

INDEPENDENCY AND ETHIOPIANISM AMONG THE TSWANA

IN THE LATE 19th AND EARLY 20th CENTURIES

by

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This paper is a preliminary compilation of facts of religio-political movements among the Tswana, from 1885 to around 1915. (1) 'Tswana' is a linguistic classification which covers three main lineage clusters -Kwena (including Ngwaketse, Ngwato) to the west, Kgatla to the east, and Rolong (including Tlhaping) to the south. The classification is not watertight from neighbouring groups, but it is said that less than one third of the Tswana today, and probably even less in 1885-1915, live in the area of Botswana (i.e. Bo-Tswana). Most Tswana are indigenous to South Africa (see map). Ethiopianism is distinguished in this paper within Independency in general, as a specific and self-conscious movement that began in 1892 near Pretoria with the founding of the Ethiopian Church, and was thereafter spread by its agents - though it is to be recognised that the notion of 'Ethiopian' spirit has much wider applicability. (2) We shall concentrate on the Tswana of British Bechuanaland (which was annexed to Cape Colony), among whom it is possible to see a fuller succession of religio-political movements. The 1885-1915 period saw great political and social change in that area - from Imperial protectorate to white settler conditions. Then we shall look at Tswana already under white settlers (in the Transvaal and Orange Free State); and finally at Tswana who came under a British protectorate (the Bechuanaland Protectorate) during the period. The paper draws heavily on London Missionary Society sources, and is indebted to earlier anthropological studies. (3)

I

British Bechuanaland/Northern Cape

The four or five decades that followed Difakane in central-southern Africa were characterized by state-building at the disrupted core by Afrikaner communities and at the periphery by African chiefdoms. The best known examples of the latter process are Lesotho and "Matabeleland". Intermediate between the historical experiences of African chiefdoms at the disrupted core and at the periphery stand the Tlhaping and Tlharo groups of southern Tswana. Their chiefdoms split up and were subjected to Griqua and European incursions, especially after Kimberley was started in their southern frontier zone. But the resultant small chiefdoms exhibited some resilience, especially that of the Phaduhutswana-Tlhaping. It was on this chiefdom, at Taung after Kuruman, that the L.M.S. based itself as the Church of all Tlhaping and Tlharo. But a revulsion against the L.M.S. seems to have set in during

the depletions of African land and power by competing white imperialisms in what became British Bechuanaland in 1884/5. (4)

(a) Taung Schism, 1886-1890. The resentment of the Taung-based chiefdom against the L.S.M. came to a head in the Bechuanaland Land Commission set up by the new British government. The L.M.S. claimed title to land at Kuruman; Chief Mankurwane of Taung, with the backing of a white land speculator, denied there had ever been a concession to the L.M.S. The Taung evangelist of the L.M.S., Matsane, testified on behalf of his Chief. He was promptly expelled for perjury from the L.M.S. on March 13, 1886. But the Taung church-and-chiefdom still recognized Matsane as its pastor. Independence from the L.M.S. was declared by the congregation in May. (5)

Matsane originally came from the Kweneng in Botswana. As Taung teacher-evangelist he ran the Taung district mission of the L.M.S. without white supervision from 1880 to 1885 - testing times - and he earned praise for his ability from the absentee white missionary, John Brown. But during those years Matsane developed a close relationship with the Chief. John Brown returned to his Taung residence in 1885 - the year in which British rule was proclaimed over the two Bechuanalands. In a spirit of defiance Matsane went north to the Kweneng for the last half of 1885, where he disrupted the Molepolole church with what was later called "Ethiopianist" talk, supporting the resistance of the Kwena chieftainship against the declaration of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. (6)

"Corn" from the Kweneng supported Matsane in independency during 1886. He also refused to deliver up church-dues (phalalo) to John Brown. This resulted in a threat of prosecution; he surrendered the dues in July 1886. (7) In November that year Matsane was received into communion by the Rev. James Poote, an ordained Congregationalist minister (African), at Kimberley. (8) Kimberley was in the area of the Congregational Union of South Africa (C.U.S.A.), which retained the traditional Independency of English Congregationalism, whereas the L.M.S. had diluted its Congregational heritage by centralized direction and what has been called "missionary imperialism". Back at Taung, therefore, an uneasy truce subsisted between two types of Congregationalists - John Brown of L.M.S. and Matsane of C.U.S.A. Chief Mankurwane, diplomatically, did not oppose John Brown, who had the support of the Magistrate (J. S. Moffat, ex-L.M.S.), though he made it clear to his people that Matsane remained his minister.

By 1886, assured of imperial British support, John Brown began to take the offensive. He confiscated Matsane's house for a schoolroom. In 1889 the Salvation Army was brought to Taung for an evangelistic campaign on the L.M.S.'s behalf. There was a religious revival at Taung. (10) Religion was weaned from the chieftainship. It came to John Brown that chiefs were trying to keep the baruti ("teachers") of the new religion (Christianity) under the same patronage as the dingaka ("doctors") of the old religion. (11) In 1889 Poote died. (12) In 1890 Matsane was reconciled to the L.M.S., and by 1895 was a student at their Bible School in Kuruman. (13) In September 1903 Matsane returned to Taung and by the next year was the L.M.S. evangelist again. (14)

