

# F.Z.S. Peregrino (1851 - 1919): An Early Pan-Africanist

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## Summary

The career of F.Z.S. Peregrino provides an example of the pan-Africanism that developed within the African Diaspora of the later nineteenth century. It came to fruition in the 1900 Pan-African Conference, but almost lapsed thereafter.

He was born in 1851 at Accra, and went to England in his adolescence. He became an ironworker in the industrial North and Midlands. In about 1900 he emigrated to Pittsburgh, and subsequently lived in New York State. Peregrino crossed the Atlantic again for the 1900 Pan-African Conference. This Conference inspired him to go to South Africa as an agent of pan-African ideas. Based in Cape Town, he immediately began publication of the *South African Spectator* in 1900. He provided support and hospitality for visiting Afro-Americans and African dignitaries, but by 1903 had publicly disassociated himself from 'seditious' Ethiopianism. Thereafter he became closely identified with the limited Coloured electorate in Cape politics. He also developed a policy of friendship with and assistance for African rulers of the Interior. Meanwhile Peregrino continued as South African correspondent of institutions of a pan-Africanist type overseas.

Peregrino's espousal of 'middle class' values, and of the principle of gradualist African

participation within the framework of European colonial rule, became sharper in his latter years. He died in Cape Town during 1919, the year of the first Pan-African Congress in Paris.

## F.Z.S. Peregrino (1851 - 1919): An Early Pan-Africanist<sup>1</sup>

There has been much academic concentration on Pan-Africanism of the type associated with the 1919 and subsequent Pan-African Congresses. There has been less study of the 'pan-Africanism' of the first and only Pan-African Conference, held in London during July 1900.<sup>2</sup> Many of the circumstances and personalities surrounding it remain obscure. The proceedings of the 1900 Conference were briefly reported in the Press. Its Chairman, Bishop Walters, wrote an autobiography;<sup>3</sup> famous delegates included Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois. But even the convener, Henry Sylvester Williams, awaits biographical study — as do other delegates, especially those of African rather than New World birth. This paper sketches out some details of the life of a delegate to that 1900 Pan-African Conference, F.Z.S. Peregrino, born in West Africa and dying in South Africa with many years in Europe and America in between.

Francis Zaccheus Santiago Peregrino was born in 1851 at Accra.<sup>4</sup> The origins of his

names are a mystery.<sup>5</sup> He came from a Ga family. He claimed that his father was a tobacco manufacturer and that his grandfather had been a fine Arabic scholar who also spoke good English. He said that an uncle of his had been for fifty years one of first Christian ministers of the Gold Coast, and added: "I am supposed to be an Episcopalian".<sup>6</sup>

At about the age of fifteen, F.Z.S. Peregrino left the Gold Coast for England, where he was to stay for twenty-three years. An outline of his residence in England is traceable through marriage and birth registrations. We first find Peregrino in the industrial Midlands. At the age of 26, on 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1876, he married Ellen Sophia Williams, at Tipton Parish Church in Staffordshire. She was the 22-year old daughter of a local miner, and was not literate. On November 29<sup>th</sup> she gave birth to their first child, Francis Joseph Peregrino, while they were living in the poor Ladywood area of nearby Birmingham. In the birth registration F.Z.S. Peregrino was described as a warehouse clerk; this implies that he had received a rudimentary clerical education since his arrival in England. In the marriage registration, however, Peregrino was given as an ironworker. It must have been the latter profession that took him to Derby, where Isabella Helen was born in 1878, and then to Gateshead near Newcastle where Louis George H. Peregrino was born in 1881. By 1886, F.Z.S. Peregrino had risen to the skilled position of iron-roller at Bolton in Lancashire, where his daughter Ruth Sophia was born on the 24<sup>th</sup> January in that year.<sup>7</sup>

