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**‘INTO THE WILDERNESS’: THE 1929 COMMUNIST ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN IN
THEMBULAND**

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In tracing the steps leading to the onset of apartheid in 1948, the year 1929 should not be overlooked. The term of office of the National-Labour Pact government expired; when general elections were held in June, the National Party won. Advocate Oswald Pirow succeeded Tielman Roos as Minister of Justice. Pirow implemented an amendment to the notorious Riotous Assemblies Act that gave the Minister of Justice power to banish any individual, whether black or white, from any territory if the Minister believed that the individual's presence would foster 'feelings of hostility between Natives and Europeans'.

This development had its recent roots in part in a legal case involving and argued by Sidney Bunting, a leading Communist and notorious as one of the few whites handling African legal cases. Sidney Bunting, his wife Rebecca Bunting and their comrade Gana Makabeni had all been charged under the Native Administration Act of 1927 as a result of their electoral campaigning in Thembuland. The Act made it illegal to engage in words or acts 'with intent to promote feelings of hostility between Natives and Europeans'. Bunting had successfully appealed their case all the way to the Supreme Court, which maintained that the government was obliged to show intent and that criticism of the government or of white individuals was not in and of itself illegal. Pirow's amended law, thus, took the decision-making power on this matter away from the Supreme Court as the final interpreter of law.ⁱ

Sidney Bunting ran as a Communist candidate in the Thembuland electoral constituency of the Transkei in the 1929 national elections and did surprisingly well: of the 2,302 votes polled in the three-way contest, Bunting received 289 or about 12.5% of the total. Yet aside from several enthusiastic pages by erstwhile Communist Eddie Roux, the campaign has received little attention.ⁱⁱ Nonetheless, it struck such a chord amongst local people, that even in the 1950s, according to African National Congress (ANC) activist, Anderson Khumani Ganyile, who was from Phondoland, Sidney Bunting was fondly remembered.ⁱⁱⁱ The local people – the abaThembu – were not unfamiliar with politicians who came from outside the region to campaign. Africans and Coloureds in the Cape Province had a qualified franchise, and Cape liberals or 'friends of the Natives' periodically entered the region to canvass for their votes during electoral campaigns. Advocates for Marcus Garvey's 'Back to Africa' movement had also toured the region.

However, because of the Transkei's millenarian tradition, dating back to the nineteenth century, Helen Bradford, for one, has argued that activists could not attract mass support unless they 'treated the reserves as more than a labour reservoir for white capital' and appreciated 'the specificities of rural consciousness and...millenial longings'.^{iv} Sidney Bunting's campaign, which made no millenial appeals, indicates that socialist political agitation in rural areas and specifically in the Transkei not only began earlier than has heretofore been thought, but that it did attract some support; the campaign also stimulated subsequent Communist and radical thinking about rural areas.^v This paper investigates the ways in which Bunting's message might have resonated with local people and why Bunting's campaign was viewed by Communists as

a success.

Preparing for the Electoral Campaign - Africans and the Qualified Franchise

As the first term of the Pact government drew to a close, the 'black peril' was high on the political agenda. The previous years had seen several attempts to curtail African political rights. In July 1926 Prime Minister Hertzog had tabled several bills aiming to reinforce the racial segregation of Africans and to curtail their franchise rights. One of these, the Native Land Act Amendment Bill, aimed to increase the amount of reserved land available to Africans as stipulated in the 1913 Land Act; another, the Representation of Natives in Parliament Bill, aimed to remove Africans in the Cape from the common voting roll. While these bills were not passed, they were a harbinger of things to come, and the ensuing debates provided the backdrop for the 1929 election. Africans and Coloureds in the Cape Province still had a qualified franchise, although only whites could represent them. This franchise was a legacy of the representative government that Britain had granted to the Cape Colony in 1853, when all male British subjects over the age of twenty-one who owned property in the form of land or buildings of a certain value or who received a certain annual income were given the right to vote, irrespective of colour.^{vi} Accordingly, the Communist Party decided to contest seats in the two constituencies where blacks – Africans and Coloureds – constituted close to half the electorate. One was the urban area of Cape Flats outside Cape Town, which included the bleak and impoverished African location of Ndabeni, where the Party had a history of some activity, and the other was Thembuland, which had no history of prior Communist activity and in which the dispersed rural towns and villages and poor infrastructure made campaigning very difficult and time-consuming.^{vii}

The CPSA had recently adopted as its slogan, 'An Independent South African Native Republic as a stage towards the Workers' and Peasants' Republic, guaranteeing protection and complete equality to all national minorities', and it planned to campaign under that banner.^{viii} When the Comintern had first introduced the Native Republic thesis in late 1927, it had met with substantial opposition from local Communists, who had felt that it exaggerated the idea of a rural and peasant-based revolution, while underplaying the role of the urban working class, which in South Africa included a significant white, as well as black, component. Both Sidney Bunting and Eddie Roux had argued against the thesis at the Sixth Comintern Congress in Moscow in July-August 1928. But after harsh criticism from the Comintern, they revised their views. Douglas Wolton, who had been one of the thesis's original proponents, was to contest the electoral seat in the Cape Flats and Sidney Bunting, eager to atone for his earlier opposition to the thesis, was to contest the more difficult seat in Thembuland. Despite the harder challenge, Bunting did much better: the total number of votes polled in the Cape Flats was 3,082, of which Wolton received 93 or 3%, compared to Bunting's 12.5%.

Eddie Roux drafted an election manifesto for the new Native Republic policy. 'I think we should go all out to

get the support of every non-European voter at the next election’, he wrote to Douglas Wolton in late November 1928. ‘Theoretically every one of these votes should come to us. If we work hard enough and put forward the correct slogans I think the majority of them will’, he added, with naive optimism. But, he continued, ‘If we try to get both white and black votes in equal measure we shall probably get neither. What we want is a direct appeal to non-Europeans...to vote for the C.P.’^{ix}

Roux’s draft manifesto ‘to all non-European voters of the Cape Province’ argued that the CPSA was ‘the only party to come forward with a programme expressing the demands and aspirations of the Native and Coloured people’. Outlining the iniquities forced upon the black population by the South African Party, the National Party and the Labour Party, the manifesto went on to state that ‘the Communist Party has continually fought for freedom for the African peoples...[and] if the law would allow us we would put up Native and Coloured Communists to fight in Cape constituencies in the forthcoming elections.’ It called for “‘A *South African Native Republic*’...a thoroughly independent and democratic form of government, in which the African people will come into their own as free men in a free country’. It also demanded no interference with the Cape African franchise nor curtailment of existing black rights; equal political and employment rights for all who lived in South Africa; free primary education for all South Africans; abolition of the Native Land Act, pass laws and all other discriminatory laws; extension of the African reserves and adequate land for all black South Africans; freedom of speech and assembly; and abolition of the notorious Native Administration Act that had been passed in 1927 and that extended authoritarian powers over many aspects of African peoples’ lives.^x