(b) Manthe Independency and the Native Independent Congregational Church, 1886-1922. At the end of 1886, the Rev. Poote arranged to take the Manthe church of the Maldi-Tlhaping under his supervision - having accepted Matsane and the Taung church in November. Poote became Manthe's periodically resident moruti, not merely relying, like the L.M.S. had done, on the seniority of the Taung pastorate. The baruti of Taung and Manthe acted in full collaboration. (15) B. A. Pauw, following the Foreign Secretary of the L.M.S. in 1898 and a 1925 report, has recounted that the 1886 Manthe schism from the L.M.S. was a "tribal" one, directed against the Taung chiefdom. Even if such was the case in 1893, it was not an apparent factor in 1886. (16)

Poote, as the C.U.S.A. minister of both Taung and Manthe, died in 1889; Chief Mankurwane of Taung died in 1892. A new L.M.S. evangelist, Mosiemang, was appointed to Manthe immediately after Poote's death and, no doubt fired with the Taung revival, proved a strong opponent of its Chief, Kgantlapane. These could have been factors that led Kgantlapane to have another taste of Independency in 1893. He broke away from the Taung (now L.M.S. again) pastorate by inviting Solomon M. Matolo, another African minister from the Diamond Fields, to be the Manthe minister. (17) Mosiemang died in 1895 and the L.M.S. got Matolo struck off the C.U.S.A. list as minister of Manthe. In 1898 Matolo was reported as having joined the Ethiopians. (18) At some juncture Matolo founded the Native Independent Congregational Church. It appears that what he did in 1898 was to join the African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church, but he left it, as others did, around 1904. In that year the Manthe independent church made advances back to the L.M.S., asking for an English-medium school - this action may have been the product of uncertainty after leaving the A.M.E. (19) But the L.M.S. did not respond, and objected to Matolo issuing out their baptismal certificates in 1909. Perhaps it was one or the other of those two events which prompted Matolo to found his N.I.C.C. This new denomination was more than a Maldi-Tlhaping "tribal" church; Matolo ordained Mothowagae of Kanye into it in 1911. (20) But tribalism between Taung and Manthe erupted in both 1908 and 1919. (21) In 1922, apparently on the death of Matolo, the N.I.C.C. split into two factions - one stressed Manthe particularism and upheld 1886 as the beginning of the N.I.C.C., the other stressed a more universal church and upheld Matolo as the true founder. (22)

(c) Independency and Ethiopianism, 1888-1908. One may doubt whether the words BaEthiopia and Ethiopianism entered usage among the western Tswana before 1898 when the A.M.E. began work among them. One must bear in mind that church independency in British Bechuanaland before 1898 can, from one point of view, be considered as just that - Independency in the Congregationalist tradition, though it also had the "Ethiopianist" element of stressing African against European values.

On a similar pattern to Taung and Manthe, the Chief acquired an evangelist (Abram) from a Kimberley Independent/Congregational minister (called Bulmer) for the small Phokwane (another Tlhaping) chiefdom in 1888. (23) The resident Christian

at Phokwane was Anglican, under the ascetic Anglo-Catholic Canon Bevan, but, unlike the L.M.S., declined at this time to involve itself in political life as a national church. The year before, 1887, the Anglican church had been torn down by the Chief. (24) However, the Phokwane Chief's experiment in state religion was short-lived. Abram soon left in disgust at the paganism of the place. There was also L.M.S. pressure on the C.U.S.A. minister, as there had developed a tiny but promising, wholly immigrant L.M.S. congregation at Phokwane, out of the control of the pagan Chief. (25)

What was to become the Langeberg Rebellion began at Phokwane in 1896. Evidence of religious involvement in this Tswana "primary resistance" is very slight. Troops were blessed before battle by a folk-doctor called Booi, a Cape Colonial African who had taken up residence at Phokwane. (But we do not know whether he had been invited to Phokwane as the minister of a Pagan national religion where Anglicanism and C.U.S.A. had failed!) In general, the revolt conformed to the Tswana norm of undynamic pagan belief. What is interesting, however, is that L.M.S. evangelists in the general revolt "found" themselves, as it were, "chaplains to the rebels", in the Langeberg Mountains. (26) This offers a degree of evidence of how deeply ("L.M.S.") Christianity had become incorporated into general southern Tswana religio-political life.

By 1898, after the revolt had been subdued, two centres of Ethiopianism were poised on the brink of British Bechuanaland. One was Kimberley, with its tradition of ecclesiastical independency in a proletarianized setting, which was reported to be in a ferment of Ethiopian preaching. (27) The other was Kunana, an out-station of the A.M.E. Potchefstroom district, which was converted by the Gabashane family in April 1898. (28) Seclé, the L.M.S. evangelist at Kunana who joined the A.M.E. with Chief and congregation, was, like Matsane, a man of recognized ability. (29) While Seclé toured post-Langeberg British Bechuanaland (now part of Cape Colony) to preach the new gospel, the Rev. Marcus Gabashane went north to Mafeking and the Chiefs of the Bechuanaland Protectorate in 1898. (30)

British Bechuanaland did not have time to adapt to the settlement of the Langeberg revolt before the Anglo-Boer War, when many of its new white settlers rose in revolt against the British. In the general unrest, Kuruman besieged and Mafeking under fire, only the Taung and Mafeking chiefdoms taking sporadic action against the Boer infiltrators, Ethiopianism/A.M.E. flourished among more settled chiefs and congregations. In 1900 Ganyesa seceded to the A.M.E., and its competent L.M.S. evangelist was posted to the Tati district of the Protectorate. (31) In 1901 Morokweng and other western Rolong congregations on the Molopo River went Ethiopian. (32) This opened up the way for Ethiopian infiltration to Lehututu in the Protectorate, along an old trade and migration communication, then an arms-cattle smuggling route to Damaraland. (33) By 1903 there had been the first A.M.E. set-back; Ganyesa adopted Anglicanism, which was beginning an expansionist period from its Phokwane station. (34) In 1905 A.M.E. and Anglicanism were in competition for the franchise of the (L.M.S., naturally) Gathhose church. (35) Schism did not necessarily mean Ethiopianism now. In the south a Griqua congregation of the Dutch Reformed Mission seceded in 1903, in order to rejoin the L.M.S., which they considered had unjustly abandoned them in 1890! Mixed Tswana-

