowered the Resident Magistrate to point out a new site for the AMEs but they were to understand that he was not making a grant of land to the AMEC; he was only allowing them to occupy it.\footnote{Ibid., Draft letter from Schreiner to Stanford, 21 January 1899.} The Civil Commissioner did in
fact select a site for the AMEs to everyone's apparent satisfaction and it was allocated on the following conditions: The land was not AME titled property; it could not be sublet nor could it be used for other than church and school purposes; no compensation would be made by government for any improvements made on the site and on government notice, the AMEs had to vacate the land.¹

While all the action concerning the sites was transpiring in South Africa, Dwane was still touring the United States, rounding up support for his South African college. After giving his report to the Bishops' Council, he made his way to Wilberforce in order to visit with the South African students in residence. After some speaking engagements in Philadelphia and New Jersey, Dwane left for Cape Town.²

The Vicar-Bishop left the United States in an outwardly, reasonable, friendly and optimistic mood and, with good reason. He had made a creditable showing as an orator, well justifying Bishop Turner's faith in his talents; he had made a good case for the South African college over which he expected to be head and he had received pledges of support for the scheme as well as some concrete contributions from various sources.

¹Ibid., Civil Commissioner to Moyedi, 30 March 1899.
The Alabama Annual Conference responded to his college appeal by electing a soliciting agent for the college fund. Later in the year, a general collecting agent and treasurer for the South African college was appointed. In his verbal appeals, the agent told his audiences that the South African Government had promised to provide matching funds for any monies raised by them and he pointed out that one of the African kings had volunteered 500 workmen to help with the college's construction.\(^1\) A number of Black academicians volunteered to go to South Africa to staff the college but as the Bishop pointed out, first things first. The college had to be built. Turner urged that the 1900 General Conference appropriate enough money to begin a skeletal college to be activated by the end of 1901 or mid 1902 at the very latest.\(^2\)

Bishop Turner announced in the *Voice* that Dwane was confident that unless "some unforeseen evil" befell the church in Africa or "some unwise policy or interference" by the members in the U.S. was fostered on the Church in Africa, there was no reason why the Church in Africa could not rival the Mother Church in numbers and influence within ten years.\(^3\)

\(^1\)The *A.M.E. Christian Recorder*, 9 November 1899.

\(^2\) *Voice of Missions*, August 1899.

\(^3\) *Voice of Missions*, December 1898.
En route to his ship, Dwane gave an interview to a reporter from *The Commercial Advertiser*. He spoke on a variety of subjects one of which was emigration. He assured the reporter that he was not working toward the establishment of a colony of emigrating Blacks though he did feel Southern Blacks would have their condition ameliorated in South Africa. Parks who was accompanying the Vicar-Bishop to the ship, assured the reporter that the AME Missionary Board did not favor emigration to Africa. In part, Parks made this statement for fear that his fund-raising scheme for the South African college would become embroiled in the old, go/stay-at-home controversy then raging in the U.S. and managed center-stage by Bishop Turner.

Dwane also talked to the reporter about the South African college telling him that it would be open to all ethnic groups in the various South African republics and colonies.

Dwane arrived back in South Africa in March, 1899, only to be greeted by another scathing attack on the AMEC published in *The Christian Express*. The Free Church of Scotland was still smarting over Mzimba's secession and his insistence on taking Church of Scotland property with him.¹

¹For more on Mzimba's secession, see Sheila Brock's, "James Stewart and Lovedale; A Reappraisal of Missionary Attitudes and African Response in the Eastern Cape, South Africa 1870-1905" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Edinburgh University, 1974). See also L. N. Mzimba's
His action and that of other dissidents had been triggered, said the editor,

by that arch mischiefmaker the black Bishop Turner of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. This man's action has resulted in poisoning the minds of the natives against the whites, fomenting disruption, and encouraging suspicion and discontent.

The editor rather derisively predicted that Dwane would undoubtedly return from his U.S. tour "laden with cheap degrees."¹

The Mzimba case, which was taken before the Supreme Court, captured quite a bit of press attention and it was certainly a major topic of conversation within ecclesiastical circles. Schreiner accompanied by his Superintendent of Native Affairs, toured the Eastern Provinces of the Cape in early March. One of his stops was Lovedale and it is almost certain that the subject of the various independent African ministers came up for discussion. After all, the Prime Minister had been for some time receiving letters from disgruntled AMEs who were still awaiting a decision on their site applications and Sauer mentioned that he had discussed the matter with the Prime Minister on several occasions.

While Schreiner was on tour, it seems that Dwane

¹The Christian Express, 7 March 1899.
met with him in Queenstown. It is likely that Dwane requested the meeting and certainly one topic under discussion was the Gaines letter calling into question Dwane's ordination as Vicar-Bishop. The details of the meeting are sketchy but according to a later account, Dwane allegedly admitted that his appointment had been questioned and he promised to obtain a document from the U.S. which would prove that Bishop Turner's action had the Church's full endorsement.1

Dwane subsequently submitted to Schreiner a declaration written by Bishop Turner and co-signed by B. W. Arnett as Secretary of the Bishops' Council which stated:

The said Vicar-Bishop, James M. Dwane, located at Queenstown Cape Colony, South Africa, is hereby reappointed and assigned to the supervision of the said missionary field, and as the Vicar or Suffragan Bishop, in the absence of the regular Bishop of Africa will superintend, direct and represent the said Missionary work. . . . We . . . ask for the said Vicar, respect Christian courtesy and such kindness and charity as a messenger of the Lord of Host is entitled to.2

This certified document was dated 9 February 1899 and was written while Dwane was still in the U.S. Presumably he hand-carried it back to South Africa.

In his capacity as head of the church in South Africa, James Dwane convened the Transvaal Annual Conference on 29 March 1899 in Bloemfontein and the South African Annual

1Stanford to Schreiner, 28 August 1899, NA 497.

2Ibid.
Conference in Debe 12 April 1899. The conferences sent a joint address to the House of Bishops in which the delegates traced the history of white missionary endeavor in South Africa.

They expressed their gratitude to the white missionaries for their "Christianizing and civilizing" influence but they emphasized their belief that the time had come when "the man of this country must not take a secondary place but a leading part in the evangelization of Africa."

It was their view that the European missionaries had made the breakthrough and that was all one could properly expect from them. The delegates stated that given the long tradition of white missionary activity in South Africa, the overall results were not impressive. They said that European missionaries were often ignorant of the customs and traditions and languages of the people among whom they worked in addition to which European missionaries,

belong to another nation, their color is different ... their ideas are different and their sympathies are very often not with the people among whom they labor.

Moreover, the delegates suggested that European missionaries were needed in their own countries of origin where superstition and heathenism were just as rampant as in Africa. Therefore, said the delegates, indigenous missionaries would have to be trained and activated, hence their merger with
the AMEC "the oldest Colored and African Church."\(^1\) It grieved the delegates that the various white missionaries opposed and maligned their organization. However, the delegates assured the Council that the work was progressing considering that in the Orange Free State especially, "some municipalities take prominent part in religious persecutions." Because of white missionary influence, AME ministers were said to be imprisoned and barred from attending and visiting the congregations within their jurisdiction.

The delegates thanked the AMEC and Bishop Turner for the reception Dwane received on his 1896 visit. They thanked the Bishop for consecrating Dwane a Vicar-Bishop and the House of Bishops for endorsing the ordination and in a diplomatic move, they thanked the Church for the election of a "regular" Bishop for South Africa to be selected at the forthcoming General Conference. The delegates ended their address with a reaffirmation of their loyalty to the AMEC.\(^2\)

Benjamin W. Arnett as Secretary for the House of Bishops sent a reply to the Transvaal and South African

\(^1\)This position concerning European missionaries prompted one Moravian to theorize that the activities of the independents would lead to a "native rising." As he viewed it, missionaries were the first on the independents' list of disposable people and the magistrates were second. (E. M. Green, "Native Unrest in South Africa," The Nineteenth Century, November 1899), 710.

\(^2\)Arnett, op. cit., pp. 50-53.
Conference delegates. He told them that the Council rejoiced at the hopeful contents of the address. He assured them that the AMEC had at one time also been recipients of white aid but they were now able to manage their own spiritual and financial affairs just as he was sure they would be able to do in the future. It was time, said Arnett, for the African race as a whole to show to the world that it could, like other races, assume responsibility for its own well-being in every sphere. Arnett went on:

... Self-dependence, racial manhood, and the power to manufacture good conditions out of bad and discouraging surroundings is the one great need, so far as it relates to the children of Africa in any and every part of the globe. ... The African races are one whatever their tribal differences may be; or whether they live upon the continent of Africa, or in Asia, America, Europe or upon the Isles of the Sea. ... our interests civilly, religiously, industrially, and educationally should be one and inseparable, and may our Heavenly Father help you, as ministers of our great AMEC, to preach, teach and exemplify in your lives this great doctrine upon which our future, as one race and people, so much depend.¹

One result of the Dwane visit to the U.S. was a renewed interest by the Church and a feeling of obligation toward foreign missions.² This renewal was manifested by the

¹Arnett, op. cit., pp. 54-9. Given his sentiments on the unity of the Race, it is not surprising that Arnett attended the 1900 Pan-African Conference and took part in a panel discussion with DuBois. (Immanuel Geiss, The Pan-African Movement (London: Metheun & Co., Ltd., 1974), p. 188). The precedent set by Arnett became a tradition of sorts in that an AME Bishop was present at the most recent Pan-African Congress in Dar es Salaam and his remarks sparked a standing ovation.

²Coan, "Expansion," op. cit., p. 213.
drive for a South African college which was spearheaded by H. B. Parks, the Secretary of Missions.

For the month of March, 1899, *The Voice of Missions* and the *Christian Recorder* were filled with articles with such titles as "The Kaffir University," "The Queenstown College," "Africans for Africa," "The Redemption of Africa The American Negro's Burden" and "Vicar Bishop Dwane, The Connecting Link," all written by Parks and all written to arouse excitement and interest in the South African mission work. The articles were later compiled by Parks into an extraordinary little book titled *Africa: The Problem of the New Century—The Part the African Methodist Episcopal Church is to have in its Solution.*

As Parks viewed the situation, Africa was and would continue to be the focal point of European expansion. The European presence in Africa could either benefit the African or it could irrevocably harm him. Parks theorized that the African would either "fall in step" with European advancement or he would be degenerated by the alcohol and "miscellaneous vice" of the European or he would be exterminated. Accommodation was the desired end and to enable the African to "fall in step" with the onslaught of western civilization, the African needed Christianity and industrial education; the AMEC through its Foreign Missionary Department was in a unique position to provide both.
The proposed industrial college was to be a school "of Africans, taught by Africans, for Africans." The nucleus for the teaching staff would come from the 17 South African students then studying in the United States. Parks pointed out that the 17 students knew the languages and customs of their people and had never lost touch with them. This small group would teach the children of the various village heads who would then return home to their villages which were theoretically inaccessible to Europeans and would prepare their people for the onslaught of western civilization. The college would eventually become self-sustaining in that its alumni, South Africa's future African doctors, lawyers and engineers, would contribute to its coffers.

The initial support for the school had to come from African-Americans because, said Parks,

> The white man might aid him, but he would do so as a patron. The Negro of civilization will aid him as a brother. That is the kind of aid he wants.

Parks described the Africans as proud people who were willing and anxious to help themselves; their independent religious movement was proof of that. As he viewed it, they only wanted a helping hand much as the African-American wanted and needed

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2 Voice of Missions, March 1899.
3 The A.M.E. Christian Recorder, 30 March 1899.
after the Civil War. Parks said that it was incumbent on Black Americans to come to the aid of South Africans not only because of an obligation based on racial affinity but because it was the chance for the Black man to show the world community what he could accomplish in the international arena and in a manner the world could no longer afford to ignore. "One word of approval," he said, "and recognition from such an audience (the world powers) will do more to improve your condition at home than months of legislation."  

