

New Negro Modernity and New African Modernity*

by

Ntongela Masilela

The new life has come, and with it we have to swim or sink in its sea of problems. We cannot survive the disintegrating and demoralising forces of this new life unless we adapt ourselves to its conditions. And if we must survive, we shall have to do what the American Negroes have done---adapt ourselves to our new environment. That it is to say, we should assimilate as far as possible the good things of Western civilisation and discard those that are bad.

-R. V. Selope Thema, "The Test of Bantu Leadership", *Umteteli wa Bantu*, November 26, 1926.

Africans are fond of the American Negroes and often look upon the rapid progress and achievements of this group as an indication, an example, of what the black man here can and must do.

-H. I. E. Dhlomo, "Personal and Cultural Achievements", *Ilanga lase Natal*, August 14, 1948.

At the moment of the collapse of the New African Movement in South Africa which was terminated by the political repression that followed immediately on the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960, we

* The paper was presented to the The Black Atlantic: literatures, histories cultures forum in Zurich in January 2003. This Graduate Course was sponsored by the University of Zurich and the University of Basel. I would like to express my gratitude to Professors Thomas Olver and Stephan Meyer for the invitation. It is dedicated to Ngugi wa Thiong'o, celebrating his recent arrival at the University of California at Irvine as the Director of the International Center for Writing and Translation.

encounter the following historical judgements by Ezekiel Mphahlele and Lewis Nkosi. Mphahlele writes the following statement in **The African Image** which was published in 1962: "It may be startling to a non-South Africa how much of our cultural life is American." With the word "our" Mphahlele meant Africans in South Africa not their European compatriots. This distinction is important if no other reason than the fact whereas the Europeans in South Africa, for obvious reasons, were largely mesmerized by European modernity, the Africans were dazzled by United States modernity, particularly the historical processes of its construction. Confirming the observation of Mphahlele, Lewis Nkosi, in Peter Davis documentary film In the Darkest of Hollywood (1993), remembering the "fabulous decade" of the 1950s, makes the following observations: "The conditions in which black people were living were quite appalling, and hence one could not wait for the revolution to come along and rescue one from this impoverished life. So anything that came along to provide a fantasy was most welcome. Just to see people in the corner streets of Sophiatown imitating the life styles of Hollywood film stars was fascinating. The film star Richard Widmark was important to many urban black South Africans. . . The young black South Africans would write to America requesting catalogs of clothes and shoes. . . There were shoes similar to the florsheim called 'can't get', because they were not easily obtainable in Johannesburg or anywhere in South Africa. They would say 'these came straight from New York.' People were aspiring to dress like Americans." Although these reflections of Lewis Nkosi were articulated thirty years later, they are in total synchrony with those expressed in his famous 1962 essay, "The Fabulous Decade", which was subsequently anthologized as the centerpiece of the **Home and Exile** collection (1965). What Ezekiel Mphahlele and Lewis Nkosi were observing were the consequences of the transformation of the historical consciousness of the 'Old African' into the 'New African' as a consequence of the industrialization of South Africa and the resulting discourse between New Negro modernity and New African modernity across most of the first half of the twentieth-century. In other words, the historical issue of the so-called 'Black Atlantic' is fundamentally about the construction of African modernities.

The New African Movement was preoccupied with the historical project of constructing modernity in South Africa. Its trajectory or splay as an intellectual and cultural process could be traced, from its origins among the Xhosa intellectuals of the 1880s such as Elijah Makiwane (1850-1928), William Wellington Gqoba (1840-1888), Walter Rubusana (1858-1930), John Tengo Jabavu (1859-1921), Isaac Wauchope (1852-1917) and others who used two newspapers *Imvo Zabantsundu* (African Opinion) and *Isigidimi Sama Xosa* (The Xhosa Messenger) as cultural and political pathfinders in their search for direction toward modernity, to the Zulu intellectuals of the 1940s whose membership included among others H. I. E. Dhlomo (1903-1956), R. R. R. Dhlomo (1901-1971), Benedict Wallet Vilakazi (1906-1947), Jordan Kush Ngubane (1917-1985) who articulated their historical vision by means of two newspapers *Ilanga lase Natal* (Natal Sun) and *Inkundla ya Bantu* (Bantu Forum). Elsewhere I have argued that the theorization of the historical mission of the New African Movement as the construction of modernity occurs in 1904 with the publication of three essays by major figures of the Movement: Pixley ka Isaka Seme's "The Regeneration of Africa", Solomon T. Plaatje's "Negro Question", and John Langalibalele Dube's "Are Negroes Better Off in Africa? Conditions and Opportunities of Negroes in America and Africa Compared." Actually Pixley ka Isaka Seme's essay was delivered at Columbia University in 1906 and published also in that year by the New Negro magazine *Colored American Magazine* in New York. Note the titles of the last two essays for the spontaneous interconnection of New Negro modernity and New African modernity. Also Pixley ka Isaka Seme's essay follows within this pattern, but much more importantly than the other two essays in that it was the first to self-consciously reflect on the nature and necessity of modernity or its idea in Africa.

The remarkable thing about these essays is that as early as 1904 and 1906 they declared their intellectual affiliations with major figures of the New Negro modernity or of the New Negro Movement not by naming names but through aligning themselves with ideas that sought to make sense of the historical experience of modernity:

behind Pixley ka Isaka Seme stands Alexander Crummell, behind Solomon T. Plaatje stands W. E. B. Du Bois, and behind John Langalibalele Dube stands Booker T. Washington. In fact the connection is even deeper when we observe that the texts of the New African intellectuals were textual response to the texts of the New Negro intellectuals: Pixley ka Isaka Seme's is an elaboration and extension of the essay of Alexander Crummell of 1866 called unsurprisingly "Regeneration of Africa"; Solomon T. Plaatje's is a response to Du Bois **The Souls of Black Folk** which was published in the previous year of 1903; and John Langalibalele Dube's is a reaction to the intellectual stimulation of Washington's book of 1900, **A New Negro For A New Century**. Given these affiliations, it is not surprising that Pixley ka Isaka Seme's "The Regeneration of Africa" was anthologized in a New Negro book of 1910 called **The Black Man: The Father of Civilization**, dedicated to the memory of the New Negro poet Paul Laurence Dunbar who had died a few years earlier. Among other contributors to the book were prominent New Negro intellectuals such as W. E. B. Du Bois, Bishop Henry M. Turner, and the artist Henry O. Tanner. Could there be a greater affirmation of Pan-Africanist connections between the New Negro Movement and the New African Movement than the inclusion of Pixley ka Isaka Seme in this anthology. Let me add in parenthesis that the importance of Pixley ka Isaka Seme's essay is indicated by the fact that the then President of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah, in opening the First International Congress of Africanists in 1963, quoted this essay of Pixley ka Isaka Seme verbatim to the assembled scholars.

But it needs to be noted that Pixley ka Isaka Seme, Solomon T. Plaatje and John Langalibalele Dube were not the first New African intellectuals who felt the historical necessity of either making reference to New Negro modernity while participating in the construction of New African modernity or appropriated the historical lessons of the New Negro Movement in order to make sense and intervene actively in the unfolding of the New African Movement. Learning from Negro modernity was done individually or collectively within the New African Movement. The instance of Peter

Abrahams in the 1930s was just as determinant of the future development of South African cultural history as was to be the case with *Drum* writers of the Sophiatown Renaissance in the 1950s.

It was the emergent Xhosa intelligentsia of the 1880s who first appropriated the intellectual reflections of the New Negroes on the nature of modernity. But before noting the spectacular nature of this borrowing or appropriation, it needs to be emphasized as already evident from the references made so far, that the intellectual construction of New African modernity was forged or theorized on the pages of the New African newspapers. This was already noted in Isaac Bud-M'Belle's book of 1903 **Kafir Scholar's Companion**, perhaps the first book to be published by a politically engaged New African intellectual historically conscious of his belongingness. The importance of the New African newspapers in facilitating the construction of the intellectual and cultural content of the New African Movement was repeatedly emphasized by major New African intellectuals themselves such as H. I. E. Dhlomo, Benedict Wallet Vilakazi, Jordan Kush Ngubane throughout the trajectory of the New African Movement. This conclusion was inescapable for these three New African journalists and writers since they were mesmerized by the columns, articles and essays of R. V. Selope Thema in *Umteteli wa Bantu* newspaper (The Mouthpiece of the People) in the 1920s and by his editorials in *Bantu World* from 1932 to 1952 which sought to inspire and give assurance to the African people that the making and construction of New African modernity was the most fundamental project for them to undertake in the early part of the twentieth century..

What was the connection then between the emergent forms of New Negro modernity and the Xhosa intellectuals of the 1880s? Before engaging this issue, perhaps one should examine the historical significance of a figure like Tiyo Soga (1829-1871). There are several reasons for this. First, all the aforementioned Xhosa intellectuals of the 1880s were descendants of Tiyo Soga, in both the sense of being continuators of his intellectual legacy as well as having been taught by him in their younger days. Second, being the first African to enter

modernity fully in the sense of being baptised a Christian and having studied at the University of Glasgow, Tiyo Soga interrogated the nature of modernity. Postulating that African traditional societies were "sunk in Barbarism and Heathenism", in an entry Journal of 1865 Tiyo Soga argued that Africans can be uplifted into progress and enlightenment if the construction of modernity is accompanied and informed by the combination of Christianity and Civilization. If Christianity were to be severed from this historical process, the African people would be doomed to stagnation and made to wallow in unending vices. For Tiyo Soga were modernity to align itself wholly with science in opposition to religion in the African context, as it seemed him that had unfortunately happened in the European context, modernity would destroy the African people by profiting on their "ignorance" rather than lead them harmoniously into a new historical era. To Tiyo Soga modernity is by itself a chaotic process which can only be ameliorated through Christianity since Civilization is implicated in the destructiveness which is part of modernity. In other words, for Tiyo Soga the kind of modernity he believed in or hoped would usher the African people into a new historical moment is that forged by the holy trinity of Education, Christianity and Civilization. In all of these reflections Tiyo Soga was not really being original since he was largely reiterating the edicts of European missionaries. Going beyond the missionaries however, in these very same reflections, Tiyo Soga implicitly postulates that perhaps it is not modernity in of itself that is destructive and chaotic but rather its enabler capitalism. It would seem that it was capitalism that Tiyo Soga feared the most since to him it seemed an uncontrollable process. Tiyo Soga seems to have been fascinated by the possibility that modernity could have occurred outside the parameters of capitalism, or at the least in absolute negation of it. Here one can say with justification that Tiyo Soga was not an uncritical supporter of European modernity against African traditional societies. These notations of Tiyo Soga are fascinating in that they could be seen as prefigurations of an idea that shades Solomon T. Plaatje's novel **Mhudi** (1930) which asks the question: to what extent is modernity synonymous with European history or could African history given

birth to such a spectacular event or process without the violent intervention of European history.

The third point that needs to be mentioned with regard to the historic importance of Tiyo Soga was his declamation that Africans should never forget about the issue of slavery and slaves in the New World: in other words, blacks in the New World and blacks in Africa should establish a historical and political unity. In a famous Letter that appeared in the May 11, 1865 copy of the *Gazette and Kaffrarian Banner* newspaper, Tiyo Soga marvels that despite slavery, racism and oppression the African people in New World, particularly in United States, have been able to enter and make sense of modernity. It was the modernity of the ex-slaves, freemen and freewomen who had returned to transplant themselves among the indigenous people of Liberia that Tiyo Soga marvels and celebrates. Without naming names Tiyo Soga may have been saluting the extraordinary work of Alexander Crummell in Sierra Leone and William Blyden in Liberia in bringing the indigenous Africans into the modern age through Education, Civilization and Christianity. For Tiyo Soga it is through modernity that the black world could establish a process of unity through reciprocity. In this letter Tiyo Soga also marvels at the accelerated pace with which Africans seek to enter modernity, despite the doubters among the people themselves and resistance from some Europeans who believed that because of the supposed inferiority of Africans they can only dangerously mime the ethos of modernity rather than integrate its ethical principles into their consciousness. Tiyo Soga was convinced that the intelligentsia of the African people on the whole continent would align themselves with modernity despite the profound tribulations it wrought. It is perhaps on this point of the necessity of embracing modernity and the concomitant celebration of the return of the ex-slaves or their descendants to Africa as the best enlighteners of modernity that Tiyo Soga had the most profound spiritual effect on his intellectual descendants of the 1880s such as Elijah Makiwane, Walter Benson Rubusana, Isaac Wauchope, Pambani Mzimba and others. It is arguably because of these reflections of Tiyo Soga that enabled Alexander Crummell, the American intellectual and man of the

Church, to have a spectacular impact on these Xhosa intellectuals of the 1880s, as will be apparent in a moment.

The fourth point that should be raised concerning the extraordinary nature of Tiyo Soga in relation to modernity was his spontaneous awareness that newspapers were the best cultural, political and intellectual forums for disseminating the ideology that modernity was imperative for the survival of the African people. His stay in Glasgow for several years during his university studies must have had to do with this prescient observation. Tiyo Soga's Xhosa contribution to the first issue of missionary newspaper *Indaba* (News) which appeared in August 1862 was in the form of a letter to Editor. Viewing *Indaba* as a "national newspaper" Tiyo Soga made the following observations: the newspaper will facilitate an honest conversation among the Xhosa people; it will convey truthfulness to the Xhosa Nation; it will banish falsehoods in the national conversation; it will give information and wisdom, as well as convey the national heritage to future generations of Xhosa children; and lastly, it will represent and disseminate the legends, the fables and history of the Xhosa Nation. Given these observations, is it any wonder that Tiyo Soga's intellectual descendants of the 1880s had such a strong belief in the enabling process of newspapers regarding modernity: John Tengo Jabavu launched his newspaper, *Imvo Zabantsundu* (African Opinion), in 1884 which coalesced the historical vision of these intellectuals in modernity; William Wellington Gqoba, the last editor of the missionary newspaper *Isigidimi Sama Xhosa* (The Xhosa Messenger), concentrated his enormous artistic and intellectual skills toward making historical sense of the conflict between tradition and modernity; Walter Benson Rubusana, Allan Kirkland Soga and Nathaniel Cyril Umhalla founded *Izwi Labantu* (The Voice of the People) in 1897 as a way of bringing philosophical political modernity into the New African Movement.

So, when Isaac Bud-M'Belle in 1903 in his book mentioned the importance of newspapers in facilitating the creation of New African modernity based on what had happened in the preceding thirty

years, it was really a confirmation of what Tiyo Soga had expected to happen on the publication of *Indaba* in 1862.

The Xhosa intelligentsia of the 1880s is arguably the first group of African intellectuals to be politically and culturally aware that the making of modernity or its eventuation is not a pre-given teleological process, but rather, it is a historical process that is a direct product of human intervention based on a particular historical consciousness. It is because of their belief in human praxis that the reflections of the New Negro intellectual Alexander Crummell on the formation and splay of modernity had such a pronounced effect on these intellectuals who could be viewed as possibly the first generation of New African intellectuals. That the Xhosa intellectuals were historically aware that their fundamental preoccupation should be the question of modernity is evident in the editorial called "The Launch" in the first issue *Imvo Zabantsundu* (November 3, 1884). The editor, John Tengo Jabavu, makes the following observations: the aim of the newspaper is to be an intellectual forum for the emergent African intelligentsia to express themselves freely since the white Christian missionary newspapers had frustrated these newly educated and modernized Africans from doing so; one of the principal tasks of the newspaper is to bring the uneducated Africans (so-called "Red Kafirs") to the "shores" of modernity; the editorial payed homage to the missionaries for having labored and succeeded in bringing the so-called "School Kafirs" into the "civilization" of modernity from the "heathenism" of traditional life; and lastly, the newspaper will attempt to articulate an independent political ideology which best represents the interests of the Xhosa intelligentsia. In a moment it will be apparent that this editorial which could be taken as a manifesto of the Xhosa intelligentsia was an echo of the viewpoints expressed by Alexander Crummell two decades earlier in Sierra Leone.