Entering Thembuland

Sidney Bunting and his wife Rebecca Bunting entered the Transkeian territories on 1 March via Kokstad.^{xi} They travelled in a caravan with their comrade Gana Makabeni, who was from the Transkei and who acted as their interpreter, and with their driver, Eddie Litshaba, also from the Transkei.^{xii} It was an arduous and stressful experience, driving on unpaved roads and campaigning in the day and camping by night. From the moment they entered the territories, recounted Bunting, they were pestered by police who tailed them and ‘queried the right of the two Transkeian natives who were with me’.^{xiii} Bunting confided to Roux about their difficulties. ‘Wherever we made a halt’, he wrote, ‘they scrutinised our Native passes and our car license, and at Umtata...they threatened us all with prosecution and eventually arrested our driver for entering the Transkei without a permit, although he...was born here....Our slightest move is watched and reported by the police from place to place’. The authorities were hostile, and the ‘chiefs have been told to take no part in the election campaign – and their salaries are at stake!’. Bunting found the whites to be more ‘vulgarly hostile’ than he had expected’.^{xiv}

The harsh repression and racism were testimony of a region that had been deeply marked by colonial

penetration and by long resistance. Until the 1820s the abaThembu had occupied land between the Bashee and Umzimvubu Rivers. In the 1830s, following the Tshaka-led *Mfecane* and wars with the amaBhaca and amaMponde, some of the abaThembu moved north into an area that became known as Emigrant Thembuland. Struggles against colonial intervention over the next several decades finally culminated in the Gun War of 1880-81, won by the colonialists. The next year, 1882, colonial authorities set up the Thembuland Commission to address the position of chiefs in the post-war society. The thrust of colonial policy was to undermine the institution of the chieftainship in areas where chiefs had led anti-colonial resistance.^{xv}

The report issued by the Thembuland Commission in July 1883 recommended that land hitherto occupied by the chiefs who had led the Gun Wars be given to white farmers. Africans deemed to have been loyal to the colonialists were moved south so that they formed a buffer between the whites and the anti-colonial rebels, and they were given arable land on a quit rent basis with commonage rights. While undermining the chieftainship, the colonial authorities imposed a system of headmen to act as intermediaries representing the local population. In Xhalanga District, a part of Emigrant Thembuland, the colonial magistrate appointed headmen. This practice was in marked contrast to other areas of the Transkei, such as Phondoland, where headmen were drawn from chiefly lineage.^{xvi}

From the 1880s Africans were subjected to repeated attempts by whites to encroach upon their political rights. Africans who did not own land on a freehold basis – for example, those who held land on a tribal or communal basis – were precluded from the franchise. The Glen Grey Act of 1894 introduced a system of individual land allocation in the restricted areas of the reserves that deprived those in the scheme of the franchise. Colonial authorities also mooted the idea of a District Council for Africans. In Xhalanga the subject was introduced in 1897. But both headmen and landowners resisted the Glen Grey Act and the District Council scheme: they wanted political rights on same basis as whites. Following Union in 1910 the government renewed its efforts to introduce the District Council in Xhalanga. After much resistance it was eventually imposed by fiat; in Xhalanga it began meeting in March 1925. District Councils, governed by a Resident Magistrate and six members, two of whom were nominated by the South African Governor-General, dealt with a range of local issues, including cattle dipping, roads, dams and housing sites, but agriculture and livestock and, in particular, agricultural shows, figured prominently. Overall, District Councils represented a significant curtailment of African political rights.^{xvii} The attack on African rights continued full force with the 1927 Native Administration Act, which declared the Governor-General to be the Supreme Chief of all Africans and allowed him to govern by proclamation.^{xviii}

Colonial influence brought other changes as well, especially in the domains of religion and education. Christian missionary influence in the Cape Province was long established: the Nonconformist London Missionary Society arrived in 1799, and the Glasgow and Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Societies in 1820.

They did not, however, make significant inroads until the millenarian cattle-killing of 1857. By the twentieth century, Methodism was the most influential Christian denomination in the region and had permeated many families.^{xix} Govan Mbeki, born in 1910 in Mpukane location in Nqamakwe, recounted that he ‘was brought up in a strict religious atmosphere’. His mother was the daughter of a Methodist minister, and missionaries influenced his father to educate his children.^{xx} Similarly, Nelson Mandela, born into the Thembu royal house in 1918 in Mvezo, on the Mbashe River, and raised in Qunu, was baptised as a Methodist after his mother converted, and was educated by Methodist missionaries.^{xxi}

Aside from state-assisted education, African education fell under the domain of missionary societies, and the impact of these was particularly strong in the Cape Province. Of the leading African secondary education institutions, the Cape Province had fourteen, many of which were in the Transkeian Territories, compared to seven in Natal, three in the Transvaal and two in the Orange Free State. The Cape was also the home of the South African Native College – precursor to the University of Fort Hare – founded in 1916, the only university-level institution for Africans in South Africa. Missionary education had introduced a social distinction between ‘school people’ or *amagqobhoka*, those who accepted some Western values and practices, and ‘red people’ or *amaqaba*, who resisted such influences. This distinction was reinforced by class and ethnic divisions. In Xhalanga, for example, school people were granted farms with right of occupation as long as they were in residence, and they were generally amaMfengu, while red people, amaGcina for the most part, paid hut tax but lacked access to arable land.^{xxii}

Education was so important to Africans in the Transkeian Territories that even some of those in the state bureaucracy had to recognize ‘a growing inclination amongst a certain section of the native population, particularly in the Transkeian Territories, to secularize native education and to obtain a larger direct share in its management’^{xxiii} Colonialism’s impact on people in the territories was felt in a highly contradictory manner, an ambiguity captured by the Xhosa *imbongi* or praise singer Krune Mqhayi: ‘You sent us the truth, denied us the truth; You sent us the life, deprived us of life; You sent us the light, we sit in the dark, Shivering, benighted in the bright noonday sun’.^{xxiv}

On the Campaign Trail

Thembuland had a population of about one million Africans and 20,000 whites. The voting roll was a few thousand; about half of the electorate was African and there were some Coloured voters as well. Bunting was contesting against Mr Payn, the South African Party candidate, and Mr Hemming, a member of the South

African Party who was running as an independent and who had the support of the renowned Professor D. D. T. Jabavu. But unlike his two opponents, Bunting was not specifically concerned with targeting voters, even African voters – essentially freehold land owners. Rather, he focussed on Africans' lack of political rights. He and his two comrades used the fact that most Africans lacked the vote as a device to attract their attention, urging voters and non-voters alike, men and women, to show up at the polls on election day and protest their lack of democratic rights. While this approach may have been effective in spreading the Communist Party message, it was limited as an electoral strategy.

