Kingdom Come

THE POLITICS OF FAITH AND FREEDOM IN SEGREGATIONIST SOUTH AFRICA AND BEYOND

TSHEPO MASANGO CHÉRY

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RELIGIOUS CULTURES OF AFRICAN AND AFRICAN DIASPORA PEOPLE

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DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS *Durham and London* 2023

Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper ∞
Project Editor: Melody Negron
Designed by Matthew Tauch
Typeset in Arno by Westchester Publishing Services

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Masango Chéry, Tshepo, [date] author.
Title: Kingdom come : the politics of faith and freedom in segregationist South Africa and beyond / Tshepo Masango Chéry.
Other titles: Religious cultures of African and African diaspora people.
Description: Durham : Duke University Press, 2023. |
Series: Religious cultures of African and African diaspora people |
Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2022061111 (print)
LCCN 2022061112 (ebook)
ISBN 9781478019930 (paperback)
ISBN 9781478017226 (hardcover)
ISBN 9781478024507 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: Anti-racism—Religious aspects—Christianity. | Black theology. | Liberation theology—South Africa. | Religion and politics—South Africa. | African diaspora. | BISAC: RELIGION / Christianity / General | SOCIAL SCIENCE / Black Studies (Global)
Classification: LCC BT82.7 .M37 2023 (print) | LCC BT82.7 (ebook) | DDC 230.089/96073—dc23/eng/20230621
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2022061111
LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2022061112

Cover art: Abdoulaye Konaté, *Les Marcheurs* (*The Walkers*), 2006. Artes Mundi 2008 Wales International Visual Art Exhibition and Prize. Photo by Jeff Morgan 10 / Alamy Stock Photo. Courtesy of the artist and Gallery 1957.

To my father, MAAKE J. S. MASANGO, whose tenacity and courage has been a pathway.

To my mother, PAULINE SKOSANA MASANGO, whose love has been a refuge from which to flourish.

Thank you for being my first teachers and guides.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIC	African-initiated church
AME	African Methodist Episcopal
ANC	African National Congress
AOC	African Orthodox Church
KCA	Kikuyu Central Association
KISA	Kikuyu Independent Schools Association
KKEA	Kikuyu Karing'a Educational Association
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
SANAC	South African Native Affairs Commission
UNIA	Universal Negro Improvement Association

TLHOMPO /ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am humbled by God, his grace, and the steadfast support of people who helped me birth this book. There is a Sesotho proverb that says a person is only a person through the presence and acknowledgment of others. It is my turn to give *tlhompo* to them. I am fortunate to have the most beautiful and gracious first teachers, life givers, and friends in my parents, Reverend Dr. Maake and Mrs. Pauline Masango. Your love, faith, and courage have sustained me. Thank you to you and our ancestors for courageously persevering so that I had the freedom to write this book. My research for and writing of *Kingdom Come* took many turns; this journey is reflected in the many thinkers, incisive editors, truth speakers, and exhorters who took time to usher my work forward. I started this journey because of the inspirational teachings of Debbie Miller, Christine Tibbetts, David Fowler, David Rich, and Alan Barksdale. One scholar, teacher, and mentor, Professor Mary Frances Berry, deserves my utmost respect. At each crooked corner, she turned me back to the archive, the writing, and the completion of this book. Thank you for never giving up the fight. Your intellectual rigor, generosity, and care made me a better scholar. You extended the support I received at Princeton University as an undergraduate where scholars in the Program in African American and African Studies cultivated so much

in me. My thanks to Valerie Smith, Noliwe Rooks, Cornel West, K. Anthony Appiah, and Emmanuel Krieke, who made me believe that I could have a place in the academy. I must especially thank Nell Irvine Painter and Colin A. Palmer, whose words, food, and funds sustained me in hard seasons. At the University of Pennsylvania and beyond, Barbara D. Savage, Lee Cassanelli, Deborah A. Thomas, Harvey R. Neptune, Carol Ann Mueller, Stephanie McCurry, Stephen Hahn, Herman Beavers, and Tukufu Zuberi gave me invaluable training.