Although numerous interesting and instructive articles and essays were published in *Imvo Zabantsundu* that had originally been given as presentations by Xhosa intellectuals in their two associations, the Lovedale Literary Society and the Native Educational Association,

two deserve being specified since they detailed how these intellectuals approached and engaged the question of modernity. One of the fundamental documents defining the historical moment of these Xhosa intellectuals was a presentation originally delivered at the meeting of the Lovedale Literary Society by Pambani Jeremiah Mzimba and subsequently published in *Imvo Zabantsundu* (December 30, 1886) as "Education Among the Natives". In this document Mzimba formulates several theses: the idea of progress should inform whatever project(s) these Xhosa intellectuals undertake on behalf of the Xhosa nation (here Xhosa nation is understood as synonymous with the African nation); this progress is achievable when Christianity and Education are inseparable from each other; education facilitates human progress and development; education is forging and enabling a unity of the 'South African tribes', whereas a war among themselves leads to disunity and extermination; modern education is only obtainable by means the English language, therefore this language must be learned; the English language not only opens the higher realms of literature (i.e. culture) and science, but it also enlarges the mind, beyond superstition and prejudice; the indigenous languages should not be cast aside, but the English language should become the lingua franca of the newly emerging nationhood of 'South African tribes'; and finally, postulating the most controversial thesis of this document, Pambani argues that following the example of African Americans immediately after the Reconstruction period, Africans in South Africa should dispense with participating in politics and give acquiescence to white South Africans ruling the country without any form of hindrance. Making the connection between New Negro modernity and New African modernity quite distinct, Pambani Mzimba writes: "The remarks made about the negroes in America are very much applicable to the South African natives. Let the experience of Africans in America give warning to the Africans in Africa to let politics alone at present. Let us be content to be ruled by the colonialist. Let us only have to do with politics in order to encourage those white men who desire to give us schools and books." Elaborating on this last point, Pambani Mzimba states that he has borrowed the idea of political disengagement from the book by the African American historian,

George Washington Williams' **History of the Negro Race in America** (1882-1883). This last thesis was challenged by perhaps the most important Xhosa intellectual of this generation, Elijah Makiwane, who argued in a subsequent issue of *Imvo Zabantsundu* (January 27, 1887) that in effect Pambani Mzimba had misread George Washington Williams. Although Pambani Mzimba willingly acknowledges his borrowings from George Williams, he is strangely silent about his appropriation of Alexander Crummell ideas about the role of the English language and literary culture in modernity, ideas that were to have a profound effect on a whole generation of Xhosa intellectuals of the 1880s. It is clear that Pambani Mzimba was in search of a national ideology or its concept when the historical conditions were not as yet propitious for such an emergence to occur. He was also postulating that the acquisition of the proper instruments and culture of modernity precedes the articulation of modern politics. The founding of a national ideology was to be the principal historical project of Pixley ka Isaka Seme in the 1910s and 1920s, who is renowned in history as the founder of the African National Congress in 1912.

Two years earlier in 1884 Elijah Makiwane had made a major presentation to the Native Educational Association called "Educated Natives". It was subsequently published in *Imvo Zabantsundu* (January 26, February 2, 9, 1885). This presentation seems to have inspired the aforementioned one by Pambani Mzimba. The intellectual duelling of these members of the Xhosa intelligentsia of the 1880s reveals the cultural and intellectual richness of this historical moment. Elijah Makiwane for his part puts forth the following propositions that are also an indication of the influence of Alexander Crummell. Makiwane disputes the claim of the young African elite and intellectuals in the Native Educational Association that they are the equal of Europeans by pointing out that African societies have as yet to produce a William Shakespeare or a John Milton or a Francis Bacon. Continuing with his argument, Makiwane disputes also the view of these young intellectuals that the English nation is not greater than the African nation. For him the fundamental difference was the presence of modernity in one and its

absence in the other; in fact to him, the presence of modernity is associated with 'civilization' and its absence with 'barbarism': this was a lesson R. V. Selope Thema took to heart by making as his mission in the 1920s and the 1930s the destruction of African traditions and their replacement by modernity. Arguing indirectly against Alexander Crummell since no mention of his name is made, Makiwane argues that the acquisition of the English language as the supreme language of modernity should not be at the expense of the African languages as Crummell demands by characterizing them as 'barbaric' and 'heathenistic': in other words, the English language should not be allowed to be imperialistic and hegemonic over the African languages. This is an issue that has had profound consequences in Africa in the twentieth century from the perspective of Ngugi wa Thiong'o. The question to pose to the great Elijah Makiwane is how could he celebrate the supremacy of the English language in the construction of modernity and yet believe that it is possible to forestall and prevent its political practice of cultural imperialism! Makiwane argues further that although England has produced Shakespeare, Milton, Bacon, it is absolutely absurd that because of this every English person is entitled to feel superior to an African. This can not be so for the simple reason that not every English person is worthy of these literary masters. Makiwane concludes his reflections by chastising the young African intellectuals who confuse the modern education they have acquired at Lovedale with the necessarily individually cultivated intellectual culture of deep reading. Because of this, Elijah Makiwane is uncertain whether institutions such as Lovedale are actually properly introducing young Africans into modernity.

In parenthesis the following long quotation taken from H. I. E. Dhlomo's great essay of 1939 "Why Study Tribal Dramatic Forms" gives a historical understanding of why Elijah Makiwane and other Xhosa intellectuals had a deep affinity for Shakespeare, beyond the fact that Alexander Crummell pointed them in that direction: "We live under conditions in many ways similar to those that produced great Greek dramatic literature and the immortal Elizabethan drama. What, then are some of the conditions under which great literature

thrives? It is a time of transition, of migration of population, of expansion, of the rise of new horizons and new modes of thought and life. It is a time when an old indigenous culture clashes with a newer civilization, when tradition faces powerful exotic influences. It is a time when men suddenly become conscious of the wealth of their threatened old culture, the glories of their forefathers, the richness of their tradition, the beauty of their art and song. It is a time when lamentations and groans, thrills and rejoicings, find expression in writing. It is a time when men discover in their history, great heroes whose activities are near enough to be of interest and meaning, but remote enough to form subjects of great, dispassionately passionate creative literature. It is a time when men realise they can preserve and glorify the past not by reverting back to it, but by immortalising it in art. It is a time when men embrace the old and seize upon the new; when they combine the native and alien, the traditional and the foreign, into something new and beautiful. It is a time when men become more of themselves by becoming transformed, when they retreat to advance, when they probe into their own life by looking outward at the wider world, when they sound the mute depths by gazing at the rising stars." (*Transvaal Native Educational Quarterly*, March 1939). It was the historical conditions of modernity in Africa in the present that pointed them to the Elizabethan era. The other merit of this statement is that H. I. E. Dhlomo articulates a concept of modernity that practically all the New African intellectuals of the New African Movement would not have fundamentally disagreed with.

Mention could be made here of other fascinating essays by Elijah Makiwane such as "Five Months in Pandomisiland", in *Imvo Zabantsundu* (January 26, February 3, 10, 1886), in which he is indignant at the African peoples in interior of South Africa whom he believes are rejecting the 'enlightenment' of modernity and clinging to the 'obscurantism' of tradition, evident by the fact that they continue rejecting the bible in preference of witchcraft. Makiwane was not the only Xhosa intellectual to be preoccupied with the resistance to modernity in the interior of the country: twelve years earlier, the first modern Xhosa poet, William Wellington Gqoba

(1840-1888) in the major essay "Notes from the Transkei Upon Witchcraft" published in the *Kaffir Express* (January 6, February 7, March 7, 1874) was also occupied with this issue. What needs to be noted is that the historical reflections of Elijah Makiwane and his actual political practice in modernity had an electrifying influence on the succeeding generations of New African intellectuals: R. V. Selope Thema, after hearing a sermon by Makiwane in the 1900s near the Limpopo River walked over 800 miles to Lovedale, carrying under his arm **Up From Slavery** (1901), the book by his New Negro master; the great Xhosa poet S. E. K. Mqhayi (1875-1945) not only wrote a threnody on the death of Elijah Makiwane in 1928, but also wrote a biography of him, which unfortunately has been lost.

Since Booker T. Washington has just been mentioned, it would be easy to divert from this particular narrative and write reams and reams of pages of his spectacular influence and unsettling impact on the New African Movement across much of the twentieth-century: this thread could stretch from the essay of 1913 based on personal knowledge of the place on the Tuskegee Institute by the young D. D. T. Jabavu (1885-1959) which was subsequently anthologized in his collection of essays **The Black Problem** (no date; probably 1920 or 1921 by Lovedale Press) to Jacob M. Nhlapo (1904-1957) who wrote also on the Institute in the 1950s on the pages of Selope Thema's *The Bantu World* as part of his journey through United States. But momentarily the central narrative here is Alexander Crummell's influence on the generation of Xhosa intellectuals of the 1880s. The influence of Alexander Crummell did not limit itself to the circle of Xhosa intellectuals around the newspaper *Imvo Zabantsundu*. Even a New African newspaper that was founded in 1897 in opposition to the political conservatism of *Imvo Zabantsundu* could not escape this influence. In a journalistic piece on "The African Literary Association" in *Izwi Labantu* of May 6, 1902 we encounter the following observations on matters of education and modernity in which knowledge is theorized as bringing about hope, faith, charity, efficiency, thrift and virtue: "Mere reading and writing is not education. It would be quite as reasonable to call bricks and mortar architect---oils and colors art---reeds and grunts music---or the child's

Spelling Book the works of Shakespeare, Milton and Bacon---as to call the lowest rudiments of education, Education. . . " In this instance too Shakespeare, Milton Bacon are invoked as a fundamental entryway into modernity, without which modernity is unrealizable or at least not understandable.

This historical perspective of the role of education as an instrument facilitating the making of modernity was universally held by all members of the Xhosa intellectuals of the 1880s. This was a perspective that persisted in South African intellectual history right up into the 1950s, the historical era of Lewis Nkosi's generation: concrete examples are telling: Solomon T. Plaatje in the 1930s translates three of Shakespeare's plays into Sestwana language and ends his novel **Mhudi** with Mzilikazi, the defeated Ndebele Chief, uttering a Shakespearean soliloquy explaining why he is incapable of entering the new era of modernity; H. I. E. Dhlomo, whose centenary of his birth is being celebrated this year, writes in his extraordinary essays of the 1930s and 1940s, especially those on the dramatic form, that Shakespeare, Milton, and Bible are fundamental to any culture of modernity, or at least those cultures making a transition to modernity; Can Themba within the Sophiatown Renaissance of the 1950s, according to the testimony of Lewis Nkosi and Nadine Gordimer, was fanatical in his admiration of Shakespeare. There is a particular logic in the understanding of modernity that stretches from Elijah Makiwane in the 1880s to Can Themba in the 1950s: this was one of the critical strands that informed the historical vision of the New African Movement. Having said all this, it would be wrong to think that the Xhosa intellectuals of the 1880s believed that ideas of intellectual culture constituted modernity itself; they were very much aware that the material conditions of capitalism and industrialization were the enablers of modernity, causing upheavals and turning African societies up side down right in front of their eyes. Since they had no political power to moderate or control the profound changes wrought by modernity, no one was directly hindering them from using their intellectual imagination in understanding this momentous change. This is the reason for the importance of Alexander Crummell

and other New Negro intellectuals to New African intelligentsia across much of the twentieth-century.

It is Alexander Crummell, the African American man of religion who had studied at Cambridge University, who brings to Xhosa intellectuals the idea that the trinity of Shakespeare, Milton and Bacon is fundamental to any construction or participation in modernity by African people, not by the British missionaries as one would have expected. This is not to gain say James Stewart the intellectual force of Lovedale and other missionaries in transforming these Xhosa intellectuals through Civilization, Christianity and Education into "New Africans". The missionaries initially gave these Xhosa intellectuals high European culture in the form of classics, that is a deep culture of Latin and Greek literatures. This is why these Xhosa intellectuals of 1880s were uniformly brilliant. There is an editorial by John Tengo Jabavu in *Imvo Zabantsundu* ("Lovedale in 1884", May 11, 1885) profoundly lamenting the discontinuation of the teaching of classics to Africans. What Alexander Crummell and Bishop Henry M. Turner others gave to these intellectuals and the missionaries could not, was perhaps a total vision of modernity and the possible autonomy within it: witness the phenomenon of Ethiopianism. The New Negroes exacted their own heavy price on New Africans: perhaps because the price was 'black' rather than 'white', it was possibly palatable coming from United States 'cousins': the disengagement of Africans from politics. The racism, feelings of superiority and a belief in white supremacy by missionaries had their limits. Despite this, New African intellectuals from R. V. Selope Thema to H. I. E. Dhlomo, from John Dube to D. D. T. Jabavu, from Solomon T. Plaatje to Benedict W. Vilakazi, held missionaries in high esteem. We know the condescension of history expressed by African black nationalists who tend to dismiss these New African intellectuals as mere 'Christian converts'. These New African intellectuals were interacting with Clement Martyn Doke (1893-1980), arguably the greatest South African intellectual of the twentieth-century, who came to South Africa as a missionary with his parents, turned to academic work, and in his old age reverted back to doing missionary work, albeit intellectually like translating the Bible into

African languages. Doke is the absolute paragon of missionary practice in intellectual modernity. The real intellectual drama between Christian missionaries and the New African intellectuals has as yet to be theorized.

Alexander Crummell and modernity: probably one of the reasons that explains his inestimable impact on Xhosa intellectuals and on Pixley ka Isaka Seme concerning modernity is that he was effecting in actuality in Sierra Leone what he was historically theorizing. Two essays of his are of immediate concern to us here: one, "The English Language in Liberia", which was delivered on the national independence day of Liberia on July 26, 1860 in Monrovia and was subsequently assembled in a book called **The Future of Africa** that was published in New York in 1862; and the other, "The Need of New Ideas and New Aims for a New Era" , which was delivered in May 1885 in West Virginia and appears in a book called **Civilization and Black Progress: Selected Writings of Alexander Crummell on the South** (1995). In "The English Language in Liberia" Crummell formulates the following theses that had an electrifying effect on Xhosa intellectuals of 1880s, even if they dissented from some of them: Language and History are the intellectual disciplines by which a people can civilize itself into modernity; Africans can only enter into modernity by rejecting the 'heathenism' and 'backwardness' of old African societies, and likewise African Americans must stop complaining about slavery since it would hinder their entering the modern age; the English language is the fundamental instrument that facilitates entrance into the civilizational culture of modernity; mastery of English enables one to study the Bible, a holy book whose social ethos are the foundations of any civilization that is modern, democratic and progressive; English is superior intellectually to African languages which are primitive and barbaric; English literary culture must be imbibed and acquired by any nation or people claiming to be civilized, because its social and cultural values are critical to the construction of modern cultures and societies; the English language and its literary culture epitomizes the best of the civilizational culture of modernity---Christianity, Education, and polite culture; the English language is the vehicle for democratization

of a national consciousness beyond the barbarism of traditional societies.

The great merit of Alexander Crummell's ideas about modernity is their absolute radicality, leaving no shade of ambiguity of any kind whatsoever. This may be the reason he has largely fallen into disfavor in the black world in the twentieth-century. But in a recent book of 1996, **The Future of the Race**, co-written with Henry Louis Gates, Cornel West mentions in passing that he considers Alexander Crummell to be the greatest African American intellectual of the nineteenth-century: the implicit judgment here is that Crummell was greater than Frederick Douglass. I think W. E. B. Du Bois at the moment of the founding of the Negro Academy in 1898 would have concurred with this view: witness his essay called "Of Alexander Crummell" in **The Souls of Black Folk** (1903). To put it simply: Crummell is a major intellectual. Seeming to dissent from the high regard of Crummell by West and Du Bois, Henry Louis Gates, the foremost scholar in the world today of African American literature, though expressing an ambivalent gratitude is very harsh in evaluating him in **Loose Canons**: "Crummell never stopped believing that mastering the master's tongue was the sole path to civilization, intellectual freedom, and social equality for the black person. . . We must not succumb, as did Alexander Crummell, to the tragic lure of white power, the mistake of accepting the empowering language of white critical theory as 'universal' or as our only language, the mistake of confusing the enabling mask of theory with our own black faces." Crummell was struggling with the enabling and disabling forms and structures of modernity. For certain, without Alexander Crummell being mediated by the Xhosa intellectuals of the 1880s, there would be no Nelson Mandela in our time. By historicizing him, the Xhosa intellectuals were able to read Crummell as the par excellent embodiment of the contradictory unity of modernity: the progressive and the regressive elements are inseparable from each other. It is this contradictory unity that mesmerized the New African intellectuals because in Crummell it was articulated through the extraordinary fusion of theory and practice in all his undertakings. After all, Crummell was in all

probability the first black person in modernity to singularize Africanism and Negroism in a compelling manner, thereby becoming the direct predecessor of F. Z. S. Peregrino, Aggrey of Africa, and the students who had studied in United States: Pixley ka Isaka Seme, John Langalibalele Dube, Charlotte Manye Maxeke, Alfred B. Xuma and others. They became the conduits of a different order of modernity in South Africa.