The three Communists and their driver began their campaign journey in Kokstad, where Bunting introduced himself to the Chief Official of the Native Affairs Department in the Transkei. Entering the Transkei, they went to Umtata, where on 4 March Bunting introduced himself to Chief Magistrate Welsh as the Communist candidate at the upcoming parliamentary election. The campaigners held their first public meeting on the late afternoon of 6 March in Market square, Umtata.^{xxv} As would be their pattern, Gana Makabeni opened the meeting in isiXhosa and introduced Sidney Bunting, who spoke first, in English, followed by Rebecca. Makabeni would then translate their speeches into isiXhosa; as the majority of Africans did not speak English, Makabeni's skill as an interpreter and his knowledge of local conditions and issues that could be used to illustrate the Buntings' speeches were critical in spreading the Communist Party's message.^{xxvi}

There was already a precedent for English-language campaigning in the Transkei, assisted by translators. In addition to the liberal Cape politicians who periodically entered the Transkei to campaign for the African and Coloured vote, the Gold Coast educator James Aggrey had come to South Africa in 1921 on behalf of the American philanthropic Phelps-Stokes Commission, addressing enthusiastic crowds in the Transkei on the need for patience and hard work. Several years later, Marcus Garvey's 'Back to Africa' movement made its influence felt in the Transkei. Elias Wellington Buthelezi, born in Natal in 1895, had been greatly influenced by Garvey's United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) and by Ernest Wallace, a Caribbean who had come to Basutoland to organize UNIA branches and whose own speeches were imbued with notions of a millenarian black liberation. Wellington Buthelezi restyled himself as the African-American Dr Butler Hansford Wellington, claiming to represent both the UNIA and the African Methodist Episcopal Church. He toured the Transkei in 1926 and 1927, addressing crowds in English, which an interpreter translated into isiXhosa. Wellington preached an African-American-led liberation, with the emancipators arriving in air planes, punctuating his speeches with passages from the Bible, hymns and prayers. He was finally banished from the Transkei in March 1927 but not before drawing a large band of followers; at his trial in early 1927 there were reportedly over two thousand Africans present.^{xxvii}

Thus, while Bunting's presence as a white campaigner in Thembuland towns and villages was unusual, neither his use of English, translated into isiXhosa, nor his frequent censorious references to Dr Wellington's

hoped-for air-borne liberators were unfamiliar to his audiences. Nor indeed were his frequent Biblical references. For while Bunting was staunchly critical of missionary influence in Africa, considering men of religion to be ‘among the most reactionary of all’, he himself came from a fervently Nonconformist background. His great-grandfather Jabez Bunting had been the dominant figure in orthodox Wesleyan Methodism in the first half of the nineteenth century, and the Cape mission towns of Buntingville and Old Bunting bore his name.^{xxviii} Hence, despite his Communism, Bunting’s political discourse was steeped in the Nonconformist religious tradition. As Bunting addressed his first public meeting in Umtata, with routine recourse to his ‘somewhat lengthy notes’, Makabeni translated and Rebecca distributed flyers and papers.^{xxix} Although the speech was full of the concepts of capitalism and class struggle, it nonetheless drew a crowd of about fifty whites and ‘rather more than 50’ to up to 150 Africans.^{xxx}

With surprising frankness, Bunting told his listeners that he was ‘an Englishman born and bred’ who had ‘come out here more for the fun of the thing than anything else...but he was not proud of that page of his history’. His political involvement, he continued, dated from his membership in the South African Labour Party. After outlining his political development, he noted that ‘[h]e had the honour of having two places in that constituency bearing his family name, Buntingville and Old Bunting’ and that he had only ‘heard yesterday for the first time that his Great-grandfather came out here and founded Old Bunting’. Finally, he noted that ‘on his mother’s side the family had a little property in Natal’, but hastened to add that ‘he was not standing on those grounds’. Instead, he was appealing ‘to the Native and Non-European Voters more particularly, not because they [the Communist Party] were against the whites, but because they were in favour of equal rights’. The Communists were not alone on that issue, he observed: John X. Merriman, former leader of the South African Party, had also called for equal rights. But the Communist Party was distinctive in founding its struggle for justice, liberty and equality on a scientific analysis of capitalism.^{xxxi}

Bunting then explained that the capitalist system was premised on a minority controlling the means of production for their own advantage and to the disadvantage of the majority, who lacked such means of production. He argued that this laid the basis for colonialism – that ‘the white man originally colonised this country to make money out of it’.^{xxxii} In other words, ‘Whites came, not as Whites, but as the possessors of capital; surplus profits were accumulating in the home country, and they investigated somewhere where there was room for further dividends.’^{xxxiii} Bunting argued that the ‘native territories’ were ‘just a huge breeding and recruiting ground of cheap Native labour for Chamber of Mines’; in his view, the region was ‘the place where...there are more restrictions on freedom than any where else in the Union’. He also spoke about the burning issue of the day, the District Council or *Bhunga*, as it was called. White officials had told him that ‘the Natives are quite content as it is’ with the *Bhunga*, but it reminded him of the Russia’s pre-revolutionary *Duma*, which had been backed up by a mobile squadron. He concluded by reading a passage from his pamphlet *Imperialism in South Africa*, which, he informed the audience, was being sold for a shilling.^{xxxiv}

Bunting later wrote that ‘Amid a running fire of white shopkeepers’ jeers...the big Native audience heard us gladly – never had they heard such a gospel, least of all from a white man’.^{xxxv} The event caused quite a stir amongst the authorities. On 12 March the trio were charged with contravening section 29 (1) of Act 38 of 1927 – the Native Administration Act. The basis of this charge was that ‘the said accused, one and each or other or all of them, did wrongfully and unlawfully utter certain words, or did an act or thing whatever, with intent to promote feelings of hostility between Natives and Europeans’. The statements that the trio were alleged to have made included, amongst others, ‘that the Natives were driven off the land by the Europeans and that the Natives were compelled to live in Locations and that important Chiefs were also compelled to go to Locations’, that ‘the Europeans would take the trousers off the Natives and take his balls as well’, that ‘General Hertzog should be thrown into the sea’ and that ‘the white man had no right in these Territories’.^{xxxvi}

Interestingly, both black and white witnesses converged in their impressions that the campaign speeches inspired racial hostility. While the white witnesses may have been motivated by resentment against campaigners who sought to undermine the *status quo*, the black witnesses, as local government employees, may have felt particularly vulnerable to the threat of reprisal. John Wynne Ntshona, a council clerk in the Chief Magistrate’s office, felt ‘that the remarks made created hostility between the white and Native people’, while Philip Nomruca, an African detective constable, indicated, when questioned by Makabeni, that he had ‘heard the English version from No. 1 that General Hertzog should be thrown into the sea and these words were also interpreted by you...You said General Hertzog had to be thrown into the sea’ – allegations that Bunting and Makabeni denied.^{xxxvii} Jacques Ntobongwana, an employee of the Court Messenger who had passed the third class teachers’ examination, stated that he could not ‘say what impression No. 1’s remarks would have on an uneducated mind....a person of low intelligence might be upset by what was said’.^{xxxviii}