I am grateful to special colleagues at the University of Texas at Austin, the University of Houston, the University of Witwatersrand, and the University of Pretoria, who shaped my thinking by asking hard and important questions. My humble thanks to Edmund T. Gordon and Omi Oshun Joni L. Jones, who brought me to Texas and inspired me to see it as (an intellectual) home. To Daina Berry, Tiffany Gill, Kali Gross, Minkah Makalani, Nicole Burrowes, Keisha L. Bentley Edwards, Malik Edwards, João H. Costa Vargas, Xavier Livermon, and Kristin Smith, thank you for giving me steadfast wisdom and faith in the process. Samantha Pinto, thank you for pushing me along and holding me up when things got tough. To so many others, especially Toyin Falola, Niyi Afolabi, Bertin M. Louis, Kairn A. Klieman, Linda Reed, David McNally, Richard M. Mizelle, Abdel Razzaq Takriti, Leandra Zarnow, Gerald Horne, Ashlyn Strozier, Susanne Klausen, Karin Shaprio, Salim Vally, Piet Meiring, Graham Duncan, and Tshepo Moloi, and all the Garvey scholars, your scholarship and mentorship left an indelible mark on me. I have the deepest gratitude to archivists, especially Michele Pickover, Gabriele Mohale, Ann McShane, and Amy Evenson who offered sources without hesitation when travel seemed impossible. To Patric Tariq Mellet, your creative genius and insight strengthened the manuscript. Special thanks to Michael O. West; without some critical sources, some threads of this history might have remained a mystery. And to my scholar friends new and old, especially Jonathan Fenderson, Jeffery S. Ahlman, Jenifer Barclay, Tyler D. Fleming, Barbara Boswell, Dennis Tyler, Dave Nelson, and Dotun and Yemi Ayobade, thank you for reading my work and living life with me.

I have found family along this journey too. Philadelphia gave me brothers: Sean Greene and GerShun Avilez. My gratitude runs deep for Sean, who always breathed new life into seemingly old ideas and gave me the gift of family. There are no words for GerShun, who quietly cleared pathways for me to think, learn, and simply be in irrevocable ways. My thanks also goes to Victoria J. Collis-Buthelezi and Amanda Ellis, both

sisters who opened portals of understanding and gave me the language to see things anew. To Robert R. I. Goldberg, you have brought me joy, peace, and rigorous insight since the first day of graduate school. To Jordan Gonzalez, you stand alone. There are no words to describe my gratitude for the ways you held and expressed the sacredness of my thoughts with delicateness.

In South Africa, I welcomed the embrace of the Masango, Skosana, Musengwa, Dikgale, and Maake families, who renewed me after seasons away from home and endured hardship. You gave back to me portions of myself through song, prayer, text messages, oral histories, and pure love, and I thank you. My thanks also extends to gracious strangers turned family. I am indebted to the Shannon, Huss, Bryde, Emmitt, Warrington, Anotine-Redondo, Chéry, and Lytle families. Special thanks to Colleen Shannon and Patrick Huss, who gave me so much love and courage for the journey ahead; to Walt and Louise Bryde, who offered space to learn and grow; and to Shirley and Daryl Lytle, who always made a home for me, as well as new family in the Warringtons and Chérys.

To family friends Belinda Curry, Donald Scott, Stewart Bertram, Betty Austin, Cristina Flores, Meredith and Curtis Duncan, Jenn and Russ Prentice, Anne Streaty Wimberly and Edward Wimberly, the Motswene family, the Siqbengu family, the McLendon family, the Bashman family, the Lalendle family, the Dube family, the Shai family, the Maake family, the Meaux family, the Harvey family, the Middleton family, the Brooks family, the Barnes family, the Pinson family, the Ness family, the Neumann / Jackson family, Angel Davis, Nekyla Franklin, Karole Holmes, and Orion Mosko, who picked me up from airports, drove me to strange places, sent me money, indulged me as I asked a series of questions about times past, cared for my children as if they were your own, rescued me from hurricanes, and whispered urgent prayers for me, you are appreciated.

I also remain incredibly moved by the generous support of administrators and staff who ensured that my scholarship advanced. My thanks go to Erika Henderson, Dan O'Connor, Paula Short, and Jay Neal as well as my departmental chairs, Philip Howard and Nancy Beck Young, for finding ways to let me pursue scholarship during a global pandemic. I am also indebted to a great deal of institutions that saw promise in my scholarship. I benefited from the financial support of the Annenberg Foundation, the Fontaine Society, the Marcus Garvey Memorial Foundation, the Carter G. Woodson Institute at the University of Virginia, the John Warfield Center

at the University of Texas at Austin, the Institute for Citizens and Scholars, and the Underrepresented Women of Color Coalition.

I would also like to thank Duke University Press, the series editors for the Religious Cultures of African and African Diaspora People series, and my acquisitions editor. Dianne Stewart, Terrence Johnson, and Jacob Olupona, your thoughtful professionalism is unmatched. To Miriam Angress, my editor, thank you for imparting your brilliance, hard work, and compassion all while advocating for me in rooms I could not enter. To my anonymous reviewers, the meticulous and thoughtful ways you grappled with my work prove unparalleled. Thank you for your conceptual genius, keen editorial eye, and generous comments. You have made my book better.

