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**Author**

Edgar, Robert

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GARVEYISM IN AFRICA: DR. WELLINGTON AND THE  
AMERICAN MOVEMENT IN THE TRANSKEI

by

ROBERT EDGAR

THE BATTLE HYMN OF AFRICA by  
Marcus Garvey

*Africa's sun is shining above the horizon clear  
The day for us is rising, for black men far and near;  
Our God is in the front line, the heavenly batallion leads,  
Onward, make your banners shine, ye men of noble deeds.*

*When pandemonium breaks, the earth will tremble fast,  
Nor oceans, seas nor lakes shall serve the first or last,  
Our suff'ring has been long, our cries to God ascending,  
We have counted ev'ry wrong which calls for an amending.*

*So into battle let us go with the cross before;  
The Angels, great, from high to low, watch forevermore;  
We see the enemy scatter, and watch their ranks divide--  
With God there is no fetter for whom He doth provide.*

The Negro World (September 16, 1927)

Historical accounts of twentieth century South Africa have given little weight to the activities of Africans in the rural reserves so that at first glance, one might be struck by the unchanging and static nature of rural life and conclude that there was little popular pressure for economic, political or social change. Indeed this attitude has been given some currency by W.D. Hammond-Tooke, who, in his appraisal of the Transkei council system, has argued

*...the fact of the matter is that the ordinary tribesman did not want change... Leadership towards change is only effective where there is a general feeling of deprivation and a popular movement for improvement. This was lacking in the Transkei in the first half of this century.<sup>1</sup>*

The fact is that there are numerous examples of popular movements for change in the Transkei, but the vast majority of these have gone unnoticed because they lie outside the pale of documented history or because they were short-lived or had no organizational base.

An example is the "American" movement of the mid-1920's led by a disciple of Marcus Garvey, Wellington Butelezi, who announced that a day of salvation was at hand in which black American armies would arrive to liberate Africans from European bondage. Because of Butelezi's bombastic rhetoric, his unorthodox style and mercurial personality, he and his movement have been much maligned over the years and generally treated as a curious footnote or a bizarre episode in South African history. But the fact remains that, for a short time, his movement achieved considerable success in arousing mass enthusiasm and articulating the grievances and aspirations of Africans throughout the Transkei. Just as the work and ideas of Butelezi's mentor, Marcus Garvey, have been reevaluated in recent years, so also is Butelezi's movement worthy of serious reconsideration.

The details of the early life of "Dr. Wellington" are still sketchy. Baptized Elias Wellington Butelezi, he was born about 1895 at Emtongweni near Melmoth, Natal. He received his early education at Mpumulo, a Lutheran mission school, but after 1918, he left home and his parents lost track of him. His father, Daniel, testified at one of his numerous trials that "...after he returned (from Mpumulo) he wandered about the country...I did not actually know where he was when he was wandering about the country, and cannot say whether he left this country or not... I saw him last during the flu epidemic [1918]. He came from Portuguese East Africa to my kraal."<sup>2</sup> However, we know that in 1921, Butelezi enrolled as a Standard VII student at Lovedale Institution in the Eastern Cape. His performance at Lovedale was less than inspiring and he left after one term, but not before being tagged with the nickname, "Bootlaces." His former classmates still remember him as a "poser" who enjoyed assuming different identities and as a pretentious dresser--he was fond of wearing riding breeches.<sup>3</sup> Both were traits which were to be identified with Butelezi throughout his career.

How and why Butelezi assumed his talents as a medical doctor is not clear, but we know that in August, 1923, he was arrested and fined at New Hanover, Natal for practicing medicine without a license.<sup>4</sup> Apparently, he had been legitimately granted a license to practice as a herbalist in Natal, but had upgraded his occupation to include the responsibilities of a general medical practitioner.<sup>5</sup> By 1925, Butelezi had shifted his base of operation to Qachas Nek, Basutoland, where he concocted bottles of medicine which he peddled on his circuit throughout the northeastern Transkei and Griqualand. Armed with a stethoscope and a dry cell battery (which he used to run a current through some of his patients), he diagnosed and treated everything from tuberculosis to water on the womb, although his medicines (generally sold at 5s a bottle) achieved mixed results. Nevertheless he attracted a widespread clientele who found him less expensive than many herbalists and more accessible than the few European doctors in the area.

Besides his transformation into a medical doctor, Butelezi's residency at Qachas Nek also saw other developments: he changed his name to Dr. Butler Hansford Wellington, and claimed that he had become a minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, as well as representative of Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League (UNIA and ACL).<sup>6</sup> Always the chameleon, Dr. Wellington embellished many other aspects of his life's history, but a statement he made at one of his trials provides a basic outline of his purported life's history.

*I am an American Negro male adult age 32 years. I was born in Chicago, North American where my father, Daniel Wellington is still residing. I left New York per S.S. Harlem at the late part of 1921 for Portuguese East Africa and landed at Delagoa Bay. In 1922 I got a Portuguese passport...for the purpose of visiting the Union. I entered the Transvaal through Kommatiepoort where my passport was stamped by the Emigration (sic) offices. From the Transvaal I visited Natal and also went to Cape Town and from Cape Town I came to East Griqualand and at present I reside in Quachas Nek, West Basutoland...The passport with which I entered the Union from Portuguese East Africa is at present amongst my belongings in Basutoland. When coming into the Union I only came on a visit not intending to reside in the Union. I have been in the Union all the time since 1922 up to February 1925 when I went into Basutoland...When coming into the Union I passed as a Portuguese East African native. I am a medical practitioner by occupation. I passed my medical degree, Bachelor of Medicine, at Rush Medical University, North America.<sup>7</sup>*

In other circumstances, Wellington changed his birthplace from Chicago to Liberia and claimed that he had had further training at Oxford and Cambridge.

However opportunistic it may have been, Butelezi's conversion to Garveyism was probably gradual. He most likely had become acquainted with Garveyism long before his sojourn in Basutoland. Ever since Garvey had established his organization in the United States during the first World War, his literature had permeated Southern Africa. African-oriented newspapers such as *Imvo Zabantsundu* and *The Workers Herald* featured articles and full-page advertisements on Garvey's organization and writings, while European newspapers publicized inflated accounts of Garveyite conventions and activities in the United States. In spite of South African government attempts to curtail its circulation through the mail, the Garveyite organ, *The Negro World*, reached a broad audience of literate Africans.

By the early 1920's, Garveyism was having a profound and varying impact on a wide audience in Southern Africa. Enoch Mjijima, the prophetic leader of the Israelite sect encamped at Bullhoek, was interpreting the changes heralded by Garvey

as evidence that the millennium was fast approaching. In August, 1920, his nephew, Gilbert Matshoba, a law clerk in Queenstown wrote to him about a Garvey meeting in New York and reported that Garvey had vowed,

*We will not ask England, France, Italy or Belgium, or in other words we will not ask from them why are you... in this place [Africa]. We will only direct them to get out. We will only formulate a Bill of Rights embracing all the black natives and also law to administrate their welfare. The blood of all wars is about to arrive [its compensation is due.] When Europe puts her might against Asia. Then it will be time for the negroes to lift up their sword of the liberty of the Africans. Father that is the news of our black countrymen. It is [published in the newspapers].<sup>8</sup>*

By 1921, four branches of the UNIA had been opened in the Western Cape and the American-educated leader of the Cape branch of the African National Congress, James Thaele, was a staunch advocate of Garveyism.<sup>9</sup> And at Lovedale, Butelezi's former school, the teachers held an open forum on current affairs every Wednesday and the UNIA, its ideas and objectives, were a constant source of discussion.<sup>10</sup>