Griqua congregations of the Vaal River threatened to go Ethiopian in order to retain the L.M.S., which now wished to hand them over to the D.R.M. (36) It seems that "Ethiopianism" was being retained within the "European" Missions. Such energies were now being utilized either within the new Afro-European sectarianism or outside the religious field in education, journalism, and other such "proto-nationalism". (37)

(d) Prophet movement, 1908-1911. The reader is referred to B. A. Pauw (1960) for an account of the "prophets" who appeared in the Taung area during this short period - Johane and Sehapano, Kgoking, Suping, Botlhare. These were years marked by economic depression, drought, and political uncertainty.

There is little evidence of a Tswana prophetic tradition. (38) W. C. Willoughby (1928) claimed that "prophet" was an alien concept-word borrowed from the rest of South Africa. (39) Certainly this is supported by the Christian missionary at Kanye who implied in 1908 that the current Tswana vogue was a rebound from the notoriety of the Bambata (and we may add Witbooi) revolt. "Prophet" was being adopted by or applied to rain-doctors. (40) We may distinguish here between ngaka (doctor, pl. dingaka) and modimo (one possessed by a modimo or god-spirit, pl. badimo).

However, certain caves in Tswana areas, associated with possible folk-ancestors (Lowe, Matsieng, Tintibane, Thobega), were theoretically available for possession-cases to occupy as badimo - who could, in such a context, be called "prophets" or oracles. But I know of only one such cave which became a cultic centre - that of Rra-Sentshadi (= Thobega?) near Kanye, in the pre-Christian era. (41) There are a number of such caves, with rock engravings, associated with Lowe, and one near Mochudi, with Matsieng. (42) In north-eastern Botswana elements of the pre-existing Kalanga Mwari religion survived (43), and these had a cultic centre at Mengwe, north of Tati. MmaBorola, a "prophet" at Shoshong in 1864, came from an incorporated Kalanga clan. (44) Five women with snake-spirit possession at Palapye in 1901 came from the same clan. (45) Some "Northern Sotho" were famous among the Tswana ("Western Sotho") for rain-making dynasties. (46) The Tswana core-group (Kwena/Hurutsho) had a sacrosanct clan, the Ntloedibe, from which dingaka came. (47) But, like their L.M.S. evangelist successors, dingaka were usually incorporated within the Tswana chiefdom's structure (48) - whereas badimo appear to have transcended Tswana socio-political norms.

In the nineteenth century Christian era only two Tswana "prophets" have been noted - Marethe of the Rolong and Tolonyane of the Tlhaping. (49) In 1904 a "Betschuana-Hottentot" prophet from the northern Cape played an important role in inspiring the Witbooi revolt in German South-West Africa - Stürmann Skipper (or Sheppherd). Stürmann was also accused of being an Ethiopianist agitator masquerading as a pathological prophet. (50) Sentsho, a prophet in the Kweneng around 1913, was genuinely pathological and quite un-Ethiopian in his anti-Christian crusade. (51)

(e) New nationalism (?), 1908-1919. Kimberley, one of the Ethiopian Movement's centres, became one of the homes of the 1911/12 S.A.N.N.C., South African Native National Congress. Popular support

for "Ethiopianism" may have been transmuted into that for the S.A.N.N.C., but evidence is lacking of continuity in leadership. Look at prominent S.A.N.N.C. members: Sol Plaatje had lambasted Ethiopianism in his Mafeking newspaper (52); the Molema family remained prominent Wesleyans; Rubusana continued his Independency within C.U.S.A. (53) Generally, there is evidence that Africans in "European" Churches turned from thoughts of church-power to national power in the new Union. Black church-power demands had won token or real victories inside these churches. The L.M.S. set up a Native Advisory Council in 1907, and Tswana ministers were ordained from 1910. The Anglicans eventually ordained James Dwane in 1911. What gave a Northern Cape white missionary anxiety in 1911 was not Ethiopianist secession but a new "spirit of independence among our native churches" concomitant with the spread of education and the "new political conditions" under the Union government. (54) By 1919 the (Anglican) Bishop of Kimberley and Kuruman had put his finger on another pulse - that many "educated natives" in the Church were responding to industrial unrest on the Rand by considering it "almost disloyal to the 'people' to show loyalty to any white leaders of any kind". (55)

Ethiopianism can be seen in political terms as a quickly outdated phase between "old" particularist and "new" universalist elite leaderships in the historiography of African nationalism in South Africa. In the Northern Cape within the first decade of the twentieth century there was a revolution in public expectations of African political leadership. Referring to Morokweng and Ganyesa, which had responded to "tribal" leadership through Ethiopianism only a decade before, a white observer remarked in 1912: "The Union Government proposals regarding the Natives all over the country are driving the latter to seek union among themselves ... Up here the natives have no leadership." (56)

II

Transvaal and Orange Free State/Orange River Colony

Here ignorance reflects both a general absence of academic accounts and my own lack of research. There are no adequate, published studies of either the Transvaal-Wesleyan source of the Ethiopian Movement (57) or of the eastern Tswana. The question of Tswana participation per se in Transvaal Ethiopianism must remain open. Though the 1872 Hermon schism in Lesotho and the 1884 Tembu Church of Nehemiah Tile have generally been characterized as "tribalist", there is room for doubt about the hitherto stressed importance of "tribalism" in early South African church independency. Tile's church was "The Tembu Church of South Africa". (58) It has been further suggested that the original 1892 Ethiopian Church was founded by the disciples of Tile who had met at Marabastad (Pretoria) to discuss rationalization in the light of their master's death in that year. (59) Founder-members of the Church included Mangena M. Makone, John G. Xaba, J. Tantsi, Ngqamana, plus James S. Brander and Khanyane Napo. Of these, only Brander is known to have had Tswana connections.