The white witnesses were, hardly surprisingly, more crudely insulting to the campaigners. Henry Hermann Klette, an auctioneer, felt that ‘the Natives....did not wish these other ideas put into their heads’, while Arthur Edwin Fowler, a sheep inspector and retired civil servant, stated that ‘[T]he people at the meeting were jovial’, but when questioned by Bunting added: ‘I did not notice any excitement. I told you you should have been in a lunatic asylum and I adhere to that....I can’t say exactly what words you used but I understood you to say there would be no equal rights’. Even more astonishingly, he added: ‘I did not pay any attention to large portions of your speech.’ Alfred William Strachan, a farmer and a colonel in the Defence Force, told the prosecutor: ‘The impression I had was that his remarks would cause great discontent among the Natives’ – to which Bunting objected.^{xxxix} In a similar vein, the Mayor, Robert Henry Prestwich, stated: ‘I don’t remember the exact words used about the local Bunga. The words used about the Bunga were likely to cause dissatisfaction among the Natives’ – again Bunting objected.^{xl} Makabeni later testified that he and their driver, Eddie Litshaba, had met Klette and Fowler on 5 March, the day before the meeting and that Klette had

told him in isiXhosa that ‘he was going to collect people to disturb the meeting and shoot Bunting if necessary’ and that Fowler had added: ‘We will give him a bad time’ – not surprisingly, Klette and Fowler denied this.^{xli}

The magistrate, W. J. Davidson, decided against the accused. If the statements made by Sidney Bunting and Gana Makabeni, together with the material distributed by Rebecca Bunting ‘find their way to the Native kraals within the Transkeian Territories and...are accepted by the Natives as a true and correct statement of their treatment by Europeans’, argued Davidson, ‘then not only will there be a feeling of hostility between Natives and Europeans but disturbances will be created too dreadful to contemplate’. Bunting was sentenced to £50 or six months hard labour, while the other two accused were fined £30 or three months hard labour.^{xlii} A notice of appeal was filed on 18 March; bail was granted at £50 each.^{xliii}

The Campaign Continues

Undaunted, the trio took advantage of the wait for the appeal to continue their campaign. On 23 and 25 March they spoke at Ngqeleni; the first day they addressed a crowd of about 100 blacks and two dozen whites. Bilingual flyers were distributed for meetings at Clarkebury on 28 March, Manzana location in Engcobo on 29 March, Engcobo on 30 March and Cala in Xhalanga District on 1 April, announcing: ‘*Intlanganiso yo Nyulo: Umnumzana S. P. Bunting Isiteti se Komonisi Partie uyakuteta naba Nyuli base Tembuland*’. [Election meeting: Mr. S. P. Bunting, speaker of the Communist Party will be addressing voters of Tembuland].^{xliiv}

But at Clarkebury their reception was decidedly cool. They met with an African minister who introduced them to the head of the local Wesleyan Mission Institution, Reverend Cecil Harris. Clarkebury had been founded in 1825 when King Ngubengcuka ceded land to Methodist missionaries to set up a mission station. By the time the Buntings arrived, Clarkebury was a thriving co-educational centre that included a teacher-training college, a secondary school, practical courses, sports fields and tennis courts. Nelson Mandela attended the school in the mid-1930s and used to work in Reverend Harris’s garden. Although Mandela had fond memories, he recalled Reverend Harris as a ‘severe’ man ‘with no levity’ and a reputation for running Clarkebury ‘with an iron hand’.^{xliiv} Bunting did not take to Harris. The Reverend invited the Buntings to tea, but Gana Makabeni and the African Minister had to wait outside. As soon as they left, Reverend Harris telephoned the Magistrate at Engcobo. ‘There’s your holy man of God!’, Bunting later exclaimed when recounting that episode.^{xlivi}

On 29 March, Good Friday, the trio held a meeting at Manzana location in Engcobo. They arrived late – the Magistrate’s office, Bunting claimed, had tried to prohibit the meeting. After seeking out the local headman, who was visiting the kraal of the sub-headman, Vacuza, Bunting proposed that they hold their meeting at

Vacuza's kraal, with his consent, and the driver went to collect people. Close to 50 people came, quickly followed by the police.^{xlvii} Makabeni began by reading the Communist Party programme in isiXhosa. Bunting then explained that the CPSA stood for 'the workers and the underdog'. He spoke about the political persecution that they had been subjected to during their campaign, explaining that their aim was not, as had been charged, to promote hostility between Africans and Europeans but to 'hold out a hand of friendship and a hope of freedom to the Natives'. 'That is why', he said, 'these whites here, who want always to be boss, and you to remain Jim Fish for ever, are furious with us. That is why the authorities...declare war on my election'.

But some blacks also claimed that 'the Natives are quite content as they are', Bunting continued. 'These are mere flunkeys, blacking the master's boots and aping his talks', he added dismissively. 'Their minds have been dulled and enslaved in the Mission schools...they have deserted the mass of their people' – an ironic statement given that Mission school graduates may well have figured amongst his potential voters. The Transkeian territories were reservoirs for cheap labour, he continued. 'That is why the Chamber [of Mines] grudges you a good harvest, that is why you have so little territory for so many people and cattle, and the grass is eaten down until it is like a gentleman's lawn'. Africans must use 'modern and scientific weapons... agitation, demonstration, organisation, education of the right sort, education in the capitalist system and the labour movement in particular', as well as their 'political weapons' – their votes or 'paper *assegais* [spears]'. A vote for him would be a great '*ikona*' to the present ruling class policy, and if elected, he would give at least half his parliamentary salary to the Communist Party.^{xlviii} The gathering ended on a good note, with the singing of the African national anthem, *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* [God Bless Africa].

Over the weekend they camped near Vacuza's kraal,^{xlix} and on Saturday afternoon, 30 March Bunting addressed an audience of about 75 or 100 at Engcobo. 'Thanks to the publicity given to me by our recent case in Umtata I need little introduction', he began. 'I doubt if any candidate for Parliament in any country calling itself democratic has ever toured his constituency under such extraordinary and insulting conditions and with such gross partiality against him on the part of the authorities'. Europeans – white people – may claim that Africans are too backward for the vote, Bunting continued. But 'a vote is the expression of a person's demands, and the most backward and ignorant and poor are just those who have the most urgent and fundamental demands and therefore need the vote most'. This was the meaning of democracy: 'no superior class can be trusted to express and espouse the demands of the masses, they must do it themselves...every man and woman of them'. A solicitor had told him that local whites resented the red flag on his van, he commented. That red flag was labour's flag, he explained, reciting two verses of *The Red Flag*. He was 'preaching a new gospel which the Europeans did not like', he told them, and 'they must stand together and make the hands of the clock go round the other way.' Africans would have to learn modern protest methods; they could no longer resort to arms as they had in the past. As to local demands, he was not against dipping *per se* but, he stated emphatically: 'No one has the right to say that you may have so many cattle and no more.

You have not a beast too many, you are entitled to as many as you like....the real point is that you have too little land and grazing, too much congestion, such that the grass is cropped like a mown lawn'.¹

Quite a number of the audience were receptive to Bunting's message. An African woman spoke enthusiastically when he finished. Nantiso Kula, a non-voting farmer from Manzana noted that he 'was pleased with [Bunting's] speech. We are under hardships. I complain of the dipping permits.' A white attorney named Mr Kilfoil also agreed with Bunting but did not see how one individual could influence parliament. But an official of the Native Recruiting Corporation testified, not surprisingly, that 'the natives bacame [sic] rather excited'.^{li}

They left Manzana on Sunday afternoon, arriving at Cala on Easter Monday, at about 11:00 am. Bunting and Makabeni distributed flyers for a meeting that afternoon, at the Agricultural Show Grounds. It was a relatively small meeting, with no more than 50 people. Bunting spoke for about forty-five minutes. Inadequate land and overcrowding had turned this area into a labour reserve for the Chamber of Mines, he told them, and political action was needed. 'You must organise in the I. C. U. or African Congress if honestly run', he urged, 'but if you have no existing organisation already, then best of all is the Communist Party....Organisation, unity, is your great weapon, and this election, the vote.'^{lii} When he finished, two African women from the audience made short speeches in isiXhosa.