I had hopes of honoring in person those who poured into me crucial lessons during life's highs and lows, but they have since passed on. This book is also in their memory. Thank you, Colin A. Palmer, Mable Lowman, Coretta Scott King, and my beloved (Uncle Des) Archbishop Desmond Tutu. These teachers taught me by sharing their lives with me. I owe them so much.

To my loves Nandipa Pauline, Ndileka Unathi, and Naledi Mohau, thank you for living with this book during your childhood. You always brought joy and passion amid hard research and writing seasons. Your perseverance living and dreaming across two continents has been a source of wonder and admiration. To Lisly, it's been a long road since September of freshman year when we met at Princeton. I never knew that you would selflessly create the space for me to delve into my people's past. Your love gave me permission to search for pieces of myself in this history. It has been the kindest gift.

Introduction

Thy Kingdom Come on Earth

I knew terror by the age of five. By 1985, Soweto, my home, was engulfed in flames. African people had made the country ungovernable by resisting apartheid, a racial hierarchy that framed every aspect of our lives. The state had effectively incarcerated, exiled, or killed many leaders of the antiapartheid movement but even still had failed to stop the movement. The government had not expected clergy and church leaders, such as my father and his colleague Archbishop Desmond Tutu, to intervene, organize, and lead resistance efforts in Black townships such as Soweto. Between boycotts and protest met with state violence, African people set decades of colonial order ablaze. The repercussions for rebelling against a colonial order were unbearable. The state sent the military to our townships, infiltrated political organizations with informants, shut off the water supply intermittently, and cut off electricity. Police entered our home on horseback, threw tear gas at me as I played in our backyard, and even detained my father for short stints. These hardships did not keep my parents from writing subversive documents, distributing banned books, and smuggling information and people to political camps outside of South Africa. My parents pressed on and consistently brought politically active religious leaders from as far as

Zimbabwe, Zambia, and even the United States to organize against apartheid. And yet through all of the political turmoil and violence, we found ways to survive, create normalcy, and dream of a different future.

In my family, bedtime stories countered chaotic life in Soweto. Stories recounted from children's books, created in the moment, or drawn from family histories not only offered an escape from the present but also served as the very space to imagine an alternative. My parents bookended our nightly story-time ritual with powerful prayers that carved out audible spiritual spaces of refuge, palpable sanctuaries against the sounds of gunshots, the sight of our homes alight, and the lingering caustic, peppery odor of tear gas. One night our prayers were pierced by the portentous wail of a young activist's cry: "*Tima mabone*" (Turn off the lights)!

The activist's words brought my neighborhood to a standstill. Darkness enveloped our street as families hid the illegal makeshift wiring that brought electric current into our house so as to avoid detection by the swiftly approaching security branch. We said our prayers in the dark that night. We prayed for freedom; the hope for freedom was our only sacred light. Though this all unfolded when I was very young, my memory of that night brings into sharp view the function and power of faith when enduring life under something as harrowing as apartheid.

A few months later, I was forced to flee South Africa without my parents. Intel from another young activist had been given to my parents and detailed the unthinkable. My parents' names and my own name were found on a hit list. This threat reflected a stage in the country's upheaval when the government attempted to silence leaders by assassinating their families, especially their children. Children often became casualties during the 1980s and 1990s even after there was an international outcry because of the 1976 Soweto Uprising, when the government killed hundreds of schoolchildren as they protested inequitable education. Somehow the government had picked up on my parents' activism even though it was often assumed that church leaders remained apolitical. My parents, however, drew their commitment to social justice from previous Christian leaders who felt that their faith compelled them to fight for freedom. Black Christians petitioned God for his kingdom to come "on earth as it is in heaven," a promise of freedom that a wider community of South African Christians had clung to for generations. Indeed, these clergy's faith-inspired activism was not new and did not begin in the 1980s but instead continued a century-old tradition of clergy leaders and other South African Christians declaring, envisioning, and working toward a kingdom on Earth that upheld their

birthright to be free. *Kingdom Come* tells this little-known preapartheid history, when politically conscious Christians believed that the petition for God's kingdom to come was equal parts prayer and mandate. In doing so, they forged a politics of freedom within the church that was as spiritual as it was political, laying the foundations for clergy such as my father, Tutu, and many others to reclaim South Africa in the postapartheid period as a moral project and not just a nation-building one. Black clergy, church leaders, and Christians in South Africa and beyond worked together long before the antiapartheid movement to counter segregationist practices that later became established as apartheid.