Some indication of Ethiopian activity among the Tswana is given in the 1900 Episcopal Handbook of the African Methodist Episcopal Church,

the old established Afro-American denomination which the Ethiopian Church approached for incorporation in 1896. The 1898 Transvaal Conference of the A.M.E. contained four districts. The Pretoria district (with 8 circuit appointments) stretched north to Pietersburg, and was under Khanyane and Brander. The Orange Free State district (11 circuits), including Lesotho, was under Xaba; the Johannesburg district (2 circuits) was under Sishuba. The Potchefstroom district, under Abel S. Gabashane, had circuits based on Klerksdorp, Buffelsdorp, and Eastleigh. (60) All four A.M.E. districts had some Tswana population. The Pretoria one (where Brander seceded from the A.M.E. in 1904) had Kgatla and other Tswana groups; Johannesburg covered a mixed migrant population. Orange Free State included Bloemfontein, where in 1905 the Bechuana Methodist Church broke away from the A.M.E. over language difficulties. (61) Potchefstroom and Bloemfontein lay among Rolong groups of Tswana. (62)

J. R. Coan, an A.M.E. bishop, has remarked of his Church in the Transvaal at this time: "The process of the spread was by special contact with the chiefs. Keen interest in the education of their sons by the church in America and the establishment of schools among their people led the chiefs to accept the A.M.E. Church ... Recognizing the inadequacy of tribal initiation schools, the chiefs sought the educational services of the church for the training of their future leaders as well as their subjects." The first Tswana known to have gone to America was Michael Segano, who, by 1899, was at Wilberforce University. (63)

The break-up of the A.M.E., and thus of the mainstream Ethiopian Movement, may be dated from 1904 - the year in which what Sundkler called "Zionism" came to Transvaal Africans. In 1904 Brander founded his Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion. (64) Ironically, it was this new profusion of African religious sects, some estatic, most utopian in religion without practical political objectives, that exacerbated white fears of Ethiopianism and the Black Peril. In 1906 the white community of the western Transvaal, from Klerksdorp to the Zoutpansberg, buzzed with rumours that the Tswana/Northern Sotho were to rise in (belated) co-ordination with the revolts in German South-West Africa and in Zululand. The elder Gabashane was accused, because of his frequent tours round Tswana areas, of being the agent of this black conspiracy. (65) It should be recalled that the north-west Transvaal had seen a revolt only 12 years before, in which there was some evidence of religious (pagan) organization. (66) In 1906, however, the Transvaaler dread was of revolt under black chiefly leadership from the Bechuanaland Protectorate in contact with Bambata and Witbooi.

Further evidence of African separatist and independent churches in the Western Transvaal is difficult to come by. But we do know that there was the African Catholic Church of E. M. Sehemo, with headquarters in the Marico District, by 1911. (67)

III

Bechuanaland Protectorate/Botswana

Independency and Ethiopianism in the B.P. will be outlined briefly for comparative purposes.

(a) **Independency.** The Bo-Mothowagae church among the Ngwaketse had its origins in state/church political factionalism and in personality clashes between Mothowagae himself, Chief Bathoen, and Edwin Lloyd, the L.M.S. missionary. Mothowagae was aggrieved that his positions as pastor, schoolmaster, marriage-officer, and evangelist at Kanye had successively been removed from him. He proclaimed the independence of the Ngwaketse church from Lloyd, the missionary, on 17th January 1902; on September 28, his section of the divided church made its final gesture of schism from the L.M.S. when Mothowagae, whom the L.M.S. had refused to ordain in May, administered communion on the authority of his "King Edward Free Bangwaketse Church". In 1903 Bathoen finally turned against both Lloyd and Mothowagae, but, mysteriously, became reconciled with them both later, though they did not with each other. Bo-Mothowagae survived as a rival national church to the L.M.S. one till 1910. In 1903 at least Bo-Mothowagae was being sustained by Gabashane from his A.M.E. church at Lobatse, who supplied the Host for communion. In 1910 Bathoen turned against Bo-Mothowagae, but died, so his son, Chief Seepapitso, actually banished both church and leader. Mothowagae was ordained a minister of Motolo's N.I.C.C. at Taung in 1911. After the 1916 assassination of Seepepitso, Mothowagae again appeared in Ngwaketse politics but in minor roles.

The Bo-Mothowagae church at Moshupa appears to have been set up in 1903 as part of a "tribal" independency movement by the subordinate Mmanaana-Kgatla group of Moshupa, under Gobuamang, away from Chief Bathoen. Gobuamang found a retired L.M.S. evangelist, Diphokwe, to be his minister, and Moshupa carried on "initiation schools" in open defiance of Bathoen. Gobuamang was forced to renounce Bo-Mothowagae in 1910; in 1911 Diphokwe was received into the N.I.C.C.; in 1912 an Apostolic Faith Mission minister called Thupane tried to go to Moshupa - but Christianity appears to have faded out from the continuing movement led by Gobuamang.