Garveyism also sparked off a vigorous debate among Africans over the desirability of transplanting Garveyism in South Africa. Those who opposed the movement argued that Garveyism was just a "house of cards" which would contribute little to African advancement and might convey the impression that African loyalty was suspect.<sup>11</sup> Some Africans also questioned whether black Americans would treat them any better than Europeans. Speaking at the Ethiopian church in Queenstown, J.T. Gumede, one of the members of the ANC delegation to the Versailles Conference, informed his audience that "those people in America had never stretched out their hand to help them in anything, and how could we expect them to come and deliver us from oppression by the white man...Some of these Negroes were already in Liberia, and had ill-treated the aboriginal natives in that Republic...<sup>12</sup>

Nevertheless numerous Africans openly embraced Garveyism because it emphasized the creative capabilities of Africans, the potential for unification of the peoples of Africa and African descent, and the possibilities for reclaiming Africa from the Europeans. While recognizing the differences which he had personally experienced between Africans and Afro-Americans, one American-educated writer, Theodore M. Kakaza, felt that the cross-fertilization of ideas between the two groups could only lead to greater achievements. He warned:

*Let the alien races remember that they cannot keep forever the teeming millions of blacks who aspire to freedom and nationhood. Their longing hearts must someday reach their barriers notwithstanding. The task may be great, the road long, tortuous and*

*full of pitfalls, but just as sure as the sun rises in the East, these hitherto sleeping giants, who had been awakened by Marcus Garvey, must come to their own.*"<sup>13</sup>

The initial strongholds of Garveyism were in industrial centers like Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban and Kimberley. But Garveyism, its ideas and literature, was quickly spread into the rural reserves by thousands of labor migrants who traversed between rural and urban areas. Wherever Africans gathered, Garveyism often was a topic of conversation. Much of the information which Africans digested was usually carried by word of mouth, second or third hand at best, and was often rumor.<sup>14</sup> And as Garvey's message attracted more listeners, its promises of Africans throwing off the yoke of colonialism and Afro-Americans returning to the African continent were distorted or exaggerated. Most certainly the expectations of imminent change which Garveyism raised shaped the direction of Wellington's movement in the Transkei.

However much Butelezi may have been influenced by the debates over Garveyism, his most important link was a West Indian, Ernest Wallace, who, while residing at Qachas Nek, met Butelezi about 1925. Wallace had joined the UNIA after the first World War and, with several black Americans, had moved to Basutoland to organize Garvey chapters.<sup>15</sup> He found a willing convert in Butelezi, who, in typical fashion, embellished their relationship by claiming he had met Wallace almost a decade earlier in Chicago and later at Oxford and Cambridge. At one of Butelezi's trials, although Butelezi testified that he had met Wallace in England, Wallace's own recollection of the meeting was hazy. "I did not question the fact that I have not met the accused elsewhere in Europe...I only saw accused pass me in London. I was not intimate with him. I am not sure that this person was the accused."<sup>16</sup> It is clear, however, that Wallace and Butelezi began holding meetings in the Matatiele district. A report of one meeting held on December 15, 1925 was sent to a local newspaper. A Negro spiritual, "We are Awaiting for a Master Who Will Rise and Come to His People," opened the meeting followed by an impassioned speech by Wallace.

*Stepping on to the platform Bro. Wallace's mind ran back through hundreds of miles of land and sea to the land of his birth and adoption and the country of his father's afflictions...With that inspiration seething in his breast like molten volcanic lava and finding exit from the great volcano of his mouth, the goodly brother issued out his sentiments and touching sensations. He was not sent to tell what the negroes in America do, he said, but to ask them to work out their own salvation.*

*His message, he said was based on the foundation of truth and on the promotion of a general confraternity among the scattered negro race. He had come to ask Africa to trim her land and await the time when the Son of Man shall come out on His chariot of fire to redeem His people.*

*God the Almighty Loved the negro race as much as He loved other races of the world. He made all of one blood, therefore let Africa rise on her feet and praise the Lord, for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth. Let Africa claim for one God, one aim, one destiny.*

*If we strive and struggle hard the Lord who is always at the service of the needy will hear our cry and come to assist us in our efforts. The sons and daughters of Africa must coalesce, unite and build themselves up into a strong and indivisible unit believing always in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man; respecting the rights of others and finding inspiration from the Man of Men.*

*Africa is furthermore asked to cook her own pot and the Africans, the legal shareholders in this great and beautiful country, to put their backs to the wheel and work hard to the redemption of their fatherland and utilise all energy to save Africa from the grinding pincers of poverty; "There is much strength in Union for Union is strength," says an old dictum. Let us unite and co-operate. The UNIA and ACL affords ample chance for aspiring young men and women of the negro race.*

*May the God of Israel stretch out His hands over the Ethiopian race and bless their struggling efforts.<sup>17</sup>*

With his florid delivery, Wallace thrust home the essence of Garveyism: black unity, black consciousness, black liberation. But this remarkable speech also evidenced a strong millennial current. The black struggle was built on the surety that the Lord would intervene in the time of need. After Wallace and Butelezi parted ways, it was essentially Wallace's message--with one major alteration--which Butelezi spread throughout the Transkei. The modification was that Butelezi elevated the American black to the role of liberator for he prophesied that American blacks were coming soon to free Africans from the bondage of their European oppressors.

Wellington's image of a miraculous intervention by a foreign liberator was not an isolated occurrence in South African history. During the cattle-killing episode in 1856-57, the Crimean War provided the backdrop for a rumor that Russians were invading South Africa to drive out the English.<sup>18</sup> During the first World War, one of the principal actors changed and the Germans became the liberators of South Africa. Among the Zulu, a recurring belief was that their deposed chief, Dinizulu, was returning to

restore the Zulu nation to its former greatness. Thus, in 1920, a rumor swept the Dundee District in Natal "...to the effect that Dinizulu was not dead; he was on the seas en route for South Africa with a large German Army and was coming to 'blot out' the white man."<sup>19</sup> In the eyes of Africans, the fact that the Russians and Germans were actively warring against their colonial masters validated the righteousness of their cause.

During the post World War I era, the image of the liberator was most closely linked with the Afro-American. In east and Central Africa, the British banned or restricted the activities of black Americans, but in South Africa, the authorities warily allowed them to work in most parts of the country. Thus Africans learned of Afro-America through the images presented by magazines, newspapers and the cinema,<sup>20</sup> through the impressions of black south Africans educated in the United States, or through direct contact with black American sailors, traders and Negro Baptist and A.M.E. missionaries. The image pieced together by many Africans was not of an oppressed and downtrodden people, but of an energetic and creative race who ruled America and played a pivotal role in world politics. As W.D. Cingo, a Transkeian historian and vocal opponent of Garveyism, put it:

*The Great European War also had its contribution to these illusions. The moral and military power of America came into prominence. Her declaration for the "Self determination of smaller nations," the force of which drove some misguided Dutch citizens of the Union to what they preferred to term "An armed protest," caught the tender ears of the unsophisticated natives in these parts. They regard the voice of America as that of a mighty race of black people overseas, dreaded by all European nations. These people, our unfortunate friends, imagine in their confusion, manufacture for their own purposes, engines, locomotives, ships, motor cars, aeroplanes, and mighty weapons of war. The mad dreams and literature of Marcus Garvey, a Black American Negro, were broadcast on the winds. Hopes for political and economic emancipation were revived and today the word America [iMelika] is a household word symbolic of nothing but Bantu National freedom and liberty.*<sup>21</sup>