The Secretary of Missions emphasized that his was not an emigration scheme, he asked no one to go to Africa. All he asked was a financial contribution with which to launch the project. He implored his audience to talk to their neighbors and friends to make it a race effort much as the Irish-American community did in their struggle for Home Rule.

To raise the money for his college, Parks called for the formation of an organization to be called "The Henry McNeil Turner Crusaders of the Twentieth Century." He envisioned the Crusaders as a union of Blacks which would not only aid in the "evangelization" and "civilization" of Africa but as an organization which would unite all Blacks "in a proper race spirit." Blacks would not only aid their kin but would learn the value of concerted action. Thus membership in the Crusaders was not limited to members of the AMEC but was open

1Ibid., 23 March 1899.
to anyone with "the good of their race at heart."¹

Parks' targeted sum was $100,000 and given the membership of the AMEC--some 800,000 people--he believed it was not an unreasonable sum. To launch the project, Parks asked for a $30,000 Easter Day Collection. Since the Board of Missions traditionally received 1/3 of the Easter Day Collection, he calculated $10,000 was enough to begin a skeleton college the buildings of which would house the soon-to-be graduated South African students.²

In his Easter Day appeal, Bishop Turner stressed how "heroically" the Vicar-Bishop was laboring for the church in South Africa. He promised to publish the names and amounts from contributors, a listing which would be read in the U.S., and abroad. B. W. Arnett called on everyone--man, woman and child--with a drop of African blood to contribute to the "redemption" of the land of their ancestors; Africa would be "redeemed" and the race would be "vindicated." He asked the AMEs to do their duty to God, Church, and race.³

¹Parks, op. cit., p. 61.
²Voice of Missions, March 1899.
³The A.M.E. Christian Recorder, 30 March 1899.
The Pressure Intensifies

Back in South Africa, the AMEs were pressing forward in their site allocation attempts. The Rev. M. J. Mpumulwana, minister in the Kingwilliamstown district, applied for a site at Cisira in the Peddie Division. He sent the request to the Civil Commissioner who in a reply informed the minister that he had no power to act on the request and he suggested that Mpumulwana send a formal application to him which he would forward to the proper authorities. Mpumulwana's application is important because in dealing with it, government instituted two new stipulations: (1) The minister was requested to have all the adult members of his church sign his application form and (2) he was asked to enclose a sketch of the grounds on which the proposed site was located.¹

In July 1899, Stanford finally got round to replying to Dwane's request of 15 February 1898 in which he had asked for four sites. Stanford told Dwane that the Prime Minister was still not satisfied that his ordination had been approved by the Church in America and that he was still waiting for the certified document Dwane promised to supply during their meeting at Queenstown; the document which would prove that his ordination was no longer in dispute.

¹Civil Commissioner to J. Mpumulwana, 26 June 1899, NA 497.
Stanford told Dwane that his government had to respect the wishes of the people in the locations concerned and from all the evidence he had been able to gather, the majority of the people in the locations were not AMEs and they were opposed to the establishment of his church in their locations.

Under the circumstances said Stanford, he could not approve the sites selected and he suggested that in the future, Dwane should only apply for sites in those areas where he had the support of the people. Stanford assured Dwane that if those conditions were met, the Prime Minister would be only too happy to consider his applications. He told Dwane that it must be clearly understood that under no circumstances would title be granted.¹

In reply, Dwane told Stanford that he had instructed Mokone (who was then living in Cape Town having been transferred there from the Transvaal during Bishop Turner's reorganization of April, 1898) to hand-deliver one of his credentials as Vicar-Bishop to the Native Affairs Department. Dwane attached to his letter a list of AME ministers and their addresses. He carefully notated those who were marriage officers.²

¹Ibid., Stanford to Dwane, 5 July 1899.
²Ibid., Dwane to Stanford, 23 July 1899.
By July 28, Mokone had apparently not produced the promised credential. Stanford wrote to Dwane telling him that his letter of the 23rd made no mention of the question of whether the validity of his appointment was pending the next General Conference or whether the action of Bishop Turner was "under question as ultra vires." He told Dwane that the promised document certifying his ordination had not yet reached him and that the only document he had received was the Turner declaration of 9 February, 1899.\(^1\) It would appear that the Turner declaration which clearly stated that Dwane had been reappointed as Vicar-Bishop to South Africa held no weight at all with the government. The government wanted documentary proof that the "General Assembly" or the "Synod" approved the appointment. This stipulation was an impossible one since the General Conference was not due to convene till May of 1900. In any case, during the interim, the Bishops' Council was authorized to speak for the General Conference.

The following month, Dwane went to Cape Town to see Stanford. He asked the Superintendent why further inquiries were being made into the validity of his ordination when he had already produced the Turner declaration; a document which was co-signed by the Secretary of the House of Bishops, the

\(^1\)Ibid., Stanford to Dwane, 28 July 1899.
highest legislative body between General Conferences. Dwane allegedly told Stanford that given the Turner declaration, nothing more could be required of him.

Stanford rebutted by saying that at his Queenstown meeting with Schreiner he had promised to submit an excerpt from the Minutes of the General Conference attesting to the fact that it supported Turner's actions. Dwane denied promising to produce such a document which he considered unnecessary and impossible to produce since no General Conference had convened since 1896. Dwane did, however, give Stanford a copy of the Bishops' Council address to the Transvaal and South African Conferences. In a cover letter to the address which was sent to Mokone, Arnett instructed him to "use this to the best advantage of the church and the interest of the members. You will consult with Superintendent James M. Dwane, as he is your official head" (underlining mine). Arnett ended his letter:

You will convey my hearty and cordial greetings to each member of the church, conference and the numerous friends of the self-government of the Negro race.\(^1\) I remain, Yours for God and the Race.

We have already referred to the "pan-African" sentiments expressed in the address but the address also contained some pertinent statements on Dwane's ordination as Vicar-Bishop. Arnett said of the action:

\(^1\)In the copy of the address sent to Schreiner, Stanford or someone from his office underlined "friends of the self-government of the Negro race."
It was an extraordinary act upon the part of our senior, to venture upon the consecration, even of a subordinate Bishop, without authority from the General Conference, but the extra occasion and unique circumstances surrounding the work in South Africa, and the feeling that the Ethiopian Church, which had sunk itself in the African M.E. Church, was justly entitled, though small in number, to consideration.

The House of Bishops, almost unanimously endorsed and even commended the act of our senior, while the ministry and laity of our church, are practically unanimous in their approval. . . . The action of our ensuing General Conference will settle every issue, and remove all doubts and silence all speculation.

Stanford passed the Arnett address on to Schreiner who said that it did not demonstrate the General Conference’s approval of the ordination. He instructed Stanford to forward Dwane's list of marriage officers to the Government Registrar. Schreiner told Stanford:

I am not inspired with much confidence in Mr. Dwane by his denial of the promise made to me at Queenstown.¹

It is difficult to imagine that Dwane did not explain to the Prime Minister that his General Conference was not scheduled to meet till 1900. And so one can only assume that Schreiner and Stanford were being deliberately obstructionist in their refusal to subscribe any importance to the two documents submitted to them. Both documents clearly stated that Dwane was the resident supervisor and spokesman for the Church in South Africa.

¹Stanford to Schreiner, 28 August 1899, NA 497.
Though all was not well with the church in South Africa, and it is questionable whether the Bishop was kept fully informed of the problems, the South Africans continued to send optimistic letters to the Bishop who published them in the Voice of Missions.

Horatio Scott, the Black American working for the British South Africa Company, wrote from Port Elizabeth, describing the enthusiasm and optimism which flowed from the Annual Conferences Dwane had convened in March and April. Blacks, Whites and Coloureds attended the sessions. Being the only African-American present, Scott said that he was made especially welcome. Monies were collected and those who had none to give donated sheep, goats and cattle. Dwane ordained a large number of men deacons and elders. Scott reported:

All seemed to have enjoyed themselves and to be enthused with a desire to advance the movement of the AMEC here in Africa. . . . Whenever the school is started here it will establish confidence in the AME movement, so we are all anxiously waiting to see that institution of learning.

Scott once again called for Black American emigrants to take hold of the millions of acres of "unoccupied" fertile land on which they could grow all varieties of products benefiting their own well-being and acting as object lessons for their African brethren. He said that Europeans were "grabbing" land while Blacks sat in America arguing over whether or not to leave the country. As a result,
this very land all belongs to European powers,
the black man who once owned his home and
thousands of heads of cattle . . . has now to
travel through the land with a pass in his
pocket.1

Simon H. Sinamela, who was operating out of the
Orange Free State, took issue with the anti-emigration
stance of Bishops Derrick and Grant. (Grant had just com-
pleted a tour of West Africa earlier in the year). Sinamela
viewed their positions as an affront to Africans whom Sinamela
pointed out were every bit as capable as the Black college
graduates in the U.S. Sinamela admitted that his people
did not have the benefits of higher education but he assured
the readers of the Voice that they did have "sense mountains
high."2 He encouraged Bishop Turner to continue in his
efforts to have the "House of Ham" return home, away from
the murder and manslaughter rampant in the U.S.3

1 Scott to the AMEC, 24 April 1899, Voice of Missions,
June 1899.

2 This phraseology is certainly in the Turner mold.
The Christian Express predicted that the Bishop's "high
falutin style" of writing would not fail "to touch a
responsive chord in the minds of certain native preachers."
(The Christian Express, 1 December 1898).

3 Sinamela to Turner, 15 May 1899, Voice of Missions,
August 1899. This particular time period in the History
of Blacks in America has been termed the "nadir" of their
existence. The South Africans took to heart the plight
of U.S. Blacks during this period for it was graphically
detailed every month in the Voice of Missions. For a
definitive account of this period, see Rayford Logan's
The Betrayal of the Negro (New York: Collier Books,
1968).
Mokone wrote to the Bishop informing him that Sinamela's new church at Kroonstad had been named Mangena's Chapel and had nearly been paid for. As he described it, "the whole location turned out to see the Coons open their own place of worship." Mokone reported that things were not going as well with the Cape Town AMEs. They were still paying prohibitive rents for public halls. He prayed for donations with which to build a place worthy of the members in the Cape. This was one of the few instances when the South Africans actually asked for money from America with which to build a church. The other churches which were built were all paid for with local funds and so for the most part the structures were not particularly imposing. Mokone probably felt that because Cape Town was a large city with the richest potential members it demanded a commanding building.

In the meantime, the AMEs tried a new tactic in applying for church and school sites. A local headman named Duda applied in behalf of the "Ethiopian Society" for some specific sites in his Bitšikana location in Queenstown.¹

¹The AMEC had also applied for a grant-in-aid for one of their schools in Lesseyton in the Queenstown division. It was said to be situated in the midst of an old Wesleyan mission station and 400 yards distant from the government aided school operated by the Wesleyans. In a school inspector's report on the situation he described the school as,

"nothing else but an opposition school started in
The lots he chose had been set aside for educational purposes but they had been applied for by a congregational minister, L. G. Jones, who happened to operate the only school in the location.  