It is necessary to quote only in part the long second sentence of "The English Language in Liberia" for it provided the Xhosa intellectuals of the 1880s with the code words for their understanding and articulation of modernity: ". . . the prerogatives and the elevation the Almighty has bestowed upon us, in our having as our own, the speech of Chaucer and Shakespeare, of Milton and Wordsworth, of Bacon and Burke, of Franklin and Webster." Further in the essay Crummell mentions part of the catalogue of the Library a person of modern culture should possess: "Locke on the Mind; Bacon's Essays; Butler's Analogy; Paley's Natural Theology; Wayland's Moral Philosophy; Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, Robinson Crusoe; Alison on Taste; Watts on the Mind; Channing's Self-Culture; Life of Benjamin Franklin; Life of James Watt; Life of Mungo Park; History of Rome; History of Greece; History of England; Milton's Poems; Cowper's Poems; Burder's Self-Discipline; Todd's Student Manual." This is an astonishing show-case by any measure. With certainty, it must have made the jaws of most Xhosa intellectuals of 1880s drop upon reading it. What Crummell says on the nature of education in modernity is absolutely brilliant: it is not surprising that one finds repeated verbatim the code words of modernity or with slight modification by Xhosa intellectuals: be it Elijah Makiwane, Pambani Jeremiah Mzimba, John Tengo Jabavu, Walter Benson Rubusana. If this is what Alexander Crummell has in store for Africans concerning modernity, how about for African Americans!

The other essay, "The Need of New Ideas and New Aims for a New Era", is equally astonishing in its own way. This essay too has profoundly upset some African Americans over the last century or so. The radical thesis Crummell formulates in this essay of 1885 is

that African Americans have created obstacles for themselves by dwelling endlessly and continuously on the past of slavery rather than concentrating on the making of the future world of modernity. In his estimation they should expunge from their political and historical imagination the painful memory of slavery. Although aware that slavery had unleashed a profound moral and spiritual crisis in African Americans by the fact it had destroyed the moral framework of the African American family and had poisoned the historical and social conditions of the democratic functioning of black labor, Crummell argues that their fortunes cannot be revived or resurrected by wallowing in the past of slavery, but rather, the spiritual crisis can be transcended in the present by the creation of the aristocracy of intellect in modernity which would instill the inner qualities of thrift, energy, manliness, civility into the black masses, by restoring the moral fiber of the shattered families, and by forging a higher plane for ethical and social ethos. But in order to achieve this grand aim African Americans would have to facilitate the realization of new thoughts, new ideas, new projects, new purposes and new ambitions. Crummell believed that in such an undertaking African Americans could effect a grand moral revolution in United States.

Crummell thought the memorization of the hurt, sadness, and bitterness of slavery could only lead to morbidity, degeneracy, degradation, servitude, sorrow, intellectual narrowness and inferiority among African Americans. In uttering the great no to the memorization of slavery among African Americans and likewise to the romanticization of African traditional societies among Africans, Crummell was in effect calling for the creation of modernities in the wider black world, modernities which are a world of the future since they could only be constructed on the basis of new ideas, new aims and new objectives. A caveat concerning this remarkable essay: despite fulminating against the memorization of slavery, Crummell was firm in his demand for reparations. Several observations concerning this extraordinary document: first, the concept of the 'aristocracy of the intellect' articulated here connects this essay directly to the aforementioned essay "The English Language in Africa", for this aristocratic intellect is only realizable on the basis of

the formidable theory of education philosophized in this essay of 1861; secondly, one can rationally and logically postulate that the idea of the 'aristocracy of the intellect' subsequently metamorphosed into the notion of the 'New Negro' in Booker T. Washington, and still further into the idea of 'Talented Tenth' in W. E. B. Du Bois----- the genealogy of these constructs had a direct and profound impact on the idea of the 'New African', principally articulated by R. V. Selope Thema, and that of 'New African Talented Tenth' appropriated by H. I. E. Dhlomo; thirdly, the disdainfulness for African traditional societies displayed by Crummell was turned into an irrational hatred by R. V. Selope Thema---this is no minor happenstance for as it will be stenographically argued below that Selope Thema was the New African intellectual who had more influence than any other New African through the *Bantu World* newspaper on the formation of modernistic sensibilities of the New African masses, especially their transformation into 'New Africans' from 'Old Africans'; the concept of the 'aristocracy of the intellect' mapped here has affiliative connections to the construct of 'indigenous agency' that Alexander Crummell theorized in "The Regeneration of Africa" (1865) essay, an essay that had an inestimable impact on Pixley ka Isaka Seme, who as already indicated not only raised the banner of modernity within the then emergent New African Movement, but also tentatively forged the political ideology of the New African Nationalism, which in turn was reformulated as the New African 'New' Nationalism by Jordan Kush Ngubane.

In a certain sense it could be said that the prodigious intellectual legacy of Alexander Crummell has had a profound influence on the wide swath of South African intellectual history: the Xhosa intellectuals of the 1880s were in direct discourse with "The English Language in Liberia", R. V. Selope Thema with "The Need of New Ideas and New Aims for a New Era", and Pixley ka Isaka Seme with "The Regeneration of Africa". How then did R. V. Selope Thema respond to the great challenge demanded by this essay which with legitimacy could be taken as the manifesto for black modernities from Cuba to South Africa, from Haiti to Jamaica. Selope Thema was profoundly conscious of the exemplary nature of New Negro

modernity for New African modernity as the following statement indicates: "But however marvellous this may be, the wonder of wonders to my mind is the progress which the American Negro has made during the fifty years of his emancipation from slavery. There is no race in all the world which can show such a record . . . What is the message of this progress to us in Africa? This is the question which I wish every reader to ponder as he peruses this article. The message is: What the American Negro has done and is doing we can also do in this sunny land of ours. In spite of the difficulties placed in our way we can forge our way through until our struggle shall win many white men to our assistance" ("Negro Progress in America", *Umteteli wa Bantu*, December 22, 1923). This view was still subscribed to approximately three decades later, a few years before his death in 1955. The following excerpt clearly shows that Selope Thema never relinquished his passionate historical belief that the New Negro Movement had many historical lessons for the New African Movement: "I am an admirer of great men, be they black, white, brown or yellow, except dictators and tyrants. And among the heroes I worship is Booker T. Washington, the man who laid the foundations of the amazing progress made by Negroes in America since their emancipation eighty-six years ago. I am proud of the great achievement of our kinsmen in the United States, in the field of education, religion, literature, music and science. But I feel that we need not go to America to look for great men, when Africa is capable of producing them. We can go to America for inspiration, but let us not belittle or ignore the efforts of men and women of our own race. Let us encourage and cheer those who try and succeed in any sphere of human activity" ("The Man Who Made History", *The Bantu World*, November 24, 1951). The fundamental lesson that R. V. Selope Thema appropriated from Alexander Crummell was the necessity of a complete severance of New African modernity from African traditional society: to him modernity must destroy, or at the very least it should exercise imperial hegemony over, tradition: to him there can be no reciprocity or rapprochement between them. Concerning this, Selope Thema was never ambiguous across the five decades of his intellectual and political practice within the New African Movement.

R.V. Selope Thema was a complicated and complex New African intellectual: avant-garde in his intellectual project of constructing New African modernity in South Africa and yet conservative and reactionary, at least in his later years, in opposing the necessity of progressive politics in modernity. In essay of a few years back "The TransAtlantic Connections of the New African Movement" (1994), we sought to indicate his historic importance. In this aforementioned essay we sought to indicate that his stellar contributions to *Umteteli wa Bantu* newspaper in the 1920s were singular in advocating the necessity of New African modernity in replacement of European modernity which he felt was then the cultural dominant in South Africa. Here we would like briefly to indicate that in the 1930s when an opportunity availed itself for him to be the founding editor of *The Bantu World* newspaper, he set about actually constructing the institutional and intellectual forms of modernity. It has already been indicated that Selope Thema believed there were many lessons New Negro modernity had for New African modernity. In the first two years of *The Bantu World* weekly R. V. Selope Thema wrote many lead articles under the pseudonym of "Correspondent" which were about modernity, modernity, modernity.

In these articles and essays as well as others written under his name spread over two decades Selope Thema formulated several theses. First he argued that achievements of the New Negroes were a legacy that belonged to black people wherever they may be: "The Negro is essentially an African. In the culture which he has created in American society is embodied all the human qualities which he has inherited from Africa. It is often pointed out that there is no comparison between the race problem of America and that of South Africa. This is a misleading idea. South Africa, in her endeavour to solve the so-called Native problem, will do well to study American methods and put some of the American spirit in dealing with this burning question. The advance which the Negroes have made since emancipation is not due entirely to Negro effort. American philanthropy made it possible for them to develop in all directions" ("Once Slaves, Now Rich and Free: Amazing Feat of Negroes to

inspire Bantu", *The Bantu World*, August 20, 1932). In this instance when R. V. Selope Thema speaks of 'American methods' and the 'American spirit' he invariably meant African American approaches to modernity, be it at a political or cultural or at a social plane. Although he recognized Booker T. Washington as his true American master, here the borrowings from Alexander Crummell are apparent. Secondly, R. V. Selope Thema recognized that just as African Americans had established an intellectual tradition, South Africans had to do likewise. He located the origins of this tradition among Xhosa intellectuals: "The Xosa people are not only the Voortrekkers of the Bantu race, the men who as it were, cleared the jungle and prepared the way for other tribes, but are also the pioneers in matters of religion and education. They were the first to embrace the Christian religion and subsequently some of their men became missionaries and teachers among other tribes. They have produced men of exceptional abilities, men who have played a significant part in laying the foundations of Bantu progress. Some of these men are Tiyo Soga who has the distinction of being the first Bantu to receive University education, John Knox Bokwe, the first Bantu musician and perhaps the greatest musician the race has yet produced, Dr. W. B. Rubusana, the first black man to sit as a legislator in the Provincial Council, John Tengo Jabavu, the father of Bantu Journalism, Elijah Makiwane and P. J. Mzimba, both outstanding figures in the religious spheres of activity. There are many more but space does not permit me to mention their names. Suffice it to say [that] throughout the length and breadth of this country the descendants of these voortrekkers of our race are doing excellent work as leaders in all spheres of Bantu activities" ("Xosa Nation Prepares The Way", *The Bantu World*, October 15, 1932).

All of these figures mention by R. V. Selope Thema, with the exception of Tiyo Soga, were members of the Xhosa intellectuals of the 1880s. This statement has direct meaning to R. V. Selope Thema, for as he mentions in his unpublished autobiographical manuscript of 1936 **Out of Darkness: From Cattle-Herding to the Editor's Chair**, it was Elijah Makiwane himself while preaching among the Pedi people in northern Transvaal in the early years of the twentieth-

century who convinced Selope Thema to march from the 'darkness' of traditional societies to the 'enlightenment' of modernity. Thirdly, R. V. Selope Thema was acutely aware that between the moment of the Xhosa intellectuals of the 1880s and his time of the 1930s a lineage of New African intellectual culture had established and consolidated itself: "Among the men who have attained higher educational qualifications one may mention Professor D. D. T. Jabavu, a B. A., of the London University and Mr. K. T. Motsete, B. D., M. A., of the same university. Mr. Motsete took all his degrees in honours. Then there is Mr. Zachariah Matthews, B. A., L.L.B., and Mr. Donald Mtimkulu M. A., of the University of South Africa. Besides these men we have over half a dozen who have obtained the B. A., degree of the University of South Africa. Our medical men such as Drs. S. M. Molema, A. B. Xuma, James Moroka, M. Motebang, Mahlangeni, I. Gumede, Soga, are a credit not only to our race but to the medical profession. In the legal profession we have six men who are fighting against great odds to establish themselves. In the field of literature our race has produced such men as the late Sol T. Plaatje, Rev. Henderson Soga, S. Mqhayi, Thomas Mofolo, Rev. N. P. Lamula and others. In music there is the late John Knox Bokwe, the late Tiyo Soga, Reuben Caluza, Moses Mphahlele, Mark S. Radebe, Griffiths Motsieloa, A.T.C.L., and Reuben Davies, A.T.C. L., and many others. No doubt 'the Bantu are coming.' The caravan of their progress on, in spite of handicaps and difficulties" ("Follow Their Lead and Win: The Bantu Achieve Steady Progress in Education", *The Bantu World*, September 24, 1932). It was because of the emergence of this constellation of the African intelligentsia that R. V. Selope Thema coined the concept of the "New African", "New Africa" and the "New South Africa". It was on the pages of *Umteteli wa Bantu* in the 1920s, joined by Henry Selby Msimang, that R. V. Selope Thema theorized this historic construct of the "New African". It was Selope Thema who invented this concept rather than H. I. E. Dhlomo, as many have been mistakenly led to believe. It is not surprising that R. V. Selope Thema would invent this concept since undoubtedly he was inspired by Booker T. Washington's **A New Negro For A New Century**. Fourthly, and this could perhaps be R. V. Selope Thema's greatest contribution to South African culture in the twentieth-century, as editor of *The*

Bantu World he fostered the careers of young New African intellectuals who were to become major figures within the New African Movement: Guybon Bundlwana Sinxo (Xhosa novelist and short story writer), R. R. R. Dhlomo (Zulu novelist and short story writer), Peter Abrahams (the internationally renowned writer), Jordan Kush Ngubane (Zulu novelist, great journalist, political maverick), Peter Segale (Sotho short story writer) H. I. E. Dhlomo (playwright, essayist, poet, social and cultural critic, short story writer), Todd Matshikiza (music and jazz critic), Henry Nxumalo (journalist). The last two were to become leading members of the *Drum* writers of the 1950s: the uncanny resemblance of *Drum* magazine to *The Bantu World* is not surprising or accidental. Lastly, R. V. Selope Thema's weekly editorials in *The Bantu World* covering twenty years are a stellar contribution to the literary brilliance of the New African Movement.

R. V. Selope Thema's stewardship of *The Bantu World* marked the watershed era in the history of the New African Movement: up to this newspaper practically all the New African newspapers had sections written in three of four African languages, besides English. This was particularly true of newspapers based in Johannesburg: *Umteteli wa Bantu* in the 1920s and *The Bantu World* in the 1930s (in the subsequent decades the papers went into different trajectories which were to lead to their demise). It would seem that it was partly because of their multilingualism that enabled these newspapers to have a complex understanding of the splay of modernity in South Africa. Selope Thema's protégé, Jordan Ngubane, on assuming editorial responsibilities of *Inkundla ya Bantu* early 1940s, attempted to maintain this great tradition. Multilingualism or multilinguality was central in the formation of New African modernity in contrast to the unavoidable monolingualism of New Negro modernity. This remarkable tradition of realizing modernity through multilingualism was overthrown by the advent of the counter-revolution initiated by the founding of *Drum* magazine in 1951 which self-consciously mimicked the monolingualism of New Negro newspapers and journals: whereas in United States this was a historical necessity, in South Africa it was a fatal historical blindness. Coinciding with the

emergence with *Drum* magazine, just before his retirement as editor in 1952, R. V. Selope Thema enabled a major debate to occur on the pages of *The Bantu World* (from September 22, 1951 to March 15, 1952) regarding the role of language in modernity. Participating in this remarkable debate were Peter Raboroko, Ezekiel Mphahlele, N. Mkele, Guybon Bundlwana Sinxo, Dr. Jacob Nhlapo and others. This debate was as equally important as the most renowned one that occurred in 1938-39 on the pages of *South African Outlook* between H. I. E. Dhlomo and Benedict Wallet Vilakazi. As had occurred in the debate between Dhlomo and Vilakazi, so also in the "Raboroko Debate" the central question was one that confronts colonial, neo-colonial, or post-colonial nations in the midst of grappling with the intractable process of modernity: how to constitute a national language to facilitate the creation of a national literature and national culture in the context of multilingualism! Whereas earlier H. I. E. Dhlomo had opted for the English language and Benedict Vilakazi for the African languages, the participants in the "Raboroko Debate" discussed the logic and the historical merits of creating a new national language from the 'fusion' of all the African languages through the Sotho and Nguni sub-groups. Whatever one may think of the solution(s) suggested by the New African intellectuals in *The Bantu World*, they were searching for new ideas and new aims as Alexander Crummell had demanded of black people in the throes of modernity.