During the post-World War I era, the myth of Afro-American liberation was further stimulated by being linked to numerous movements and individuals. For example, the African trade union of Clements Kadalie, the Industrial and Commercial Worker's Union, because of its insistent demands for higher wages and better employment conditions for black workers, had a profound impact on the thinking of rural and urban laborers and contributed to the definition of the Afro-American liberator. One African, who had worked for many years in Port Elizabeth, remembered:



*During the time of the ICU, we heard about the coming of the black Americans who were coming to liberate us. There was gossip that a ship with eight chimneys was seen in East London which was coming to free us. The ICU was preaching the idea of independence and these ideas cropped up also.<sup>21</sup>*

The liberation myth also affected the millennial movement led by the prophetess Nonteta near King Williams Town. When several hundred of her followers were jailed in 1923 for ignoring a government order to kill locusts, a number of them had dreams of Americans opening the doors of their cells and freeing them. One man recollected:

*We used to dream in the hope that the Americans were coming to release us. It was just a rumor, but what you hear as a rumor, you always dream about. I can't tell you who told us these rumors but there was always hope throughout that the Americans would free us. As oppressed people, we always had hope that we would be released.<sup>23</sup>*

One writer on millennialism has observed that "in some regions millennialism is an endemic force and may seize upon any available figure.<sup>24</sup> Thus it was that an unsuspecting visitor from West Africa was transformed into a messianic figure. The Gold Coast educator, James Aggrey, touring the union of South Africa in 1921 as part of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, gave speeches in the Eastern Cape and Transkei, where he was received ecstatically by tremendous crowds of Africans, many of whom believed Aggrey to be an American. Aggrey counselled his audiences to follow the virtues of moderation and hard work, and he assured them that Garveyite promises were just as illusory as a "Midsummer's Night Dream." Yet his listeners came expecting him to deliver much more. His biographer remarked:

*In the Transkei...people had expected an earthly deliverer who was coming to wage war, not against their wrongdoing, but against their conquerors and rulers...Aggrey was supposed by some to be the herald of an invading band of Negroes--they thought all Americans were Negroes--who would drive the whites of South Africa into the sea. Men came to the meeting in Umtata on horseback with empty sacks for saddle-cloths. He will order the merchants to sell their goods cheaply--he may even compel them to give their goods away for nothing! So they imagine. The empty grain bags under the saddles were to carry away these easily gotten possessions. These men rode away greatly disappointed from Umtata, wondering at the impudence of the person who had summoned them hither.*

Even a chief, who was a member of the Transkei Legislative Assembly (Bunga), was convinced that Aggrey would offer more. When asked for his reaction to Aggrey's speech, he responded:

"I liked it; but he did not say what we expected."

"What is that?"

"The American Government." 25

In contrast to Aggrey, Wellington relished his role as liberator and took advantage of the fertile ground for his message. His immediate successes were related to his ability to grasp and articulate ideas and aspirations which were in the air and channel them into the framework of his movement. That he was filling a deep-felt void in the minds of many Africans was expressed by Joel Mnyimba, who had worked as a clerk in Cape Town and on the mines, and had previously joined the ICU and ANC.

*I had always been and am very confident in the Americans. I was never told about Wellington...When I left home [Siqungwini location near Tsolo] I left Mr. Sigenu with a message that he must look out to the coming of the Black American. He therefore wrote me telling me that he had arrived. In a dream [in June 1926] I heard a voice calling for me to return home to do my duty as the Americans had arrived. A voice I heard very often. A voice that said, 'Come for your duty.' I waited everyday for those Americans to come to free South Africa.* 26

Despite his stirring leadership, Wellington was just as much a captive as a shaper of his environment. He intended initially to organize Garvey chapters and spread Garvey's ideas, but the idea which riveted most African's imaginations was that of the Afro-American liberator and this led the movement in directions unforeseen by Wellington. We will later examine the political and economic backdrop for Wellington's success, but first we will take a look at the manner in which the movement developed and spread throughout the Transkei.

When Dr. Wellington began his proselytizing for Garvey, he was about thirty years old. He stood a stoutish 5'4", sported a large moustache and bushy muttonchops, and had a long scar below his right earlobe. He wore glasses and was usually nattily attired. Followers were impressed with the fact that Wellington owned half a dozen suits which he would change during the day. When he spoke at meetings, however, he put on a ministerial robe. For transportation, he initially relied on horses. One he called "Europe," another "Sedition." After he had been expelled from the Transkei, a follower put up his land as security so that Wellington was able to buy an old Dodge automobile. 27

From Wellington's base around Matatiele, reports of his preaching quickly spread throughout the Transkei, and he was invited to numerous districts. He travelled in May, 1926, to Mount Fletcher, and subsequently as far west as Ugie and Elliotdale. His strongest concentration of followers was in Griqualand East, especially in the districts of Mount Fletcher, Mount Ayliff, Qumbu and Tsolo. Wherever he was not able to appear personally, he sent disciples or converts. Initially his meetings were open

just to followers, who swore secrecy and expressed their solidarity with one another by joining his organization, *Amafela Ndawonye* (those who die together). In Wellingtonite strongholds, tremendous pressure was exerted on non-members to join. In some cases, they resorted to physical violence; in others, they utilized social ostracism. Those who sat on the fence or were against Wellington were branded as *witvoets* (white feet) and suspected of collaborating with Europeans.

The authorities were unable to build a case against Wellington because no one was willing to testify against him; many headmen were his supporters and refused to pass on information about his movements to magistrates. But as Wellington's movement mushroomed, it became impossible to limit his meetings to manageable proportions and whenever Africans learned that he was speaking in a district thousands flocked to his meetings.

Dressed in his ministerial garb, Wellington addressed the crowds in English (to do otherwise would have contradicted his image as an American); his interpreters translated into Xhosa. He usually began his meetings with prayer, scripture reading and hymn singing. Normally two standard hymns were sung, 'Nkosi sikele' i Afrika' (God bless Africa) and 'Lizalis idinga Lak'o (God fulfill your promise),<sup>28</sup> but as the movement gained momentum, the Wellingtonites composed numerous songs reinforcing the themes of freedom and unity. A few examples follow:

- (1) *Africa is the land of our fathers  
The foreigners are claiming it  
They will never have it  
Because it is ours*
- (2) *Chase away our enemies  
And destroy their plans  
And leave us in this world of ours  
May unity continue forever*
- (3) *We are the family of Africa  
We are the children of Africa  
We shall die here  
Bless our country*
- (4) *The Lord unites us  
We the African nation  
That we may be one with Africa  
Lord accompany our friends from America  
Give them enough strength  
That with your grace we may see each other<sup>29</sup>*

The basic thrust of Wellington's preaching was that a day of judgment was drawing near in which Americans were coming to liberate black Africans from their European oppressors. Wellington's message was not a radical departure from Garveyite pronouncements. Garvey emphasized the unity of all black people

and promised that Afro-Americans were returning soon to their ancestral homeland. Indeed there was a widespread rumor that "General" Garvey himself was going to pay a visit to South Africa in the near future. However, Wellington's vision of black American liberators transmogrified Garvey's original ideas.