Dreams of freedom seemed unattainable in a world where racial subjugation loomed large. Black Christians' passion for freedom was often ignited by struggles within their own denominations, where they experienced structural racism more intimately. Much of this conflict was part of a larger response to watershed moments in Western imperialism, beginning in 1884 with the partitioning of Africa at the Berlin West Africa Conference and ending with World War I and the establishment of the League of Nations. In South Africa, the British and the Dutch had organized their own colonies. The British implemented antislavery policies and anglicized as they established the Cape Colony in 1806; threatened, the Dutch left the region, forging a trek to the interior. The Afrikaners established the Transvaal and Orange Free State as their own colonies, an expression of growing Afrikaner nationalism. A decade later in 1846, the British cemented their presence through the Colony of Natal. Direct conflict came decades later with the discovery of and competition over diamonds and gold, one of the many impetuses for the Anglo-Boer Wars.[1] Almost a decade after the war, the Afrikaners signed the Treaty of Vereeniging, a symbol of reconciliation between the British and the Afrikaners that established a unified government. The all-white officials representing the Union of South Africa reconciled British/Afrikaner differences by crystalizing competing types of segregation in Cape Colony, the Colony of Natal, and the Transvaal and Orange River colonies, codifying the segregationist policies in the new government's legal system. Much of this legislation, especially the Land Act of 1913, dispossessed Africans of their land, relocated them into colonial ghettos, and restricted their mobility. And while Africans grappled with new material realities, their loss of land also meant the dislocation of their spiritual practices, an existential crisis.

During the interwar period, the South African government established a new racial taxonomy that essentialized Blackness by classifying certain

multiethnic Africans as "Coloured" or of "mixed race." Faced with this European authoritarianism, African Christians strategized their response through the belief in God's promise that his kingdom could come in the here and now. Their vision for freedom insisted on its manifestation if not in their country then at least in their churches. This was collectively exemplified when South African Christians seceded from European-run churches ten years after Africa was officially partitioned by Europeans. This movement experienced the most growth just after the turn of the twentieth century, when Africans boldly created African-initiated churches under the banner of "Ethiopianism," including the Ethiopian Church, the African Church, and the Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion, among others. The spiritual freedom that Black Christians cultivated produced future generations of clergy who, like Tutu, would serve as the bedrock of the antiapartheid movement. This freedom, I suggest, was rooted in the charge recited in the Lord's Prayer. The church leaders who catalyzed these shifts in Black religious life often were politically progressive and sometimes even radical but regularly relied on the Lord's Prayer to envision their politics. They included clergy, clergy wives, lay leaders, political organizers, community leaders, and local elders. Some were educated at local mission schools. Others studied at prestigious institutions in Europe and North America. Still others were working-class Blacks who were domestics and gardeners or had jobs at port city wharfs, railroads, and mines. Yet, across class and cultural milieux, they shared a common animating spirit in that their Christian faith drove their quest for freedom, their fight against darkness.

While the petition "kingdom come" became a revolutionary charge at home in South Africa, it also extended outward through the African diaspora and became a transnational response to oppressive political conditions globally. Many of these Christians found common cause with believers all over the world who were also facing racial persecution under European colonial domination. From South Africa to Zimbabwe and Kenya and on to the United States, Canada, and the circum-Caribbean, these people recognized their shared experiences of colonialism and white supremacy. As South Africans sought to worship and establish their own churches beyond paternalistic forms of white missionary supervision, Black Christians abroad shared similar experiences that cast dark shadows in the history of Christianity. Both the African Methodist Episcopal Church and the African Orthodox Church are examples of the way Blacks in South Africa and the United States forged their own sites of autono-

mous worship to combat their experiences of white supremacy. First established in the United States before taking root in South Africa, these US churches were composed of a mix of northern Black communities mingled with southern Blacks seeking refuge from the grip of Jim Crow and West Indian immigrants fleeing the collapsed sugar industry, hurricanes, and famine of their home islands. Together these transnational Christian communities, composed of South Africans, African Americans, and West Indians, created their own churches outside of white-run denominations, thus institutionalizing their desire for self-determination. In the 1920s, as some South Africans came to recognize the theological outlook they shared with US-based Christians, they sought connections despite the limitations of Black mobility on both sides of the Atlantic. Ironically, in the case of South Africans the assigned racial status of "Coloureds" actually granted some of them greater mobility than other Africans to travel to the United States, because the state did not imagine "Coloureds" to be part of Black politics. Radical Coloureds with the means to do so often relied on their privilege to travel and to forge relationships that linked them to other Africans and to African Americans in principally Christian networks.