It is necessary to shift from the dialectic between Alexander Crummell and R. V. Selope Thema to that between the New Negro and Pixley ka Isaka Seme. Pixley ka Isaka Seme's "Regeneration of Africa" (1906) borrowed something fundamental from Alexander Crummell's "The Regeneration of Africa" (1865): in this instance, the vision of modernity itself. This essay was assembled by Crummell with other essays in an anthology **Africa and America** (1891). As mentioned earlier, "The English Language in Liberia" was anthologized in a book **The Future of Africa** (1862). The titles of these two books indicate the everlasting engagement Crummell had with Africa. His profound impact on several generations of New African intellectuals of the New African Movement is hardly surprising and

unexpected in this context. The essay originated as a presentation at the end of the American Civil War directing and requesting African Americans to go to Africa to participate in its redemption. For Crummell the redemption of Africa can only occur through evangelization: in other words, to him Africa can only be led to modernity through Christianity. Crummell was uncompromising in his condemnation of the metaphysical beliefs and philosophical systems that were characteristic of traditional societies. He speaks of "abominations of African paganism" and the "gross heathenism of a whole continent." He was clear about the necessity of their "destruction". It is in the context of this violent hostility and condemnation that Crummell proposes the regeneration and redemption of Africa. He proposes the following several theses for effecting this transformation: Africa cannot be redeemed unaided---outside agencies must bring spiritual enlightenment to Africa; no people have arisen from paganism to spirituality unaided; commerce and trade cannot bring about the redemption of Africa---they are beneficent to African progress but have no regenerating power; Western commerce which has invariably took the form of slavery has brought devastation, exploitation and the moral ruin of the continent that has only exacerbated barbarism; the redemption of Africa cannot be brought about through the agency of white missionaries; foreign agencies can bring in civilization, enlightenment and new faith, but only indigenous agencies or native agencies can bring about the redemption of Africa. With the concept of "native agency" Crummell sought to indicate that only returning ex-slaves, free-men and free-women can teach the proper principles of Christianity to the "indigenous" people of Africa. To him white or European missionaries were "foreign agencies" who had compromised Christianity in Africa through their racism and white supremacist beliefs. Crummell was clear that white missionaries should leave Africa since he believed they were incapable of regenerating Africa in the manner which he believed necessary. Here is evident the incipient forms of the philosophy Pan-Africanism that Alexander Crummell inherited from Martin Delany. We have detailed elsewhere that it was the Ghanaian F. Z. S. Peregrino, exemplifying the blending of New Negroism and New Africanism, who actually brought Pan-

Africanism to South Africa and articulated its ideology in the pages of his *South African Spectator* newspaper in Cape Town.

It is with the revolutionary idea of "indigenous agency" and/or "native agency" that Crummell had a profound effect on the whole intellectual spectrum of the New African Movement. For example, it was as an "indigenous agent" that Elijah Makiwane travelled from Lovedale to northern Transvaal spreading Christianity thereby spiritually transforming the sixteen year old R. V. Selope Thema into participating in the project of modernity. The most powerful and fascinating pages of Selope Thema's unpublished autobiography is when he describes what could be interpreted as the spiritual ecstasy he underwent at the very moment he heard Elijah Makiwane preaching. Given the extraordinary impact that R. V. Selope Thema was to have within the New African Movement in later years, there can be no doubt whatsoever that this "encounter" between the approximately sixty year great Xhosa intellectual and the Pedi teenager in the hinterlands of South Africa was one of the decisive moments in South African intellectual history, let alone that of the New African Movement. Secondly, it is because they had a historical consciousness of themselves as "indigenous agents" that Pambani Jeremiah Mzimba, Mangane Maake Mokone and others broke away from the white Christian Churches to launch Ethiopianism. Paradoxically, the entanglements between Pambani Jeremiah Mzimba and Bishop Henry Turner of the A. M. E. Church could also be seen within this purview. Other instances could be enumerated.

Much more crucial for us here is the intellectual interaction between Alexander Crummell and Pixley ka Isaka Seme. It was as an "indigenous agent" that Isaka Seme founded and launched the African National Congress in 1912. It was also as an "indigenous agent" that Pixley ka Isaka Seme espoused his philosophy of modernity in his historic essay "The Regeneration of Africa": genius does not reside in any particular race because it is a universal phenomenon; the principles for evaluating and judging Africa should be based on its history and not derived from other cultures; Egyptian civilization is an African creation that belongs to the African people,

should not be credited to other people; Africa is awakening to the challenges of the present; Africa has produced great men from antiquity to the present; the African genius will redeem Africa from its present degradation; there were other African civilizations and achievements following on the Egyptian civilization; Africa within modernity is in the process of regenerating itself into a complex form of existence. Concluding the essay, Pixley ka Isaka Seme writes: "The ancestral greatness, the unimpaired genius, and the recuperative power of the race, its irrepressibility, which assures its permanence, constitute the African's greatest source of inspiration. . . . The regeneration of Africa means that a new and unique civilization is soon to be added to the world. The African is not proletarian in the world of science and art." Several observations can be made about Pixley ka Isaka Seme's understanding and re-articulation of the idea of regeneration of Africa in contrast to that of Alexander Crummell. First, for Pixley ka Isaka Seme it is science that will bring about the redemption of Africa not religion as Alexander Crummell passionately believed. Secondly, the New African counterposes the history of African civilizations to the New Negro's belief in Africa's permanent stasis in heathenism, barbarism and moral outrage. Given this disagreement, it would seem that another classic African American essay inspired Pixley ka Isaka Seme's "The Regeneration of Africa": this is Frederick Douglass' "The Claims of the Negro Ethnologically Considered", originally delivered as a lecture at Western Reserve College in 1854, and subsequently published as a pamphlet in the same year. Henry Louis Gates postulates that Douglass's historic text was the founding document of African American Studies ("'The Lives Grown Out Of his Life': Frederick Douglass, Multiculturalism and Diversity").

Frederick Douglass tabulates several claims made by African Americans on modern America: he challenges those white Americans who deny or would seek to deny the humanity of African Americans, for it is by so doing that slavery and racism were made palatable; he argues for the unity of the human race or its oneness, because it is through exclusion of the black race from the common ancestry of the human race that slavery and racism were made more ideologically

acceptable---for Douglass the foundations of the Bible are predicated on the unity of the human race; he establishes the presence of black people in history by indicating that Egyptian civilization was invented by Africans---by this Douglass specifically means that Egyptian civilization was a Negro or black civilization; he contests the identification of the white race or European face with beauty, dignity and intellect, and the black race or African face with imbecility and degradation---Douglass names African Americans endowed with great intelligence, thereby in effect naming the African American intellectual canon; he shifts from indicating the essential unity of humanity and the Negroness of Egyptian civilization to postulating the unity of the African continent based on linguistic figurations; he indicates that the African race is a singular people or characterized by oneness; he argues that although climactic conditions explain the multiplicity of racial phenotypes, this mediation is fundamental but is not absolutely deterministic---Douglass postulates that despite the presence of "racial nations", what he calls the social state or the geographic state constitutes them into the oneness of the human family; lastly, he states that even if it were proven that the human race does not have singular origins, Christianity, civilization, liberty and knowledge make for the common nature and united destiny of mankind.

It is immediately clear why and how Fredrick Douglass' "The Claims of the Negro Ethnologically Considered" would have an overwhelming impact on a young Pixley ka Isaka Seme, who between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two, the years 1898-1902 had studied at Mount Hermon School in Massachusetts, and between the ages of twenty-two and twenty-six, the years 1902-1906 had studied at Columbia University. The evidence is in "The Regeneration of Africa". First, the concept of history, so fundamentally lacking in Alexander Crummell's critique of African traditional societies and African history, is appropriated by Pixley ka Isaka Seme from Frederick Douglass not only to locate and establish Egyptian civilization within African history, but also in believing that given the achievements of Africans in antiquity, it was possible to create a civilization of modernity in the present. Secondly, from

Douglass articulating the oneness of the human race and the singular nature or form of the African race, it is not difficult to see Seme appropriating a fundamental ideological lesson that led him to shed his tribal or ethnic identifications and embrace the unity of African people. In other words, it is in all probability in Douglass and in United States modernity that Seme developed the historical consciousness that enabled him to construct his Africanness in relation to his assumed Zuluness. This was a revolutionary intellectual breakthrough that led directly to the founding of the African National Congress (known until 1925 as the South African Native National Congress) in 1912. Thirdly, from Douglass as well as seeing the cultural configurations and political practice of the New Negro Movement in Harlem which he was in the midst of while a student at Columbia University, Pixley ka Isaka Seme was to learn that collective political and cultural practices in modernity were movements of one kind or another.

It is from learning from Frederick Douglass the fundamental concept of unity that Pixley ka Isaka Seme was to postulate the historical experience of New African modernity in South Africa as a movement: "The African National Congress is a new movement which is being implanted in the heart and blood of the Abantu people. All nations have national congresses of their own which help mould together the spirit and the good will of those nations. . . . We want to be able clearly to express our free will as a nation like all other peoples of the world today." ("Leaders Of African National Congress Must Reconcile Differences", *Umteteli wa Bantu*, December 16, 1933, my emphasis). R. V. Selope Thema, the theoretician of the idea of the New African also concurred that New African modernity was a historical movement; "There is a movement among Africans not only for the betterment of their economic conditions but for political freedom as well. If this movement is barred from its natural road of advance and deprived of its liberty of thought, expression and action, it will become a menace to the security of the white race, and a brake in the wheels of the country's progress." ("European Students And Race Problems", *The Bantu World*, August 10, 1935, my emphasis). F. Z. S. Peregrino, reporting and defending the founding

meeting of the African National Congress which had taken place two months before, in which he also praises the historical vision of Pixley ka Isaka Seme, had already referred to the awakening political and historical consciousness of the New African as a movement:

"Speculation is rife, and much misunderstanding perhaps obtains, misrepresentations have been made with regard to this movement, its aims and objects [objectives]. Perhaps, the fact that owing to a mistake the press was not efficiently represented at the gathering at Bloemfontein on the 8th of January 1912--and therefore [a] report of the proceedings was not given [to] the public, perhaps that fact has much to do with the attendant misunderstandings, and so the suspiciously disposed saw in an influential gathering of natives nothing but danger, and sinister designs were charged. It is for these reasons that the writer being at Johannesburg sought and obtained an interview with the initiator of the movement and the convenor of the Bloemfontein gathering. . . . The initiator of this movement P. ka Isaka Seme of Jesus College, Oxford and a B. A. of Columbia University U. S. America, is without doubt a man with a mission, and much in earnest. His plans appear to have been thoroughly well thought out. He combines educational abilities of the highest order with a calmness of temperament, correctness of demeanor and all those qualities which proclaim the man whose association has been among the cultured and refined order, and unlike those of superficial training. He is disinclined to obtrude his personality nor to accept that credit which is doubtless due to him for the conception of the scheme and for the progress thus far. . . . The South African Native Congress is nothing less than a Native Parliament" ("The South African Native National Congress: What It Is", *Ilanga lase Natal*, March 22, 1912, my emphasis; this same article appeared under the title "Native National Congress: What It Is" in *Imvo Zabantsundu* on March 26, 1912). It would seem that it was F. Z. S. Peregrino, this great Ghanian, a blender or intermixture of the New Negro and the New African, who first designated the emergence of New African modernity in South Africa as a movement. In all probability, Pixley ka Isaka Seme borrowed the concept of movement from the Ghanian. In the context of these intellectual borrowings and exchanges, having theorized the concept of the New African in the 1920s in association

with other formidable New African intellectuals, it must have seemed to R. V. Selope Thema that a veritable New African Movement was in the making. The postulation of the concept or idea of the New African as a movement in 1933 by Pixley ka Isaka Seme was a logical extension of the manifesto of 1911 that launched the African National Congress the following year.

In 1911 Pixley ka Isaka Seme published his manifesto in several New African newspapers such as Solomon T. Plaatje's *Tsala ea Batho* (The People's Friend) and John Langalibalele Dube's *Ilanga lase Natal* to bring his historical vision to the attention of the of the New African masses or the New African Nation in the process of formation. The manifesto postulated these principles, among others: the necessity for establishing a Native Union or National Congress is to counter the racism of Europeans against Africans and the tribalism that fragments African people; co-operation among different tribes or ethnic groups will lead to national success, the triumph of Christianity and the realization of progress; the founding of a National Congress will enable African people make demands on the white Union government regarding their welfare and progress; the Native Union or National Congress should affirm the oneness of African people. ("Native Union", Pixley ka Isaka Seme, *Ilanga lase Natal*, October 20, 1911). An examination of The Preamble of the Constitution of the newly established South Africa Native National Congress shows that it incorporated many of the ideas that Seme had enunciated in his manifesto. ("Report of the South African Native National Congress: Natal", Charles L. Dube, *Ilanga lase Natal*, January 26, 1912). Clearly, in founding the African National Congress Pixley ka Isaka Seme in effect was enabling the African people to transform themselves into Crummellian "indigenous agents" by establishing a new form of New African political modernity. In other words, the unity of African people or their historical consciousness of oneness was a means of realizing this political modernity by transforming themselves into New African masses. It was the mission or task of the National Congress to enable this historical possibility by transforming the material conditions. It was with this aim of transforming the "Old Africans" into New African masses or a

"collective indigenous agent" that Pixley ka Isaka Seme began in the 1920s and in the 1930s in *Umteteli wa Bantu* to theorize the idea of African Nationalism and the New Nation. In this undertaking Seme was not alone, because other brilliant New African intellectuals such as Solomon T. Plaatje, Henry Selby Msimang, Allan Kirkland Soga in these decades and in this great New African newspaper were preoccupied with the same issue.

The establishing of a New African political modernity through the founding of the African National Congress by Seme was not as revolutionary as would it appear, because paradoxically, adjacent to this progressivism of Pixley ka Isaka Seme, there was a deep conservatism as reflected in his alignments in the dialectic between tradition and modernity within the organizational structure of the newly launched Native Union or National Congress. In arguing that it should be the African Chiefs and not the New African intellectuals who determine the ideology of, and power relations within, the African National Congress, Seme was in effect arguing that tradition and not modernity should determine the dialectic between them. Writing within two months of the founding of the African National Congress, Pixley ka Isaka Seme articulated his ideological vision of the organization with these vehement words: "The SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE NATIONAL CONGRESS is in fact a Native Parliament composed of two houses. The Executive Commoners and the ruling nobles. . . . The main power of this Congress is vested in the Nobles or Chiefs who compose the upper house. The Commons met jointly with their chiefs but the latter sit as judges of appeal in case the suppressed volcanoes of ancient tribal jealousies and hatred should threaten disruption. In short the Chiefs are there by virtue of their undoubted influence and position to guide, control and temper the spirit of the less responsible and the more radical commoners. . . . Namely that the adopted constitution define the rulers which guide the officers of the Executive Commoners and that the noble Chiefs are above the written constitution." ("The South African Native National Congress", Pixley ka Isaka Seme, *Ilanga lase Natal*, March 22, 1912). It was this conservatism that was to define the political modernity of the African National Congress for many decades. Since

the histories of the African National Congress and that of the New African Movement were inseparably intertwined, in fact the former gave ideological and political vision to the latter, it is not surprising that the political conservatism of the Congress was to translate itself into the intellectual and cultural conservatism of the Movement. Witness their unrelenting hostility to Marxism from the moment of their founding until the political institutionalization of apartheid in 1948 and the Defiance Campaign of 1952.