Jones wrote to J. W. Sauer telling him that he had heard Dwane and some other "discontented" Africans had applied to him for a site near his school for the simple purpose of establishing a rival one. Their plan said Jones was to "empty" his. Jones told Sauer it would be unfortunate if he encouraged the men to oppose a church which had been working among them for some 50 years. He warned that if Dwane got a foothold in the location, there was nothing to prevent Mzimba and his people following suit which meant

the most insolent manner by the Ethiopians or African Methodist Episcopal Church; . . . The whole Ethiopian movement is in reality less a religious one than a political agitation on distinctly racial lines. The cloak of religion is only a means to an end. Much trouble will yet arise out of it to this country. The insolence of these people is becoming intolerable, and their loyalty in many respects more than doubtful. . . . However in the present case these considerations need not be taken into account. There is absolutely no necessity for a third school for natives at Lesseyton, and the application for government aid must accordingly be refused."

(Great Britain, Public Record Office, CO 48-559 #16363. Robert Rein Report, 20 March 1899.)

1 Inspector of Native Locations to the Civil Commissioner, 16 October 1899, NA 498.
that they could expect a deluge of applications for every location in the Colony.¹

Jones also wrote a confidential letter to the Prime Minister telling him of a split which had taken place within the Congregational Church. One section had joined the Ethiopian Church, a church which he said had been formed by Dwane and Mzimba. He accused the two men of having "shoved" into the location, each forming a "cause." He said that Dwane was represented by an ex-constable, H. R. Ngcayiya, who was operating through a local headman, Mangwana Duda.²

¹Ibid., Jones to Sauer, 19 October 1899.

²Elijah Makiwane, one of Lovedale's first "self-trained" African ministers, a member of the initial wave of mission educated African activists, co-editor of Stewart's Isigidimi Samaxosa and member of the 1897 delegation which queried J. G. Xaba about the AMEC (Francis Wilson and Dominique Perrot (eds.), Outlook on a Century: South Africa, 1870-1970 (Cape Province: Lovedale Press, 1973), pp. 7, 14, 64, 156) wrote a private letter to Stanford accusing the location headmen of joining the independents and of using their influence to "induce" people to leave their old churches for the new ones. He further accused them of issuing threats against the uncommitted residents of the locations. He suggested to Stanford that he issue a circular outlining the correct attitude headmen should have in dealing with matters relating to the "unfortunate and unnecessary movement." Republic of South Africa Government Archives, Cape Town, Miscellaneous Letters Received and Other Documents 1899, NA 414. Makiwane to Stanford, 1 September 1899.
Duda had applied for a church site but said Jones, in actuality he planned to use it for school purposes. As Jones viewed it, Duda's school would attract his students and the AMEs would then apply for the government grant the Congregationalists were receiving. Jones said there was no room in the location for another school.

Jones told the Prime Minister that it would be unfair of government to encourage the "rebels" who were operating at a "whim." He pointed out that his church had been in the area for years and he suggested that if Dwane and his people were men of God, they would have no problem in procuring "private" plots for their usage. The fact that within the last two years the Ethiopians had split three times (Mokone/Dwane, Goduka, Mzimba) proved to him that they were not stable enough to be placed on the same footing with the older denominations. Jones warned the Prime Minister that a trickle of applications would turn into a deluge and he hoped that the Prime Minister would deny the request.¹

Jones' letter is noteworthy because it is representative of the kinds of inaccuracies spread about the AMEC which ended up in government reports as facts. His main concern is that his school and church will be emptied which raises the question of how strong a hold the European churches

¹Jones to the Prime Minister, 18 October 1899, NA 498.
really had on their members.

The Under-Secretary for Agriculture asked the Surveyor-General for his opinion on the matter. It was the Surveyor-General's opinion that Jones' attitude smacked of "selfishness" and he recommended that the Jones communications not influence government in its decision. However, the Surveyor-General agreed that the two churches should not be placed in any proximity. Since the lots applied for by Duda had already been promised to Jones, he suggested allocating alternative sites to Duda if, and he was not clear on the matter, if government recognized Dwane as Bishop of his church. If government did recognize him, there was no reason why the sites should not be given to his members.

The Surveyor-General pointed out that unlike Mzimba who had fought over Free Church of Scotland property in the courts, Dwane's people simply wanted lots on which to build their own churches.

Impatient with the slowness of the procedure, H. R. Ngcayiya wired the Native Affairs Department wanting to know what decision government had reached in terms of Duda's application. He was told that the matter was still being considered by the Agriculture Department. Stanford wrote to

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2 Ibid., Ngcayiya to Native Affairs Department, 28 October 1899.
the Under Secretary for Agriculture asking that all papers pertaining to the Duda application be forwarded to him before the Under-Secretary made a decision. "I may mention," he told the Secretary that, "Mr. Dwane is reported to have seceded from the AMEC."¹

Dwane's secession from the AMEC was reported to Stanford by J. Z. Tantsi. Tantsi wrote a letter advising him to be very "careful" about transferring any AME property or sites from the AMEC to Dwane whose intention it was to set up an independent organization under the direction of the Anglican Church. Tantsi told Stanford that Dwane's action had affected no more than a fifth of the church membership and he promised to send him full details of the case at a later date.² Before giving the details of the secession, we must first look at the events which led up to the Dwane "revolt."

¹Ibid., Stanford to Under Secretary of Agriculture, 26 October 1899.

²Tantsi to Stanford, 17 October 1899, NA 497.
St. Paul's Hall, Bree Street, Cape Town
First meeting place

Father M. M. Makone

Father Gow
CHAPTER III

"EXODUS"

The Dwane Revolt

In addition to the opposition of various European ministers and government officials toward the AMEC, there was also opposition within the church which began to surface during H. B. Parks' campaign to raise funds for the South African college.

Prominent in Parks' editorial efforts in behalf of the college was the role played and to be played by James Dwane. He was called the "connecting link" between the United States and South Africa. It was said to have been him around whom the South African independents had gathered to form the Ethiopian Church. Parks called Dwane "Kaffir" born, described him as familiar with "Kaffir" custom and tradition, in touch with "Kaffir" sympathies and so it was he who should head the South African College. ¹

J. G. Xaba, Abel Gabashane and Benjamin Kumalo sent a letter to the Voice criticizing Bishop Turner and Secretary

¹Voice of Missions, March 1899.

172
Parks for their failure to give Mokone the credit due him for his leadership role in the movement. They further protested against Dwane being described as a "Kaffir" and of the AMEC's intention to build a "Kaffir" college.

They told Turner and Parks:

It is our desire that the distinction of African tribes should be done away with, for it has not only caused hatred among ourselves, but debarred Christianity and unity.

The writers went on to say that South Africa had many ethnic groups besides the Kaffirs and although Dwane was in fact a Kaffir, i.e. Xhosan, he had been sent to the U.S. to represent all the groups in South Africa. "It greatly pains us," they said, "to see Vicar-Bishop Dwane preach and publish racial feelings instead of killing it."

In answer to the charges Turner stated that on the contrary, Dwane had preached against tribalism saying it was the greatest weakness of his people in South Africa. Turner said that the AMEs in America had been totally ignorant of any tribal feeling and had only used the term Kaffir because along with Zulu, it was the most familiar group to the readers of the Voice of Missions.¹ He told Xaba:

¹South Africa's first AME Bishop, L. J. Coppin, found himself in an embarrassing situation over the use of the word "kaffir." Enthused over his new post, he mentioned to a white Wesleyan minister that he was en route to work among the "Kaffirs," whereupon he was sharply told by the minister that there were no "Kaffirs" with which to work. (L. J. Coppin, Unwritten History [New York: Negro Universities Press, 1968], p. 314).
Gabashane and Kumalo that it was gratifying to see that they were attempting to abolish the "foolishness" of ethnic feeling. He went on,

All Africans, regardless of tribes or locality, be they from South Africa, West Africa, East Africa, or even from the Desert of Sahara, should be united . . . All the white people in the aggregate all over the world . . . are against the African, so, the African regardless of tribe or local situation, should be one people and one man.

The South Africans were told not to worry, that no one was ignoring Mokone's contribution nor was Dwane demeaning other ethnic groups. "He assured them that no matter the group distinction, they were all one."¹

I. G. Sishuba wrote in to say that the Church was at a crucial period in its history in South Africa. It was time to think "deeply and broadly" because the AMEs were attempting to build the different groups into an "edifice," by uniting them. It was not an easy task, he said, but, "If we are loving our color and race nothing will ever separate us." He made reference to the Xaba, Gabashane, Kumalo letter and said that as a matter of fact, the word kaffir was a commonly used one, especially in Kaffirland. In any case, he said, they were all black and they were all viewed as Kaffirs by Europeans. Sishuba went on to say that most of the South Africans were proud of their various groups

¹Voice of Missions, July, 1899.
and did not want the term 'Kaffir' applied to them. He went on:

As we are now building up these different tribes together, the only medicine to cure this disease of racial feeling is to have nothing to do to distinguish ourselves by any tribal name, because every tribe respects itself. Let us only be united by the name 'African' or 'Native.'

Sishuba ended his letter, "Away with tribal feelings."¹

Exactly when Dwane decided on defection is unclear. As late as August 1899, he was in the Native Affairs Department representing the AMEC and trying to get his ordination as Vicar-Bishop recognized, an ordination which was open to question because of Gaines' ill-timed letter. There is no doubt that Dwane was humiliated by it. It made him look ridiculous to the very people before whom he fought so hard to defend the AMEC.

On a very practical level, the letter placed an insurmountable obstacle in the way of progress for the Church because the refusal of government to recognize his ordination invalidated all the ordinations he had made of various ministers. Thus, the status of those he designated marriage officers was questioned.² Dwane was also having legal problems in the

¹Sishuba to Turner, 25 August 1899, Voice of Missions, December 1899.

²One church member maintained that the Gaines letter was only partially responsible for the government's refusal to recognize AME marriage officers. He maintained that the attention of government was first drawn to the AME marriage
Transvaal over one of Mokone's debts and he was being challenged by people within his movement.

It has been alleged that Dwane had decided on secession previous to his 1898 visit to the U.S., another allegation is that when he had the meeting with Schreiner in Queenstown he had begun to waver and was at that time approached by an Anglican priest who was sympathetic to his problems. 2

Whatever the timetable, Dwane sent out invitations in September for a special conference, but he gave no indication of purpose. 3 On 16 October, Dwane convened his conference in Queenstown at which the motion was made to

certificates because they were either incomplete or erroneously complete. The Gaines letter only exacerbated matters. (Henry Fortuin to Turner, 6 April 1900, Voice of Missions, June 1900.)

1 Nontshinga-Citashe, op. cit., p. 22. Charles Morris who arrived in South Africa after the secession theorized that Dwane defected because he could no longer bear the criticism directed toward him by the European churchmen. He also feared that the General Conference would not uphold his ordination because his own members increasingly objected to his tyrannical methods. He feared a confrontation with them at the General Conference (The A.M.E. Christian Recorder, 22 February 1900).


3 Brander to Turner, 30 January 1900, Voice of Missions, May 1900.
secede from the AMEC and to join the Anglican Church as an independent body. Only a small number of delegates were present at the conference and most of them were from Cape Colony. The Transvaal and Orange Free State had only one delegate present.\(^1\) Dwane claimed to have notified the brethren in the two Republics and it is possible that the uncertain communications system and the travel restrictions posed by the Anglo-Boer War prevented many more delegates from attending. According to one report, Dwane was extremely nervous and short tempered during the conference proceedings. He allowed no discussion of the motion for secession and he launched a bitter tirade against the American church for its "failure and weaknesses."\(^2\) An immediate vote was taken on the motion, despite Tantsi's insistence on discussion. Out of the 22 people at the conference, 15 sided with Dwane, most of whom were deacons ordained by Dwane.\(^3\) Among the secessionists was Mangena Mokone. The loyalists asked Dwane for the church seal, which he refused to hand over, saying that he would send all church documents to Bishop Turner at a later date. Then Dwane requested all those who

\(^1\)Coan, "Expansion," *op. cit.*, p. 245.