The next day, 2 April, they went to Lady Frere; on 4 and 5 April, they spoke at the African location in Queenstown, just outside of the Transkeian territories, in the hopes of encountering some eligible voters. Some days later on the 7th, they went to Cofimvaba. There, too, they faced intimidation. They went into the local African church where they were followed by one of the detectives, 'whose entry of the church obviously embarrassed the parson and the people'; Bunting 'went out to relieve the situation', complaining of 'interference between myself and individual voters and of the conduct of other detectives intimidating people and taking from them paper which we had handed them.' One woman returned her paper to Gana Makabeni while others 'said that they did not understand what the Detectives wanted and they were not inclined to stay'.^{liii} Nonetheless, Sidney and Rebecca addressed an 'orderly' meeting, as reported by Detective Webber, attended by about 6 African men, 7 or 8 African women, a dozen coloured people and a few whites, with the 'Native parson' listening from a distance inside the church yard.^{liiv} Afterwards, followed by a local constable, they went on to Engcobo, distributing papers to people along the roadside.^{liv}

They were constantly tailed by the police. Makabeni wrote that when the campaigners stopped, 'they watch us and see what kind of food we eat and how we go to bed. When we camp for the night, they have to do likewise. If we divide up our party, they do the same, one following Bunting, another following me.' In Queenstown, Makabeni recounted, 'I went up and down the same street...so that the people could see what I

was doing, and the C. I. D. man kept following me without any shame until the shop boys laughed at him'.^{lvi}

On 10 April they returned to Umtata and addressed a crowd in Market Square. 'Since our last meeting here', began Bunting, 'we have toured around the western portion of this constituency and come back to find a report spread that we were dead'. This rumour had 'spread not only here but at Engcobo and Ngqeleni', Bunting went on. The Clerk of the Court had informed him that 'he had heard I was seriously ill with...haemorrhage of the lungs!' These were attempts to prejudice his candidature, he explained. On his return to Umtata he had visited the *Bhunga*, he told the crowd, finding it even 'more useless' and racist than he had imagined: 'On the floor the Natives sit round the outside of the horse-shoe, but the centre and directing positions are all occupied by white Magistrates and officials'. Even the gallery had a colour bar, and he and Gana Makabeni had not been allowed to sit together. Thus he had revised his views of the *Bhunga*: he could no longer compare it with the Russian Duma, which at least had some democratic aspects. The *Bhunga* had been used for propaganda both against Dr Wellington and him and his party.^{lvii}

As Bunting spoke, he made constant references to his notes, which he kept in a file under his arm. Despite the continual harassment to which they had been subjected, he said, 'the eagerness of the mass of the Native people to hear out message is overwhelming'.^{lviii} He deplored the effects of colonization: 'While science and invention forge ahead with seven-league boots, all they have done for the Africans is to give them stagnation, stunted development, poverty, deterioration, no water conservation or pumping in this land of big rainfall, no fuel, and a reproach of "too many cattle" not to mention appalling servility and corruption and spying on each other'. Bunting asked them to use their 'legal weapon' – the vote – to start to change this state of affairs.^{lix}

Rebecca then spoke: 'The hardship and poverty of the people is appalling', she said. 'Women have to carry water on their heads up the hills; women also carry firewood on their heads for miles. Children have to spend their young days looking after cattle....They ought to be at school'. She urged them to vote for Sidney Bunting and hoped 'that in 5 years to come Tembuland [sic] will be represented by a black man'.^{lx}

The next day they addressed an audience of about 75 or 100 at the outspan near the Umtata Show Grounds. Bunting spoke not only of the colour bar dividing the two agricultural shows, where 'a black man's ox or pig or potato or cabbage could not be shown alongside a white man's', but of the colour bar 'between the two agricultures'. There was no comparison between white and African farms, and one could not talk of cooperation in the face of such inequality, he said. 'You notice the contrast particularly as you thread your way, as we have been doing lately, in and out of the Native Territories', Bunting observed.^{lxi}

You cross some invisible boundary and find yourself in fenced country with plenty of grass still, with trees and plantations, pumps, dams and gardens, a broad expanse of land all

belonging to one owner whose comfortable home you see among a clump of trees. Then you cross again into Native Territories and there you see the little unfenced plots with no trees or pumps and the grass eaten down and the huts like pill boxes, a thousand in a valley of a size often considered not too big for one European farm, and each containing perhaps a dozen people.^{lxii}

The agricultural question, he argued, was first and foremost a question of the equal distribution of land. About seven eighths of the country's land was owned by the white minority, and only one eighth by the African majority. Bunting was indeed preaching a new gospel: 'Plunder is the order of the day', he charged. South Africa 'has become like the temple of which Christ said: "It is written, my house shall be a house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves"', and he made scourge of thongs and whipped all the money changers out. The same will have to be done here'.^{lxiii}

'In the past the pioneers of Empire were Missionaries', he continued. 'They used to say trade followed the flag, to-day it is rather the flag follows capital' – but whether American or British it would still be capitalism, with all its inequalities. His party, he told the audience, stood for equal rights, majority rule and a Black Republic. White bystanders were jeering: 'these problems are serious ones', he retorted, 'not a case for giggling like that noise I heard from behind – "heee, hee, hee"'; it must be one of the Agricultural Show animals!'.^{lxiv}

Rebecca followed. 'Mr Payn also said it would be a sad day for South African when the Native women stop working the land. But Mr Payn does not suggest that his party if it gets into power will be giving land to women to work on.' She counselled the audience that, 'if you vote for the Communist candidate you will be voting for an independent black S. African Republic with full rights for all minorities'.^{lxv} The authorities had had enough. Two days later, on 13 April, the trio were again arrested.