This conservative political modernity that was instilled on the African National Congress by Pixley ka Isaka Seme was endorsed and reinforced by John Langalibalele Dube, who had been selected in absentia as first President-General of the organization. Within three weeks of the founding of the political organization John Langalibalele Dube published in his newspaper what would have been his acceptance speech. Not surprisingly, like other New African intellectuals, Dube sought inspiration and justification for his conservative political modernity in a New Negro political figure: "Gentlemen, for better or for worse, even you, have selected me to be your president. As such, I trust you will permit me to indicate the way, and I promise [that] I shall never lead you astray. For while I shall at all times endeavour to be a straight goer, I propose also to be a strong leader---not one dragged by the nose, still less one pulled by the tail, for as already said, my war cry is---Onward! Upward into the higher places of civilisation and Christianity---not backward into the slump of darkness, nor downward into the abyss of antiquated tribal system---our salvation is not there, but in preparing ourselves to take an honoured place among the nations. You have asked me to lead, and perchance you would ask me now how I intend to do so. I show you my frame of mind and my ideal in two words---I take for my motto (and I hope as my faithful and dutiful followers, it will be yours also), Festina lente, Hasten-Slowly; and for my patron saint I select that great and edifying man, Booker Washington. . . . And Booker Washington is to be my guiding star (would that he were nigh to give us the help of his wise counsel!). I have chosen this great man, firstly, because he is perhaps the most famous and best living example of our Africa's sons; and secondly, because, like him, I too

have my heart centered mainly in the education of my race; therein me thinks lies the shortest and best way to their mental, moral, social and political betterment." ("Chiefs and Gentlemen of the South African Native Congress", *Ilanga lase Natal*, February 2, 1912). This conservative political modernity of Pixley ka Isaka Seme and John Langalibalele Dube was challenged by New African intellectuals of the following generation: within the African National Congress, the African National Congress Youth Leaguers such as Jordan Ngubane, Anton Lembede, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and others in Johannesburg forged a new ideology of "New" African Nationalism, that enabled the organization to completely modernize its political imagination by adopting the Action Programme of 1949 formulated by these Young Turks; within the New African Movement proper, H. I. E. Dhlomo, Jordan Kush, Benedict Wallet Vilakazi, Walter B. M. Nhlapo and others largely in Durban in the 1940s articulated a different conceptualization of the dialectic between tradition and modernity that shifted the cultural movement from conservatism to some form of progressivism. They were new a breed of New African intellectuals who did not necessarily seek to sever the relationship between New Negro modernity and New African modernity, but rather, appropriated a different constellation of New Negro intellectuals of the caliber of Richard Wright and Langston Hughes.

At this juncture in the narrative history of the formation of South African modernity a dramatic shift occurs whose implication were to be vast in the evolution of the country's cultural history. Whereas the influence of New Negro modernity on New African modernity from Elijah Makiwane to R. V. Selope Thema had been predominantly in the domains of Politics, Religion, Philosophy and History, from Peter Abrahams to Lewis Nkosi it was largely in the fields of Literature, Film, Culture, Music and Entertainment. In this first era which could be characterized as the period of Pixley ka Isaka Seme there were no literary works written in English by New African intellectuals that could possibly compare with those written in the African languages by New African intellectuals. There were no English written counterparts by New Africans that could compare to the Sotho novels of Thomas Mofolo or to the Xhosa poetry of S. E. K. Mqhayi

and that of Nontsizi Mqgqwetto or to the Xhosa short stories of Guybon Bundlwana Sinxo. Though Solomon T. Plaatje's novel **Mhudi** written in English is superb as well as the English poetry and epics of Robert Grendon that appeared in *Ilanga lase Natal* between 1904 and 1906, including the short stories of H. I. E. Dhlomo, none of them could compare with those written in the African languages. This bifurcation occurred within the works of a particular writer such as R. R. R. Dhlomo for instance: his short stories that appeared in *The Bantu World* or the satirical pieces that were published in *Sjambok* magazine in English are not of the same merit as his historical novels written in the Zulu language. Several explanations may be offered for the hegemony of literature in the African languages over that in the English language within the New African Movement. First, most of the newspapers intended for the African public from *Indaba* in the 1860s to *The Bantu World* in the 1930s had two or three sections in the African languages beside the lead section which was invariably in the English language. Mohandas Gandhi newspaper *Indian Opinion* had an English section as well as three others written in the Indian languages: Hindi, Gujarati and Tamil. In other words, these newspapers were still creative outlets for New African intellectuals who were writing in the African languages or other "indigenous" languages. S. E. K. Mqhayi, the great Xhosa poet, could publish his poetry in *Izwi Labantu* in the 1890s in East London, in *Imvo Zabantsundu* in the 1910s in King William's Town, in *Umteteli wa Bantu* in the 1920s in Johannesburg, in *The Bantu World* in the 1930s also in Johannesburg. Some of these newspapers were viewed as 'regional.'

It is when *The Bantu World* strives to be a 'national' newspaper, in an attempt to synthesis the modernistic experience of the New Africans, particularly after the resignation in 1952 of R. V. Selope Thema as editor, it sheds the other sections in the African languages to become purely an English language newspaper. The historic debate of 1938 and 1939 between Benedict Wallet Vilakazi and H. I. E. Dhlomo concerning the role of African languages in creating modern literature in South Africa should be viewed in this context. Secondly, the missionaries never really allowed the new young African

converts to read the literary realism or naturalism of the nineteenth-century, let alone the literary modernism of the twentieth-century. The long term consequences of this was to be devastating: for example, the poetry of H. I. E. Dhlomo lacks organic coherence because of the absolute disjuncture between its modernistic sensibility and its Romantic poetics. Vilakazi somewhat too, was poetically hampered by this historical problem. Thirdly, many New African intellectuals who wrote in English in the period of Pixley ka Isaka Seme were predominantly preoccupied with the construction of New African modernity, not its cultural representation, hence they wrote political tracts, philosophical treatises and social discourses, rather than engage themselves with literary modernism, consequently never engaged themselves with literary generic forms.

R. V. Selope Thema altered this fundamentally in the 1920s in the columns and short essays or articles in *Umteteli wa Bantu* newspaper. In the 1930s as editor of *The Bantu World* R. V. Selope Thema enabled Peter Abrahams to practically make the 'victory' irreversible. The brilliance of R. V. Selope Thema in South African intellectual history is not easily evident because nearly all of his writings are buried in the archives of these two newspapers. He may eventually turn out to have been the most brilliant New African intellectual, surpassing Solomon T. Plaatje, H. I. E. Dhlomo, Allan Kirkland Soga and a few others: this undoubtedly today sounds like intellectual heresy. Earlier we indicated some of the items that count for his historic importance. Some others could be added. First, before R. V. Selope Thema, no one among the New African intellectuals displayed such a formidable mastery of the English language. All of the evidence is in *Umteteli wa Bantu* from 1920 to 1931, and in editorials of *The Bantu World* from 1932 to 1952. This mastery of the English language made an inestimable impact on younger New African intellectuals: Jordan Kush Ngubane, H. I. E. Dhlomo, Henry Nxumalo, R. R. R. Dhlomo, Todd Matshikiza, Peter Abrahams, Peter Segale and others. This may have perhaps been the reason why they apprenticed with this master in *The Bantu World*. The two New African intellectuals who may have approached him in the mastery of the English language are Solomon T. Plaatje and H. I. E. Dhlomo: the former in some of the essays that

appeared in *Tsalo ea Batho* in the 1910s and the latter in his essays on literary theory of drama that appeared in various regional pedagogical journals and magazines. R. V. Selope Thema always proclaimed loudly that his master was Booker T. Washington: by this he undoubtedly meant his political master. His master with regard to the stylistics of the English language was in probability Thomas Carlyle, the English historian and political reactionary. Carlyle also had an impact on H. I. E. Dhlomo, here perhaps with regard to the poetics of history.

Here are one or two samples of his writings exemplifying mastery of the English language. They are specifically chosen because of the theorization of the dialectic between tradition and modernity: in his instance, its necessity: "Is there an intellectual awakening among the Bantu people? This is a question asked by those who are interested in Bantu progress along the path of Western civilisation. Whether the question can be answered in the affirmative or not is a matter in which I'm deeply interested. Personally I prefer to answer it in the negative. I know I am treading on dangerous ground, because Africans do not want to be criticised. They want to be told that they are making progress, even though it is not true. . . . The Bantu people are passing through a difficult period in their development---a period of transition. They need, therefore, a leadership which will stir their imagination and set their thoughts moving towards the higher things of life. They need a leadership which will save their soul and release it from the tyranny of ignorance and superstition, that will awaken their dormant faculties and make them realise that they are expected to contribute their share towards the civilisation of mankind. Today the Bantu people are despised because it is said that they have made no contribution to literature, science and art; that they developed no civilisation which deserves the respect of civilised humanity. The duty of Bantu intellectuals is to create an intellectual awakening which will stimulate thought and set our faculties in motion. This can only be done by organisation, by lectures, debates, reading and writing. Therefore it is important that the educated men of our race should interest themselves in institutions whose aims and objects are the intellectual and spiritual development of the race." ("The Duty of

Bantu Intellectuals", *Umteteli wa Bantu*, August 3, 1929). In a true sense, the New African Movement was a process of spiritual and intellectual awakening of the African people. In writing of the system of ideas within the Movement that gave a sense of "unity of purpose" and "unity of action" to its historical endeavors, Seloape Thema was among the earliest New African intellectuals to theorize nationalism in very lucid words that were comprehensible to the majority of New African masses: "In one of my previous articles I urged that tribalism should be fought tooth and nail, because it is an obstacle not only to Bantu unity but also to Bantu progress. It follows, therefore, that in fighting against tribalism we must create something to take its place; and that something is Nationalism. There are two kinds of nationalism---a narrow nationalism and a broad nationalism. The first is blind to the existence of other peoples; it is selfish and refuses to recognise the rights of other races and nations. Its motto is 'My people first and last; my country right or wrong.' This kind of nationalism is responsible for the wars that have been waged by mankind from time immemorial. It is responsible for the disabilities imposed and the atrocities perpetrated upon the weaker races by the strong; it is responsible for the oppressive and tyrannical laws which those who wield the sceptre of power make against the liberties and rights of the helpless and defenceless. But this narrow nationalism often brings disaster and destruction in its train. It is, therefore, to be avoided. The broad nationalism recognises the existence and rights of other peoples. It is not blind to the fact that all members of the human race have the right to live their lives without hindrance, the right to decide their destinies and the right to contribute their share to the progress of the world. The broad nationalism realises the interdependence of the human race and the need for international or interracial co-operation in all things that make for mutual progress. This is the nationalism which we should create and develop. Through the roll of ages our people have been taught to think and act in terms of their tribal surroundings, and they have looked at life from the standpoint of tribal organisation. The time has come when they should be imbued with the spirit of nationalism, when they should be taught to look at things from a national viewpoint and think and act in terms of nationalism" ("Bantu Nationalism", *Umteteli wa Bantu*,

September 20, 1930). For R. V. Selope Thema nationalism is unrealizable and incomprehensible if it is disconnected from patriotism. In another context, Selope Thema formulated his conception of patriotism: "Bantu patriotism should not be blind to the shortcomings of our race nor should it be antagonistic and inimical to the interests of other races; it should be honest and just. Its aim should be to build the race and secure for it a respectable place in the affairs of civilised mankind. In my last article I tried to show that our Intellectuals have duties to perform towards the salvation of our race, and I boldly made the statement that most of them had failed to perform these duties. The purpose of this article is to rouse and inculcate the spirit of patriotism in the hearts of our educated men and women, because I am firmly convinced that without patriotism on the part of our intellectuals our race can never achieve a position of importance in the world. It is lack of patriotism which has brought industrial and religious organisations. Our leaders are failing to organise the people on lines, which will enable them to climb the ladder of progress and make themselves respectable in the eyes of the world, because they are not patriotic enough to sink their personal ambitions for the greater ambition of the race. Being devoid of the spirit of patriotism they are unable to rise above petty jealousies and differences of opinions; they allow these things to stand in the way of the people's progress. Their time and energy are wasted in scheming and in intriguing against one another, because truly speaking it is not the welfare of the race with which they are concerned but their own interests." ("Bantu Patriotism", *Umteteli wa Bantu*, September 6, 1930). Among the things that impresses most about this last piece is the power of the prose, so singular, so unique and so original. The prose R. V. Selope Thema was writing in *Umteteli wa Bantu* newspaper in 1929 and in 1930 compares with great prose poems in the English language that H. I. E. Dhlomo wrote in 1947 in *Ilanga lase Natal*. Both of these were among the highest intellectual moments in the history of the New African Movement.

The series of remarkable articles on South African culture that R. V. Selope Thema commissioned as editor of the newly launched *The Bantu World* in the early 1930s were part of his efforts to create a

public intellectual forum for discussing the idea of national culture. The critical writings of H. I. E. Dhlomo in *Ilanga lase Natal* from 1943 to 1954 could equally be construed as a search and construction of this idea. Jordan Ngubane was equally engaged with this notion from 1943 when he became editor of *Inkundla ya Bantu* to the demise of the newspaper in 1951: in his instance, it was the construction of the historical form of African nationalism. Selope Thema seems to have chosen the work of the great Xhosa poet S. E. K. Mqhayi as exemplifying such a system of cultural relationships. It would seem also that for him, as well as for other New African intellectuals, the work of Mqhayi prefigured the notion of a national literature. This is evident from the fact that from the moment of its founding to 1938, *The Bantu World* published many of the poems of the last phase of the great Xhosa poet. In addition, R. V. Selope Thema commissioned a member of his staff, Guybon Bundlwana Sinxo, who was to become the most important Xhosa novelist after the generation of Mqhayi, to write a literary appreciation of Mqhayi, which was the first and the most important literary criticism to appear in the two decades of his editorship of the newspaper. Appraising the greatest exponent of African literature in the African languages in South Africa, Sinxo reflects: "The man is a voluminous writer. He is dramatist, essayist, critic, novelist, historian, humourist, biographer, translator and poet. The popularity of the Xhosa language is due to his untiring efforts. Against a strong opposition he preached the doctrine that Xhosa could be made a respectable and powerful language. Not only did Mr. Mqhayi preach but also practised this doctrine. Mr. S. E. K. Mqhayi [is] known throughout Bantu South Africa as the National Poet. . . . it is that [the] same boy who at a time when most educated Africans in the Cape as well as the Europeans controlling Native education looked down upon Xhosa stood up for our language and by pen and word of mouth created a Renaissance in our literature. I can safely say that the present popularity of the Xhosa language owes much to this African genius and that many a budding author and journalist began writing through the influence of this great man." ("Notable Contribution to Xhosa Literature: Mr. Mqhayi Creates Xhosa Renaissance", *The Bantu World*, July 20, 1935). In positioning S. E. K. Mqhayi at the center of the making of South African national

literature, Selope Thema was not really being original since preceding New African newspapers such as *Imvo Zabantsundu* in the 1910s and *Umteteli wa Bantu* in the 1920s had already designated him "Imbongi Yesizwe Jikele" (National Poet). In their obituaries when Mqhayi died in 1945 also the younger members of the New African Movement, A. C. Jordan in *South African Outlook*, H. I. E. Dhlomo in *Ilanga lase Natal*, Jordan Ngubane in *Inkundla ya Bantu*, considered him the center of New African national culture and national literature by positing him as the fundamental transitional figure between tradition and modernity. So, the originality of R. V. Selope Thema lay elsewhere.

In his construction of the New African idea of a national culture and the notion of national literature, R. V. Selope Thema was original in the comprehensive programme he established and realized over two decades in the pages of *The Bantu World*. In the inaugural issue of the newspaper he published a programmatic essay outlining his historical vision which said in part: "*The Bantu World* will seek to serve its readers by giving them in their own language a weekly account of local, national and foreign news that is interesting and instructive. In its editorial columns it will interpret the news and strive to use its influence in the interests of what it conceives the public welfare. In other columns it will endeavour to provide reading matter with a view to socialising, educating, entertaining, refining and inspiring its readers, in order that they may be inclined to higher achievement as individuals and greater usefulness as members of society. *The Bantu World* will combat illiteracy by the inclusion of a supplement for those who are only just beginning to spell and read." ("What We Mean Is This", *The Bantu World*, April 9, 1932, my emphasis). One thing that R. V. Selope Thema was profoundly and constantly conscious of, or more appropriately obsessed with, was the historical line or dialectic between tradition and modernity, or what he considered to be the eternal struggle between 'barbarism' and 'civilisation', to use the Crummellian terms he inherited with the tradition of the New African Movement.