Black Christians in South Africa had a similar transnational solidarity with Christians living in colonial Southern Rhodesia and Kenya. As Blacks in Southern Rhodesia and Kenya waded through their own consequences of colonial racism, institutionalized through the same British Land Act of 1913 that affected South Africans, they, too, saw land reclamation as a critical path to freedom. Africans turned to God to light pathways of resistance as they faced various kinds of land dislocation. Ethiopianists in Southern Rhodesia who sought to organize churches found themselves on the edges of cities facing the daunting realization that they couldn't build, much less gather, congregations in such marginalized spaces. Christians in Kenya who refused to accept land dispossession as a new colonial reality organized themselves to reclaim their land and create their own churches and schools outside of the purview of the European missionaries who ran these institutions. But when they joined the transnational network of Black Christians already linking the United States to South Africa, Christians in Southern Rhodesia and Kenya made this alliance specifically to defy missionary-imposed assimilative practices, even as British colonialism took hold in East Africa. Alongside South Africans and African Americans, Kenyan and Southern Rhodesian Christians helped imagine and circulate this larger vision of Black freedom predicated on God's promises for redemption in a dark world.

In the early to mid-twentieth century, South African Christians built and relied on a transnational network of Christians that drew persecuted Black people from across the diaspora to church; once there, they imagined freedom with no bounds. In reconstructing the lives, communities, and radical social visions of these men and women of faith—Tutu's predecessors—I show how transnational religious movements destabilized imperial forms of racialization and imagined freedom in and through church formation. *Kingdom Come* integrates scholarship on the field formation of the African diaspora; the history of racialization, particularly in South Africa; and religious expression, with work on Pan-Africanism, African nationalism, and Black liberation to assert that politically inspired religious and ecumenical radicalism begin long before it is traditionally imagined.

Kingdom Come positions Africa as a central site of discussion; it makes Africa much more than a site of dispersal in our understanding of diasporic religious studies, specifically, and diaspora studies more broadly. In this story, South Africans are the central point from which African Christians defined freedom on not only a local level but also a grander scale of transnational uplift. This history provides a way to contend with broader concerns about the place of Africa within field formation in African diaspora studies. Indeed, pioneering scholars such as Colin Palmer, Ruth Simms Hamilton, Paul Tiybeme Zeleza, Michael A. Gomez, Patrick Manning, Carol Boyce Davies, Kim Butler, and Robert Trent Vinson, among others, have posed critical questions about Africa's positionality within the diasporic framework. Africa is at the center of *Kingdom Come*; the book captures visions of freedom in South Africa, Kenya, and Zimbabwe and highlights the routes of dissemination from Africa to the West. Many scholars of the diaspora have focused on the opposite, the movement of ideas from the West to Africa. This work insists on illustrating the creative measures of faith that Africans relied on as they fought for liberation.

South African Christians' contribution to the country's politics are often retold through the lens of a historical metanarrative predicated on white oppression and Black resistance, with limited attention to the complex logic of race. *Kingdom Come* complicates the history of race in South Africa by telling the story of Africans who were classified as "Coloured" by the state. This book contributes to a burgeoning scholarship that interrogates "Coloured" identity in South Africa, accounting for more expansive Blackness on the continent. My examination of the colonial logic of

race extends discussions by Zimitri Erasmus, Mohamed Adhikari, Vivian Bickford-Smith, Ian Goldin, Saul Dubow, James Muzondidya, and Zoë Wicomb, all of whom labored in different ways to provide histories of "Coloured" people while not always actively defining what was meant by the term.[2] My work defines the shifting contours of the term as defined by the state. But it also suggests that these South African Christians are the most representative of the modern African diaspora, in all the ethnic and spatial diversity that the identity encompasses.

The heart of *Kingdom Come* is a story of faith and the way it was employed for societal transformation. The book contributes to the scholarship on African diaspora religions by highlighting the impact of movement and migration on religion but, unlike most of the literature, centers on Christianity, an understudied theme within diaspora studies. *Kingdom Come* is indebted to the work of such scholars as George Shepperson, James T. Campbell, Robert R. Edgar, Morris Rodney Johnson, Joel Cabrita, Isabella Mukonyora, Afe Adogame, Michael A. Gomez, Yolanda Covington-Ward, Ras Michael Brown, and Tracey E. Hucks, among others, who developed our understanding of religion but also veered outside of the Abrahamic tradition.