An example is Wellington's revisionist interpretation of First World War politics. He claimed that:

*during the late war King George V had given America South Africa as compensation for their services in the late war. Then General Smuts wrote to King George that he had resigned and the Americans could come and take over. When General Hertog heard this, he took over and is now challenging America.*<sup>30</sup>

Wellington's assertion reflected a general shift in the attitude of Africans toward Britain. During the war many Africans had put aside their protests for equal rights to rally to the defense of the Empire.<sup>31</sup> They expected their commitment and sacrifice to be rewarded in the post-war era, but the next decade had seen the passage of additional repressive legislation and no lessening of controls. African representations to London were either rebuffed or fell on deaf ears. Despite their continued faith in British ideals, Africans were disillusioned by England's abdication of her responsibilities and, perhaps recognizing post-war realities, turned to America to assume the role of benevolent guardian.<sup>32</sup>

Wellington predicted that the liberating army would arrive in airplanes and ships. The latter was probably inspired by Garvey's ill-fated Black Star Steamship line, but it was the airplane imagery which captured the imagination of Wellington's followers.<sup>33</sup> Wellington convinced them that when the day of liberation arrived, the Americans would fly over in airplanes and cast down balls of burning charcoal on all Europeans and African non-believers alike.<sup>34</sup> That this would happen was verified in scripture which he quoted, "Now when these things begin to take place, look up and raise your heads, because your redemption is drawing near."<sup>35</sup> In order to distinguish themselves from unbelievers, Wellingtonites (or "Americans") were told to paint their houses black,<sup>36</sup> to throw away needles, paraffin and cups and saucers, to kill all their pigs, and to destroy any vestige of items derived from pigs such as candles.

As further proof of loyalty, Wellingtonites were also required to purchase membership cards for 2s 6d each and wear red, green and black buttons. Huge sums of money were collected. One woman recollected:

*I have never seen so much money collected in my life. Membership was 2s6d then but people wouldn't stick to that amount--5s, 10s, 2 pounds, 6 pounds--in all my life I have never seen so much money, either in coins or notes. The table was so full high up. It took many to count that money. Wherever he went he collected money and wherever he went people were willing to*

*donate money. He said that he had to buy wagons for the liberation, and he had to build houses for the liberated people. And he had to pay all the police to imprison the oppressors.*<sup>37</sup>

At the peak of its popularity, the Wellington movement shared many characteristics of Cargo Cults of the South Pacific. Both developed in environments in which basic assumptions of power were being questioned; both were searching for means by which European power, material and wealth could be controlled or manipulated. Thus Wellingtonites foresaw their deliverance by Afro-Americans using a highly visible symbol of European power, the airplane. Both also showed an ambivalent attitude to western culture. Europeans were to be driven out, while at the same time Africans were to share in European material wealth. Factories were to spring up overnight; clothing was to be distributed to everyone; taxes and dipping fees were to be abolished; Africans were to have their own government. If his followers practised unswerving loyalty to his cause, the Americans would fulfill their expectations. Thus, in 1927, when the liberation army did not materialize on the dates set for its arrival, most of his followers were not disillusioned because Wellington explained the Americans had not come because some pigs had not been killed. Nevertheless some followers drifted away from the movement after this disconfirmation.

Pig killing neither originated with Wellington, nor was it unprecedented in recent Transkeian history. At the time of the Bambatha rebellion in 1906, a Zulu diviner appeared in the Transkei soliciting support for the uprising. He spread a tale which started a wave of pig killing (known in the southern Transkei as *Gaaleka Nongqause*).

*According to the Transkei version, a Zulu chief called Mjantyi... had a white winged pig which would fly from Zululand round our coast uttering cries, to which if any domestic pigs responded the inhabitants of the kraal would all fall dead; thus Mjantyi would exterminate all not in sympathy with the rebellion, while his sympathizers would save their lives by effectually silencing their pigs. Another account said that the pig was at a later stage to be accompanied by a white cock, upon the appearance of which all white cattle were to be killed.*<sup>38</sup>

Outbursts of pig-killing also occurred in 1910 on the appearance of Hailey's Comet and in 1917 when it was rumored that pigs were to be registered for war purposes and owners would be fined five pounds for selling them.<sup>39</sup> However, none of these epidemics approached the scale and scope of Wellington's pig killing.

Pigs do not have a ritual significance in Xhosa society. The pig killing was not a suicidal sacrifice as was Nongqause's command in 1856 that all cattle had to be slaughtered. It is likely that the pig killing developed as another instrument for unifying the movement or highlighting the distinctiveness of its members. One

informant suggests that Wellington's pig killing was inspired by the Biblical story of Christ casting the evil spirits into pigs, thus making pigs an impure animal. Wellington may have developed this rationale after the pig killing started, but this was another instance in which Wellington was forced to react to developments not of his own making.

In order to understand why so many Transkeians flocked to Wellington's banner, one must place his movement in the context of economic, social and political changes which were taking place in the African rural reserves. The Transkei itself was in the midst of an economic decline which had been long in the making. Ever since the last outburst of African resistance to European rule around 1880, European administrators had carried out a calculated policy of mummifying rather than developing the Transkei economy. In areas where a small African peasantry developed and flourished for limited periods, Colin Bundy has shown that the collusion of the administration and European farmers insured that a viable African peasantry could not survive.<sup>40</sup>

Most Transkeian agriculturalists neither had the access to modern technology nor the easy access to outside markets to overcome the barriers raised against them and the net result was that much of the Transkei's labor force was proletarianized and survival became dependent on the earnings of labor migrants in European areas. By the 1920's the Transkei's main export was labor; almost 20% of the males were absent each year.<sup>41</sup> And it was in areas like Griqualand East, where the percentage of migrant laborers was highest, that Wellington had his strongest concentration of followers.

The impoverishment of the Transkei was compounded by the numerous natural disasters which struck the region. The Rinderpest and East Coast Fever of 1896 and 1910 severely depleted cattle herds. Locust plagues were periodic occurrences. The Flu pandemic of 1918 killed thousands of Africans. Droughts were common and soil erosion scarred the landscape. Crop failure was the rule rather than the exception, and Africans generally had to import many of their food staples.

This picture of chronic hopelessness and despair in the Transkei was captured by a Cape newspaper when it editorialized:

*...we have poverty growing into hunger. It is a fact no thinking man can fail to see that even in the Transkei, long supposed to be a land of blissful idleness and plenty for the natives, and even now regarded by some ignorant political and official experts as a land of easy living--even in the Transkei, underfeeding, undernourishment and consequent rapid deterioration in bone and flesh and health is the rule among the young natives. It is no exaggeration to say that the majority of them live in a chronic state of hunger relieved at growingly long intervals by plenty. This plenty is too often marred by the sale of food*

*to buy clothing and to pay off debts. These are the general conditions of life; poverty growing into hunger, debt with no hope of escape. No people under the sun who have not been tamed and weakened by centuries of low diet and despotism can fail, in such conditions, to get into a state of unrest.*<sup>42</sup>

Economic deprivation by itself is not an adequate explanation for people turning to millennialism, but certainly the cumulative effect of disasters and impoverishment created fertile grounds for Wellingtonism. Michael Barkun has argued that a disaster syndrome is a significant factor behind many millennial movements. "Men cleave to hopes of imminent worldly salvation only when the hammerblows of disaster destroy the world they have known and render them susceptible to ideas which they would earlier have cast aside."<sup>43</sup>

Although a miraculous economic transformation was a central aspect of Wellingtonism, this should not obscure the fact that Wellington's movement served as a vehicle of protest for many Africans, giving form and expression to agitation against government legislation of the Hertzog regime. For instance, in 1926, Hertzog had introduced a series of native bills designed to demarcate the native reserves and to disenfranchise African voters in the Cape province. These laws were not passed for another decade, but their introduction in Parliament deepened African resentment throughout the Union.

But most Africans were affected more by new taxes which the Hertzog government levied. In 1925, a tax on cotton blankets and second-hand clothing was instituted. In the same year, the Native Taxation and Development Act was passed. Designed to give tax laws for Africans throughout the Union a uniformity, the act increased the tax burden in some provinces, but increased it in others including the Cape Province.