\(^2\)Tantsi to Turner, 28 October 1899, *Voice of Missions*, January 1900. Dwane had a precedent within the AMEC foreign field for his action. A West Indian minister assigned to Sierra Leone defected in 1897.

\(^3\)Ibid. Sishuba and Ngcayiya to Turner, 30 October 1899.
were not in agreement with him to leave the meeting.\(^1\)

Bishop Turner's first information on what had been transpiring in South Africa came in mid-November from Tantsi and Kuze. He kept their information secret, only telling Parks, till he could get confirmation from Gow. "Any more secrecy," he said, "would be a crime" and so he published the information in the December issue of the *Voice*.

In his confirmation letter, Francis Gow stated that he had not been informed of the conference even though he had seen Dwane in Cape Town just before it was convened.\(^2\) It is possible that Dwane did not include Coloureds in his future plans. In fact the only Coloured who seems to have been involved was an I. Adriaanse, operating out of Kalk Bay, who had been ordained by Dwane. Gow did allege that "racial and tribal prejudices" were involved in the defection.\(^3\) Some sort of ethnic rivalry was going on because Sinamela, at one point said, "We . . . said we did not want to be mixed with the Colonial Kaffir nor their manners and habits."\(^4\)

And, after appointing Tantsi as temporary Superintendent of

\(^1\) *Ibid.*, Tantsi to Turner, 28 October 1899.

\(^2\) *Ibid.*, C. Roberts to Turner, 1 November 1899.

\(^3\) *Ibid.*, Gow to Turner, n.d.

\(^4\) Sinamela to Turner, 6 November 1899, *Voice of Missions*, February 1900.
the work, Bishop Turner received a letter from a Mosotho, whose name he declined to divulge, protesting against the appointment of Tantsi because he and others were "no longer prepared to have supervisors of the Kaffir tribe," nor did he want an African at all.¹ He wanted a supervisor from the U.S. and barring that, someone like Gow was acceptable. The unidentified informant also introduced elements of regional rivalry as well. He emphasized that it was Pretoria and not the Cape Colony which initially contacted the Bishop and he said that he had warned Mokone (also Sotho speaking) about the "satanic" influence of Dwane.²

Gow told the Bishop that he had had a meeting with Mokone after the conference and Mokone had given him three reasons for Dwane's action: (1) the Gaines letter which not

¹On the subject of African leadership, Brander concurred with the opinion that someone from the US. should supervise the work. He told Bishop Turner:

"Though Brother Dwane is not a model of an African—an African Bishop for the present is a failure, and experience has amply proved the fact—The General Conference is at hand, South Africa cries out for help, and the least the General Conference should do for her is to send out and maintain an American Bishop or General Superintendent, at least till our church is more firmly established, and we will be in a position to help ourselves." (Brander to Turner, 30 January 1900, Voice of Missions, May 1900.

²Anonymous correspondent to Turner, 18 January 1900, Voice of Missions, April 1900.
only insulted all South Africans but alienated some of the
AMEC's most ardent supporters. Because of the letter,
potential supporters shied away from the church because
the government used the letter to refuse marriage forms to
AME ministers and to delay church and school site applications;
(2) the money for the South African college had not been
forthcoming. Dwane claimed to have written repeatedly to
the U.S. and had received no replies. Thus, he "lost all
confidence in the promised sympathy and support of the Afro-
American people" and so he sought help elsewhere; (3) Dwane
questioned the validity of the AME episcopate.

Mokone told Gow that he had joined in the defection
because of the Gaines letter and because he had been promised
money with which to build a church in Cape Town. He said he
had appealed to no avail to Parks and C. T. Shaffer of the
Church Extension Department. Shaffer was quick to extricate
himself from blame. He said that Mokone did write to him
about money and he in turn wrote to him telling him that
allocations for church extension had been made for the year
but his request would be submitted to the board for considera-
tion in the next year.¹ The letter was returned to Shaffer
marked "unclaimed". It turns out he addressed it incorrectly.
As Coan points out Shaffer's negligence was inexcusable

¹ Shaffer to Mokone, 6 June 1899, Voice of Missions,
January 1900.
since Mokone's correct address was regularly printed in the Voice.¹

Gow also learned from Mokone that Dwane had been in communication with the Anglican authorities with a view to being taken in as an independent body, controlled by Africans. By linking his people with the Anglicans, Dwane felt there would be no question about episcopal validity and his group would thus get the government and ecclesiastical recognition it deserved. Said Gow, "This is the plan in embryo--its realization is another matter."

Gow assured the Bishop that there were some loyalists and that though small, the Cape Town work was solid. He advised the Bishop to send someone over from the U.S. immediately, to come himself if possible, because the future of the church depended on prompt action; to wait for the General Conference was "sheer folly."

Needless to say, Bishop Turner was shocked and hurt by the action of the South African AMEs. He was particularly bewildered by Mokone's part in the defection.² He admitted knowing that Dwane was incensed over the Gaines letter but he thought the rousing reception Dwane had received on his

¹Coan, "Expansion," op. cit., p. 244.

²The fact that Mokone defected with Dwane weakens the argument of Roux and others who maintained that Dwane's secession was based in part on a power struggle between himself and Mokone (Roux, op. cit., p. 82).
second trip had made the Gaines letter pale in significance. As for the promised money, Turner told his readers that Dwane knew that only the General Conference could authorize expenditure of funds and he thought Dwane understood all would be settled in May, 1900. Turner concluded that Dwane left the U.S. "with revolt in his heart." The Bishop told his readers that Dwane and his group had thrown away more than they would ever receive from any other church and he wished them godspeed.

In a sense, Turner was correct. Dwane never received from the Anglicans what he most wanted—total autonomy. He never became a Bishop, disputed or otherwise and as late as 1905, he was leading a rebellion within the Anglican Church over what he considered slights to his position as leader of his "Order of Ethiopia."

The South African troubles could not have come at a more inopportune time for Turner. The Gaines controversy was beginning to quiet down; he had just suffered a stroke; "his" Voice of Missions was about to be transferred to other hands; and, he was preoccupied with Annual and General Conference preparations. In addition, there were his domestic political activities. It was an especially embarrassing time

1 For an account of Dwane's activities after the defection see Verryn, op. cit., pp. 78-170.
for Turner because of the divided opinion within his church over the wisdom of expending money on foreign missions and the Dwane affair put in jeopardy his plans for the election of Missionary Bishops for the foreign work.

Although Bishop Turner remained optimistic about the South African work and never viewed Dwane's action as a reflection on African leadership capabilities, the editors of The Christian Recorder were less charitable. In their words: "... The logic of the event should teach the folly of further investing in job lot adventures after the hit miss African fashion. Those who are of adventitious [sic] record who cannot furnish bond for good behavior or good returns must henceforth be continued on long probation. Hirelings and camp followers will desert the fold at any time for loaves and fishes elsewhere."¹ The editors of The AME Review felt that there was no real loss although it did show that Africans were not ready for leadership positions,² a view, as we have seen, shared by some South Africans.

In late October, Mokone sent the Bishop a letter of retraction and apology. He had changed his mind because of the embarrassment his action had surely caused the Bishop and because his action had made Africans appear "fickle,"

¹The A.M.E. Christian Recorder, 7 December 1899.

made them look as though they "never trust one another."
He admitted that he should have discussed his grievances with the Bishop before taking such a rash step. He asked for forgiveness pointing out that it had been he who had made the initial overtures to the church, it had been he who had sent Dwane to effect merger and it was he who had invited the Bishop to South Africa. He requested the Bishop to send someone from America to convene the Annual Conferences before the 1900 General Conference.¹

In spite of the internal fissures, which, as we have demonstrated, were confined primarily to the Cape Colony, church work in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal continued much as before. Xaba then in Vereeninging reported that his district was progressing satisfactorily. He expressed hope in being at the 1900 General Conference but the War made things uncertain. He asked the Bishop to continue his plans for the "African Industrious Normal College" and he advised the Bishop to make allowances for the peculiarities of the African connection. Xaba stressed the differences in the laws, languages and customs of the colonies and the Republics, which meant the new South African Bishop would require a longer term in office to accustom himself to the dissimilarities. He also asked the Bishop to send a copy of the Voice to Chief

¹Mokone to Turner, 27 October 1899, Voice of Missions, January 1900.
Lerothodi in Basutoland where he had recently established a mission.\(^1\)

The Cape Town work, though foundational, was nevertheless steady. The city became the center for the loyalists in the Colony and they were led by Francis Gow. Several loyalist meetings were held between 27-30 October at which it was decided: (a) that since the seceders were no longer AMEs, they had no further rights to pastor to AME congregations; (b) a committee should be formed to travel about the city notifying their members of the true facts, since rumors were being spread about who had seceded and who had not.\(^2\)

As it turned out, the Cape Town connection had no ministerial guidance. A. A. Morrison had been appointed to the Kimberley area, Mokone was suspect and one other Cape Town minister, I. Adriaanse, had also defected. As a result, Gow assured leadership of the meetings at St. Paul's Hall and Charles J. W. Roberts took control of Mokone's group at Friendly Hall.\(^3\)

The Friendly Hall group could boast of Sunday and day schools as well as an AME Sick and Benefit Society. Charles

\(^{1}\)Xaba to Turner, 23 October 1899, *Voice of Missions*, January 1900.


\(^{3}\)Ibid., p. 261.
Roberts who was responsible for the schools wrote that Dwane's action had made those brethren who had pulled out of white churches to be of service to their less fortunate brethren a "laughing stock." The type of man Dwane had ordained, said Roberts, was "a farce and a disgrace." He appealed to the Bishop to send qualified men from the U.S. to supervise the work. He also offered to donate land in Rondebosch for the proposed college. "Help us," he said, "with funds and let us build a church in Cape Town, and it will be the making of our church."¹

I. G. Sishuba and H. R. Ngcayiya (who had originally seceded with Dwane but subsequently changed his mind) in their positions as presiding elders discussed the critical state of the church especially in light of the fact that Dwane had taken with him the church seal and other documents which meant theoretically he still held the authority of the church. The presiding elders told the Bishop that their greatest difficulty at the moment was the fact that they had no Bishop, no resident head in South Africa. Because they had no spokesman, they were prevented from performing marriages since their ordinations were open to question because Dwane's had been questioned.

They went on to say how the two Republics were at war with Britain but they were unaffected by it in any

¹Roberts to Turner, 23 October 1899, Voice of Missions, January 1900.
political way because the Africans were neutral. As they viewed it, the future problem with which the church would have to contend was that Britain would win the war, and would extend her control over the two Republics. The reluctance of the Cape Colony Government to recognize AMEs as marriage officers would be extended to the two Republics which at present allowed them to perform marriages.¹

They told the Bishop that Dwane was still "Mr." Dwane as opposed to "Bishop" Dwane because the promises made to him by his Anglican contact were unacceptable to the majority of the Anglican authorities.