Kingdom Come is about Christians who were engaged in various forms of racial uplift. Yet in many ways, the racial uplift ideology that these African Christians embraced was much more complicated than that defined by the largest Black mass movement of the time, led by Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association, that was an important feature and influence within these communities. Many members of these communities interpreted Garvey's call for freedom as one in which they would liberate and govern themselves. Garvey scholars such as Tony Martin, Rupert Lewis, Robert A. Hill, Claudrena N. Harold, Ula Taylor, Mary G. Rolinson, Adam Ewing, Natanya K. Duncan, Asia Leeds, and especially Robert Trent Vinson map the establishment of Garveyism worldwide, offering insight on transnational and regional working-class politics across the globe. Vinson's work is deeply instructive to my understanding of the ways Garveyism and, more broadly, Black nationalism circulated in South Africa but also remained hidden from the government. My work builds on Vinson's scholarship by highlighting further that Africans had already constructed their own visions of freedom well before they learned of the Garvey movement. Indeed, Africans did not simply depend on African Americans to define freedom; rather, they found resonance across diasporic lines. This book also stands in line with recent studies by scholars such as Adom Getachew

and Quito Swan that show how liberation struggles engaged Black internationalism against colonial rule.[3]

South Africans both imagined and enacted their visions of freedom by cultivating global Christian networks that shaped the Black Christian landscape on the African continent and beyond. By focusing on South Africa as a politically generative place in a global diasporic context, I shift how scholars see, reference, and engage South Africa(ns), which tends to be exclusively through the lens of apartheid. Taking up the work of people of faith who fought against racial domination and violence long before the apartheid era, before the name Nelson Mandela was known around the world as a symbol of anticolonial struggle, this book is a call to consider South Africa and South Africans on their own terms. Black Christians in the first half of the twentieth century were searching for freedom, which they thought might only be summoned in a prayer for God's kingdom to come. That search extended to places and contexts outside of South Africa even as its leaders maintained that the country and its people needed to be the locus for that freedom movement going forward. Their stories establish the centrality of Pan-African mobilization in South African freedom struggles in ways that disrupt our familiar narrative of the South African and diasporic past during this period.

COLOURED, THE RECONSTRUCTED NON-AFRICAN

I also give sharp relief to the evolving and sometimes elusive practice of race making particularly in South Africa, where race governed all aspects of life. This exercise complicates the white/Black racial binary by considering the construction of "Coloured" identity. The divisive term "Coloured" encompassed people classified as "mixed race" by the colonial society. It was a racial description that eventually became codified by law.[4] "Coloured" identity operated as an essentialized racial intermediary status between white and Black. Yet, it was much more. The term "Coloured" was the government's attempt to maintain uniform definitions of race as migration seemingly created a constant state of flux. As the government solidified its racial classification system, people, particularly immigrants, did not easily fit into the government-prescribed racial categories. The lack of uniformity made it difficult for administrators to define the group. Further, it reflected the larger impossibility of establishing a scientific or systematic basis of racial classification in South Africa or elsewhere, for that matter. Race was (and continues to be) socially constructed.[5] Interestingly,

the term "Coloured" included KhoiSans, Camisas, and Griquas but also Asians, Chinese, Indians, Malays, Indonesians, Malagasies, and English-speaking Blacks from the United States, West Africa, and the Caribbean, among many others. By tracing the oscillating and inconsistent definitions of "Coloured" identity over time, the fabrication of racial categories such as "Coloured" becomes overwhelmingly evident. The term's ethnic and racial capaciousness, as imposed by the government, was meant to connote that people defined as "Coloured" were something other than African. This ambiguous positionality, which obscured ethnic and racial distinctions, yielded relative privilege because "Coloured" presumed a distance from African identity and a proximity to whiteness even as many politically active Coloureds defined themselves as African.

GEOGRAPHIES OF THE BLACK ARCHIVE

Many characters fill this book, most of whom were classified as "Coloured" for one reason or another. Sometimes their classification was a direct result of their multiethnic heritage or because they are English-speaking Blacks from afar or simply because they travel well beyond the continent. A South African priest of the African Orthodox Church is one such example. Daniel William Alexander, who was identified as Coloured, found spiritual and political comradery as an African church leader in a larger global movement against white supremacy. His records show up all over the world, including Zimbabwe, Kenya, the United States, and the United Kingdom. Similarly, histories of the Ethiopian Church are accounted for in the public records of the United Kingdom. Indeed, the church shows up in multiple intelligence agencies in the United States and Britain, and sometimes the records bear traces of resistance movements among people of African descent worldwide. If we read each collection separately these records appear fragmented, but collectively they reflect the ways global networks of the African diaspora operated as a cross-continental archive of Black political organizing just waiting to be fully illuminated.