Around 1889, his thirty-ninth year, F.Z.S. Peregrino arrived in the United States of America. He remained there eleven years. His skill as an iron-roller in smelting would account for his emigration to the heavy industrial area of Pittsburgh in Pennsylvania — no doubt via a migrant ship from Liverpool

which was near Bolton. For some reason he subsequently moved to New York State. The only known incident of his life in that State is that he once visited Amerindian reservations near Black Rock, but from knowledge of his later career certain conjectures can be made about Peregrino's American experience ... Firstly that he realized an identity with pan-Negro or pan-African ideals, which were burgeoning especially after the 1895 International Exposition at Atlanta.<sup>8</sup> This identification may have begun in Pennsylvania, where Peregrino noted there were 'a great many negroes'.<sup>9</sup> Secondly, that he gave up industrial employment when he moved out of Pennsylvania, and engaged himself in journalism of some form in New York State — possibly in the Negro press, maybe in editing as well. Thirdly, that he was quite a prosperous man by 1900 — enough to undertake two long sea journeys, obtain a new home, and set up a publication entirely from his own finances. Fourthly, that Peregrino's experience in America was such that he could reconcile himself to *not* returning there in 1900. Peregrino set sail from America in 1900 with the specific purpose of attending a 'Pan-African Conference' that was to take place in London.<sup>10</sup>

The 1900 Pan-African Conference was held at Westminster Town Hall, London, between 23<sup>rd</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> July. The Conference had been convened by Henry Sylvester Williams, a lawyer born in Trinidad and educated at Dalhousie University in Canada, who was practising in London and travelled widely in Great Britain and Ireland making contacts with black students.<sup>11</sup> The Pan-African Conference was timed to coincide with the 1900 Paris Exposition, which drew American Negro exhibitors across the Atlantic.<sup>12</sup> It also occurred at a time of fervent British public interest in Africa over the events of the Anglo-Boer War.<sup>13</sup>



Speeches made at the Pan-African Conference generally reflected an informed Afro-American reaction to European Imperialism. Strong attack was made on 'the desire of the English capitalists to re-enslave the black man, especially in South Africa.'<sup>14</sup> Speakers were not content to go no further than raise British jingoistic support by deploring Boer atrocities against the 'Natives' of South Africa. A delegate from Dominica singled out the degradation of African labour by exploitative British combines in Rhodesia and Natal, and also decried racial discrimination in British Africa as a whole.<sup>15</sup> Sylvester Williams condemned the compound-system of labour management which had been developed in the Kimberley diamond-fields.<sup>16</sup> These sparks of militancy and awareness of labour-capital relations in the 1900 Conference were encouraged by the Chairman, Bishop Walters of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, as a newspaper report shows:

*The Chairman said that some people might think the statements of the last speaker very severe, but they must remember that [this] Conference meant agitation, and why not? All through the ages anything accomplished by the people had been brought about the agitation. The Negroes had at last awoke, and they had to speak out.*

Walters' remark from the Chair was followed by the eulogy of a West Indian student at Edinburgh University, called Meyers, for Negro progress in Universities and Colleges. The next speaker was W.E.B. Du Bois, then a professor at Atlanta University, who was reported as reminding the delegates that the Conference was being held "at a most crucial time in the world's history. They were coming rapidly to the question as to what was to be the relation of the white races and the underdeveloped coloured races".<sup>17</sup>

The 1900 Pan-African Conference, by its concern for African brethren in South Africa, seems to have moved the conscience and imagination of F.Z.S. Peregrino. And when the Pan-African Association was formed as a result of the Conference, he would have seen that only one resident officer could be appointed for the Southern African field — Natal.<sup>18</sup> There were unfilled posts for Cape Town, Rhodesia, Orange River Colony and the Transvaal. A postscript to the Conference's *communiqué* added on these vacancies: "the General Secretary will be glad to know of persons who are willing to fill the position(s)".<sup>19</sup> It seems that it was in order to fill the Cape Town vacancy that F.Z.S. Peregrino sailed so soon to South Africa. In response to questioning by white officials three years later, Peregrino said: "I did not leave America with a view to coming to South Africa at all. I went to London to attend the South African Pan Congress (sic), and spent four months in London altogether, then I made up my mind to come here."<sup>20</sup>

Even after Peregrino had sailed, Southern Africa continued to exercise the conscience of the General-Secretary of the short-lived Pan-African Association, Sylvester Williams. He also subsequently went to South Africa to continue his legal career and political practice — and maybe to fill the Orange River Colony and Transvaal vacancies?<sup>21</sup>