Wellingtonism also tapped the wellspring of discontent generated by the already existing dipping regulations. Africans resisted paying dipping fees not only because it was a tax burden but also because they were skeptical of the efficacy of dipping for their cattle. Many regarded it as just another European ploy to decimate their herds. In particular the area around Mt. Fletcher was a "storm centre" of anti-dipping agitation; during the first World War several minor rebellions had broken out over this issue. Accordingly when Wellington informed his followers that the Americans were going to abolish dipping, he evoked an instantaneous response. Numerous Wellingtonites around Mt. Fletcher were jailed or fined in 1927 for refusing to pay dipping fees. Wellington's deportation from the Transkei did not diminish anti-dipping fervor for in later years Wellingtonites continued to resist dipping regulations.

Wellington also received a direct impetus from the erosion of traditional chiefly powers which had taken place under European administration. As a result of the hundred years of resistance by Xhosa-speaking peoples on the Cape frontier, colonial administrators had carried out a determined policy of breaking the powers of African chiefs who were blamed for much of the resistance. European rule came to be administered through magistrates who used government-appointed headmen to carry out the day to day functions of direct rule. Chiefs were allowed to remain as titular heads of their societies, but their powers were severely curtailed.

In the late nineteenth century, the Cape government created the Transkeian General Council (commonly known as the Bunga) as an advisory body, but like the Tsarist Duma, it had no substantive powers and most Africans recognized that the fundamental decisions affecting their lives were made elsewhere. On some occasions, Bunga members might use the council as a platform for attacking government legislation, but many Bunga members were regarded by their own people as government pawns who carried out edicts without consulting their people. Thus the Bunga absorbed much criticism for assisting the government with agricultural and rehabilitation schemes such as fencing, culling and dipping cattle, and homestead resiting.<sup>44</sup>

Some Bunga members recognized their compromised positions and directly attributed Wellington's meteoric rise to popularity to the erosion of the powers of traditional rulers. One Bunga counsellor, Scanlen Lehana of Mt. Fletcher, lamented their loss of status,

*The foundation of the Natives has been thrown away, so that the Natives now have no confidence even in their Magistrates. We should consider this carefully and I want to tell you the reason for this. When the Natives were accepted under the Government, the powers of the Chiefs were taken away. Before that the Chiefs were the leaders of the People and had the respect of the people.* 45

*The reason why those things were happening was because the Natives realized that those in authority had no power.* 46

Indeed many headmen and chiefs openly rejected the Transkeian administrative framework and supported the Wellington movement. Few headmen or chiefs came forward to testify about Wellington's movements or his activities. Many actually joined his movement, thinking it might be the means by which they could redress grievances or achieve personal ambitions. For instance, Edward Zibi, a headman in the Mt. Fletcher area, hoped to attain a chieftaincy of the Hlubi. Although he was subsequently deposed by the government, he remained a long-time Wellington leader.



The most prominent chief to join was Lutsoto Mditshwa of the Mpondomise, who participated not because of any decided enthusiasm for Wellington's cause, but because he believed the movement would enable him to restore his paramountcy over a branch of the Mpondomise. One of the results of the Mpondomise Rebellion in 1880 had been that the colonial authorities had taken away the paramountcy of his uncle, Mhlonto. When Lutsoto had reached the age of majority, a magistrate, Walter Carmichael, officially recognized Lutsoto as chief, but higher authorities objected and the recognition was lifted. This embittered Lutsoto and his people and it was a major reason why the Wellington movement attracted such a large following in the Tsolo and Qumbu areas. The depth of Lutsoto's resentment is indicated by the fact that when he testified at the trial of a Wellingtonite who had killed a policeman, he openly affirmed his support for the movement and stated that he was still serving as a vice-president. Local officials asked him to recant privately, but he declined to do so. Lutsoto's involvement with Wellington did him great harm with the authorities although his chieftainship was eventually restored in 1936.<sup>47</sup>

As the Wellington movement developed, the attacks on European dominance shifted to other European-controlled institutions, the mission schools and churches. Responding to the virulent opposition of missionaries, Wellington and his followers began establishing "American" schools and churches. These schools were immediate successes and for the next few years, mission schools throughout the Transkei reported sharply curtailed enrollments.<sup>48</sup> Except for incorporating Garvey ideas, the schools, bearing such names as Willbewill and Mount Justice College, did not alter the curriculum of the mission schools.

Africans accepted the positive value of education, but they were dissatisfied with missionary control of access to it and prescribing the cultural values taught to their children. A Wellingtonite at Engcobo told his recruits, "We are Americans—we are out of your English schools." "We will not leave this movement. I have joined the Americans and will not go back to ignorance."<sup>49</sup> While distressed by the movement a Moravian missionary at Tinana offered a similar explanation for the attacks on the church:

*If the yoke of the white Government cannot be thrown off, he can at least get rid of the guardianship of the white church, as far as his own person is concerned. Some of our own people in Kinira justified their leaving the Church by saying, 'We do not wish to belong to a Church of White people.' There is no special hostility to our church, or our missionaries.<sup>50</sup>*

The 'American' schools also offered teaching opportunities to Africans who had not been certified as teachers. The American schools offered an outlet for the personal aspirations of many

"American" teachers who were in their 20's and 30s, had Standard III educations or less, and were confronted with the limited opportunities in the Transkei where there were few positions commensurate with their capabilities. On the other hand, very few qualified teachers joined the movement. As employees of the government or missions, teachers on the whole were cautious and conservative and less apt to join a movement which jeopardized their status. Millennial movements are often pictured as providing outlets for "new men" or "proto-intellectuals" but, as in the case of the Wellington movement, this often obscures the divisions and different perceptions of the colonial situation among those with education.

The government's response to Wellingtonism was slow in developing because it was unable to collect evidence against Wellington. Regulations existed which allowed magistrates to arrest or detain any person considered a danger to public peace. The problem, then, did not lay with the law but with Africans who refused to assist the government. As we have seen, Wellingtonites excluded all non-members from meetings, so no first-hand accounts of his meetings were easily obtained. Wellington was arrested several times for violating pass regulations, but since he was able to pay the small fines normally imposed for this violation, he sustained his crusade without being unduly impeded.

That he never served a jail sentence enhanced his reputation among his followers who reasoned the government had been forced to release Wellington because his cause was just. Nevertheless, his followers might have reacted militantly if he had been jailed. At his trial at Qumbu in early 1927, over two thousand Africans<sup>51</sup> were in attendance; one woman described the effect of Wellington's appearance before the trial began.

*When he appeared above the hill at the place where Balasi School stood, it was like a great army, people following him on horseback, on bicycles and on foot. Men and women waving flags with 'Freedom' written all over in English and 'Inkululeko' in Xhosa. So we all went out to see this man. He came to our schoolgrounds and he preached the liberation--that he was the one who had come to liberate the African people from oppression.<sup>52</sup>*

And when he was found guilty, the massive crowd outside the courtroom wanted to release him immediately. But Wellington, perhaps fearing the consequences, counselled his followers to accept the judgment and support his work in other ways. He had never preached overt rebellion against the government. A fundamental passivity characterized his movement. Although his message indicted European rule and raised expectations of imminent change, he stopped short of demanding a frontal assault on European power.