Operating out of Grahamstown which was entangled in what was essentially a Colony rupture, P. S. Kuze had some soothing news for the Bishop. Eleven of the 16 people who left the AMEC with Dwane had returned. Nonetheless, Kuze's work had been damaged. He accused Dwane's supporters of going about his district spreading rumors that he and Tantsi had left the AMEC. As a result of the whisper campaign, Kuze had to completely reorganize the work in his district. Whether the misrepresentations were deliberate and malicious is difficult to say. Obviously there was much confusion over who was still in the church and who was not simply because people were continually changing their positions. With the

¹The South African Republic did in fact, at this point, recognize marriage certificates signed by AMEs who were ordained Marriage Officers. (Secretary of State to the Colonial Secretary, 14 April 1899, SSA 7747).
rupture in communications caused by the War, many of those who had defected later returned unbeknown to persons in outlying areas who only knew about their defection. In any case, Kuze reported that the Church had been granted 4 sites: two in the town of Uitenhage and one each in Cradock and Somerset East. He said that another in Port Elizabeth had been conditionally promised.¹

¹Kuze to Turner, 4 November 1899, Voice of Missions, January 1900.
The Trickle Begins: Charles Satchell Morris
and Conrad A. Rideout

In the midst of the South African troubles, several Black Americans who were in touch with Bishop Turner began arriving in Cape Town. Charles Satchell Morris was the first to go over after the Bishop's 1898 visit.

As early as February, 1899, Morris had told Turner of his intention to go to Liberia in order to establish a missionary school. Though a Baptist, Morris emphasized the fact that he was not going to Africa in the interest of any particular denomination. He was going, he said, to hasten Africa's "redemption." The Bishop advised Morris to delay his trip until he had enlisted as much white financial aid as possible. Perhaps it was because of finance that Morris eventually cast his lot with the Baptists.

In 1898, the African Baptist Society was organized to coordinate the industrial education component of its mission work. Booker T. Washington was on the executive committee of this organization.¹ At some point in 1899, Morris succeeded

¹Jordan, Up the Ladder, op. cit., p. 150.

Prior to his discussion with Bishop Turner about his Africa plans, Morris had just attended Washington's Tuskegee Annual Negro Conference. It is possible that he discussed his plans with Washington. For more on Washington's South Africa connection see Louis Harlan's, "Booker T. Washington and the White Man's Burden," The American Historical Review, LXXI, 2 (January, 1966).
Joseph Booth as the Society's financial agent. Morris went to Africa for the purpose of reconnoitering a place to launch the Society's industrial education program.

Morris was sponsored by the American Baptist Missionary Union (White) and the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention (Black). In return for their support, Morris was to inspect the Congo missions for the Union and the Convention's stations in West, South and East Central Africa. Morris began his travels with a stop-off in Cape Town.¹

Morris left the U.S. in June, 1899.² After his arrival in South Africa, he sent a report to T. Thomas Fortune's New York Age. In the report, Morris bitterly described the condition of Blacks in America. He said they were slaughtered in the streets, that they were deprived of jobs which they were qualified to hold simply because of their color, that their very "manhood" was continually insulted.³

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¹Jordan, op. cit., p. 151.

²It has been suggested that Morris may have accompanied John Chilembwe back to Nyasaland to help him establish his Providence Industrial Mission (George Shepperson and Thomas Price, Independent African (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1958), p. 96. This is probable since both men left the U.S. in June, 1899 (Jordan, Up the Ladder, op. cit., p. 131; United States Government Archives, Washington, Passport Applications Dec. 1, 1884-Dec. 27, 1901, C.18.1 #10).

³Voice of Missions, November 1899. Morris had particular reason to be embittered. Shepperson points out that Morris witnessed the Wilmington riot of 1898 which was one of the bloodiest in U.S. race relations (Shepperson, op. cit.,...
Morris offered South Africa as an alternative. He praised its climate and soil, the absence of any lynchings and the enfranchisement of Blacks.\(^1\) Moreover, said Morris, the Africans, whom he described as the world's "noblest uncivilized men" with whom the "crude" American Black held no quarter, desperately wanted and needed the "civilized leadership" of Black Americans. Together, said Morris, they could create a revolution. For Morris the choice was to move or to "cling like a drowning man to the coat tails of the white man."\(^2\)

While in Cape Colony, Morris stayed with Walter Rubusana then co-editor of *Izwi Labantu* and author of several Xhosa books. Rubusana was later one of the leaders of the 1909 "Schreiner" delegation to London to protest against the Union Constitution's franchise colour bar. Rubusana was also the first and only African ever elected to the Cape Provincial Council. And, he became vice-president of the South African Native National Council.

Presumably it was through Rubusana that Morris met people like Gow, Roberts, Mzimba and Goduka. It is clear that these men discussed church independency because Morris had a [p. 96](#). It was a memory which never left him because he made frequent references to it in several communications.

\(^1\)Morris to Turner, 24 September 1899, *Voice of Missions*, December 1899.

\(^2\)*Voice of Missions*, November 1899.
great deal of criticism for European missionaries whom he characterized as living well at the expense of their African laymen who did all the actual pastoring while they took the credit. Thus, Morris concluded, able and competent men like Dwane, Mzimba and Goduka had formed independent churches out of "sheer self-respect." Said Morris,

The great trouble with philanthropic white men on both sides of the ocean is that they do not seem to realize that black 'boys' ever become of 'age'.

After Dwane broke with the AMEC, Morris wrote to the Church pleading for a united front between the AMEC and the American Baptist Church for the evangelization of South Africa. It is predictable that Morris would take this interdenominational stance because he had been reared by Alexander Payne, Bishop of the AME Church and founder of Wilberforce University; he had been converted in the AME

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1 Morris to Turner, 24 September 1899, Voice of Missions, December 1899. For more on this theme see Ecumenical Missionary Conference, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 471. The fact that Morris personally met with and talked over the grievances of the South African independents means that if he visited Chilembwe in Nyasaland, Chilembwe had a direct link to the South African dissidents. On his trip to the US in 1897, Chilembwe approached the AME Missionary Department for funds with which he intended to build and operate steamships. He also asked for emigrant school teachers. Turner offered him a year's scholarship at an AME school but Chilembwe declined the offer. The Missionary Board authorized funds for Chilembwe's room and board until he could sail for Africa, and the Board purchased his ticket home. (AME Missionary Board Records, 1897, A.M.E. Department of Missions, New York). For more on Chilembwe see Shepperson and Price, op. cit.
Church and he had later joined the Baptists because he felt they were more in need of his talents.¹

Morris pointed out that any movement on the part of Black Americans "to come in helpful contact with his brethren here" would meet with "solid and relentless opposition" from the dominant religious forces in South Africa. He accused the European missionaries of having brought the Gaines letter to the attention of the government. He advised the AMEC to close ranks over the Gaines/Turner argument for Africa and Europe were looking at the Black church with a sneer. "The time has come," he said, "for Black men to stop their everlasting quarreling and meet grand situations in a grand way." Morris reiterated his plea for African-American emigration because South Africa was particularly in need of Black doctors, lawyers, merchants and teachers.²

One person of the type Morris and the South African AMEs desired for emigration and who was moved to actually go to South Africa was Conrad A. Rideout. Details on Rideout's life are incomplete but we know that he was born in Chillicothe, Ohio in 1859. He studied law and became a state judge in Arkansas during Reconstruction. At some point he moved to Seattle, Washington where he practiced law "with

¹The A.M.E. Christian Recorder, 19 October 1899.
²Ibid.
a paying clientage." According to Bishop Turner, Rideout left the United States because the political climate was not "conducive to his manhood." Turner suggested that Liberia would be a better place for a man of his talents, abilities and "political aspirations" but Rideout was bent on settling somewhere in Cape Colony or Johannesburg.

Rideout left New York on 17 October 1899, taking with him his wife and teenage daughter. En route, the Rideouts stopped off in London, and the island of St. Helena, which impressed him as a place where the AMEC could readily flourish. Turner had given Rideout his Cape Town contacts and so Mokone subsequently wrote to the Bishop telling him of his extreme pleasure at having people the caliber of the Rideouts settle in South Africa, people whose sympathies were with Africa and who were prepared to aid their brethren. Mokone told Turner:

We never saw a black Judge in our lives, only Judge Rideout. . . . We are now waiting for M.D., M.A., B.A. We want a man who will be useful to us here, one who will fight for the equal rights for the race on the face of the globe. The men of honorary M.D. and M.A. won't do much here. We want the men who passed their degrees who can face an opposer with great power.

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1. The Seattle Republican, 4 January 1896; Voice of Missions, August 1899.
2. Voice of Missions, August 1899.
Rideout settled for a time in Cape Town and made himself at home with the AMEs. He visited Mokone's church, met several of the ministers and at one service he met "Chief Denziutliti" (Dinizulu?) as well as the chief of a "great tribe in the interior of the Basuta Lands." This chief allegedly told Rideout that the greatest needs of his people were preachers, teachers and "business Negroes." Being in South Africa, Rideout found it difficult to understand why Blacks maligned Africa and ridiculed emigration. He found the climate and the people congenial. He said that he had found Blacks in all facets of business, comfortably situated and contented except for the fact that they were "hungry" for education, for Christianity and for the American Black man to come and live with them. He told the Bishop that in spite of the Dwane episode, the Church was marching on. It was being accepted by "chiefs and tribes alike."

Having just turned 18 years old, Pearl Rideout, the judge's daughter, was filled with all the optimism of youth. In a letter to the Bishop, she said of Africa:

It is a grand country. . . . I must tell you of my people (the natives). . . . They have here native churches, schools and curio stores and there is no nature of work or labor here that they are not doing. I am so proud to see them making such headway the white people here are against them and have tried to throw every obstacle in their way to prevent them from obtaining the higher

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1Ibid., Rideout to Turner, 4 December 1899.
knowledge of education that is in store for them. . . . They may try to stamp us to the ground, but with all of that we will rise to proclaim our own . . . we shall be a powerful and great nation.

Pearl went on to describe how kindly she had been treated by her people, how badly they desired education and how limited was their access to schools. She called upon all African-Americans to unite with Bishop Turner in "redeeming" the land of their ancestors. She also mentioned to the Bishop that she had been offered the appointment of Superintendent of a soon to be built "colored" school in Port Elizabeth, a challenge which she was determined to accept.1

In his second report, Rideout had more facts to give on the Dwane secession and he said all the seceders but Dwane had returned. Rideout also enclosed clippings from The Cape Times dealing with Bishop Hartzell of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the educational work his church was undertaking. Rideout claimed that the MEC and its Bishops took every opportunity to "stab" the AMEC when the occasion presented itself.

Rideout lamented the fact that the AMEC was the only church in South Africa without representation in the educational sphere. He said that he had learned from very "reliable" sources that the various paramount chiefs were "praying and begging" for the AMEC to come to their territories and establish schools. Rideout promised that in his next letter he would outline his plan to establish an industrial

1Pearl Rideout to Turner, 6 December 1899, Voice of Missions, March 1900.
school with "certain grants, etc., etc., without getting a dollar from any church organizations or any other source whatsoever except our own money."

Rideout told the Bishop that within three months he would need a doctor, carpenter and blacksmith all of whom he wanted to be married men. His school, he said, would begin with courses in each of those departments and he suggested W. H. Councill or Booker T. Washington as sources of supply. Rideout asked the Bishop to have the men and their wives ready at a moment's notice.¹

¹Ibid., Rideout to Turner, 26 December 1899.
Finally, in answer to the numerous requests from the South Africans for American supervision, and it is important to note that it was requested. Bishop Turner, who was still confined to his bed, personally paid the travel expenses for the Rev. I. N. Fitzpatrick, President Elder for an Alabama district, and despatched him to Cape Town. Fitzpatrick's chief qualifications for his assignment were his wide knowledge of church administration, his availability, and his experience at selling and distributing seed for something called "African Limbless Cotton."

As with the Dwane ordination, Turner sent Fitzpatrick to South Africa without prior consultation with anyone in his church. He was criticized for this action in the Bishops' Council meeting of 1900.