The Witnesses and the Defendants Speak

Legal proceedings took place over the ensuing weeks. Preparatory examinations began on 18 April under Assistant Magistrate J. W. Sleight, and the three Communists were committed for trial on 3 May.^{lxvi} Since the notion of intention to promote racial hostility was central to the charge of contravening the Native Administration Act, Bunting based his defence on the denial of such intent. As he told the court: 'I claim that our teaching alone, by a discrimination between the economic classes of society, cuts away the ground of mere racialism and makes it clear not all whites can be considered to be hostile to all blacks and that indeed the interests of the great majority of whites involve their taking up the cause of the Natives as a subject race'. Moreover, although he found the power of the authorities, the prejudice of the local whites and the co-

optation of the local chiefs to be 'more unblushing' than he had expected, he also insisted that most of their meetings in Thembuland 'were less violent than many others' that he had addressed in Johannesburg.^{lxvii}

The witnesses at this trial were more varied in their descriptions of his campaign than those at the previous trial. The greatest disparity amongst the African witnesses concerned the meeting at Vacuza's kraal. Most of these had relied on Makabeni's interpretations and his own speeches; their own statements to the court were interpreted from isiXhosa. Vacuza Tshila, the sub-headman and, in his words, the 'chief man in that locality', gave the harshest testimony against the trio, claiming that he 'told the people not to say anything to accd. as they would get into trouble together with the white man'. He had not understood what Bunting meant by the expression 'paper assegais'. Bunting said that he was 'asking for votes', he testified, but 'There were no voters present'. When questioned by Gana Makabeni at the proceedings, he replied: 'I was not willing to let you address the people at my kraal. I was ashamed of the white man. If it were you only I would have driven you away'. Although acknowledging that the meeting had been 'orderly and not excited', when re-examined he added that he had 'dispersed the meeting because I did not want the accd's party....I saw the accd's party being chased by the Police.' When questioned by the court he testified: 'I have never seen white strangers address people in our location . I thought it strange.'^{lxviii}

But other witnesses contradicted Vacuza. Ben Gxabagxaba and Zachariah Mantlaka testified that there had been voters present and that they had not heard any objections to the meeting nor any references to violence. 'I was pleased with the accused's speech', Gxabagxaba told the court. 'The natives were quite pleased with the speech and they were not excited. I am not saying that I am being oppressed by the whites but I do not get the same wages. I believed all Mr. Bunting told me.' When re-examined, he added: 'I complain of European treatment in that we do not get proper education and small wages. I was not hostile to the Europeans before the meeting and did not feel hostile after the meeting'. Mantlaka added that when the meeting ended after singing and cries of 'hip, hip, hooray', Vacuza and the others shook hands with the accused, and Vacuza told the party that they could stay in his kraal that night.^{lxix}

Other witnesses reported on the trio's speeches at Engcobo and Cala. A Sergeant Brink testified that he heard Bunting say that he was 'preaching a new gospel which the Europeans did not like, and that they must stand together and make the hands of the clock go round the other way.' James Bertram Clark, S. S. official of the Native Recruiting Corporation told the court that he heard Bunting say that 'the natives did not have too many cattle.... That the natives wanted more land. That the natives were entitled to as many cattle as they liked.... [that] what he preached was the truth'. Clark claimed that 'the natives bacame [sic] rather excited'.^{lxx} The black witnesses were more receptive to Bunting's message. Jacob Samuel Dungane, a registered voter who attended the Engcobo meeting with Vacuza, recalled Bunting's comment that 'the red flag on his car was for the oppressed people'. Nantiso Kula, a farmer from Manzana, testified: 'I was pleased with accused's speech.

We are under hardships. I complain of the dipping permits.^{lxxi}

Benjamin Tyamzashe, principal teacher at Higher Mission School in Cala, testified about the Cala meeting. He was a registered voter but did not see many others at the meeting. Tyamzashe gave a detailed account of Bunting's speech. Bunting, he recounted, said 'That we were told to keep just a few well bred cattle so that these would fall into the hands of the traders and that the natives would then be forced to leave their homes and go to the mines....That the blacks should have a share in the Government and that they should have a black republic. That the blacks should have blackmen in parliament.' Bunting had also lambasted the local missionaries as 'no better than the Governing bodies because when the black children went to their schools they came out no better than when they went in, that is they came out still servants and not good citizens'. Bunting told them 'That if they went to the Communist school they would be made better men and women and good citizens and that they would be able to do far more for the blacks and South Africa'. He had also urged the women that they "could do a lot in this" and that their "services [would] be required." Tyamzashe said he asked Bunting 'if there was a possibility of driving the white man out of the country', and that Bunting had replied that 'there was none at present but their bullying would be got rid of'.^{lxxii}

Richard Nkomo, a deputy messenger of the Cala Court and himself a registered voter recalled 'a fair number of registered voters' at the Cala meeting. He recalled Bunting's reference to the widespread 'hope that aeroplanes would come from America to release us'. But Bunting argued 'That the way we could fight now is by organisation and our vote' and told the audience that if he were elected, 'the Government was bound to listen to him as he represented the majority. That if we voted for him the whole country would shake.' It was not an easy speech to follow, Nkomo stated, and Gana Makabeni 'was at times eager to enlarge on what Accused No. 1 said' but overall 'gave a fair interpretation'.^{lxxiii}

At the Umtata meetings, the witnesses for which were all white, Cecil George William Muggleston, an attorney, and Walter Henry Cleverley Taylor, a major in the South African police force and Acting Deputy Commissioner for the Transkei Division, were both struck by Bunting's scathing remarks about the *Bhunga* and by Rebecca Bunting's call for a black republic.^{lxxiv} Yet they both reached opposite conclusions about the state of the crowd: Muggleston felt that the Africans 'were not excited', but Taylor thought that 'The Europeans at both meetings shouted out remarks in English and Xosa and the natives retaliated. There was a certain amount of excitement at the end of the meeting on the 10th'. Arthur Fowler recalled that Rebecca Bunting told the audience that on election day 'all you electors and even those who are not electors (at this stage Mr. Bunting intervened and told Mrs Bunting to say the women as well) demand your rights....The majority must rule you people are in the majority and that the Communist party was out to fight for a Black Republic.' The meeting was 'very disorderly' Fowler claimed; 'there was a great deal of excitement due to the remarks made by Accused No. 2'.^{lxxv}

Robert Mure, a Presbyterian minister at Ross mission, thirteen miles from Umtata, was scathing about Bunting's speech. Bunting 'spoke sneeringly' about the chief magistrate and the magistrate at Engcobo, he told the court. Bunting also spoke sarcastically about Reverend Harris as a 'man of God' and 'said that the missionaries were creatures of the ruling classes... and that we the missionaries were under the influence of the Chamber of mines.' The speech was 'bitter', Mure felt. Rebecca Bunting he described as 'more unguarded than her husband'. She spoke of 'white misrule' and said that 'this can only be put a stop to by a black South African Republic'. The speeches that day were well attended, with 'a fair crowd of natives and a good few Europeans', Mure said. 'I have never heard speeches like that before', he concluded. 'I noticed excitement amongst the people. I heard some of the natives making remarks of agreement with what the Accused had said.' Detective Sergeant Johannes Christoffel Naude was also upset. Struck by Bunting's claim that Europeans were turning the Transkei into a den of thieves and Rebecca Bunting's call that 'all the men and women and children should go to the voting places and demand the vote', two days later, Naude told the court, he arrested the trio.^{lxxvi}

They again lost their case, but once more Bunting immediately launched an appeal, and the trio continued their campaign, even publishing a four-page political advertisement.^{lxxvii} On 31 May they held two meetings, one at the store of a Mr Vogt at Macubeni location, where they addressed a group of about fifteen Africans and two whites, and one at the kraal of headman Luke Tate at Mount Arthur, attended by about thirty-one Africans and three whites. A few days later, on 3 June they spoke at Bengu location. It is clear that they took advantage of every opportunity to continue their campaign. They were recommitted for trial on 3 July.