Around the time of the Qumbu trial, the government judged the situation to be getting out of hand. Any hope that the movement would lose its momentum was baseless. Accordingly, on March 1, 1927, the government, using the powers of the recently enacted Native Administration Act, officially banished Wellington from the Transkei. Although he made several attempts to reenter the area, he was either turned away or arrested.<sup>53</sup> However expectations of his imminent return did not diminish for a number of years. In 1930, when a plane made an emergency landing at Ravenscroft, Tabankulu district, it had set down for only a short time when it attracted a crowd of several hundred Africans chanting "Amelika, Amelika."<sup>54</sup>

Local administrators received reports that Tsolo and Qumbu were going to be attacked and a mobile squadron and a fleet of airplanes were sent to the districts of Qumbu, Tsolo and Mt. Fletcher ostensibly to awe Africans (and to reassure Europeans). But the show of force was counter-productive since the appearance of airplanes validated Wellington's prophecy. An Anglican missionary commented on the reaction of his congregation. "Have we not see aeroplanes flying over us on each of the last two Sundays? And who can prove that they are not the ones predicted by Dr. Wellington?"<sup>55</sup>

In spite of Wellington's absence, his movement in the Transkei remained strong for many years. Splits did occur within the movement because his work was carried on by disciples who generally worked independently of each other. Paul Gulwa led groups around Tsolo and Mount Fletcher who organized the *Umanyano* (Unity) Church.<sup>56</sup> Joel Bulana organized followers around Idutywa, while Edward Magqolo carried the Wellington message to Ngakakwe. Individuals also appeared who claimed that they, too, were American emissaries from Garvey. One such man was Mbijana, a Griqua, who took the alias of John McKay and organized a following around Tsolo and Qumbu. In early 1929 his followers grouped together in expectation of the arrival of American airplanes. When several constables were sent out to arrest Mbijana, a clash ensued in which a black policeman, Honono, and several followers were killed.<sup>57</sup>

After a few years the cadre of loyal Wellingtonites dwindled to no more than a few thousand. Despite their millennial expectations subsiding over the years, they remained ardent followers of Garvey even after his death in 1941 and were conscious of his Pan-African ideals.<sup>58</sup> In 1936, when Italian armies invaded Ethiopia, a small group began a march up the continent to assist their African brothers, but were turned back by the authorities after a few hundred miles. Today the *Umanyano* church still waves the red, green and black banner of the UNIA at its services, but Garveyism itself is only a memory among older members.

Wellington carried on his career outside the Transkei although he never again aroused the mass enthusiasm he had created in the Transkei. He received a severe blow in mid-1927 when the UNIA denounced his Transkei odyssey: "You are warned against an individual who calls himself Dr. Wellington and claims to represent us. This man is an impostor."<sup>59</sup> This did not daunt the irrepressible Wellington who immediately laid plans for carrying on his crusade outside the Transkei. He moved for awhile to Edendale, Natal, where he collected together his main disciples and instructed them to continue organizing inside the Transkei. He also established another school, the St. Booker Washington Memorial Industrial Liberty College. The government was less anxious for Wellington to remain active and, according to A.W.G. Champion, the Zulu trade unionist, it brought charges to deport Wellington to America. Champion claimed that Wellington appealed to him to attest to his Zulu origins and the case was dropped.<sup>60</sup>

Wellington made several excursions to Johannesburg and Bloemfontein but he eventually carried his preaching to the Ciskei where he continued to organize American schools and Garvey chapters in Herschel district, Aliwal North, Queenstown, and King Williams Town.<sup>61</sup> He eventually established a home base at Tylden, from where he organized periodic meetings in the Komga district so that he was able to preach to Transkeian followers just across the Kei River border.

An interesting sidelight to his Ciskeian career was his attempt to convert two prophetic leaders, Enoch Mqijima and Nonteta, to his cause in the late 1920's. In Nonteta's case, Wellington trekked to visit her in Pretoria, where the authorities had placed her in a mental institution. Wellington won her favor as she too was a strong advocate of African unity and she instructed her followers near King Williams Town to support him. They did so briefly, but eventually withdrew to organize their own church, the Church of the Prophetess Nonteta.<sup>62</sup>

Wellington's initial relations with Enoch Mqijima were also quite cordial. Wellington journeyed to Bullhoek to lay a plaque on one of the mass graves of the Israelites who were massacred in 1921. He preached in the Israelite Tabernacle in Queenstown. However, Wellington overstepped the bounds of propriety when he attempted to draw Israelites away from Mqijima's fold. Mqijima denounced him and forbade him to have further contact with the Israelites.<sup>63</sup>

Wellington also organized periodic Congresses in Queenstown and claimed at one time with his characteristic hyperbole that there were 25,000 members in his chapters. At one Congress, a black governor-general and cabinet were appointed. The cabinet included a unique portfolio, Minister of European Affairs. Numerous resolutions were passed calling for repeal of the Land Act of 1913 and demanding old age pensions for Africans. One resolution however, may have been worded tongue in cheek for it applauded "the decision of the Government to employ 3,000 native convicts

in the Transvaal for farm work. It is well known that this privilege has hitherto been given only to white convicts."<sup>64</sup> Wellington had the opportunity to ally with the African National Congress. In the early 1930's, he made a trip to Cape Town to meet with James Thalee, the Cape ANC leader and an enthusiastic supporter of Garvey.<sup>65</sup> Although their ideas may have been compatible, Wellington balked at joining the ANC probably because he would have had to relinquish his independent stature.

I have not been able to determine Wellington's ultimate fate. Informants have placed him in Zululand, Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth and even Namibia. His former assistants claimed he disappeared in the late 1930's after being arrested and possibly deported to America. Some letters to his followers have survived and it would perhaps be fitting to close this discussion of Wellington's life with an extract from one of his letters written in 1937 from Port Elizabeth for it sheds some light on his frame of mind at that time.

*...now you should know this, you should send some delegates so that they meet me at the beginning of January before the excursion tickets are finished. Come with all your books, new members and old ones. Send also immediately the joining fees and your monthly dues before you come...There is no more time for happiness. The country is in troubles. I'm not going to explain...I need you because of innumerable matters which are important and thoroughly serious. The time for happiness is over...I'm not prepared to repeat your lack of interest in your matters, but you are going to feel sorry after a time if you don't come...Reply immediately so that I'm able to await you and also know that I know you are still working...Send also some funds soon.<sup>66</sup>*

It would be unfair to end this discussion of Wellington's career on such a pessimistic note. However, the letter does provide a contrasting view to the portrait of Wellington as the devil-may-care optimist. A final assessment of Wellington must be guarded until more information is collected on his life. He is probably undeserving of the opprobrium of one missionary who labelled him "an unscrupulous adventurer", "a bogus leader", "a dangerous parasite", but neither is he yet a candidate for canonization into the ranks of African nationalist saints.

Whether Wellington was an opportunistic con-man or a flamboyant Garibaldian patriot is not a question of profound import. But, his movement should be given serious attention, not because of any outstanding accomplishments or triumphs (for there were few) or because of its extravagant millennial claims, but because it brought together many strands of rural African thought in the mid-1920's: the linking of European Christianity and mission education with European rule, the attempt to construct alternative institutions for Africans, the desire to overthrow European rule and to control European wealth, the hostility towards government-inspired agricultural schemes, and the search for new inspirational leaders who could offer innovative

answers and solutions for the traumatic changes which were taking place within African society.

#### FOOTNOTES

The field research for this paper was carried out in 1973-74 with the assistance of a Fulbright-Hays Fellowship. I wish to acknowledge the assistance of Dumisani Ngewu, Reuben Gulwa, and Mrs. Nolwazi Vutula with my research.