The programme undertaken to implement this vision was extraordinary by any measure, not equaled by any other New African newspaper preceding or succeeding *The Bantu World*. It published in a single copy of the newspaper in three of four languages, now and then including even Afrikaans, which would then make five languages. Astonishingly, R. V. Selope Thema could write in all the major South African languages; perhaps only surpassed by Solomon T. Plaatje in this brilliance. No other newspaper in South Africa approached *The Bantu World* in linguistic amplitude. The closest rivals on this matter were *Umteteli wa Bantu*, *Tsala ea Batho* and *Inkundla ya Bantu*, and perhaps *Abatho-Bantu*. On the intellectual plane, *The Bantu World* could vie on nearly equal terms with *Ilanga lase Natal* (under the editorialship of the Dhlomo brothers) and *Inkundla ya Bantu* (under the editorialship of Jordan Ngubane). It should be noted that *Drum* magazine does not feature in these rivalries largely because it was the culminating point in the development of New African modernity and was not on the same intellectual plane as the others. Perhaps the real novelty of the 1950s magazine was the remarkable talent of the photographers it assembled in its pages.

It was these implicit rivalries that made the New African Movement such a momentous event in South African cultural history. As regards its central location in the maelstrom of South African modernity, *The Bantu World* had no rivals. It may perhaps have been this location that enabled R. V. Selope Thema to unfold his vision with such totalizing comprehensiveness. First, Moses Mphahlele was the first New African poet to appear in the pages of the newspaper. Between September and November in 1932 the newspaper published in three separate parts his relatively long poem "Direto Tja Kgoshi Tja Bopedi"; after a decade of not publishing any poetry from Moses Mphahlele, there appeared in 1941 a poem protesting the consequences of fascist Italy's intervention in Ethiopia. Moses Mphahlele is celebrated in the great book of New African modernity T. D. Mveli Skota's **The African Yearly Register** (1930) as an excellent composer of classical music and as a brilliant poet. Mphahlele is commended in the book for having interwoven his

creative work with his political practice in achieving a strong intellectual imagination. Secondly, R. V. Selope Thema published a series of essays by Edgar H. Brookes which sought to convey the importance of acquiring literacy in modernity; the essays argued that widespread literacy would facilitate the emergence of a strong literary culture ("Bantu Masses Should Learn To Read Well", "Africans Should Develop Their Languages", "Growth Of African Literature"). Thirdly, intermittently the newspaper published the music criticism of Mark S. Radebe, who in the 1920s had made a stellar contribution to *Umteteli wa Bantu* mapping the musical fault lines between tradition and modernity. Fourthly, *The Bantu World* over a two year period in 1934 and in 1935 serialized Guybon Bundlwana Sinxo's Xhosa novel **Izono zo Yise**; in late 1951 it published four short stories in English by this major exponent of Xhosa literature. In between these two dates, Sinxo wrote several editorials as well as many articles in Xhosa. Also published by R. V. Selope Thema were major Xhosa poets like J. J. R. Jolobe and other many minor ones. Other poets in the other African languages were given space commensurate to their talents. The Zulu novelist Benedict Wallet Vilakazi's Zulu poems as well as those of his mentor A. H. Ngidi were published in the newspaper. Still in the realm of poetic form, the newspaper discovered an important Xhosa poet in the 1940s: Sidney K. Nxu. This role call does not exhaust by any stretch of the imagination the contribution of *The Bantu World* to the idea of national culture and the notion of national literature. These are only some of the contributions that appeared on its pages in the African languages.

When it is considered that it was perhaps paradoxically in the cultural space dominated by the presence of *The Bantu World* that the intellectual forces of African literatures in the African languages began losing out to those of the English language, then the historic moment of this newspaper cannot be underestimated. While R. V. Selope Thema may have wished to concern himself largely with matters of high culture, the entrance of jazz in South Africa in the 1920s and the emergence of marabi music as part of the proletarian experience in the mining compounds and slums of Johannesburg

configured the historical space of popular culture. In the study "The Transatlantic Connections of the New African Movement" (1994) we showed that Selope Thema like practically all other New African intellectuals violently opposed the entrance of jazz into South Africa while the working class passionately embraced it. As editor of *The Bantu World* he shrewdly came to realize that it was this public domain he had to capture in order to make modernity victorious over tradition. It was also this segment that in the long run would make the newspaper economically viable. R. V. Selope Thema embraced the emerging popular culture propelled by jazz in a dramatic way by commissioning Walter M. B. Nhlapo to initiate a weekly column Spotlight on Social Events which featured in the newspaper from November 23, 1940 to October 31, 1942. With this column Selope Thema revolutionized the role of New African newspapers in facilitating the construction of modernity. Walter M. B. Nhlapo wrote on all musical bands in Johannesburg in those two critical years, critical because it was at this time that jazz and popular culture occupied a prominent place in the imagination of all New Africans, even those who were grudgingly accepting it. This was the height of jazz and popular culture in South Africa, because they still possessed a strong and original intellectual vibrancy, not the Sophiatown moment of the 1950s when in fact popular culture was on the point of exhaustion. The Sophiatown moment was the height of the reception of New Negro jazz, not the moment of the creation of South African jazz. Walter M. B. Nhlapo pioneered the art of writing portraits of artists, whereas practically all the New African newspapers previous to *The Bantu World* had mainly written portraits of religious, political and intellectual leaders. Many Africans in the urban environments who were undergoing a profound modernization of their sensibility and consciousness had deeper affinities with artists than with the other kinds of leadership. The Spotlight on Social Events column was so brilliant and voluminous that future scholars will be able to reconstruct a large portion of the cultural history of New African modernity at the mid-century on the basis of it. The achievement of Walter M. B. Nhlapo was such that in consolidating the intellectual power of the space of popular culture, he made it untenable for the New African middle class to blithely believe in the pre-given

'superiority' of high culture of New African modernity. Nhlapo brought popular culture and high culture much closer together in New African modernity than had been supposed possible. In the context of this achievement, R. V. Selope Thema commissioned articles on painters and within a few years of each other several portraits of Gerald Sekoto appeared in *The Bantu World*. It is not extravagant to claim that Walter M. B. Nhlapo incubated the cultural space in which *Drum* magazine was to find extraordinary success. The columns on the arts in *Golden City Post* and *Drum* magazine, respectively, a weekly and a monthly periodical of the 1950s, were prefigured by Nhlapo in *The Bantu World*. The very fact that Nhlapo and the young Ezekiel Mphahlele edited together the ANC Youth League newspaper *The Voice of Africa* in Orlando Township (a part of the future Soweto) from September 1949 to June 1952 has greater significance for the *Drum* magazine achievements than has been recognized. Equally, the probability that the column Bantu Entertainment World later known as Entertainment in *The Bantu World* was a changed reactivation of the Spotlight on Social Events column a decade later and written by Todd Matshikiza under the pseudonym of 'Baton', underlies the importance of Walter M. B. Nhlapo in the 'secret history' of the Sophiatown Renaissance.

Walter M. B. Nhlapo was a major figure in the history of the New African Movement. Before writing the Spotlight on Social Events column he had been contributing poems written in English to *The Bantu World* mainly in the years 1936-1938, and a few more were contributed later up to 1942. In these years Nhlapo also wrote two or three poems in the Zulu language. These were the years also that Peter Abrahams began contributing his poems to the newspaper. Peter Abrahams was the only New African intellectual contributing to *The Bantu World* who had no facility for any of the African languages. His first contribution to the newspaper at the age of eighteen in the form of two poems, "To The Last Man" and "The Human Nature", appearing on April 18, 1936 were introduced enthusiastically by R. V. Selope Thema with these words: "These two poems, with the one published in last week's issue are written by a youthful African poet Peter Abrahams, a student at Diocean Training

College. They speak volumes and have a deep solemn and reflective strain which is the more remarkable in that they are written in a strange tongue." (The copy of April 11 is no longer available). The stylistic tone and the poetics of Walter M. B. Nhlapo and Peter Abrahams are 'strange' because they are appropriated from the poems of Langston Hughes and Countee Cullen. In effect, what Nhlapo and Abrahams were attempting to bring was New Negro literary modernism, in practice not in theory, to South Africa taken directly from Alain Locke's **The New Negro** anthology of 1925. The enthusiasm of R. V. Selope Thema for Peter Abrahams had two motivations: first, he was enthusiastic that the symbiosis between New Negro modernity and New African modernity had finally produced something from the African in the literary sphere which approximated to what the Africans in America had achieved; secondly, in appropriating literary modernism from the New Negro experience they had participated in displacing the Romantic poetics that had been so throttling in the development of New African poetry from H. I. E. Dhlomo to Benedict Wallet Vilakazi. But the real earth-shaking effect of the appropriation of New Negro literary modernism by Walter M. B. Nhlapo and Peter Abrahams was to effect a revolution or counter-revolution, depending on one's particular viewpoint, whereby African literature in the African languages henceforth was to be subsumed under the political hegemony of the New African literature in the English language. This cultural domination has nothing to do with literary excellence and/or literary originality. This momentous cultural gestation occurred in the intellectual chambers of Bantu Men's Social Center.

It was at the Bantu Men's Social Center that Walter M. B. Nhlapo saw many of the cultural events he reported on in the Spotlight on Social Events column; it was there that R. V. Selope Thema presented many intellectual and cultural lectures as well as attended there political meetings; and it was at this institution that Peter Abrahams for the first time discovered New Negro modernity in the form of books. It was at this American Missionary Board built institution that the unity of New Negro modernity and New African modernity was held as a self-evident ideological gospel. While still a free-lance writer for *The*

Bantu World, before joining it as a permanent staff member, Walter M. B. Nhlapo aligned his ideological vision with that of R. V. Selope Thema by praising him in a Letter to the Editor: "In this letter I will attempt to give a few reasons why I enjoy reading this paper. First, *The Bantu World* editorial staff is entirely of black men, some of [whom] are popular writers such as Messrs R. V. Selope Thema, R. R. R. Dhlomo, Guybon B. Sinxo, and H. I. E. Dhlomo. This in itself is sufficient reason for my enjoying to read it, for 'Africa for Africans' is my slogan. It offers full information about current events and it excels in Bantu Affairs. Its contributors are some of our best writers such as: L. G. Pahlane, James Kombi, Crosby Setsiba, S. E. K. Mqhayi and A. W. Manyoni." ("Why I Enjoy The Bantu World", *The Bantu World*, November 9, 1935.) Although the philosophical credo 'Africa for the Africans' is associated with Garveyism within the context of the high moment of New Negro modernity, in actual fact it precedes Marcus Garvey by many decades. Since Garveyism was a taboo subject within the New African Movement, with the exception of 'Professor' James Thaele, Nhlapo was signalling to another intellectual tradition. Nhlapo, Abrahams and Selope Thema subscribed to the ideology of 'Africa for the Africans' that was represented by Martin Delany, Alexander Crummell and Edward Blyden, who came to Africa to actualize it in practice by attempting to transform Africa into modernity through education. It was this project in modernity or towards modernity that was fundamental to the three of them. Nhlapo too like R. V. Selope Thema was acutely conscious of the lessons that New Negro modernity had for New African modernity: "What are we doing to find counterparts of such famous Negro Men as Booker T. Washington, Robert Moton, educationalists; Dr. Ernest Everitt, scientist; Jack Johnson, Larry Gains, boxers; J. C. Johnson, 'Fats' Waller, dance number composers; Mabel Brooks, artist; Layton and Johnstone, Mills Brothers. Jazz singers; Duke Ellington, Lucky 'Blue' Milinder, band conductors; Marcus Garvey, orator; Paul Robeson, Paul Mahinn, actors;" ("Great Men And Women", *The Bantu World*, June 22, 1935). Given the majority of names on this role call, it was the jazz culture and the popular culture of the New Negroes that Walter M. B. Nhlapo wanted to appropriate on behalf of the New African masses.

Perhaps one of the influential and consequential engagements with New Negro modernity was that of Peter Abrahams. Whereas previous to him New African intellectuals had largely selected individuals from the cultural gallery of the New Negro intelligentsia, Peter Abrahams attempted to unveil a whole cultural drama: the Harlem Renaissance. This is perhaps understandable given that his first encounter with New Negro modernity, at the library of Bantu Men's Social Center, was a totalizing experience, as recollected in the autobiography of 1954 **Tell Freedom**: "A man got up and came over. He ran his finger along the American Negro literature shelf and took out a book. . . . I reached up and took out a fat black book. **The Souls of Black Folk**, by W. E. B. Du Bois. I turned the pages. It spoke about a people in a valley. And they were black, and dispossessed, and denied. I skimmed through the pages, anxious to take it all in. . . . But for all that, Du Bois had given me a key to the understanding of my world. The Negro is not free. I replaced the book and reached for others. There was **Up From Slavery; Along This Way**, by Weldon Johnson; a slim volume called **The Black Christ**; a fat volume called **The New Negro**. I turned the pages of **The New Negro**. These poems and stories were written by Negroes! Something burst deep inside me. The world could never again belong to white people only! Never again! I took **The New Negro** to a chair. I turned the pages." (pp. 224-226). Although Peter Abrahams emphasizes in the book that the pull of English literary culture, particularly Romantic literature, on him was as great as that of New Negro literary modernism, it was the latter rather than the former that was more consequential in the subsequent trajectory of South African cultural history.

On the occasion of his visit to South Africa in 1952, after an absence of about a dozen years, to do research on a series of articles for the English newspaper *The Guardian* that were subsequently assembled in his travelogue **Return to Egoli** (1953), an anonymous article in *The Bantu World* indicated its pride and enthusiasm in claiming Peter Abrahams as the intellectual product of its mission to bring the historical experience of modernity to the African people: "*The Bantu World* in its endeavours to create an enthusiasm for reading and

writing among Africans, stimulated the ambitions of many of its readers to become writers. One of them, who has achieved world fame, is Peter Abrahams, the Coloured novelist, who now lives in England. . . . It was when he was a student at St. Peter's [High School] that he became a regular reader of *The Bantu World* which stimulated his ambition to become a writer. He wrote poems which were published in the journal, and this encouraged him and set him on the road to journalism, so he told a representative of *The Bantu World*, before he returned to England after a short visit to Johannesburg." ("*Bantu World* Set Peter Abrahams On The Path Of Fame", *The Bantu World*, anonymous, June 7, 1952). Perhaps a proper title should have been: "*The Bantu World* set Peter Abrahams on the Path to Modernity." **Tell Freedom**, which appeared two years after this article, confirms this appraisal with this observation: "One day a slim, neatly dressed, collar-and-tie young man stopped for coffee and fatcakes. While he ate, he read a paper. I saw the paper's name: the *Bantu World*. I knew the names of all the big Johannesburg papers because I sold them. But I had never come across the *Bantu World*. I twisted my body to see better. Yes, the pictures on the front page were of black people! All these papers I sold had only pictures of white folk. I tried to read what it said about black people's pictures. . . . In three weeks I had saved up enough to buy a ten-shilling postal order. The *Bantu World* carried a weekly advertisement of a correspondence school. The rate was ten shillings a month. I took their 'General Education' course. Also in the *Bantu World* I saw an illustrated offer of ten beautifully bound volumes entitled **Practical Knowledge For All**, which could be had on easy terms. I sent off for these." (p. 218, 231) In enabling Peter Abrahams to enter cultural modernity by means of *The Bantu World* as well as publishing his first efforts, R. V. Selope Thema could rightly claim that his historical mission of bringing the intellectual practice and historical consciousness of modernity to South African people was being realized.

Although the New Negro poets represented in Alain Locke's **The New Negro**, Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, Claude McKay had a profound impact on Peter Abrahams concerning matters of literary

modernism, it was the interaction between Peter Abrahams and Richard Wright that had deeper implications since it concerned the dialectic of tradition and modernity in African history. Wright was to be more central because Abrahams abandoned writing poetry after the initial efforts and for the rest of his life was occupied with prose: short stories, novels, autobiographies and travelogues. This change of generic form was central to his engagement with Richard Wright. The imprint of Wright on Abrahams is too self evident to need any commentary. Like Wright's **Native Son**, Abrahams' **Mine Boy** was an attempted to create a proletarian novel in the context of modernity. The fundamental theme that **Mine Boy** postulates is that in modernity class identification supersedes ethnic and/or tribal identifications: in consequence Marxism is more of a vital ideology than Nationalism at this historical moment. The second critical theme of the novel is that modernity is not synonymous with whiteness or Europeanness, therefore its benefits do not belong to a particular racial group or ruling class, but rather, since it is a potentiality a democratizing process, it should be beneficial to the nation as a whole.