PRACTICES OF FAITH AND FREEDOM

Kingdom Come begins by providing the racial context of segregationist South Africa. The book moves beyond a history focused on a white/

Black racial binary to highlight the place of "Coloured" identity within a colonial racial matrix that the state continuously reshaped in an attempt to thwart African efforts of solidarity. Chapter 1 asserts race as a technology that is always building upon itself, stripping subjects of their humanity as it squeezes them into senseless categories to ensure the state's capitalist projects of coloniality. The chapter provides a historical context for the creation and evolution of the term "Coloured" as it traces the shifting legal and social status of the categorization. This term was much more than a racial description for "mixed race," as the South African government defined it from the segregationist period through the apartheid era. Instead, the chapter suggests that "Coloured" identity needs to be historicized as a colonial enterprise that used race making to maintain order. The consequence of these racist political frameworks was the collapsing of multiple identities and histories that then became invisible, an essentialism imposed by the state. Africans categorized as "Coloureds" had a relative advantage over other Africans, including increased mobility. "Coloureds" sometimes relied on these advantages to galvanize creative forms of resistance against a government that was crystalizing the racial hierarchy foundational to apartheid.

Chapter 2 introduces Ethiopianism, the secessionist movement that established African-initiated churches in South Africa. This chapter engages the spiritual and political convictions that African church leaders expressed while being attentive to the ways this pan-ethnic movement redefined the meaning of Black solidarity, particularly in the South African context. The chapter's focus on "Coloured" identity provides an opportunity to witness the ways Africans, whom the government defined as "Coloured," sometimes leveraged this colonial identity to disrupt the missionary enterprise for the sake of their freedom. The discussion demonstrates just how fraught the term was when some African clergy categorized as "Coloured" used it to position themselves above other Africans as the movement became more fragmented.

Chapter 3 highlights the work of Charlotte Manye (Maxeke) and her sister Kate Manye as they envisioned the future of African-initiated churches beyond the Ethiopian movement by connecting them with the African Methodist Church, an American church with a similar history of secession. These women placed South African theologies within an international framework. This chapter suggests that the Manye sisters' migratory existence—which took them from Uitenhage to Kimberly to London, then to the United States, and finally back to South Africa—allowed them

to imagine a pan-ethnic religious experience that could become a promising platform for Black freedom worldwide. The Manye sisters had distinct skills and privileges that set them apart. These sisters' experiences forged new and increasingly important connections between South African and US-based Ethiopian movements, connections that would facilitate a 1920s racial uplift movement in both countries.

Chapter 4 uncovers the multifaceted layers of training and leadership that helped establish churches as part of the racial uplift movement in the 1920s. This chapter traces the paths of West Indian leaders, traveling from the circum-Caribbean to the United States, and is attentive to different kinds of training these church leaders took advantage of on their travels. This movement allowed them to build migrant communities in the United States and reconstitute new church structures. These multiple diasporas of people and ideas gave way to the Universal Negro Improvement Association and related organizations rooted in Black agency.

Chapter 5 suggests that the 1920s racial uplift movements led to the formation of new forms of Black religious expression. In particular, the chapter documents the establishment of the African Orthodox Church in North America. While it was a religious offshoot of Garveyism, it also functioned on its own terms such that, unlike Garvey's movement, it actually reached the shores of the African continent. The creation of this church, I argue, is a testament to the impact of the circulation of ideas within the global freedom struggle.

Chapter 6 tracks the remarkable growth of the African Orthodox Church in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. This chapter positions that expansion as the culmination of transnational correspondence, organizing, and travel by Black Christian leaders such as Daniel William Alexander, whose highly effective actions were nonetheless limited by colonial surveillance that forced him to be wary of state reprisals.

Chapter 7 examines the different ways Africans advocated for and implemented spaces of agency in establishing their own African-run churches and seminaries, wherein we see the first earnest rumblings of a new kind of African anticolonial politics animated by the joint concerns of faith and freedom. Across their different race-based colonial and segregated contexts, Black Christians in South Africa, the Caribbean, the United States, and Kenya understood the shared injustice they faced from the perspective of a morally pure and ethically righteous Jesus Christ. They examined moments in Jesus's ministry to inspire them. These Black Christians were committed to a savior who confronted corruption in the overturning of tables.