1. W.D. Hammond-Tooke, "The Transkeian Council System, 1895-1955: An Appraisal," *Journal of African History*, IX, 3 (1968), p. 476.
2. Rex vs. Wellington, Matatiele, case no. 224/1926.
3. Interviews with Monica Wilson, Cape Town, December, 1973; Z. Mabandla, Umtata, July, 1974; C.D. Zulu, Pietermaritzburg, August, 1974. *South African Outlook*, vol. 57, no. 673 (June, 1927), p. 111-12.
4. He was arrested again on similar charges at Mount Ayliff, Transkei in September, 1925 and twice more at Matatiele in 1926. Only one of the trial transcripts has been preserved.
5. In order to receive a license in Natal, a herbalist had to be recommended by his chief or the chief in whose district he or she was practising. The license was renewable annually for three pounds and the certificate bore the words "medical practitioner." Subsequently a directive changed this wording to "a native medicine man or inyanga."
6. It has been suggested he took his name "Butler" by anglicizing Butelezi. The government indicated that at various times he also used such aliases as Pontier Hansford Wellington, Wellington Kalinda and Wellington Kampara.

Rev. Allen Lea reported that while he had been travelling in Natal in 1927, he had collected some biographical details about Butelezi: that he had been born near Eshowe; his wife was from the Georgedale area; he had been a teacher at a Presbyterian school at Wessel's Nek near Ladysmith; he had been arrested for not paying his poll tax in August, 1926; he had received a license to practise as a herbalist from Chief Sioka of New Scotland near Pietermaritzburg; he had been ordained as a minister in the Faith Apostolic Church in April, 1927 and was raising funds to build schools for the church. (*East London Daily Dispatch*, Nov. 29, 1927). Whether his facts are reliable is a matter of conjecture because his account of Enoch Mqijima published in his book, *The Native Separatist Church Movement in South Africa*, is often in error.

7. Sworn affidavit of B.H. Wellington, Rex vs. Wellington, 224/1926.
8. Letter, Gilbert Matshoba, Queenstown to Enoch Mgijima, Bullhoek, August, 1920.
9. Peter Walshe, *The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa* (London, 1970), p. 92. Born in Basutoland of a coloured mother and a moSotho father, Thaele was educated at Lovedale and Wilberforce in the United States. He established a night school for Africans in Cape Town (for which he became known as the "Professor") and edited the *African World*.
10. Interviews, Z. Mabandla, C.D. Zulu.
11. Letter, W.D. Cingo, *Kokstad Advertiser*, September 9, 1921, p. 4.
12. *Queenstown Daily Representative*, May 10, 1921, p. 3. Gumede later became an enthusiastic advocate of Garveyism.
13. *Imvo Zabantsundu*, July 16, 1929. A weekly series of articles by Kakaza on Garveyism had appeared in *Imvo* in June and July, 1929.
14. Some of the Garvey pamphlets probably moved in a circuitous fashion. One newspaper found that store-boys circulated 'subversive literature' by concealing it in packaged goods and hoping it would be discovered by store-boys at its destination. *Queenstown Daily Representative*, December 7, 1920, p. 5.
15. Interview, M. Nthamane, Qachas Nek, Lesotho, August, 1974.
16. Rex vs. Wellington, 224/1926.
17. *Matatiele Mail*, December 23, 1925.
18. J.A. Chalmers, *Tiyo Soga* (Edinburgh, 1877), p. 102.
19. Justice Department-Union of South Africa, Vol. 386, File 3/841/24
20. The impact of the cinema upon urban African's perceptions of America is a topic which should be given close consideration. For example, a Shona migrant in Joannesburg, John Chavafambira, after seeing a film starring Paul Robeson, the black American actor and singer, "for days afterwards...lived in a world of fantasy. He would sing the Manyika songs. His voice was good and he could master the language. He would acquire great wealth, open a shop. He would buy a gramophone, a house, furniture, a motor-cycle, No--a car" (Wulf Sachs, *Black Anger*, pp. 80-1) The desire for the status of having American goods also gave rise to unscrupulous dealers on the Witwatersrand. James Kepe remembered "there were also certain Europeans who use to attract people by saying that this is an American store and in that they told us lies so that we would think of liberty. In these stores articles were cheap. One could even get a blanket for 5s. You used to pay for goods from America in advance, but you never

received the goods. This European used to inform people that he was coming from America to liberate them." (Interview, James Kepe, Butterworth, June 25, 1974). A short article on nineteenth century Afro-Americans in the Transvaal is E. de Waal's 'American black residents and visitors in the South African Republic before 1899, *South African Historical Journal*, no. 6 (Nov, 1974).

21. *Kokstad Advertiser*, September 30, 1927. A free-lance journalist and local historian, Cingo was the author of *Ibali laba Mpondo* (1925) and *Ibali laba Tembu* (1927). He was a principal of Practising School at Faku Institution, a Wesleyan Methodist School in Mpondoland and editor of *Indaba Zoviyo*, a church magazine.
22. Interview, Marry Jali, Nindwa Location, Middledrift, April 27, 1974. The ICU and Wellington's movement became confused often in the minds of some missionaries primarily because both organizations offered membership cards for 2s6d. The ICU's message in the rural areas of Zululand often had strong millennial overtones and it would be interesting to see if this was repeated in the Transkei. I have not developed enough information about the ICU in the Transkei to make even tentative comments, but among my informants, there was no confusion in distinguishing the ICU from Wellington.
23. Interviews, Tembile Lama, Ngcabasa Location, Middledrift, April 26, 1974; Jogile Peter, Nindwa Location, Middledrift, June 1, 1974.
24. Yonina Talmon, "Pursuit of the Millennium: the Relation between Religious and Social Change," *Archives europeenes de sociologie*, III (1962), p. 134.
25. Edwin W. Smith, *Aggrey of Africa, A Study in Black and White*, (New York, 1930), pp. 180-81.
26. Interview with Joel Mnyimba (Contained in a letter from Mrs. Nolwazi Vutula, Idutywa, January, 1975)
27. This composite of Wellington is drawn from my interviews and an article in *Imvo Zabantsundu*, May 10, 1929. There are many apocryphal stories about Wellington. One concerned his horse, Sedition, who was reputed to have had the habit of clicking its heels whenever it would cross a stream whereupon Wellington would cry out, "Rejoice my luck is true."
28. These were also standard hymns of the African National Congress during this period.
29. These songs were collected over a series of interviews and were translated from Xhosa by Dumisani Ngewu.



30. Rex vs. Albert Rulashe, Umtata, case no. 663/1928. A similar version is found in Monica Hunter, *Reaction to Conquest* (London, 1936), p. 371.
31. *The Blythwood Review* (Feb., 1933) Vol. X, no. 110, p. 15 estimated that 78,000 Africans had served in some capacity in World War I. 25,000 were in France, 35,000 in South West Africa, and 18,000 in East Africa.
32. This change of attitude has also been observed in other parts of Africa, where ideas similar to Wellington's surfaced. In 1923, a Watch Tower preacher in Southern Rhodesia, Kunga, assured his audiences that the war had brought a diminution of British power and, as a result, "Britain would hand over Northern Rhodesia to America in exchange for war loans and supplies." Britain had reneged on the promise that if Africans fought for Britain, they would also be granted freedom. "Many of our people did fight and were killed and yet we are not free." Accordingly those nations which had not been defeated by Britain--Belgium, Portugal and America would unite to "fight England and win and then all we natives will be free...You must remain in your kraals--that is white against white. Only the fool native will go." T.O. Ranger, *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia 1898-1930* (London, Heinemann, 1970), p. 201.
33. The fusion of Afro-American liberators and airplanes created a powerful symbol which was found repeatedly in Central Africa. A song in Nyasaland in the 1930's went "We were pleased that we went to America to learn the making of aeroplanes so as to 'fix up' all foreigners." In Mashonaland a rumor spread that "in about six months a flight of aeroplanes will come from America, manned by black people who will make an aerial reconnaissance of the whole country. These negroes will recognize their own people and will then return to America. Shortly after they will return and bring war in their train. The white people will then be driven out of the country and the natives will be freed from all taxes and European control. Our King is now America. America is Black not White." In 1925, the Mwana Lasa movement was led by Tomo Nyirenda, who grafted the Afro-American liberator image onto the witchcraft eradication movement in Northern Rhodesia and the Congo. See T.O. Ranger, "The Myth of the Afro-American in East and Central Africa." (Unpublished seminar paper, UCLA, 1971); T.O. Ranger, "The Mwana Lasa Movement of 1925," in T.O. Ranger and John Weller, eds., *Themes in the Christian History of Central Africa* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1975), pp. 45-75; George Shepperson, "Nyasaland and the millennium," in Sylvia Thrupp, ed., *Millennial Dreams in Action* (The Hague, Mouton, 1962), pp. 144-59.
34. The theme of the burning charcoal has been woven into a play by Mmango, *Law'ilahle*.
35. Luke 21:28. In the Xhosa Bible, the word 'nkululeko' can mean freedom as well as redemption.