F.Z.S. Peregrino arrived in Cape Town on about November 15<sup>th</sup> in the first year of the twentieth century. He at once set to work to produce a periodical expressing a pan-Africanist outlook. On December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1900, the first number of the *South African Spectator* appeared — edited, published and entirely financed by Peregrino. Producing this journal once a month, he made his home in Cape Town.<sup>22</sup> Already by March and April 1901 the *South African Spectator* was tackling



with some gusto the racialism of the emergent white trades-unionism at the Cape. Responding to a boycott of non-white labour by an 'English' [white English-speaking] plasterers' union, Peregrino advocated the formation of opposing trade unions — to combine Coloureds, Malays, Blacks and even Afrikaners, against the European ones.<sup>23</sup>

Peregrino became host to visiting black Americans, such as missionaries of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and the sea captain Harry Dean.<sup>24</sup> Such men were helping to infuse a pan-African political outlook into the contemporary, largely ecclesiastical, 'Ethiopian Movement' of South Africa. Dean arranged for "my old friend F.Z.S. Peregrino" to be the Cape Town host of the A.M.E. Bishop Levi Coppin who was arriving from the U.S.A.<sup>25</sup> In August 1901 a group of African kings and chiefs, gathered from all over Southern Africa at Cape Town to greet Prince Edward, heir to the English throne, were given a reception by the A.M.E. — Coppin, Peregrino and Dean all being present to lead the singing of "Ethiopia, stretch forth their hands".<sup>26</sup>

Peregrino's *South African Spectator* was at first very vocal in its defence of the A.M.E. against the intolerant slights of the white colonial Press. Through his prestige as an editor, Peregrino in a short time established a niche in the multi-racial Cape society — as an intermediary between members of the non-white élite and Imperial British officials at Cape Town.<sup>27</sup> For example, it was his representations that enabled African delegates from the Transvaal for the December 1901 A.M.E. Conference at Cape Town, to evade official quarantine regulations that had barred their way south.<sup>28</sup>

But Peregrino lost sympathy with the cause of Ethiopianism and the A.M.E. Church in 1903.

Though he had praised Bishop Coppin in print so highly in 1902,<sup>29</sup> he broke with Coppin over the question of 'loyalty' to the British rulers of South Africa. Peregrino said that Coppin should have roundly disciplined three African ministers for their anti-colonialist talk. By October 1903, F.Z.S. Peregrino was giving evidence to a government commission, appointed to enquire into the 'Native Question', against the A.M.E. for lax supervision of "reckless and foolish" junior ministers.<sup>30</sup>

Peregrino's evidence before the 1903-5 South African Native Affairs Commission is interesting in that it expresses his views at a seminal stage in his career. One could say he was ceasing to be American and becoming South African in his approach to pan-African problems; becoming a middle-aged Cape Liberal, comfortable in circumstances, accommodationist and anti-revolutionary in attitude. Though one must remember that he may have been intimidated into this stance by the all-white, official nature of the Commissioners. They treated him primarily as an American Pan-African expert, asking him about the A.M.E. and about black American colonization schemes for South Africa.<sup>31</sup> But Peregrino was anxious to stress his commitment to "the interests generally to the black people, and also of the coloured people". He also proclaimed his loyalty to the colonial Caesar, to the gradualist principle in African political and social advancement. He disassociated himself from "advice to the Natives — in particular the raw Natives — which is not altogether right ... that this is their country, and that they have a perfect right to this country".<sup>32</sup>

African education, Peregrino the self-made man told the Commission, must be "Industrial; teaching the natives to work." In saying so, Peregrino conformed to current



educational theory for the lower classes in the British Empire and America. But the idea of "industrial education" in South Africa could as well go along with white settler methods for inducing and maintaining a pool of semi-skilled African labour. So Peregrino added a most significant rider to his contention, which took Liberal educational theory to its logical extension — "that by raising the standard of the living of the natives themselves you will at once find a market for their skill ... Let every man be *self-sustaining*, that is the process of education."<sup>33</sup>

On the question of laws restricting liquor from Africans, Peregrino took an empiricist line. Whereas, he said, only three years before he had been opposed to all such 'class legislation' on principle, he had now been convinced by his observations of the contemporary scene that, for the present, liquor laws had to be different for black and white communities.<sup>34</sup>