In any case, before Fitzpatrick could reach South Africa, Tantsi wrote to the Bishop enclosing a document purporting to reveal some secret plans which the government was using to destroy the AMEC. He asked the Bishop not to

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1The A.M.E. Christian Recorder, 5 July 1900.
3Voice of Missions, April 1900.
publish the document. He alleged that Dwane was continuing to misrepresent everything he had seen in the U.S. and because none of the others had ever been to the U.S., the Church could do nothing to adequately combat his allegations. He also suggested that Dwane may have told the government that if it recognized his new Order of Ethiopia, the other African organizations could be effectively neutralized. Tantsi called for an "able man" to lead the Church in removing all the obstacles in South Africa.¹

The "able man," Fitzpatrick, finally arrived in Cape Town on 13 February 1900. In his first letter to the Bishop, Fitzpatrick said that his presence had restored confidence in the AMEC and people were once again flocking to the Church. He expressed regret that someone had not been sent out sooner. Nonetheless, the tide had turned in their favor.

Fitzpatrick went directly to the American Consulate for a letter of introduction to the Prime Minister because he wanted to discuss with Schreiner the problem AME ministers were having in solemnizing marriages. He also had an attorney draw up a brief setting forth why AME ministers could legally solemnize marriages. Fitzpatrick was convinced once the facts were placed before Schreiner, "justice will be done us."

As Fitzpatrick viewed the situation, the one drawback

¹Tantsi to Turner, 21 February 1900, Voice of Missions, May 1900.
of the church in Cape Town was the fact that it owned no actual church building. What was needed then, was a "first-class" church. In addition he suggested that the proposed college be built in Cape Town instead of Queenstown which Dwane had only selected because it was his home.

Cape Town, said Fitzpatrick, was the "gate" to the remainder of South Africa; the city had a heterogenous collection of people and using the city as a base, Transvaal, the Orange Free State and the interior could be tapped. He went on:

As no distinct colored organization has been operated in Europe, and the colony under the auspices and control of a colored race, many have been led to believe that such a thing is impossible. Such a belief arises from the fact that all the churches and school houses are pastored and taught by European races. Indeed, they are the prisoners of missions. Hence, the doubt of the Negro's ability to run great institutions. Thus it is very necessary that our church and college should be planted in Cape Town at the earliest period possible. Twenty-thousand dollars (£ 4,000) spent in Cape Town for said purposes would virtually give us South Africa and ultimately solve the great race problem.\(^{1}\)

On February 26, Fitzpatrick sent a letter to the Prime Minister requesting an interview. He told the Prime Minister that he had been sent by his church to confer with the government, to explain the true goals and aims of his church in South Africa and to report on the situation to his General Conference. The Prime Minister requested Fitzpatrick to send him a list of the points to be discussed. Fitzpatrick replied

\(^{1}\)Fitzpatrick to Turner, 20 February 1900, Voice of Missions, April 1900.
that the main point to be discussed was why the Colony Government did not extend the same courtesy extended to his church by the colonial governments in the remainder of the Empire where the AMEC existed. He pointed out that the Church existed in the West Indies and in West Africa and in both places, the church was recognized as a religious body. Its ministers could perform marriages.

Fitzpatrick was given an appointment for 2 March 1900. The government was represented by Schreiner, A. C. Dale, of the Registry Office and Noel Janisch, Under-Colonial Secretary. Fitzpatrick and Gow represented the AMEC. Fitzpatrick produced documents from the Governor of Alabama attesting to the good standing of the AMEC in the U.S. and the discussion turned immediately to the Gaines letter. Fitzpatrick pointed out that Gaines was only one man, that the House of Bishops had drafted a vote of thanks for and confidence in Turner's action in ordaining Dwane a Vicar-Bishop. Presumably the men discussed the AMEC's motivations for being in South Africa and its overall plans for the country. Fitzpatrick assuredly repeated Turner's disclaimers about the Church being in South Africa to stir up strife and disaffection.

Fitzpatrick explained that because of the refusal of government to recognize AME ministers as marriage officers, his people were in need of a minister to perform the service.
He asked if he might do so while he was in South Africa. Presumably he planned to marry as many couples as possible hoping that the others would wait until a resident Bishop could be sent out.

Schreiner refused to give Fitzpatrick an answer to his request because he wanted to consult with his legal officers. The next day, Schreiner replied to Fitzpatrick's request. He assured him that his government did not oppose the extension of the "legitimate" work of the AMEC to the Colony. However the government was not prepared to recognize the AMEC as a religious body first and foremost because of the Dwane issue. Even if he were legally ordained, said Schreiner, Dwane had since severed his ties with the AMEC. As government viewed it, Dwane's defection meant that the Church had no resident supervisor. Since his government was unprepared to write to the US everytime it had some communication to make about the Church, Schreiner could not yet see his way clear to recognize the Church. He was willing to wait until the General Conference had convened after which he would reconsider the question. Schreiner told Fitzpatrick that the documents he had produced concerning his church were insufficient to justify his making an exception. Therefore Fitzpatrick could not perform the marriage ceremonies as he had requested.¹

¹A. C. Dale to Fitzpatrick, 3 March 1900, NA 497.
Schreiner's refusal to allow Fitzpatrick to perform the marriage ceremony is difficult to justify on the grounds that Fitzpatrick's credentials were insufficient. Fitzpatrick was an ordained minister of long-standing. He had taken with him certificates signed by the Governor of Alabama attesting to the good-standing of the AMEC in the state and by implication, Fitzpatrick's standing.

The most reasonable explanation for the refusal is that as with Stanford and his response to Dwane's applications for church sites, Schreiner also chose to be deliberately obstructionist. And, he was obstructionist because he was suspicious of the independents; suspicious of their motives and aims. Both the Prime Minister and Milner feared a "Native rising" would occur given the unsettled wartime conditions. ¹ Thus, the Prime Minister may have envisioned the AMEC as the base from which such a rising might occur. If in fact this were the motive for his action, it is clear that he would do nothing to make the lot of the AMEC any easier.

Elder Fitzpatrick was limited to the Cape Colony because of the travel restrictions imposed by the War and being essentially powerless because of the Schreiner decision, Fitzpatrick nonetheless tried to make the best of his situation. He made himself as accessible and as visible as possible.

He learned from various sources that Dwane as Vicar-Bishop failed to give his ministers certificates of appointment. He had even failed to deliver those certificates entrusted to him while on his last visit to the U.S.\(^1\) As a result, the ministers had nothing to show the church or civil authorities. Dwane used this situation to his advantage, giving his people certificates of appointment and sending them into AME strongholds to point out AME ministerial deficiencies. Fitzpatrick began handing out new certificates and those presiding elders from Orange Free State and Transvaal who managed to get through to Cape Town were entrusted with certificates for the men under their charge.\(^2\)

He predicted that at war's end, the two rebellious Republics would be united under the British flag. The economy would improve, people would flow in and out of the Colony and opportunities for the expansion of the AMEC would be limitless. He advised the Mother Church to close the divisions within the church, to concentrate its forces and in a few years,

\(^{1}\)Some of this was probably due to design and willful neglect. Dwane was at best an indifferent administrator. He was accused by his P.E.'s (some of whom defected with him) of being unresponsive to their written communications. (Brander to Turner, 30 January 1900, *Voice of Missions*, May 1900). Even after he joined the Anglicans, he was reprimanded on several occasions for chaotic bookkeeping [Verryn, *op. cit.*, p. 119]).

\(^{2}\)Fitzpatrick to Turner, 7 March, 1900, *Voice of Missions*, May 1900.
"Africa will be the world’s headquarters for the African Methodist Episcopal Church."\(^1\)

Fitzpatrick convened the South African Annual Conference in Cape Town, 20 February 1900. Besides regular church business, the Conference members elected Kuze and Mokone as delegates to the 1900 General Conference. To end all doubts as to the AMEC’s intention to stay in South Africa, Rev. Fitzpatrick delivered a truly stirring address before the Conference.

He talked about having been torn from the embrace of his motherland, of having been forcibly taken to a strange land and being sold as chattel. He talked about the dream his people held of returning once again to the African Continent and he talked about the dream having been realized by the AMEC. He talked about the necessity of the Black man to act as his own agent of redemption. He talked about the need for unity. "Let us as a race," he said, "know no tribe, native or foreign born." And Fitzpatrick doggedly ended: "We say to you all, the AMEC is in Africa to stay. . . ."\(^2\)

Fitzpatrick left South Africa after having fulfilled his three-fold purpose for going. He sought recognition for his church in the Colony although it was not granted. However, \(^1\)Fitzgerald to Turner, 7 March 1900, Voice of Missions, May 1900.

\(^2\)Ibid.
he was in the position to report to the General Conference that the Prime Minister was open to discussing the issue once a resident Bishop had been elected. He held the South African Annual Conference and two delegates to the General Conference were elected. And, he checked the secession movement—he steadied the wavering. Fitzpatrick went back to the U.S. with every intention to return as a missionary, and perhaps secretly, as Bishop. Due to a family misfortune, he was never able to do so. In any case, he made a creditable enough showing. One member of the Kalk Bay congregation wrote to the Bishop telling him that what South Africa needed in the way of a resident supervisor was a man like Fitzpatrick a man who loved his race and could withstand hardship.¹

Francis Gow, who signed his communication, "Your most sincere co-worker for the race," called Fitzpatrick a "race ennobler." He told the Bishop that people were once again convinced of the AMEC's intention to stay in South Africa and were once again flocking to the church. He predicted that when the Cape Town church was built and the college was established, there would not be room enough to contain all those desiring membership.²

While Fitzpatrick was reorganizing things in South

¹Ibid., P. Adams to Turner, 14 March 1900.

²Ibid., Gow to Turner, 14 March 1900.
Africa, H. B. Parks launched his Easter Day appeal. For the year 1900, he asked for an overall collection of $50,000 citing the figure as the minimum with which his Board could conduct its program on any sound basis. Parks pointed out that just as Britain and the Dutch Republics were at war for territorial gain, so also the AMEC was locked in battle over missions territory. Parks openly discussed the Dwane defection, dismissing it as a 'storm in a teapot.' He called on all AMEs to answer the call from South Africa, the call for supervision and maintenance.¹

Though his mobility and speech were impaired, Bishop Turner joined in the appeal, telling his readers that the AMEC was in great demand in foreign fields and he reprinted a telegram from Fitzpatrick which stated that money was in urgent demand in the Colony.²

The AMEC appealed for money with good reason. The South Africans were still pleading for the promised college. Ngcayiya wrote from Oxkraal railing against the lack of educational opportunities for Africans in South Africa. He told the Bishop that men were created to do whatever they could to "lengthen . . . cords and strengthen . . . stakes." Therefore, Africans had no one to rely on but themselves. He said that Bishop Turner had opened the door of South Africa

¹Voice of Missions, April 1900.
²Ibid., March 1900.
to the benefits of education and religion and that door could never again be closed. Education and religion and Bishops were the needs of South Africa.¹

Edward Gow, son of Francis and later a student in America, wrote the Bishop:

... no opportunity is afforded for the colored and native children to obtain the rudiments of higher education. It is then a wonder that we have no doctors, lawyers, merchants, bankers, engineers, etc. However the time has arrived to remedy these matters and we are looking to the church in America to help us. Yes! Give us (the colored and native children) a college or an educational institute that will enable us to reach that standard in education and other matters so that we may stand upon the same platform as the white race. In fact, the same as the Negro is doing in America. There is no doubt about it, that if we have such an institute the church would have a greater number of members and adherents who would not otherwise have thrown in their lot with the great church.²

Perhaps better than anyone else, Gow best summed up the reason Mokone and the other Ethiopians initially communicated with and ultimately united with the AMEC. The central reason was not religion but education. The South Africans believed as did many Black Americans that education was the route to equalization. The South Africans believed that once they had their degrees, Europeans could no longer ignore their existence, could no longer deny them their rights as subjects of the Queen. And, even if their rights were ignored, they believed as educated men, they would be in a position to


²Gow to Turner, 10 April 1900, *Voice of Missions*, June 1900.
demand them. In almost every letter written to America and printed in the *Voice*, the overriding theme was education—schools, and teachers. For four years, the South Africans had approached the church for educational aid and the request could be no longer ignored.
The Appointment of Levi J. Coppin

The long awaited General Conference convened in May, 1900. Still suffering from the after-effects of his 1899 stroke, Turner effectively lobbied for the South African cause. He went to the conference with the intention of getting from it a regularly assigned Bishop for South Africa and an appropriation for the South African college. Though he did not get his "Missionary Bishop," i.e., one who would not command a regular Bishop's salary, who would live in Africa indefinitely and would be supported by the local members, he did get regular Bishops for West and South Africa.