The Khurutshe "Free Church" appeared between 1904 and 1908 in the Tati area of the B.P. The September 1904 secession from the L.M.S. was the product of years of tensions. There were political factions, dynastic ambitions, and personality clashes in play. As between Lloyd and Mothowagae, a new white missionary (Gould) had tactlessly hurt the pride and power of an experienced black church leader (Tumedi). The situation was complicated by extraneous political pressures - the Khurutshe were under threats of extortion and expulsion by the Tati Concession Ltd., which exacted taxes and labour tributes. Gabashane may have been responsible for the initial suggestion, in his 1898 and, possibly, 1904 visits, of the idea of secession, but in the event the "Free Church" did not join the A.M.E. By 1908, through the initiative of one Rev. Toy, the "Free Church" had joined the Anglicans - the Church of King George. A faction loyal to the L.M.S. settled elsewhere in Tati territory. After 1913, when the Khurutshe went to Tonota in the Ngwato Reserve and therefore had to re-embrace the L.M.S., crypto-Anglicanism survived as an expression of independency from the L.M.S./Ngwato chiefdom.

Two marginal cases of black church independency in the B.P. may be mentioned. The first is the Ngamiland church, which remained, until the Great War, a mission of the (L.M.S.) Ngwato church and was run by black evangelists and ministers - with very rare L.M.S. missionary visits. The other is the "Gaborone Secession" from

1896/7 to 1904 - when the Chief Gaborone of the Tlokwa (at Gaborone's) twice barred his church from L.M.S. supervision. However, no independent church is known to have been founded in consequence.

(b) Ethiopianism. Marcus Gabashane played an important role in spreading Ethiopianist ideas in the Bechuanaland Protectorate of national church independency and of higher education as a "modernizing" institution for the "tribal" state. Nowhere on his 1898 tour of the B.P. did Gabashane set up an A.M.E. mission station. What he did was to make personal contacts. It is noteworthy that nearly every place he visited in 1898 later re-contacted the A.M.E. at some stage. The dealings of Kanye (Bo-Mothowagae) and Selepeng (Khurutshe) with Gabashane in 1903 and 1904 have been mentioned. Khama's town subsequently saw an "Ethiopianist" faction associated with Ratshosa, which may have been responsible for the 1903 appeal for an A.M.E. "Lovedale" at Old Palapye. Moroka's people at Ramakwebane have had an A.M.E. school since, at least, 1906 - though supervision has been from Bulawayo, not Kunana. As for Mphoeng's people whom Gabashane visited, there is no evidence of subsequent A.M.E. activity - even though in 1897 they had tried to obtain their own independent (Free Church of Scotland-ordained) African minister, a man called Dambose from Lovedale.

Lobatse, a railway centre which developed after 1900, has the only known A.M.E. church actually founded by Gabashane - though perhaps Ramakwebane was, too. The A.M.E. churches at Lehututu and Gukuntse were founded in 1903 through contact with Rolong kin at Morokweng and Ganyesa in the Northern Cape. An interesting facet of the three surviving A.M.E. centres in Botswana is that they are, like Gabashane himself, all of Rolong origin.

Another black American Church - the International (Baptist) Mission, of Robert K. Crawford, New Jersey - tried to gain admission into the B.P. in 1907, but was refused by Khama, who firmly believed in one-church-one-state indivisible. Anglo-Catholicism (Anglicanism) was more successful in entering the B.P., at Selepeng (1908) and Molepolole (1912), as a new Ethiopianism. Like contemporaneous "Zionism" in South Africa, on the one hand, it stressed loyalty to the Emperor in England and, on the other hand (if both antagonistic and sympathetic sources are to be believed), it stressed new ritual and old respect for African cultural institutions such as "bride-price", traditional medicine, and even polygamy.

BaEthiopia faded out of currency but was still a strong enough word in 1922 to be adopted by a white trader for his patent medicine firm - which he, P. H. Schalk Bezuidenhout, called the "Ethiopian Memorial Catholic/Protestant Church". It was based in Rietfontein, and he wished to set up a store in the B.P. but was refused by Government.

IV

Final Notes: Sectarianism and the Black Peril

Until there are more parallel studies available - especially on the early Ethiopian movement and the urban areas - the

information in this paper must be left largely uninterpreted. But the evidence generally indicates that Independency on a national church basis was characteristic of Tswana polities 'preserved' but threatened under Imperial protectorate rule, whereas Ethiopianism as a new cultural-nationalism was characteristic among Tswana fragmented under white settler rule. And both brands of church-nationalism were élitist - the distinction between 'traditional' and 'modern' élites being blurred. The study of the Tswana *per se* seems most fruitful in the field of small national or state church Independency, which Shepperson has tentatively called 'tribalistic' Ethiopianism. (68) This Independency indicates the continuity, and reassertion, of indigenous control over what had become within half a century a central institution among the southern and western Tswana chiefdoms and states - the church.