But the Solicitor-General, E. W. Baxter, decided not to prosecute the case. On 19 July the Eastern Districts Court had allowed Bunting's appeal and set aside their previous conviction and sentence. The Court's conclusion vindicated Bunting's decision to focus on the issue of intent, noting that there was 'little doubt that great mischief will be done to the Natives in the Territories by the circulation of Communistic speeches and pamphlets', but not seeing how such danger could be avoided 'by a prosecution under an Act, which...was not meant to apply to persons in good faith advocating the doctrines of the political party, to which they happen to belong, unless the doctrine, or the words used in advocating them or the circumstances under which they were uttered and published must necessarily have the effect of promoting hostility between Natives and Europeans.'^{lxxviii}

In these circumstances, the Solicitor-General thought that it would be 'extremely doubtful whether a conviction could be expected upon the main charges' and that the evidence for the other charges was 'not altogether satisfactory'.^{lxxix} The Secretary for Native Affairs, too, thought that 'the scrappy nature of the evidence' prevented 'any further action'.^{lxxx} That September the Chief Magistrate of Umtata wrote to the

Secretary of Native Affairs that the Solicitor-General's decision not to prosecute meant 'that Mr. Bunting and others would appear to be free to disseminate their doctrines and carry on their propaganda with impunity.' The Communist Party was a tiny organization in 1929, even though its membership had been growing. But against the backdrop of militant ANC activity in the Western Cape and the successes of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, state officials feared the spread of Communist ideas. 'The position here is becoming acute', continued the Chief Magistrate. 'There is no doubt Communism is spreading amongst the natives in these Territories and immediate steps should be taken to deal with Mr. Bunting'. In light of the Minister of Justice's proposed legislation regarding the expulsion of 'undesirables' from particular areas of the country, the Chief Magistrate recommended that action be taken against Bunting 'under the provisions of the Transkeian Territories, Tembuland and Pondoland Laws Act (No. 29/1897) on lines similar to those taken against "Dr. Wellington" (Proclamation No. 100/1927) who is by no means as dangerous as Mr. Bunting.'^{lxxxi}

With few exceptions, local whites were invariably hostile to the trio, reserving their full wrath for Sidney Bunting. But the African response, based on the reports of witnesses, was mixed, reflecting variation across ethnicity, class, occupational and educational lines, as well as their attitudes towards the authorities. There is no doubt that Bunting was moralistic and judgmental, yet his missionary style in itself would not necessarily have alienated the abaThembu. After all, they had long experience of missionaries, who, for all their ambiguities, were seen as promoting African education. And Bunting certainly did not speak down to his audiences; if anything, he was overly intellectual. Perhaps the styles of all three speakers – Sidney Bunting's earnest moralism, Rebecca Bunting's emotional appeals, and Gana Makabeni's embellishments – complemented each other. The trio's descriptions of the local terrain and the jarring inequality of black and white landscapes, their calls for democratic rights and for a black republic struck a chord amongst a significant minority of Thembuland's voters, while the intimidation to which they were subjected inspired sympathy. Curiosity also attracted some people, and the trio became quite a local event. Some even followed this singular, earnest and persistent man and his two comrades to other towns to hear them speak. In early July, in a breathing space between court appearances, the trio founded an organization called the League of Native Rights at Manzana, where they had garnered some support. While the Buntings returned to Johannesburg, Makabeni spent several more months in the Transkei, organizing for the League. Its aims, like those expressed in Bunting's electoral programme, were based on classic democratic demands, but in 1929, the Communist Party was virtually alone in making them.

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- i. Edward Roux, *Time Longer than Rope: the Black Man's Struggle for Freedom in South Africa*, [1948], 2nd ed., Madison and London: University of Wisconsin, 1964, pp. 217, 227-9; Mariam Basner, *Am I an African?: the Political Memoirs of H. M. Basner*, Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1993, pp. 30, 32, 48. Basner was a young articled clerk at this time.
- ii. Edward Roux, *S. P. Bunting: A Political Biography* [1944], Bellville: Mayibuye, 1993, pp. 131-40; Roux, *Time Longer than Rope*, pp. 217-27. An important exception is Sheridan Johns, *Raising the Red Flag: the International Socialist League and the Communist Party of South Africa, 1914-1932*, Bellville: Mayibuye, 1995, pp. 236-41.
- iii. Anderson Khumani Ganyile, *Notes on the Pondo Struggle against the Bantu Authorities: The Back-ground to Resistance*, typed ms., 39 pp., Ruth First Collection, RF/1/15/1/11, p. 34, Institution of Commonwealth Studies, University of London. On Ganyile see Govan Mbeki, *South Africa: the Peasants' Revolt*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1964, p. 123. See also Eddie Roux and Win Roux, *Rebel Pity: The Life of Eddie Roux* (London: Rex Collings, 1970), p. 101 and Alex La Guma, *Jimmy La Guma: A Biography*, ed. by Mohamed Adhikari (Cape Town: Friends of the South African Library, 1997), p. 63.
- iv. Helen Bradford, *A Taste of Freedom: the ICU in Rural South Africa, 1924-1930*, Johannesburg: Ravan, 1987, p. 241.
- v. For example, the writings of Elliot Tonjeni in *Umsebenzi*, 12 and 19 September 1930; Lungisile Ntsebeza, 'Structures and struggles of rural local government in South Africa: the case of traditional authorities in the Eastern Cape', PhD, Rhodes University, 2002, pp. 57-8.
- vi. Ntsebeza, 'Structures and struggles', p. 143; Roux, *Time Longer than Rope*, p. 53.
- vii. Rodney Davenport and Christopher Saunders, *South Africa: A Modern History*, 5th ed., Basingstoke and London: Macmillan and New York: St Martin's, 2000, 306-12; Roux, *Time Longer than Rope*, 217; Johns, *Raising the Red Flag*, 235, 237; Johns notes that originally Wilfred Harrison had planned to contest the Cape Flats seat; Ntsebeza, 'Structures and struggles', p. 51.
- viii. 'Programme of the Communist Party of South Africa adopted at the seventh annual conference of the Party on January 1, 1929', Brian Bunting, ed., *South African Communists Speak: Documents from the History of the South African Communist Party, 1915-1980*, London: Inkululeko, 1981, pp. 100-106, 104.
- ix. E. R. Roux to Douglas [Wolton], 22 November 1928; Election manifesto of the Communist Party (draft by E. R. Roux), typescript, 3 pp., n.d., both in Roux Papers, A2667, B1, Historical Papers Library, University of the Witwatersrand.
- x. Election manifesto of the Communist Party (draft by E. R. Roux), pp., 1, 2, 2-3.