It was on the question of African modernity that Richard Wright confronted Peter Abrahams in Accra in 1953: two self-imposed exiles, one, the last still living representative of the New Negro Movement, and the other, one of the youngest members of the New African Movement. This was four years before Nkrumah succeeded in gaining political independence for Ghana. Wright was in Accra to observe and witness the making of a particular African political modernity. In the essay of 1960, "The Blacks", written in the year of Wright's death, which could therefore be seen as an obituary, Peter Abrahams recollected that in their meeting of nearly a decade earlier Wright had expressed puzzlement about and disdain for certain aspects of African traditional societies. First, Wright was concerned about what he perceived to be the historical forces of irrationality that he felt predominated in African traditions and customs. Wright expressed that the irrationality of tradition was in the process of overcoming and conquering the rationalism of modernity, at the very moment that modernity was in the process of establishing itself in

Africa and Asia as a democratizing process that expresses the attainment of freedom. Secondly, Richard Wright interrogated Abrahams as to the reasons why blackness, which had so much historical resonance to South Africans and to African Americans, had no historical significance in African traditional societies. In other words, why does the particularism of tribal identification in traditional societies supersede the universalism of blackness. Thirdly, Wright was puzzled by the absence of knowledge in Africa about Africa itself, yet there was an abundance of a quest for knowledge regarding Europe. Peter Abrahams writes of his deep sympathy for Wright's search to unravel the enigma that is Africa. ("The Blacks" in Langston Hughes's **African Treasury** [1960]).

Richard Wright coalesced his concerns in an essay written three years later in 1956, "Tradition and Industrialization", that was presented in the same year to the First Congress of Negro Writers and Artists in Paris. The essay was assembled the following year in his book **White Man, Listen** (1957). The essay was actually about the tragic failure of elites in Africa and Asia to realize political modernity within their specific national territories. In other words, the political spirit of Bandung Conference of the Nonaligned Movement was in the process of proving unrealizable. In some ways, the criticism of Wright prefigured the devastating critique Frantz Fanon launched four years later in **The Wretched of the Earth** (1961) against the failure of the political imagination of the national bourgeoisies in Third World countries. The fundamental difference between them was that while Fanon was unrelentingly hostile to the effects of European colonial modernity in African history, Wright was positively neutral in applauding the positive effects of the rationalism of colonial modernity against the irrationalism of traditional societies. It should be mentioned here that Fanon always viewed himself as a protege of Wright ever since reading the American's novel **Native Son** in the late 1940s: the evidence is in **Black Skin, White Masks** (1953). Richard Wright postulates the following theses in this remarkable, extraordinary and controversial essay. Postulating Western philosophical modernity as emerging from the writings of John Locke and John Stuart Mill, principally concerned with the

development of democracy and individual freedom, Wright seeks to examine how these ideas and concepts could be relevant and applicable to Third World countries which have not had the historical trajectory characterized by industrialization and belong to different philosophical traditions. To him, modernity is fundamentally about secularization and rationality, consequently religion and racism are antithetical to modernity because they are predicated on irrationality. Although aware that the prevalence of racism indicates the incompleteness of Western modernity, Wright is more appalled and outraged by what he perceives to be the unshakeable hold of religious irrationalism and superstitious beliefs on the political and spiritual imagination of Third World peoples. He associates the degradation, servitude and humiliation evident in many Third World countries he visited as more the consequence of the superstitious beliefs in traditional societies than as the by-products of the violent entrance of European and colonial modernity into Africa history and/or Third World history. It is in the context of these formulations that Wright disengages himself from Africa because of his belief that the irrationalism of traditional societies has triumphed over the rationalism of the incipient forms of emergent African modernity. In other words, to him, at this relatively early stage of the African Independence Movement, it was already apparent that Third World intellectuals would be more successful in contesting colonial domination than in transforming the irrationalism of tradition into the rationalism of modernity. It is this expected failure that for Wright constituted the tragedy of Third World intelligentsia. In many ways, Wright was prophetic in these formulations, despite the violent riposte of Aime Cesaire who was also a participant at the First Congress of Negro Writers and Artists was still in session. It must have been interesting for Peter Abrahams to hear at this Congress in Paris a more elaborate critique of Third World traditional societies than the one conveyed to him on the beaches of Accra three years earlier.

As already noted, the prescience of Richard Wright's criticism is remarkable in its anticipatory nature of Fanon's searing indictment of African national bourgeoisie in **The Wretched of the Earth**. The

fundamental distinction is that in contrast to the pessimism and defeatism of Richard Wright concerning the possibility of transforming Third World countries, Fanon's perspective was informed by revolutionary optimism. One particular difference resides in their particular philosophical outlooks: whereas Wright gravitated from Marxism in the 1930s to Existentialism in the 1950s, Fanon shifted from Sartre's Existentialism (**Being and Nothingness**) of the 1940s to Sartre's Marxism (**Critique of Dialectical Reason**) of the 1950s. It is not surprising therefore that Wright had no analytical and historical framework for comprehending the dialectic between tradition and modernity, whereas Fanon was resolutely historical and political in engaging this dialectic. Having abandoned Marxism in the apostasy of the 1940s during the 'god had failed' syndrome, Wright could at best only utilize a Weberian categorization of complex Third World societies. Fanon on the other hand, being the principal ideologue of the Algerian Revolution, unraveled the convoluted dynamic of tradition and modernity in a Marxian class analysis reinforced by Freudian psychoanalysis. Fanon undertakes an analysis of the dialectic between tradition and modernity which is resolutely political and cultural, in which national consciousness and nationalism are not interchangeable, in which national culture and 'African' culture are not exchangeable, and in which the peasant class and the working class are not historically similar, and in which the revolutionary violence of the colonized is not the same as the counter-revolutionary violence of the colonizer. In short, whereas Fanon was able to undertake a political analysis of the dialectic between tradition and modernity, Wright was unable to do so given his philosophical alignments.

Expanding further his thesis that religious superstition, animism in the particular instance of Africa, is at the center of the intractability of tradition in Third World societies, Wright reverts to the history of the formation of modernity in Europe to make some startling claims against Christianity. He explains the intractability of tradition by postulating tradition as a frozen or congealed form of religion. The central argument of Wright here is that it was Christianity, in both its variants of Catholicism and Protestantism, that had corrupted

Western values in the making of modernity. He taxes Catholicism as complicit in the formation of modern slavery, perhaps even giving instigation to it, as the direct consequence of the edict issued by the Pope in 1455 that Christians should convert and/or enslave infidels. Given that blacks were characterized by the Church as naturally inferior, he believes that it was inevitable that blacks would be turned into modern slaves. It was here that modern racism was launched. His indictment of Protestantism is through the figures of Martin Luther and John Calvin whom he charges as having accepted racism against black people as a norm and a given, rather than challenging this doctrine of the Church by extending individual freedom and justice to other people. Criticizing the proselytizing ideology of Christianity as constructed on the Manichean terms of the necessary triumph of white virtue over black villainy, superiority over inferiority, blond over brown, Richard Wright holds its civilizing mission as responsible for slavery, butchery and murder in Third World countries. He argues that all of these doings of the Western Church were the height of irrationalism that found symmetry with the irrationalism of Third World traditional societies. Wright applauds capitalism for two reasons. In the West, capitalism's invention of the Enlightenment had held the irrationalism of religion in check. In Third World countries (Asia and Africa), capitalism had unleashed a great revolution that was in the process of destroying the irrationalism of traditional societies. Applauding the plundering of Africa and Asia by capitalism, he viewed capitalism's greater mission as subjugating and transforming of traditional societies in order to shatter the prevalence of irrationalism which he believed was so characteristic of them. Wright inveigled against Third World intelligentsia for failing to appropriate the ideologies and practices of Enlightenment in order to contest this seemingly unending irrationalism. It is in the direction of religion and tradition that Wright levels the charges of racism and domination and exploitation, not at capitalism.

Though Peter Abrahams may have been sympathetic to these postulations of Richard Wright, since like the American he had himself broken with Marxism and the Communist Party over literary

matters, Aime Cesaire listening to them at the First Negro Congress Of Writers and Artists in 1956, these were just intellectual heresies containing no profound reflections. Cesaire's **Discourse on Colonialism** (1950) makes clear why he would be at odds with the central thesis of "Tradition and Industrialization": even though 1956 was the year in which Cesaire made his break with the French Communist Party, rather than with Marxism per se. The critical question for us is to counter-pose Frantz Fanon against Richard Wright, rather than Aime Cesaire against the African American. What could be said about this essay is that it was perhaps the demarcating point in the history of the New African modernity's appropriation of the historical lessons of modernity from New Negro modernity. From this point onwards, New Negro modernity in United States could not possibly have lessons for New African modernity in South Africa concerning the making and the contradictions of African political modernity by the African Independence Movement in the context of American imperialism superseding British imperialism, socialism challenging capitalism, the Cuban Revolution indicating the possible project of the African Revolution. The "Tradition and Industrialization" essay could be seen as marking the historical exhaustion of New Negro modernity. The essay was written four years before the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960.

Frantz Fanon had a greater understanding of African political and philosophical modernity than Richard Wright. Two years following the presentation of "Tradition and Industrialization" in Paris, in 1958 Fanon gave a major address to The All-African People's Conference in Accra (Ghana). In the audience were two New African intellectuals: Ezekiel Mphahlele and Jordan Ngubane. Mphahlele's assessment of this Conference, which eventually appeared as his contribution to Langston Hughes' **An African Treasury**, emphasizes Fanon's electrifying effect on the delegates: "Dr. Fanoh Omar [Frantz Fanon traveled under assumed names because of assassination attempts] of Algeria is certainly the high light of the session. He does not mince words. What FLN man can afford the luxury anyway? Algerians have no other recourse but fight back, he says, and the FLN

means to go through with it. In staccato French he carries his audience to the horrible scene of French atrocities on Algerians. The results of the French referendum, he says, were faked in part, and at best did not reflect the true majority opinion of Algeria. He gets the loudest and longest ovation of all the speakers. I make my speech for the African National Congress." ("Accra Conference Diary: *The All-African People's Conference, Accra, Ghana, December 8, 1958*") Jordan Ngubane, who was representing the Liberal Party and consequently not on speaking terms with Mphahlele in Accra, was also impressed by Fanon's presentation at the Conference, but in his instance it was tempered by his irrational fear that Fanon was a Trojan horse for Communism, a philosophy of history that he profoundly despised. It is unfortunate that Ngubane appraised Fanon intellectual and political brilliance through Cold War politics of the 1950s, rather than in relation to Fanon's contribution to the African Revolution and to African history: "The Americans enthusiastically cheered Dr. Gikonyo wa Kiano (Kenya) when he demanded the release of Jomo Kenyatta. The Russians went wild when Dr. F. Omar of Algeria asked the conference to commit itself to violence in the fight against imperialism. The conference, of course, had not met to say it would fall on any side of the ideological fence. As a result communism and alignment were never real issues, both in the plenary session as well as in the leader's gatherings. The delegates were concerned only with three things: Freedom, African Unity and the methods to use to move events in the direction of their choice. There was complete agreement on the first two issues and very sharp differences on the last one" ("Accra Conference---IV: Russia and America").

At the time of The All-African People's Conference Fanon was constantly engaged with the "methods" and the "choices" that Africa would have to make in order to dislodge colonialism and imperialism thereby realizing the African Revolution. For Fanon the "method" had to be revolutionary violence and the "choice" had to be socialism in order for Africa to realize a political and cultural modernity based on the imperatives of African history. A personal journal or logbook that Fanon kept at this time indicates the constancy of his commitment to the direction in which Africa must be

moved in order to invent and realize its own particular brand of modernity: "To put Africa in motion, to cooperate in its organization, in its regrouping, behind revolutionary principles. To participate in the ordered movement of a continent---this was really the work I had chosen. . . Taking the West as a starting point, we had to prove, by concrete demonstrations, that this continent was one. . . The Africa of everyday, oh not the poets' Africa, the one that puts to sleep, but the one that prevents sleep, for the people is impatient to do, to play, to say. . . That is the real Africa, the Africa that we had to let loose in the continental furrow, in the continental direction. The Africa that we had to guide, mobilize, launch on the offensive. This Africa to come. . . We have Africa with us. A continent is getting into motion and Europe is languorously asleep. . . Colonialism and its derivatives do not, as a matter of fact, constitute the present enemies of Africa. In a short time this continent will be liberated. For my part, the deeper I enter into cultures and the political circles the surer I am that the great danger that threatens Africa is the absence of ideology" (**Toward the African Revolution**). Clearly then, for Fanon it was absence of an ideology derived from the imperatives of African history that was preventing the construction of Africa modernity, rather than the irrationalism of superstitious religious beliefs governing traditional societies as Richard Wright believed. It was Richard Wright's incomprehension of African history that necessitates and demarcates the rupturing of the historical unity between New Negro modernity and New African modernity. With the fracturing of this unity, it is Ezekiel Mphahlele, then living in self-imposed exile in Nigeria, one of the New Africans who found compelling the presentation of the ideologue of the Algerian Revolution in Accra, who initiates the intellectual bridgehead between New African modernity and Nigerian modernity through Ulli Beier's *Black Orpheus* magazine, the rapprochement of New African modernity and the emergent literary modernities in East Africa by means of his participation in this region's cultural reviews such as *Transition* in Kampala and *East African Journal* and *Mawazo* in Nairobi, and actually brings the political principles and ideology of the African Independence Movement to South Africa with his many contributions to Ruth First's *Fighting Talk* bi-weekly between 1960

and 1962. By no means, during this orientation did Mphahlele sever his nostalgia for New Negro modernity, as is made evident by his interventions on the relationship between the Black Arts Movement and the Harlem Renaissance in the early 1970s. At this same historical juncture, Nelson Mandela re-oriented the African National Congress away from its Booker T. Washington moorings towards revolutionary violence of the Algerian Revolution. Whether Mandela met with Frantz Fanon during his secret meetings in 1960-1961 with the underground leadership of the Algerian Revolution to move the African National Congress towards the African Independence Movement and the African Revolution is not known.

What then was Fanon's message to The All-African Peoples' Conference that electrified and stirred the delegates from all over Africa, a speech that may have been a landmark in African political and intellectual history! Although the speech that Fanon actually delivered in Accra was never published in any of his publications, upon his return to Tunis, which was the headquarters of the Algerian FLN, he immediately published two articles in the ideological organ of the organization, *El Moudjahid* (December 24, 1958), of which he was Editor-in-Chief, assessing what had occurred at the Conference. We will consider these writings, "Algeria in Accra" and "Accra: Africa Affirms Its Unity and Defines its Strategy", posthumously assembled in **Toward the African Revolution**, in a moment. The Conference had a profound effect on Fanon, so dramatic that it widened his historical vision concerning Africa as well as deepening his ideological perspective. Fanon goes so far as to speak of the Conference as a demarcating point in African revolutionary history. What affected Fanon so dramatically was that for the first time ever, the 'whole' of Africa at the Conference, in the form of delegates from different national liberation movements as well as delegates that were to form independent governments in 1960, collectively gave an unconditional support to the Algerian Revolution as well as to the leadership of the FLN. There were few hold-outs like Leopold Sedar Senghor in Senegal, Jacques Rabemanjara in Madagascar, Houphet-Boigny in Ivory Coast, all three of whom he was to criticize bitterly in **The Wretched of the Earth**. It was this collective support of Algeria

as well as the promise of material assistance, that made Fanon to speak of the Accra Conference as a demarcating point in the evolution of national consciousness and political will in Africa. There are several changes in all of Fanon's writings that are written in the wake of the Conference: Anglophone Africa and its politics are immediately brought to the center of his intellectual and political discourse; South Africa begins to engage his formidable intellectual powers more and more systematically, so much so that he speaks of parallels between Algeria and South Africa, as though to say that connection between New Negro modernity and New African modernity was untenable in the changed new historical situation of the hegemony of American imperialism following the Second World War; the possibility of African unity is given a prominent position in his discourse, to the point of not seeing the immediate necessity of unity between black Africa and black America, as he so famously contrasted in **The Wretched of the Earth** the differential situational contexts of a Richard Wright and of a Jomo Kenyatta; Africa is feverishly pulled politically in the direction of the Third World, consequently Fanon threw a cold intellectual gaze on Negritude, 'black culture' and other purely black manifestations of one kind or another. By pulling South Africa towards Algeria, Fanon was unknowingly disengaging New African modernity from New Negro modernity, in effect pulling South Africa into Africa.