As for African political prospects, Peregrino expressed a firm faith in the gradual extension of the Cape Franchise with the growth of an educated and civilized élite. "I have never believed in the indiscriminate enfranchisement of ignorant and savage people." He cited Reconstruction U.S. Negro enfranchisement for his example. But, mindful that his words were being recorded for posterity, Peregrino eagerly added: "The evidence that I am giving here is from a strong sense of duty, and I do not wish it to go on record that I am merely against the people of my own race." He proudly told the Commissioners of his Gold Coast origins.<sup>35</sup>

It should be remembered that F.Z.S. Peregrino's first three years in South Africa had been years of political flux. There was no clear-cut pan-Africanist approach. The various strands of African nationalist activity

were no more united than the British and Afrikaner nationalisms that were in open war over their conceptions of 'South Africa'. There was a complex web of antagonisms and alliances of surviving tribal particularisms. There were a few cultural-political parties among the non-white intelligentsia, but of limited effectiveness.<sup>36</sup> There was the amorphous 'Ethiopian Movement', effective in propaganda but not in organization, which was the nearest phenomenon to a general sub-continental nationalism in linking old particularist African aristocracies and new bourgeoisie. It was even equated with Pan-Africanism by one white observer in 1905.<sup>37</sup> But from 1904 especially, the 'Ethiopian Movement' was weakened by dilution of leadership and the decline of the unifying A.M.E. Church.<sup>38</sup>

1904 saw the implementation of Peregrino's faith in Cape Liberalism rather than Ethiopianism as the means for African political advancement. He formed The Coloured People's Vigilance Committee, of which he was the General-Secretary. This body supported the Progressive Party in the 1904 Cape elections<sup>39</sup> — it was therefore possibly an association of Coloured (Eurafrican) electors in Cape Town who held the limited but 'liberal' parliamentary franchise of the Cape Colony. In the 1908 Cape election Peregrino supported the South African Party, because it was being led by a most prominent Cape Liberal, John X. Merriman.<sup>40</sup> In this he was at variance with another non-white political association, also based on Cape Coloured support but then more outward-looking — the African Political (later People's) Organization, which supported the Progressives in 1908.<sup>41</sup>

While the A.P.O. was making (unsuccessful) contacts with other political associations of the new African élite, particularly in the



Eastern Cape,<sup>42</sup> F.Z.S. Peregrino made contact with the old African élite of the Interior. In 1908 Peregrino appeared one-and-a-half thousand miles north in Barotseland (Bulozi in south-western Zambia), in most interesting circumstances that indicate the survival or revival of his pan-continental ideals of African advancement. Modernizing nobles of the Lozi under King Lewanika in Barotseland had imported the A.M.E. as a state-institution in 1903. But this primarily educational venture to strengthen the state against colonial rule had failed by 1905 due to scandalous A.M.E. financial failure at Cape Town.<sup>43</sup> Peregrino stepped into the breach which the failure of Ethiopianism had left. "I am a black man", he introduced himself, "and have acted for years between the black man and the Government in Cape Colony with much success."<sup>44</sup>

Peregrino's stay started "an era of petitions" important in Barotseland's political history. He was most influential, at least in style if not in content, in drawing up a petition from the Lozi to the Colonial Office dated 20<sup>th</sup> August 1906. The petition objected to the colonial administration of Barotseland by a Chartered Company, the British South Africa Company, which was also the government of Southern Rhodesia. A recent historian of the Lozi nobility has called this document "the Peregrino petition"<sup>45</sup>. Peregrino was also largely instrumental in persuading the council of Lewanika's *kuta* (court) to accept a "Proclamation of the Abolition of Slavery" for the Barotseland subject-peoples in July 1906.<sup>46</sup> Peregrino returned home to the Cape at the end of the year.<sup>47</sup> Cape Town was the South African headquarters of the British South Africa Company; it was also the residence of the High Commissioner who was the paramount colonial authority for British South Africa including Barotseland. Together these agencies effectively neutralized the legal rights of representation that Peregrino claimed

on Lewanika's behalf.<sup>48</sup>

Probably as a result of a second advisory tour to Barotseland that Peregrino made in 1910,<sup>49</sup> King Lewanika became Honorary President of the Negro Society for Historical Research. This pan-Negro and pan-African cultural body was founded in April 1911 by J.E. Bruce, the journalist of Yonkers in New York, and later prominent Garveyite.<sup>50</sup> Its membership included two sons of Lewanika as well as important names in pan-Africanism — Blyden, Casely Hayford, Agbebi, Du Bois and Duse Mohammed Ali. F.Z.S. Peregrino was a member; so was Thomas I. Peregrino of Cape Town.<sup>51</sup>