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- xi. Roux's date of 8 March in *S. P. Bunting*, p. 135, is wrong according to the trial transcripts. See *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, p. 84, BAD [Department of Native Affairs], v. 6647, 67/331, State Archives, Pretoria. This file contains a number of documents relating to the trial of Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others, but these are not in order and are not always clearly identified. All legal documents cited are from this file. To identify documents, I have used the name at the top of each document, which sometimes use different abbreviations for the same case.
- xii. Roux gives the name as Eddie Litshaba in *Time Longer than Rope*, p. 218 and *S. P. Bunting*, p. 135, while in the legal documents he is cited as Eddie Lutshaba.
- xiii. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, p. 84.
- xiv. Roux, *Time Longer than Rope*, p. 218.
- xv. Ntsebeza, 'Structures and struggles', pp. 122, 128-30.
- xvi. Ntsebeza, 'Structures and struggles', pp. 138-9, 142.
- xvii. Ntsebeza, 'Structures and struggles', pp. 143, 151, 156, 177-8.
- xviii. *Official Yearbook of the Union of South Africa and of Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate, and Swaziland*, no. 12, 1929-1930, Pretoria, 1931, p. 947.
- xix. Roux, *Time Longer than Rope*, p. 26; Anthony Sampson, *Mandela: the Authorised Biography*, London: HarperCollins, 2000, pp. 15-20; Davenport and Saunders, *South Africa: A Modern History*, pp. 186-8.
- xx. Ruth First, Preface, p. 12, in Mbeki, *South Africa: the Peasants' Revolt*.
- xxi. Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom: the Autobiography of Nelson Mandela*, London: Little, Brown, 1994, pp. 4, 15.
- xxii. Ntsebeza, 'Structures and struggles', pp. 131, 133-4.
- xxiii. *Official Yearbook*, p. 956-7, quote 955.
- xxiv. Translated from isiXhosa in Sampson, *Mandela*, p. 21. In *Long Walk to Freedom*, pp. 46-50, Nelson Mandela describes Mqhayi's electrifying impact when he visited the Wesleyan college of Healdtown at Fort Beaufort in the late 1930s and spoke of the cultural clashes of Africa and Europe.
- xxv. Roux, *Time Longer than Rope*, pp. 136-7.
- xxvi. The official court records are in English, but the importance of Makabeni's role is obliquely indicated in the trial transcripts.
- xxvii. Robert Edgar, 'Garveyism in Africa: Dr. Wellington and the American Movement in the Transkei', *Ufahamu*, 6, 3, 1976, pp. 31-57, esp. 32-40, 47; Robert A. Hill and Gregory A. Pirio, 'Africa for the Africans', in Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido, eds., *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa*, London and New York: Longman, 1987, pp. 209-

53, esp. 238-42.

xxviii. Roux, *Time Longer than Rope*, p. 218; E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968, p. 387.

xxix. *Rex v. S. Bunting and two others – Native Administration Act*, typescript, 24 pp., p. 18, BAD [Department of Native Affairs], v. 6647, 67/331.

xxx. *Rex v. Bunting and two others*, typescript, 29 pp., 1.

xxxi. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and 2 others – Native Administration Act: (C) Report of Mr Bunting at meeting held by him at Umtata on 6th March 1929*, typescript, pp. 27-8.

xxxii. *Rex v. S. Bunting and two others – Native Administration Act*, p. 16.

xxxiii. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and 2 others – Native Administration Act: (C) Report of Mr Bunting at meeting held by him at Umtata on 6th March 1929*, p. 30.

xxxiv. *Rex v. S. Bunting and two others – Native Administration Act*, pp. 17-18. Later, having visited the *Bhunga*, Bunting revised this view. The Duma was ‘a partly democratic body’, with some elected representatives and some power, whereas the *Bhunga* councillors were ‘simply tools’ he recounted at his second meeting in Umtata on 10 April, see *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others: Annexure H5, Umtata*, p. 63.

xxxv. Roux, *Time Longer than Rope*, p. 219.

xxxvi. *Rex v. Bunting and two others*, typescript, 29 pp., pp. 3-4.

xxxvii. *Rex versus S. Bunting and two others – Native Administration Act*, 24 pp. typescript, BAD, 6647, 67/331, part I, pp. 2,3, 5.

xxxviii. *Rex versus S. Bunting and two others – Native Administration Act*, p. 12.

xxxix. *Rex versus S. Bunting and two others – Native Administration Act*, pp. 8-9.

xl. *Rex versus S. Bunting and two others – Native Administration Act*, p. 13.

xli. *Rex versus S. Bunting and two others – Native Administration Act*, pp. 12, 13, 23.

xlii. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and 2 others – Native Administration Act: Reasons for Judgment*, typescript, 45-6; *Rex versus S. Bunting and two others – Native Administration Act*, 23-4; Roux, *Time Longer than Rope*, p. 219.

xliii. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and 2 others – Native Administration Act: Notice of Appeal*, 18 March 1929.

xliv. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, Exhibits D1, D2, D3. My thanks to Lungisile Ntsebeza for translating this from isiXhosa.

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- xliv. Sampson, *Mandela*, pp. 16-17.
- xlvi. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, Annexure H5, Umtata, pp. 64-5.
- xlvii. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, p. 57.
- xlviii. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, Annexure H2: Manzana, pp. 47-9, 51-2.
- xlix. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, p. 57.
- l. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, pp. 38, 42, 10, 44, 45.
- li. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, pp. 49, 48, 10.
- lii. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, Annexure H3: Cala, pp. 53-8, 57.
- liii. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, p. 60.
- liv. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, Annexure G3, pp. 36-8, 39 and Annexure H4, 59-62.
- lv. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, p. 41.
- lvi. Roux, *Time Longer than Rope*, p. 220.
- lvii. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, pp. 62-3.
- lviii. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, pp. 65, 62.
- lix. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, pp. 66-7.
- lx. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, pp. 30-32.
- lxi. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, pp. 62, 68.
- lxii. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, Annexure H6: Show Ground, pp. 68-72, 68.
- lxiii. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, p. 69.
- lxiv. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, pp. 69, 70, 62.
- lxv. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, pp. 35-6.
- lxvi. Preparatory Examination Covering Sheet and W. J. Davidson, Magistrate, Umtata to Chief Magistrate, Umtata, 31 August 1929, both in BAD, Department of Native Affairs, 67/331, part I, v. 6647.
- lxvii. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, pp. 61-2; Roux, *Time Longer than Rope*, p. 218.
- lxviii. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, pp. 11, 12, 13, 12.

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- lxi. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, pp. 46, 47, 44.
- lxx. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, pp. 9-10.
- lxxi. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, pp. 47, 49.
- lxxii. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, pp. 15-17.
- lxxiii. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, p. 21.
- lxxiv. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, p. 24.
- lxxv. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, pp. 25, 30, 27.
- lxxvi. *Rex versus S. P. Bunting and two others*, pp. 32-3, 35.
- lxxvii. *Mr. S. P. Bunting's Election Address*, Communist Party: Umtata, 15 May 1929.
- lxxviii. *Rex v. Bunting and two others*, typescript, 29 pp.
- lxxix. W. J. Davidson, Magistrate, Umtata to the Chief Magistrate, Umtata, 31 August 1929; E. W. Baxter, Solicitor-General, Grahamstown, to Secretary for Native Affairs, Cape Town, 31 July 1929.
- lxxx. Secretary for Native Affairs, Cape Town, to Solicitor-General, Grahamstown, 12 August 1929.
- lxxx. Chief Magistrate of the Transkeian Territories to Secretary for Native Affairs, 3 September 1929, BAD, Department of Native Affairs, v. 6647, 67/331, part II.