It is primarily among the participants of the movements concerned that we should look for explanation. But there are two, at least, extraneous factors also to be considered. Coming from white South African missionary and colonial history, these factors moulded the climate of receptivity in which Independency and Ethiopianism operated:-

(a) Sectarianism. The two Bechuanalands were subject to a new sectarianism in the 1880s that split open the L.M.S. near-monopoly. Sectarianism was part of a second missionary wave that followed the Imperial Scramble, which also saw an increase in white missionary staffing and control of existing L.M.S. churches. Anglicanism from the south-east was represented at Phokwane from 1876, but not until 1912 was the Diocese of Kimberley and Kuruman set up to include the two Bechuanalands. The Dutch Reformed Mission came from the Transvaal to Botswana with the Kgatla after 1869; and in the extreme south took over Griqua L.M.S. congregations from 1890. Roman Catholicism had no Bechuanaland station until 1895, at Taung; its efforts in the Gaborone area were not intensified for many years after 1894; in 1907 a mission was established at Andara's on the upper Okovango River. Wesleyanism from the Transvaal took on a new lease of life on either side of the B.P. border, at Maanwane and near Manyana after 1915. Lutheranism, which had been tentatively maintained from the Transvaal at Ramotswa and in the Manyana area since the 1860s, was carried into the B.P. in different form from the west as the distinctive national practice of aristocratic Herero refugees. Seventh Day Adventism made its appearance in the Barkly West district by 1904, but had no great northward campaign till 1922.

(b) The black peril and the white dread, c.1900-1914. In the aura of Boer-British reconciliation that followed their War, the "Bantu Boanerges" of Ethiopianism assumed new proportions as a great common threat to white power in South Africa. It was seen as a religio-political pan-African conspiracy, as the agitation of a "black peril" (*swart gevaar*) akin to the "yellow peril". By its propagation of the "pernicious" and anti-white doctrine of human equality, Ethiopianism threatened the cheap black labour supply. White dread (especially in the 1910-1914 period) even saw the Black Peril as a sexual threat (69), or in terms of a vast black racial reaction which was set to drive the white peril back into the sea whence it had originally come. (70)

Notes

(1) Some comparative literature:

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 G.A. Shepperson, "Ethiopianism: past and present", pp. 249-268
 in G. Baëta (ed.) Christianity in Tropical Africa (1968);
 "Ethiopianism and African Nationalism" (1953), republ. in I.
 Wallerstein Social Change: the Colonial Situation (New York,
 etc., 1966), pp. 478-488; "Church and Sect in Central Africa",
Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, No. 33, June 1963, pp. 82-93; with
 T. Price, Independent African (Edinburgh, 1958).
 T.O. Ranger, "The early history of independency in Southern
 Rhodesia", pp. 52-74 in Centre of African Studies: "Religion in
 Africa" (Edinburgh, 1964); "The 'Ethiopian' incident in
 Barotseland, 1900-1905", Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, No. 37,
 June 1965, pp. 26-41; "Nationality and Nationalism: the case of
 Barotseland", Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, Vol.
 IV, June 1968, No. 2, pp. 227-246.
 Information on current and completed research on Botswana and the
 Tswana appears in Botswana Notes and Records (The Botswana Society,
 Private Bag 31, Gaborone), Vols. II & III, 1970 & 1971.

- (2) My failure to make this distinction clear bedevilled discussion
 of this paper as originally presented.
- (3) See B.A. Pauw, Religion in a Tswana Chiefdom (1960); I. Schapera,
 "Christianity and the Tswana", Journal of the Royal Anthropological
 Institute, Vol. 88, Jan.-June 1958, pp. 1-9 and omnia opera.
 I wish to acknowledge the assistance of numerous conversations with
 informants in Botswana, and the invaluable help of Professor
 Schapera and Miss Irene Fletcher (of the L.M.S. Archives) in
 Britain.
- (4) J.D. Aldridge, "The Langeberg Rebellion 1896-7" (London University:
 M.A. Area Studies, 1968), p. 35.
- (5) L.M.S. Annual Report (printed) for 1888, pp. 196-8. L.M.S.
 reports of Taung district (MSS) for 1888 & 1890.
- (6) L.M.S. In-Letters: 10 Nov. 1903; 9 Oct. 1885; 11 May 1886.
 L.M.S. report of Taung district for 1890.
- (7) L.M.S. In-Letters: 11 May 1886; 13 May 1886; 6 July 1886.
- (8) L.M.S. In-Letter: 19 Nov. 1886.
- (9) c.f. L.M.S. In-Letter: 4 May 1886. L.M.S. report of Taung
 district for 1887.
- (10) L.M.S. reports of Taung district for 1888 & 1889.
- (11) L.M.S. report of Taung district for 1890.
- (12) L.M.S. report of Taung district for 1889.

- (13) L.M.S. In-Letter: 15 July 1895. L.M.S. report of Taung district for 1890.
- (14) L.M.S. In-Letters: 4 Nov. 1903; 12 Aug. 1904. (The Matshane family have remained notable L.M.S. church-workers.)
- (15) L.M.S. In-Letters: 19 Nov. 1886; 6 May 1888. L.M.S. reports of Taung district for 1887 & 1890.
- (16) L.M.S. Confidential Print. Deputation No. 22 (1898), pp. 39-40. B.A. Pauw (1960), pp. 45 & 53.
- (17) L.M.S. report of Taung district for 1889. J.D. Aldridge (1968) - genealogy. L.M.S. In-Letter: 1 Nov. 1895. B.A. Pauw (1960), p. 53.
- (18) L.M.S. In-Letters: 1 Nov. 1895; 15 July 1895. L.M.S. report of Taung district for 1898.
- (19) L.M.S. In-Letter: 12 Aug. 1904.
- (20) L.M.S. In-Letter: 18 May 1909. Botswana National Archives (Gaborone): 10/11; & J.715 (23/6/1911 & 12/2/1926).
- (21) L.M.S. In-Letters: 21 Oct. 1908; 15 July 1919.
- (22) B.A. Pauw (1960), p. 53.
- (23) L.M.S. In-Letter: 6 May 1888.
- (24) J.D. Aldridge (1968), p. 35.
- (25) L.M.S. report of Taung district for 1889. L.M.S. In-Letters: 31 March 1888; 4 Dec. 1885.
- (26) J.D. Aldridge (1968), p. 37.
- (27) L.M.S. report of Kuruman district for 1898. (There was a C.U.S.A. church in the Mafeking township, but not schismatic from the L.M.S. - it served the immigrant Mfengu community. c.f. L.M.S. In-Letter: 21 Sept. 1915).
- (28) J.R. Coan, "The expansion of Missions of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in South Africa, 1896-1908" (Hartford Seminary Foundation: Ph.D., 1961), pp. 221-2.
- (29) L.M.S. reports of Kanye district for 1892 & 1893.
- (30) L.M.S. Annual Report for 1898-9, pp. 175-6. J.R. Coan (1961), pp. 472-4.
- (31) L.M.S. In-Letters: 18 Feb. 1902; 28 March 1903; 27 Feb. 1896. L.M.S. reports of Kuruman district for 1900 & 1901.
- (32) c.f. L.M.S. Chronicle, April 1896, pp. 93-4. L.M.S. In-Letters: 3 & 6 Jan. 1896; 20 May 1906; 22 April 1918. I. Schapera (ed.)