Although these remarkable political shifts were to explode in **The Wretched of the Earth**, they began being evident in the last piece Fanon wrote for *El Moudjahid*, before leukemia forced him to consolidate and concentrate his dissipating energies into writing this political masterpiece. In the article, "Unity and Effective Solidarity Are the Conditions for African Liberation", also posthumously assembled in **Toward the African Revolution**, Fanon writes: "For an observer who has followed the evolution of the African continent for two years [i. e., since The All-African Peoples' Conference], one conclusion is particularly obvious: the dependent peoples on whom foreign domination weighs are progressively achieving national sovereignty. . . Optimism in Africa is the direct product of the revolutionary action of the African masses, whether political or

armed---often both at one and the same time. . . This means that we [Africans] are absolutely not neutral in respect to genocide being carried out by France in Algeria, or to apartheid in South Africa. . . The inter-African solidarity must be a solidarity of fact, a solidarity of action, a solidarity concrete in men, in equipment, in money. . . Africa will not be free through the mechanical development of material forces, but it is the hand of the African and his brain that will set into motion and implement the dialectics of the liberation of the continent." Fanon viewed the possible unity of Africa as predicated not on utopian metaphysical principles, but rather, on the revolutionary will and political determination to liberate and transform Africa. In one of the articles in *El Moudjahid*, "Algeria in Accra" reporting on the enthusiastic reception of the Algerian delegation at this historic Conference, Fanon commends Kwame Nkrumah for recognizing the historical necessity of revolutionary violence against certain forms of colonial domination as well as for acknowledging that the Algerian Revolution was in the forefront of the African Revolution. Fanon was unwavering in his belief that white settler colonialism in Africa can only be overcome through revolutionary violence. He expected revolutionary transformation to thwart the initiation of neo-colonialism with the demise of classical colonialism. In the second article, "Accra: Africa Affirms its Unity and Defines Its Strategy," Fanon postulates that African solidarity, if it is to be real and everlasting should be based on the synthesis of revolutionary principles and national will: "Several problems were debated in the course of this conference. The two most important ones seem to have been the question of non-violence and the question of collaboration with the previously dominating nation. The problems are obviously linked. The end of the colonial regime effected by peaceful means and made possible by the colonialist's understanding might under certain circumstances lead to a renewed collaboration of the two nations. History, however, shows that no colonialist nation is willing to withdraw without having exhausted all its possibilities of maintaining itself." These reflections of Fanon give a historical understanding of why during the era of decolonization in African history the symmetry between New Negro modernity in United States and New African modernity in South

Africa no longer had an immediate historical imperative and cultural resonance it had had before.

What was required of New African modernity was for it to harness the national will and revolutionary spirit of South African people in order to overthrow colonial modernity of apartheid: what was necessary for this was revolutionary violence. New Negro modernity was hardly in a position to provide this revolutionary imperative. When Nelson Mandela secretly toured African countries in 1960 and 1961 in quest for military support following the Sharpeville Massacre with the aim of establishing Umkhonto we Sizwe (the military wing of the African National Congress), there is no question that a new historical paradigm for constructing New African modernity was necessary. While Nelson Mandela was seeking to integrate South Africa into Africa on a political plane, Ezekiel Mphahlele likewise was endeavoring to realize the same aim on a cultural plane. In his second autobiographical text **Afrika My Music** (1984), Mphahlele indicates the process of 'integration' and rapprochement between New African modernity and Nigerian modernity, in 'replacement' of New Negro modernity: "I had moved out of a literary renaissance among blacks in South Africa into another----a West African one, which was in full swing, having begun with the decade of the Fifties. It was exciting to work with and be in the company of Nigerian writers, artists, actors and educators: Wole Soyinka, playwright, poet, novelist; Gabriel Okara, poet; Mabel Segun, poet, Amos Tutuola, novelist; sculptor Ben Enwonwu; painters Demas Nwoko, Uche Okeke, and so on. In December, 1958 I was invited to Kwame Nkrumah's All African Peoples Conference in Accra." Mphahlele could have easily added the names of John Pepper Clark, Chinua Achebe and Christopher Okigbo. To be sure, to him the Sophiatown Renaissance and the Nigerian literary renaissance were not equivalent, for he mentions unequivocally that Nigeria consisted of "formidable cultures" and that "Nigeria restored Africa to us." He adds with a deep sense of resignation: "True, I had to work under Nigeria bosses at the C. M. S. Grammar School (Lagos) and the University of Ibadan [i.e., the British] who wanted me to ingratiate myself with them because Nigeria was giving refuge to a bedraggled runaway slave from South

Africa. But all my colleagues, and the numerous Nigerians whom we befriended with great ease, were most generous and warm." South Africa and Nigeria were in the forefront of articulating, if not necessarily forging, an African modernity.

What is extraordinary is that this rapprochement or rendezvous of New African Modernity and the "literary renaissance" in Nigeria (or Nigerian modernity) was captured at the moment of its historical occurrence in an anthology assembled by a New Negro intellectual: Langston Hughes' **An African Treasury**. South Africa and Nigeria were brought in this reader in the context of the formation of African national literatures in the European languages. Other nations were also amply represented such as Ghana and Sierra Leone. It was in the early 1950s, during the waning moments of New African modernity schooling itself in New Negro modernity, the decade of the Sophiatown Renaissance, that Hughes as he states in the Introduction felt the need for such documentation dedicated 'To the young writers of Africa': "My interest in native African writing began when I was asked by the editors of *Drum*, a Johannesburg magazine for nonwhite readers, to become one of the judges of a short story contest for indigenous South African writers. Some of the work that came to me contained pages which moved, surprised, and quite delighted me. I was determined to see how much more writing of interest was being produced by black Africans." In a letter of February 1, 1954 to Peter Abrahams soliciting his contribution, Langston Hughes uses nearly similar words and justification for the project: "Recently I've judged a short story contest for *Drum* (Johannesburg) and liked some of the stories [very] much. I think I could get an anthology of African Negro short stories published (by Negro in U.S., we mean Colored, too) in this country. Do you yourself have any short stories which might be included in such an anthology?" Mphahlele's contribution to the anthology was with an essay that pulled South Africa to Africa rather than the continuation of the New African gaze in the direction of United States: "Accra Conference Diary: The All-African People's Conference, Accra, Ghana, December 8, 1958." One of the years of the *Drum* short story contest, Langston Hughes worked with H. I. E. Dhlomo on a judges' panel that selected a short story by Richard

Rive. It is not surprising therefore that Rive dedicated his first collection of short stories, **African Songs** (1963, East Berlin), to this great New Negro poet.

Mphahlele leaving South Africa in 1957 on self-imposed exile afforded him other great intellectual experiences in Africa. He encountered in Ghana a group of brilliant young intellectuals and artists who were in the forefront in creating a modern culture in that country: Kofi Awoonor, Efua Sutherland, Frank Kobina Parks, Ama Ata Aidoo, Kwabena Nketia, Dr. Danquah, Quaison Sackey, Adail-Morty and Vincent Kofi. In as much as the Nigerian sojourn had enabled him to meet the legendary Patrice Lumumba, Accra afforded him the opportunity to meet the great New Negro scholar W. E. B. Du Bois. Mphahlele witnessed the historic moment of the intersection or unity, however momentary, of African nationalism and the incipient forms of modern national culture in various African countries. Mphahlele not only engaged English-speaking African countries, but also French-speaking such as Senegal, where he was on personal terms with its formidable intellectuals: Leopold Sedar Senghor, Cheik Anta Diop, Sembene Ousmane, Birago Diop, and Cheik Hamidou Kane. He experienced this also in Uganda and Kenya. It is possible that it was this unity of African nationalism and modern national and literary cultures in Africa that rendered the historical relation between New Negro modernity and New African modernity antiquarian, in fact unhistorical at the moment of the triumph of African Independence Movement.

It was in his capacity as the Director of African Programmes for the Congress for Cultural Freedom from 1961 to 1963 that Ezekiel Mphahlele had arguably the greatest impact on many African countries and was at his strongest in pulling South Africa into Africa. Through the funds of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, Mphahlele organized three major get together of African intellectuals, writers and artists: the historic 1962 Conference of African Writers of English Expression in Kampala; the Dakar Conference (Seminar) on Francophone literature in March 1963; the Freetown Conference (Seminar) on African Literature and the University Curriculum in

April 1963. Since in the essay of 1999, “Ezekiel Mphahlele: The Last New African Intellectual of the New African Movement”, read at a major conference at the University of Kwavenda celebrating Mphahlele’s 80th birthday, I say a mouthful about these conferences, not much will be said here. Suffice to say, they were crucial, if not absolutely fundamental, in defining and articulating the poetics of modern African literary cultures.

To conclude, it is clear and paradoxical retrospectively that the “detour” of New African modernity through New Negro modernity throughout the first half of the twentieth century of South African cultural and intellectual history was not only an attempt to dislodge the hegemony of European modernity in South Africa, it was also a preparation of South Africa’s re-entry into African cultural history. The unfolding of the consequences of 1994 in the twenty first century will testify whether this particular project of the twentieth century has been successful or not: Was there a real African modernity in South Africa or merely a semblance of it!

“At times, Cape Flats feels a lot like South Central Los Angeles, home to the Bloods and Crips gangs. Even though most of the gangsters here [Cape Town] will only get to Los Angeles in their dreams, and barely speak English, they express a deep affinity with West Coast rap and East Coast clothes. Murals feature Snoop Dogg and Tupac Shakur. The gangsters tattoo the names of American rappers on their chests. They greet each other with hand signals and secret handshakes.”

-Ginger Thompson, “Young, Hopeless and Violent in the New South Africa,” *The New York Times*, March 21, 2003.

Claremont [Los Angeles], California.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1) Peter Abrahams, **Tell Freedom**, Faber and Faber, London, 1954.
- 2) -----, "The Blacks", in **African Treasury**, selected by Langston Hughes, Crown Publishers, New York, 1960.
- 3) Alexander Crummell, "The English Language in Liberia" (1860), in **The Future of the Race**, Charles Scribner, New York, 1862.
- 4) -----, "The Regeneration of Africa" (1865), in **Africa and America**, Wiley and Company, Springfield [Mass.], 1891.
- 5) -----, "The Need of New Ideas and New Aims for a New Era" (1885), in **Civilization and Black Progress: Selected Writings of Alexander Crummell on the South**, (ed.) J. R. Oldfield, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1995.
- 6) H. I. E. Dhlomo, "Why Study Tribal Dramatic Forms" (1939), in **Literary Theory and Criticism of H. I. E. Dhlomo**, (eds.) Nick Visser and Tim Couzens, a special issue of *English in Africa*, vol. 4 no. 2, September 1977.
- 7) -----, "Personal and Cultural Achievements," **Ilanga lase Natal**, August 14, 1948.
- 8) Frederick Douglass, "The Claims of the Negro Ethnologically Considered," in **The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass**, (ed.) Philip S. Foner, International Publishers, New York, 1950.

- 9) Charles L. Dube, "Report on the South African Native National Congress", *Ilanga lase Natal*, January 26, 1912.
- 10) John L. Dube, "Are Negroes Better Off in Africa? Conditions and opportunities of Negroes in America and Africa Compared," *The Missionary Review of the World*, August 1904.
- 11) -----, "Chiefs and Gentlemen of the South African Native Congress," *Ilanga lase Natal*, February 2, 1912.
- 12) Frantz Fanon, **The Wretched of the Earth**, translated by Constance Farrington, Routledge and Kegan, London, 1963.
- 13) -----, **Toward the African Revolution**, translated by Haakon Chevalier, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1967.
- 14) Henry Louis Gates and Cornel West, **The Future of the Race**, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1996.
- 15) Henry Louis Gates, **Loose Canons: Notes On The Culture Wars**, Oxford University Press, New York, 1992.
- 16) -----, "'The Lives Grown Out Of his Life': Fredrick Douglass, Multiculturalism And Diversity", in **Multiculturalism: Roots and Realities**, (ed.) C. James Trotman, Indiana University Press, 2002.
- 17)-----, "Resurrecting The Texts: A Concersation with Henry Louis Gates," by Bruce Cole, *Humanities*, March/April 2002.
- 18) William Wellington Gqoba, "Notes from the Transkei Upon Witchcraft," *Kaffir Express*, January 6, February 7, March 7, 1874.
- 19) John Tengo Jabavu, "The Launch," *Imvo Zabantsundu*, November 3, 1884.

- 20) -----, "Lovedale in 1884," *Imvo Zabantsundu*, May 11, 1885.
- 21) Elijah Makiwane, "Educated Natives," *Imvo Zabantsundu*, January 26, February 2, 9, 1885.
- 22) -----, "Five Months in Pondomisiland," *Imvo Zabantsundu*, January 26, February 3, 10, 1886.
- 23) Ezekiel Mphahlele, **The African Image**, Faber and Faber, London, 1962.
- 24) -----, **Afrika My Music**, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1984.
- 25) Pambani Jeremiah Mzimba, "Education Among the Natives," *Imvo Zabantsundu*, December 30, 1886.
- 26) Jordan Ngubane, "Accra Conference---IV: Russia and America," *Indian Opinion*, January 30, 1959.
- 27) Walter M. B. Nhlapo, "Great Men and Women," *The Bantu World*, June 22, 1935.
- 28) -----, "Why I Enjoy The Bantu World," *The Bantu World*, November 9, 1935.
- 29) Lewis Nkosi, **Home and Exile**, Longman, London, 1965.
- 30) F. Z. S. Peregrino, "The South African Native National Congress: What It Is?", *Ilanga lase Natal*, March 22, 1912.
- 31) Solomon T. Plaatje, "Negro Question," *Koranta ea Becoana*, September 7, 1904.

- 32) Pixley ka Isaka Seme, "The Regeneration of Africa," *Royal African Society*, volume 4, 1905-1906.
- 33) -----, "Native Union," *Ilanga lase Natal*, October 20, 1911.
- 34) -----, "The South African Native National Congress," *Ilanga lase Natal*, March 22, 1912.
- 35) -----, "Leaders of African National Congress Must Reconcile Differences," *Umteteli wa Bantu*, December 16, 1933.
- 36) Guybon Bundlwana Sinxo, "Notable Contribution to Xhosa Literature: Mr. Mqhayi Creates Xhosa Literature," *The Bantu World*, July 20, 1935.
- 37) Tiyo Soga, "Ipepa leNdaba Zasekaya" [A National Newspaper], *Indaba*, vol. 1 no. 1, August 1862. (This historic document is assembled in **The Journal and Selected Writings of Reverend Tiyo Soga**, (ed.) Donovan Williams, A. A. Balkema, Cape Town, 1983. The document itself was translated from Xhosa into English by the very distinguished Xhosa poet, J. J. R. Jolobe.
- 38)-----, "-----," *Gazette and Kaffrarian Banner*, May 11, 1865.
- 39) R. V. Selope Thema, "Negro Progress in America," *Umteteli wa Bantu*, December 22, 1923.
- 40) -----, "The Test of Bantu Leadership," *Umteteli wa Bantu*, November 26, 1926.
- 41) -----, "The Duty of Bantu Intellectuals," *Umteteli wa Bantu*, September 20, 1930.

- 42) -----, "Bantu Patriotism," *Umteteli wa Bantu*,
September 6, 1930.
- 43) -----, "Bantu Nationalism," *Umteteli wa Bantu*,
September 20, 1930.
- 44) -----, "What We Mean Is This," *The Bantu
World*, April 9, 1932.
- 45) -----, "Once Slaves, Now Rich And Free:
Amazing Feat of Negroes To Inspire Bantu," *The Bantu World*,
August 20, 1932.
- 46) -----, "Follow Their Lead And Win: The Bantu
Achieve Steady Progress In Education," *The Bantu World*,
September 24, 1932.
- 47) -----, "Xhosa Nation Prepares The Way," *The
Bantu World*, October 15, 1932.
- 48) -----, "European Students And Race Problems,"
The Bantu World, August 10, 1935.
- 49) -----, "The Man Who Made History," *The Bantu
World*, November 24, 1951.
- 50) Richard Wright, **White Man, Listen**, Doubleday and
Company, New York, 1957.