The Conference "Hailed "with delight," the extension of the AME Church into South Africa and endorsed the action taken by Bishop Turner to organize the work. The Conference appropriated $10,000 ($5,000 less than asked for by the South African delegation) for the South African college to be paid in quarterly installments of $2500. The college was to be built and opened "as soon as possible." In addition the Conference decided that from 1900 onward the Secretary of Missions was to require all foreign students educated at the expense of the Church to sign a contract pledging that they would return

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to their respective countries to work as missionaries for a specific number of years.¹

South African participation at the Conference was highlighted. The South African choir at Wilberforce entertained the delegates, Mokone and Tantsi addressed the Conference in their respective languages and eleven South Africans were elected to a variety of national church boards.²

The Conference delegates pledged to follow the U.S. Flag in its missions activities because it was the U.S. Government which paved the way to other non-white races. They predicted that they would soon garner adherents among the Japanese, Chinese and Koreans and they vowed to make the church, a proper object of respect for the world, a light worthy of being followed by the dark races, and under God the means for elevating the negro race.³

The three South African delegates to the Conference, Mokone, Tantsi and Abel Gabashane, were given a tour of the U.S. when the Conference ended. Their presence lent a certain urgency to the firm establishment of the Church in South Africa and they effectively combatted the idea of Africa as a land of savages. They were warmly welcomed wherever they stopped and as a point of interest, Mokone was attended by Daniel Hale Williams, an African-American doctor credited with performing America's first open heart surgery. Gabashane

¹Ibid., pp. 193-4. ²Ibid., pp. 294, 403. ³Ibid., p. 29.
lectured on the Anglo-Boer War and supported Britain's dominance in all of South Africa (see Appendix II for more on the AMEC and the Anglo-Boer War). And it was believed that with British dominance, the newly elected Bishop would be able to demand for the South African Church a recognition that it had not before known; it was felt that he as a Black man would give the African a new standing in the country.

In the election of Levi J. Coppin as South Africa's first Bishop, the Conference chose as capable a man as it could find. Being free-born, he had received a rudimentary education at a fairly early age. After the Civil War, the AMEC operated openly below the Mason Dixon line and Coppin's boyhood church, which had been traditionally considered Methodist Episcopal, elected to join the AME fold. A court suit over church property followed and the AMEs won. Thus at an early age, Coppin had some connection with church independency.

Coppin was a graduate of the Protestant Episcopal Divinity school in Philadelphia. He was a vociferous reader with a strong classical preference and he served for eight years as editor of the AME Church Review, the first scholarly Afro-American journal in America with contributors like

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1 The A.M.E. Christian Recorder, 16 August 1900.
2 Coppin, Unwritten History, op. cit., p. 117.
W. S. Scarboro, D. Augustus Straker (both of whom attended the 1899 preparatory meeting to the Pan African Conference of 1900,¹) E. W. Blyden and Orishatuka Faduma. Coppin also worked as an agent for J. Albert Thorne's British Central Africa Enterprise and he had opened his home to Dwane during his 1898-99 visit. Thus his credentials as a "race" man were impressive.

1900 was his second attempt at the Bishopric and Coppin specifically requested the South Africa assignment, in itself a rarity since Africa was not considered an attractive assignment. Even in this day, as a rule the African districts are given to novice Bishops or to Bishops no other district wants. He chose South Africa because, in his words, "for a long time, I had desired to see Africa, our 'Mother Land.'"²

No less a personage was his wife, Fannie Jackson Coppin. In many respects, she was better qualified to implement the AMEC's educational program in South Africa. Slave born, she was one of the first African-American women to graduate from a nationally recognized college, Oberlin. She became principal of the Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia and she was instrumental in establishing an industrial school wing to the Institute. Mrs. Coppin had

¹Geiss, op. cit., p. 180.

²Coppin, Unwritten History, op. cit., p. 309.
traveled abroad on several occasions, she was a dynamic public
speaker and altogether she devoted 35 years of her life to
the education of Black youth. ¹

Between his appointment and assumption of office,
Coppin went on a lecture tour, speaking on such topics as
"The Dark Continent," about which he later admitted that he
knew virtually nothing. ² But, it was a means of raising funds
for the projected college. The South Africans had asked for
$15,000 and the Conference only appropriated $10,000 for the
work. Coppin embarked on a crusade to raise another $5,000.
He made a special appeal to the ministry of the Church to set
an example by donating generously. To go to South Africa
with empty hands, said Coppin, was to but half hear and half
answer the call from South Africa for a Bishop and a school.³
The call was half heard for Coppin went to South Africa with
roughly $1500 above the promised $10,000.⁴

While Bishop Coppin was preparing to assume office,
the South Africans continued to send letters to the U.S.
reporting on the progress of the church. Edward Gow wrote
to tell the Bishop that because the AMEC was attempting to

¹John Cromwell, The Negro in American History (New

²Coppin, Unwritten History, op. cit., p. 313.
³Voice of Missions, August 1900.
preach the gospel and elevate the race, the Dutch Reformed Church was its most unrelenting enemy. Because the Dutch Reformed Church had the largest number of Coloureds of any church and yet taught dependency on the white man, it recognized the danger of the AMEC with its tenet of self-sufficiency. Gow accused the Dutch Reformed Church ministers of choosing their vocation not because of any evangelical zeal but in order

   to live in luxury off the sweat of my black brothers and sisters. . . . Now our church has come, 'God' has spoken, and the scales which closed the eyes of my black brother and sister are slowly but surely being removed.

Gow alleged that at the forthcoming Dutch Reformed Church synod, the church would petition the government to "exterminate" the AMEC.¹

¹Gow to Turner, 23 August 1900, Voice of Missions, November 1900.
Rideout in Pondoland

Perhaps "exterminate" is too strong a word, but certainly Government by 1900 was bent on defusing the momentum of the AMEC by exercising firm control over the activities of the people connected with it. Conrad A. Rideout was chief on the list of persons to be neutralized, for by early 1900, he was living in Pondoland.

There had been rumors that the eastern Pondos were planning to rebel long before actual war broke out between the British and the Boers. With reason Milner and Schreiner were concerned with the possibility, for it will be recalled that Pondoland was the last of the major chiefdoms in Southern Africa to be subdued.

The actual annexation and the events which followed it were particularly humiliating for Paramount Chief Sigcau who since his accession to the Chieftainship had strenuously and successfully resisted the efforts of the Colony Government to place within his territory even a resident commissioner. However, pressure from the Colonial Government buttressed by that of the resident Wesleyan missionary, Rev. P. Hargreaves, forced Sigcau to relinquish his territory in 1894.

Pondoland's annexation meant the abrogation of certain
concessions which brought Sigcau annual revenues and which the Colonial Government reduced by half.\(^1\)

Sigcau's actions in the wake of the annexation though not "rebellious or criminal" were certainly not cooperative. His stalling tactics to postpone a "process which was galling to him,"\(^2\) eventually led the Chief Magistrate to arrest the Chief. Sigcau was imprisoned under some hastily enacted legislation instigated by Rhodes, who in a particularly vindictive mood, was determined to keep him jailed as long as possible. The Supreme Court overruled the legislation and Sigcau was released.

Thus, Sigcau was a prime target for the aspirations and plans of someone like Rideout.

In February, 1900, Rideout had gone to Pondoland accompanied by Tantsi, to discuss with Sigcau the establishment of schools in his country. They may have discussed some type of commercial venture as well for there was talk of cultivating tea and coffee in Pondoland.\(^3\) It would appear that Rideout stayed on in Pondoland. It should be noted that

\(^1\) Stanford, op. cit., pp. 159, 168.
\(^2\) Ibid., p. 168.
\(^3\) Tantsi to Turner, 21 February 1900, Voice of Missions, May 1900. The AMEC owned a coffee farm in Liberia and for a time, the coffee was packaged and sold in the US. Rideout apparently planned a similar arrangement with the Pondoland products.
the AMEC had been represented in Pondoland since at least 1899 by two ministers: S. Mtintso and J. Mfuneli. The latter was an ordained marriage officer.

In any case, at the end of May, Sigcau wrote to the Assistant Chief Magistrate of Pondoland, R. W. Stanford telling him of his intention to visit the Paris Exposition and from there he hoped to go to England to call on Queen Victoria.¹

It turns out that Stanford had been receiving reports on Sigcau's "restlessness" for sometime previous to his receipt of the above communication. He had learned through one of his informants stationed at the Royal Kraal that Sigcau was,

under the influence of an Ethiopian Missionary—an American Negro—whose appearance is not in his favour, and who has succeeded in persuading the Chief, that he does not receive the treatment from Government, which such a very important person as the head of the Pondo nation has a right to expect. That the subsidy he receives, is absurdly small, and should be increased to at least four thousand a year, and that much more power should be allowed him, with regard to ruling the Pondos, etc. etc.; and he was led to believe, that if he would visit England, the Queen would speedily right matters for him, and instruct the Colonial Government to treat him better for the future.

Stanford was told that toward this end, Sigcau had instructed one of his agents to sell a number of his cattle for the

purpose of raising the fare. Stanford took the position that Sigcau should be permitted to go to England for it would prove to him that "he is not the great man, he now imagines himself to be."

The Secretary of Native Affairs concurred with Stanford's view that the government should sanction Sigcau's trip. The new Prime Minister, J. G. Sprigg, was also favorable but he expressed the hope that Stanford would, instill a little common sense into the inflated individual so that he do [sic] not make an ass of himself. He will be disappointed if the Queen does not meet him at Southampton.

The Chief Magistrate at Umtata was told to give Sigcau permission to proceed with his plans and he was told to have his assistant, R. W. Stanford "bring Sigcau to a less inflated estimate of his own importance." The Chief Magistrate was also asked to solicit information on Sigcau's "Ethiopian Missionary" advisor.

From various sources, Stanford learned that the missionary's name was "Rideout," that he was an American attorney under the supervision of Bishop Turner, that he had been with Sigcau "continuously" and had "unlimited

\[1\] Ibid., Stanford to the Chief Magistrate, 6 June 1900.

\[2\] Ibid., Schedule No. 318, 21 June 1900.

influence" over the King. Stanford attributed Sigcau's determination to visit England to Rideout's influence. Stanford went on to say that Rideout had just left Pondoland in June by postcart for Cape Town for the purpose of making the arrangements for the King's trip, a trip on which he too planned to go. Stanford explained that it was difficult to procure any information on Rideout's activities while at the Royal Kraal because the Mpondo were close-mouthed on any matter concerning the affairs of their chief. He had been able to learn that while Rideout was en route to Cape Town in the postcart, he had presented a fellow passenger with one of his business cards which described him as an attorney at law in Seattle, Washington.