They clung to a Jesus who spoke truth to hypocrisy. They believed that this savior was the king of the kingdom of God that they ultimately sought. So, they worked for a new world order and prayed together. This shared prayer, which called for God's kingdom to come, united them across space and reflected their singular mission. The spiritual, they believed, had earthly implications that could dismantle the religious, social, economic, and political insidiousness of segregation and colonialism. My father believed the same. The night that I listened to my bedtime story in the dark, my father lent me his faith. His theology insisted that hope coupled with activism would eventually overcome the evil fibers of apartheid. Turning to the historical record makes clear that a generation of Black Christians were forebearers to my parent's faith and politics, igniting his convictions and those of many others in the antiapartheid movement. They lit his spiritual path. And so, Black Christians in the early twentieth century turned their sanctuaries into freedom-striving spaces, spaces for organizing against white supremacy, enacting refuge, and strategizing anticolonial freedom as the fullest expression of God's will. It was in the church, here understood as an incubator of activism, often as hidden from the state as they were from the archive, that the practices of faith were irrevocably fused to the politics of freedom in ways that would shape Black African politics going forward.

NOTES

Introduction

1 The Anglo-Boer Wars began with the first war in 1880–1881, in which Boer farmers rebelled from British rule in the Transvaal and reestablished their independence. This war was followed by the Second Anglo-Boer War, from 1899 to 1902. In the end, the Boer Republics were converted to British colonies with limited *zelf-bestuur* (self-governance).

2 Adhikari, *The Anatomy of a South African Genocide*; Adhikari, *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough*; Goldin, *Making Race*; Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall*; Muzondidya, *Walking a Tightrope*; and Van Der Ross, *The Rise and Decline of Apartheid*.

3 Getachew, *Worldmaking after Empire*; and Swan, *Pasifika Black*.

4 For some discussions of "Coloured" identity, see Adhikari, "The Sons of Ham," 107–8; Bickford-Smith, *Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice in Victorian Cape Town*, 186–216; Keegan, *Colonial South Africa*, 281; and Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall*, 4.

5 Dubow, *Scientific Racism in Modern South Africa*; Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race*; Ferree, *Framing the Race*; Fields, "Ideology and Race in American History," 143–77; Marks and Trapido, *The Politics of Race, Class, and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa*; Peberdy, *Selecting Immigrants*; Ross, *The Borders of Race in Colonial South Africa*; and Suzman, "Race

Classification and Definition in the Legislation of the Union of South Africa 1910–1960," 367.

One. "My Blood Is a Million Stories"

The chapter title was taken from a line in Talib Kweli's song "Black Girl Pain," which features South African–born rapper Jean Grae. In the song, Grae describes the complexity of her own African identity, which was once categorized as Coloured by the South African state. She notes that her blood is represented in different migratory paths from within South Africa, Mauritius, and St. Helena.

1 The Dutch East Indian Company was a chartered company of the United Provinces of the Netherlands. The area started as a refreshment station for the company's fleets heading east but soon grew to become the permanent home of Dutch settlers.

2 For some discussions of Coloured identity, see Adhikari, "The Sons of Ham," 107–8; Bickford-Smith, *Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice in Victorian Cape Town*, 186–216; Keegan, *Colonial South Africa*, 281; and Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall*, 4.

3 Erasmus, "Introduction," 13–28.

4 As Jemima Pierre has brilliantly shown, even though much of the scholarship on Africa seems to overlook race, both colonial and neocolonial forces are engaged in a process of racialization that constructs all Africans as Black. Her argument is helpful when considering South African historiography, because many scholars suggest that the contours of race were fleshed out in the scholarship. Yet, Pierre's notion of statecraft is helpful in considering the ways Coloured identity reflects this project of race making that ultimately erases the particularities of ethnicity. See Pierre, *The Predicament of Blackness*.

5 Geographer A. J. Christopher suggests the relevance of "bi-polar classifications" in colonial South Africa in "To Define the Indefinable," 402.

6 Bickford-Smith, *Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice in Victorian Cape Town*, 24. Bickford-Smith notes that an Afrikaner newspaper, *Het Volksbald*, conceded in 1876 that "many unmistakenly off-coloured have made their way into the higher ranks of society and are freely admitted to respectable situations and intermarriage with respectable families." Bickford-Smith is attentive to the "passing" phenomenon among Coloureds whose appearance made it possible for them to pass. George Frederickson also discusses Coloured passing in Frederickson, *White Supremacy*, 133.

7 Saul Dubow has astutely argued that European governments strove to "separate" rather than "segregate" the races. Separation was the primary rhetoric circulating in the late nineteenth century. It wasn't until the twentieth