- The Political Annals of a Tswana Tribe (Cape Town, 1947), p.23.
- (33) L.M.S. In-Letters: 24 Jan. 1896; 27 Feb. 1896. H. Gould-Adams, South-Central Africa (Brisbane, 1915), p. 7.
- (34) United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel archives (London): Bloemfontein Diocese C.L.R., 14 Jan. 1903.
- (35) L.M.S. Chronicle, 1907, pp. 125-7. L.M.S. In-Letter: 7 Feb. 1905.
- (36) L.M.S. In-Letters: 10 Nov. 1903; 4 July 1904; 7 Sept. 1904; 6 Oct. 1904; 25 Nov. 1904; 4 March 1905; 10 June 1905; 11 Dec. 1905; 23 April 1906; 3 Aug. 1906; 24 Sept. 1906.
- (37) Report of meeting of Bechuanaland Native Teachers' Association at Mafeking: Diamond Fields Advertiser (Kimberley, Weekly Edition), 10 Oct. 1908. Q.N. Parsons, "The Tswana Press - an outline of its history since 1856", Kutlwano (Gaborone), August 1968, pp.4-8.
- (38) K.T. Motsete of Mahalapye is writing a thesis on "Ancient Sotho" religion which may throw light on this. c.f. I. Schapera (1958), p. 4.
- (39) W.C. Willoughby, The Soul of the Bantu (1928), p. 113.
- (40) L.M.S. In-Letter: 25 March 1908.
- (41) W.C. Willoughby, Nature Worship and Taboo (Hartford, Conn., 1932), pp. 36-9, & 74. (Ron Pahl of Kanye is looking into this cave.)
- (42) M. Wilman, The Rock Engravings of Griqualand West and Bechuanaland (Cambridge, 1933). W.C. Willoughby (1932), pp. 69-74. B.N.A. - B.P., 34/N.3.
- (43) A.J. Wookey (ed.), Dico tsa Secwana (Tiger Kloof, C.P., 1913). J.D. Hepburn, Twenty Years in Khama's Country (1895), pp. 133-7. W.C. Willoughby (1928), pp. 161-2, & 275.
- (44) W.C. Willoughby (1928), pp. 105-6.
- (45) W.C. Willoughby (1928), pp. 106-7, & 161-2.
- (46) Montshiwa learned from old Malaboch; the Seleka chiefs were also famous - W.C. Willoughby (1932), pp. 35, & 209-212.
- (47) W.C. Willoughby (1928), pp. 227-8.
- (48) There is evidence of L.M.S. evangelists and ministers coming from ngaka families. (Selly Oak Colleges Library, Birmingham: W.C. Willoughby Papers No. 804).
- (49) W.C. Willoughby (1928), p. 120. B.A. Pauw (1960), pp. 30-1. Selly Oak Willoughby Papers No. 770.
- (50) K. Schlosser, Propheten in Afrika (Braunschweig, 1949), pp.348-9.