When Rideout arrived back in Cape Town, he met with Milner several times, and with Prime Minister Sprigg and his Attorney General. At this series of meetings, Rideout discussed his educational plans for an industrial school at Great Falls, the site which Sigcau had already donated to the AMEC. Rideout also discussed the other 14 sites allegedly donated by Sigcau for church and school purposes.

1Republic of South Africa Government Archives, Cape Town, Letters Received from the Chief Magistrate, Tembuland and Transkei, NA 260. Stanford to the Chief Magistrate, Umtata, 3, 10 July 1900.

2Stanford to the Chief Magistrate, Umtata, 25 October 1900, NA 686.

3Rideout to Parks, n.d., Voice of Missions, 1 March 1901.
Several months later, Sigcau paid a visit to Stanford and among the items discussed was his proposed visit to Europe. He requested the government to lend him £550 toward defraying his expenses. Stanford suggested that an advance on his quarterly stipend would be more sensible and he tried to dampen Sigcau's enthusiasm about meeting the Queen. In the course of the interview Sigcau expressed anxiety over the sea journey and the English climate. Stanford left the meeting convinced Sigcau would not make the trip.¹

True to Stanford's prediction, Sigcau informed the government that he was postponing his trip till the spring of 1901.²

However, this was not the last of Rideout's influence on Pondo affairs. In October, 1900, Samson Mtintso, Elder of the AMEC in Pondoland, applied for permission to build a school at a location in the Lusikisiki district. He had asked permission from the location headman and it had been given. Stanford responded to the request by asking Mtintso for information on the church he represented.³

In highly legalistic style Mtintso's reply titled: "A.M.E. School-site re," outlined the history of the AMEC

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¹Ibid., Sigcau to Alfred Milner, 30 November 1900.

²Mtintso to Stanford, Acting Chief Magistrate, Lusikisiki, 31 October 1900, NA 498.

³Ibid., Stanford to Mtintso, 17 November 1900.
in America and described it as:

a church in the religious world, in the front rank for christianising, civilising, and educating all classes of the human family, irrespective of class, colour or condition.

Mtintso went on to say that the AMEC came to South Africa for the same reasons as the MEC presided over by Bishop Hartzell and he stated that Hartzell's counterpart was Levi J. Coppin.¹

It is highly unlikely that Mtintso composed the letter for it is highly unlikely that he would be so knowledgeable about the AMEC's American background. In addition, Harry Dean (see below), described "Emtinso" as a man with a "fair command" of English who had been preaching around Pondoland for several years.² Given the tone of the letter, one can presumably surmise that it was composed by Rideout.

The Resident Magistrate for Lusikisini sent Mtintso's letter to the Chief Magistrate at Umtata recommending that the application be denied. He based his recommendation on his belief that the politics of Mtintso and his church were likely to "cause unrest and in other ways to militate against the good Government of the Pondos."³

¹Ibid., Mtintso to the Resident Magistrate, 26 November 1900.


³Stanford to the Chief Magistrate, 28 November 1900, NA 498.
The Chief Magistrate, H. C. Elliot, sent the Mtintso letter and that of his Resident Magistrate to the Native Affairs Department. He told the Secretary of the Native Affairs Department that he knew nothing of the sect "calling itself" the AMEC (which was patently untrue, see above). He told the Secretary that he had heard confidentially that Mtintso's advice to Sigcau was not conducive to the good of the Pondos or to the government. He told the Secretary that the Territory had a sufficient number of government recognized missionary bodies operating within it and a new one need not be encouraged.\textsuperscript{1} For the moment, the Secretary refused to make any decision.

There were other site applications for 1900 as well. J. Z. Tantsi applied to the Superintendent-General of Education for a school site in the Bizana District in May, 1900. The Native Affairs Department called for a report from the School Inspector for the District and the Inspector happened to be Robert Rein who had already filed a rather subjective and abrasive report on the AMEC school in Lesseyton (see above). Not surprisingly, his report did little to encourage the SNA to approve the application. Rein told the Superintendent-General that the spot selected by Tantsi was suitable except that it was too close to a Wesleyan school which had recently applied for a government grant. He advised the AMEs to select another site at least three miles distant from the

\textsuperscript{1}Ibid., H. C. Elliot to SNAD, 1 December 1900.
Moreover, he reported that Tantsi had not been given permission by the district chief to establish the school in the location. On the basis of the report, Stanford told the Chief Magistrate of Umtata that the chances of approval for Tantsi's site application were "extremely improbable." The Duda-Ngcayiya application for a site at Zitzikama was still pending in the NAD. In late 1899, Ngcayiya had requested an audience with the Prime Minister but they were referred instead to the SNA. At the time of the interview, Stanford declined to make a decision saying that he would wait until the Dwane controversy had been settled. In the new year, Ngcayiya requested another interview with Stanford. The delegation explained to Stanford that it did not seek a grant of land from the government, it merely sought the use of the land on which they intended to build a church. Stanford stalled and told the delegation that no decision on the application would be made until after Coppin's arrival.

1 Ibid., Rein to the Superintendent-General of Education, 3 October 1900.

2 Ibid., Stanford to the Chief Magistrate, 18 October 1900.

3 Ibid., Ngcayiya to the Prime Minister, 14 November 1899.

4 Ibid., Stanford to the Prime Minister, Schedule #821, 14 November 1899.

5 Ibid., Telegram to the NAD, 2 March 1900.

6 Ibid., Ngcayiya to the Secretary of Agriculture, 30 August 1900.
In the meantime, Stanford requested the Civil Commissioner of Queenstown to furnish his Department with more information on the AMEC in the location: when it began its activities, how often its services were conducted, how many adherents it had, what other denominations were operating in the location and he asked for a sketch of the site selected.¹

The Church had been operating in the location for three years, and 3/4 of the location residents were members, most of whom had seceded from the Congregational Church which had been run by the late L. G. Jones (see above). The proposed site turned out to be roughly 300 yards distant from a Congregationalist building and the AMEs had already begun to construct a building on the site; a roofless structure had been erected and Ngcayiya had performed a marriage ceremony within it.²

Ngcayiya wrote the Secretary of Agriculture for confirmation of Stanford's decision to wait for Coppin's arrival before processing the application. Ngcayiya told the Secretary of Agriculture that if this were the case, he would petition Parliament for redress against the obvious delaying tactics of the various government officials.³

¹Ibid., NAD to the Civil Commissioner, 2 March 1900.
²Ibid., Superintendent of Native Locations to the Civil Commissioner, 11 April 1900.
³Ibid., Ngcayiya to the Secretary of Agriculture, 30 August 1900.
True to his threat, the headman, Duda, and others calling themselves "Members of the AMEC, Oxkraal" petitioned the House of Assembly on 28 September to consider their complaint. The petition was referred to the Select Committee on Waste Lands, which simply referred the petition to the government "to be dealt with in the ordinary course."\(^1\)

Ngcayiya again wrote to Sprigg asking him what action he planned to take in light of the Waste Lands Committee recommendation.\(^2\) On the same date, he wrote to the Secretary of Agriculture telling him that he was "surprised" at the inaction of government given the Waste Lands Committee recommendation. He alleged that Stanford had assured him the site had been granted and that he would be notified in due course. Ngcayiya asked the Secretary to bring the problem to Spriggs' attention so that confirmation could be sent to him as soon as possible.\(^3\)

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\(^1\)Legislative Assembly Report for 1900, n.d., NA 498.

\(^2\)Ibid., Ngcayiya to Gordon Sprigg, 26 November 1900.

\(^3\)Ibid., Ngcayiya to Secretary of Agriculture, n.d.
A Clean Slate: Turner Relinquishes the Voice of Missions

Back in the U.S., December, 1900 marked the end of Bishop Turner's editorship of the Voice of Missions. He had nurtured it from its infancy, so that by his estimation, it had a world wide monthly readership of 50,000. The paper was moved from Atlanta to the New York headquarters of the Missions Department and it was placed in the hands of H. B. Parks.

It has been suggested that the control of the Voice was wrested from the Bishop because the Church was embarrassed by his anti-war stance and the strident articles he wrote condemning Black participation in the Spanish-American War. There were rumors that the Government was about to indict Turner for treason. Certainly his support for President McKinley's rival, Bryan, incensed many an influential AME member because the Church and the Republican Party had a solid relationship. In exchange for their votes, they were given various minor political appointments. Whatever the reasons whether it was the above mentioned or it was simply

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1 Voice of Missions, October 1899.

2 Interview with Josephous Coan, Atlanta, Georgia, January, 1977.
a matter of his age and health, he was not elected editor at the 1900 General Conference.

The transference marked the end of one of the most imaginative and colorful papers ever printed in America. In his farewell editorial, which he geared toward his African audience, Bishop Turner promised to visit once again West and South Africa as soon as his health improved and in a touching note, he said:

... You are only the pioneers of a great African civilization that will one day grace your grand continent. The Africans of this country will come to your shores by millions in the near future... our children and children's children will never consent to endure the degradation that we are the victims of. If I could imagine they would I would despair for our future.

In a sense, the termination of Turner's editorship of Voice signified a new beginning for the Church in South Africa. As we have seen, so much of the physical expansion of the Church had been hampered (1) because Dwane's ordination as Vicar-Bishop had been questioned (2) because of his subsequent revolt and (3) because the Church had no resident supervisor as a result of his revolt. Schreiner had informed Fitzpatrick that all government interaction with the AMEC would cease until a resident head of the Church had been assigned. The General Conference had complied with that stipulation by the election of L. J. Coppin as its first South African Bishop.

Because there had been no overall supervision of the
South African ministers, several of them had applied for church sites apparently under no direction other than their own. One in particular, H. R. Ngcayiya, had been extremely persistent in his attempts to get a decision on his applications and in the South African context, persistency has always been tantamount to insubordination.\(^1\) Ngcayiya sent telegrams and letters to everyone from the Prime Minister to the Superintendent of Native Locations. He led delegations to Cape Town and he petitioned the Cape Colony Legislative Assembly for redress of his grievances. He constructed a church building on a site applied for but unapproved and he performed a marriage ceremony in defiance of the government's ban on AME marriage officers.

European missionaries more than ever suspected the motives of the AMEC in light of their numerous site applications and they took every opportunity to discredit the Church with the government authorities. The Christian Express reprinted articles gleaned from the Voice of Missions in an attempt to present the "facts" relative to the pernicious effects of Black Americans on South Africans. Rideout's plans for South Africa were highlighted and Parks' visions of African/

\(^1\)Ngcayiya was born in the Cape, educated at Healdtown and after passing his teacher's examination, he taught for a time. Following his teaching stint, he became an interpreter in the Magistrate's office in Aliwal North. He too became engulfed in the Tile uproar and he later joined the Ethiopian Church under Mokone. He was ordained in 1898 by Bishop Turner (Skota, op. cit., p. 87).
African-American cooperative action for mutual good was profiled. The Cape Argus viewed the "Ethiopian" movement as but one manifestation of the general "Pan-African" movement which had been launched at the 1900 London Conference. The government was concerned about a native uprising while it was embroiled in its confrontation with the Boer Republics.

Coppin's entrance into South Africa at this particular time was meant to silence government and ecclesiastical speculation as to the motives of the AMEC or its intention to stay in the country. Coppin took to South Africa all the qualifications the government could conceivably demand for the recognition of his church and just as important, the Church organ, the Voice of Missions, had been placed in the hands of a no less Africa oriented man but certainly a more subdued, provident one. Coppin went to South Africa with all the ingredients for a successful venture in that country. He began with a clean slate so far as the government was concerned and it is for an examination of his years in office that we now turn.