36. Even today, followers of Wellington's church, Umanyano, paint their houses black.
37. Interview, Mabel Mzimba, Umtata, June 16, 1974.
38. Letter from W.E. Stanford to Dugmore, Nov. 26, 1906, Native Affairs Department, Cape Province, Vol. 77, file 2926.
39. Interview, Paul Gulwa, Tsolo, July, 1974; *Transkei Gazette*, February 8, 1917.
40. Colin Bundy, "The Emergence and Decline of a South African Peasantry," *African Affairs*, Vol. 71, no. 285 (1972), 369-88.
41. *Matatiele Mail*, October 18, 1922.
42. *East London Daily Dispatch*, June 8, 1928.
43. Michael Barkun, *Disaster and the Millenium* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), p. 1.
44. For discussions of the Bunga, see W.D. Hammond Tooke, "The Transkeian Council System 1895-1955: An Appraisal," *JAH*, IX, 3 (1968), pp. 455-477; W.D. Hammond-Tooke, *Command or Consensus The Development of Transkeian Local Government* (David Philip, Cape Town, 1975); Gwendolyn Carter, Thomas Karis and Newell Stultz, *South Africa's Transkei* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1967); H. Rogers, *Native Administration in the Union of South Africa* (1933). The hostile reaction of the Bunga and European officials to Wellington's brand of Garveyism was similar to that of the government of Liberia, which initially welcomed Garvey's U.N.I.A., but banned it in 1924. Garvey's uncompromising anti-colonialism combined with the fear by Americo-Liberians that a new wave of immigrants and the appeal of Garveyism among indigenous Africans might threaten their own privileged position. See M.B. Akpan, "Liberia and the Universal Negro Improvement Association: the Background to the Abortion of Garvey's Scheme for African Colonization," *Journal of African History*, XIV, 1, 105-128.
45. Transkeian Territories General Council Proceedings, Session of 1927, p. 48.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 88.
47. Interviews, Chief Isaac Matiwane, Qumbu, July, 1974; Theodore Va, Tsolo, July, 1974; *East London Daily Dispatch*, March 29, 1927, p. 4; J.H. Soga, *The South Eastern Bantu* (Johannesburg, 1930), pp. 340-41. Lutsoto's experimentation with Wellington and the American schools parallels the example of the Lozi ruler, Lewanika, who a decade earlier, had invited several AME

missionaries to his court for the purpose of starting a school which would not be under the control of European administrators or missionaries. Although Lutsoto eventually rejoined the Anglican church, he apparently listened to overtures from the AME church. An Anglican missionary, F.J. Rumsey, recounted his surprise at finding an AME Bishop at Lutsoto's Great Place. The Bishop "started off with a statement of his aims in a Yankee twang and a verbose style, which of course impressed the others present. I agreed with all I could, and disagreed with the rest, especially with the racialism with which he said the AME is the *black man's church*; and I begged him not to disturb existing Christian bodies. He left the hut rather disgusted and I heard afterwards that the word went round that the Father (Rumsey) got the worst of the argument. "Honestly I don't think that is true, unless the test of an argument is verbosity. I hear the man has established his movement in the district, and gone away, and that a number of our Christians are already unsettled by his visit." Letter, F.J. Rumsey in *Cowley Evangelist*, (Dec., 1929), Aug. 25, 1929.

48. For instance, see accounts in the 46th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa (for year 1927) April, 1928.
49. Testimony of Diniso Tyande and Simanga Namba, Rex. vs. Ngewangu et al., Engcobo, case no. 429/1928.
50. *Moravian Periodical Accounts Report for Year 1927* (June, 1928), pp. 202-03. For other discussions of independent churches and education, see F.B. Welbourn, *East African Rebels* (London, 1961); John Anderson, *The Struggle for the School* (Nairobi, 1970); Harold Turner, "African Independent Churches and Education," *Journal of Modern African Studies* XIII, 2, 295-309; T.O. Ranger, "African attempts to control education in East and Central Africa, 1900-1939," *Past and Present*, 32 (1965), pp. 57-85.
51. *Territorial News*, February 17, 1927.
52. Interview, Mabel Mzimba.
53. *Matatiele Mail*, March 39, 1927.
54. *Territorial News*, May 15, 1930.
55. Letter, F.J. Rumsey, in *Cowley Evangelist* (June, 1927) March 21, 1927, p. 143.
56. Gulwa's church may have had links with Garvey's African Orthodox Church. The Archbishop of South Africa was an African, Daniel William Alexander, who was consecrated in 1927 and worked from Port Elizabeth.

57. Justice Department, Union of South Africa, Vol. 188, File 2/62/14.
58. On Garvey's death, Paul Gulwa sent the following letter dated August 5, 1940 to Garvey headquarters in New York City. "Greetings to all members of the black race; of the U.N.I.A. and A.C.I. We received the undated letter which contains the sad news about our President-General Marcus M. Garvey who passed away on the 10th of June 1940. As black race and members of the U.N.I.A. and A.C.L. of South Africa we are sorry but God's work shall never die." When World War II broke out, the police visited organizations which were considered to be potentially subversive. In the case of Paul Gulwa's *Umanyano* church, the police confiscated most of his correspondence (well over one hundred letters) with Garvey and never returned them.
59. *Negro World*, July 30, 1927.
60. Interview, A.W.G. Champion, Durban, August, 1974.
61. In Herschel district, Wellington was prohibited from entering so he appeared on the border. His main convert was Makobeni Mehlo-makulu, who had been dismissed as a headman about five years previously. His followers had lobbied for his reinstatement and had even raised a fund so that he and four or five others could make representations in Cape Town and Pretoria. Like Zibi and Lutsoto in the Transkei, his desire to reclaim his former stature was a major factor in his decision to join Wellington. James Thaele, the ANC leader and Garvey supporter was reported to be in the area at the same time as Wellington. (*Queenstown Daily Representative*, March 12, 1928; *The Frontier Post and Times*, March 16, 1928; Letter from C.B. Mathebe, Aliwal North, July 3, 1974.)
62. Interview, Reuben Tsoko, Ndinowa Location, Middledrift, June 1, 1974; Paul Gulwa, Tsolo, July, 1974; *Imvo Zabantsundu*, January 15, 1929.
63. Interview, Paul Gulwa; John Tamana, Ilinge Resettlement Camp, June 4, 1974; Nondumo Ndiki, Dudumashe Location, Nquankwe, June 29, 1974.
64. Undated, unidentified newspaper clipping in possession of Paul Gulwa.
65. Interview, Paul Gulwa.
66. Letter from B.H. Wellington in possession of Paul Gulwa.

ROBERT EDGAR is a doctoral candidate in History at the University of California, Los Angeles. He has completed field work in South Africa and is now writing his dissertation on millennial movements in that area.