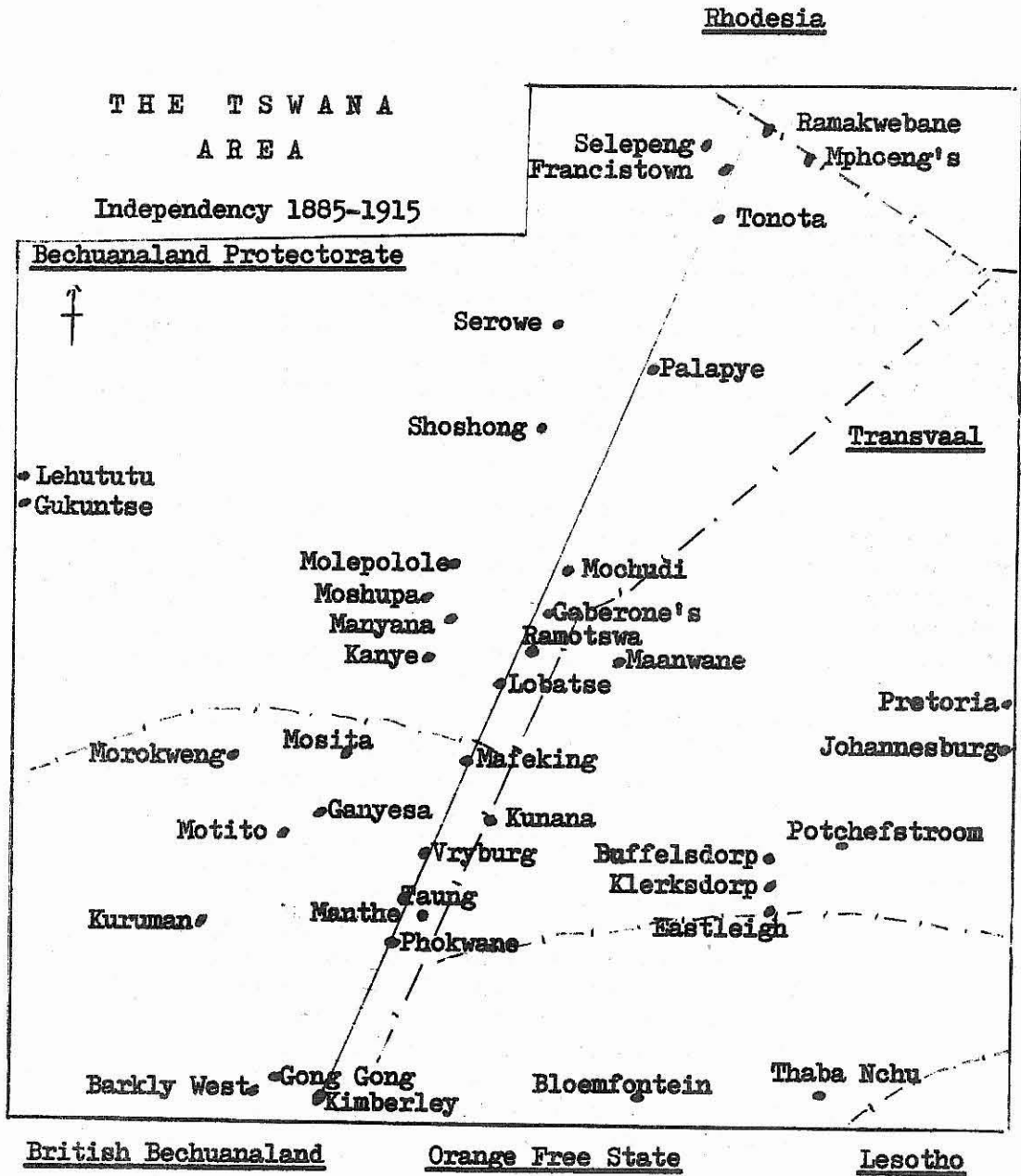
- (51) His village had seen female (Christian) religious mania in 1892 - L.M.S. Chronicle, 1913, Vol. 21, p. 91 ff. I. Schapera (1947), pp. 26-7. L.M.S. report of Molepolole district for 1892.
- (52) R. Jones, "The Black Problem in South Africa", Nineteenth Century, Vol. LVII, May 1905, No. 339, p. 774.
- (53) C.C. Saunders, "The new African élite in the Eastern Cape...", Paper presented to the seminar on the Societies of Southern Africa, 1969. See above, p. 44.
- (54) L.M.S. In-Letter: 26 May 1911.
- (55) U.S.P.G. archives: Bloemfontein Diocese, C.L.R., 25 Jan. 1919.
- (56) L.M.S. In-Letter: 4 Feb. 1912.
- (57) I have not consulted:
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 C. Nyombolo, The Origin and Development of Ethiopianism in South Africa (New York, n.d.). N.B. Tantsi, Historical Sketches of the A.M.E. Church in South Africa (Johannesburg, 1940).
- (58) C.C. Saunders (1969), pp. 7-8.
- (59) W.Y. Stead, "The Order of Ethiopia and its relation to the Church", African Monthly (Grahamstown), February 1908, pp. 311-321. But see also the clearer account of E. Roux, Time Longer than Rope (Madison, etc., 1964 ed.), p. 80.
- (60) J.R. Coan (1961), pp. 448-9.
- (61) B.A. Pauw (1960), p.52.
- (62) For the Kunana out-station of the Potchefstroom district see sections on British Bechuanaland and Bechuanaland Protectorate.
- (63) J.R. Coan (1961), pp. 222-3, & 455-6.
- (64) B.G.M. Sundkler (1961 ed.), pp. 42 & 48. J. Du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa (1911), p.458.
- (65) B.N.A. - S.33/3: File "Report from Transvaal Native Affairs Department" (1906).
- (66) B.N.A. - H.C. 135/5, re Woodbrush revolt 1894. C. Rae, Malaboch. Or, Notes from my diary on the Boer campaign of 1894... (1898). (See Note 46)
- (67) Serowe & Pilikwe: Khama Papers - Khama to Sehemo, 1 April 1911.
- (68) G.A. Shepperson (1968) pp. 257-8.
- (69) c.f. Headlines "Alleged Black Peril Case. Lady assaulted in

Bull Street, Struggle in a bedroom. Houseboy committed for trial." & "Black Peril at Germiston. White girl's narrow escape. Nude native arrested." Diamond Fields Advertiser, 14 & 28 Feb. 1914.

- (70) See: E.M. Green, "Native Unrest in South Africa", Nineteenth Century, Vol. 46, Nov. 1899, No. 273, pp. 708-716.
 A.R. Colquhoun, "The White Man's Burden. Ethiopian Movement. The Education Difficulty." Morning Post, 7 Dec. 1904.
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 S.P. Hyatt, "The Black Peril in South Africa", Macmillan's Magazine, March 1906, pp. 392-400.
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 M.C. Steele, "The challenge of Rhodesia to European liberal thought, 1893-1953" (Edinburgh University, M. Litt., 1968), Chapter V: "The Black Peril".

THE TSWANA
AREA

Independency 1885-1915



Key:  railway  territorial frontiers