F.Z.S. Peregrino was led, by reasons unclear, to make connection with African rulers other than Lewanika who had survived European Imperialism with some power. In August 1911, Peregrino wrote to the great Christian King Khama III of the Bamangwato in the Bechuanaland Protectorate (Botswana). Khama had been Lewanika's mentor at the time of the Scramble, and occasional correspondence had continued between the two men. But when Peregrino wrote to him from nearby Francistown, a centre on the railway from the Cape to Barotseland, Khama replied:

Dear Sir,  
I am in receipt of yours of the 5<sup>th</sup> inst.  
I note you wish to come and see me  
someday but I am sorry I cannot  
allow you to do so.

Yours truly

*Signed* Khama (per G.K.S)<sup>52</sup>

Khama had been forewarned of Peregrino by a brother Tswana Chief, Lekoko Montshiwa of Mafikeng over the border in South Africa,

who had written to him for advice after Peregrino had made an approach.<sup>53</sup> Why had Peregrino visited Mafikeng? Did he meet Lekoko's sophisticated relations, the Molema family (into which Sol Plaatje married), who were prominent in the movement towards a Native National Congress of South Africa?

The question of Peregrino's relation with the Native National Congress (later A.N.C.), which was in the process of formation from regional Congresses in 1911, must remain open till more research on the early movement is produced. But provisionally we may take it that F.S.Z. Peregrino, like J.T. Jabavu, did not find himself in sympathy with the young nationalists of the N.N.C. who were trying to work outside the narrow, white-dominated, parliamentary system of the new Union of South Africa. Only the Cape Province in which Peregrino and Jabavu lived had an African franchise; the other three provinces barred Africans.

Peregrino did not seem to find his involvement in South African party politics incompatible with his continuing pan-Africanist activity. He was the South African distributor of Duse Mohammed Ali's *African Times and Orient Review*,<sup>54</sup> at the same time as he was a political agent in recruiting the Coloured vote of Cape Town — for the Progressives this time, now called the Unionist Party.<sup>55</sup> It may be that Peregrino came under the political patronage of J.W. Jagger, free trader and philanthropist, "the mouthpiece of commerce".<sup>56</sup> Jagger was Unionist candidate for Cape Town Central where the Coloured vote counted. In high-flown rhetorical style, not unlike some contemporaneous West African journalism, Peregrino produced a propaganda pamphlet for the Unionist candidates in the 1915 South African election. It was the time of the Great War so in his pamphlet, addressed to the

Coloured voters, Peregrino stressed Empire patriotism (the British Flag, which "knows no colour, race or creed") in favour of the "essentially British" Unionist Party against the Afrikaner parties, the Bond of Botha and the Nationalists of Hertzog.<sup>57</sup> But the prime reason that Peregrino gave for voting for the Unionists may strike the modern reader as odd:

*Because they are the followers of CECIL RHODES, who championed the cause of the COLOURED PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA, and who insisted on EQUAL Rights for ALL Civilized Men.*<sup>58</sup>

Opposition to the Bond and the Nationalists was understandable, but it was in his condemnation of the British-dominated, Labour Party, that Peregrino showed perception in interpreting the future of South Africa. In 1901 he had attacked the 'English' trade-unions; in 1911 the printers' strike (n.b. he was a publisher himself) had pressed home on him "the principles of white labour" — that white labour would exclude non-whites from trade-unions and from the franchise in the Cape just as was done in the Transvaal.<sup>59</sup> Peregrino pithily, ironically as it turns out, summed up the predicament of the non-white voter with the Cape franchise:

*Where is your Home? South Africa. Have you anywhere to fly when this country has become a Hell for you? No! Then see to it you don't commit a political suicide.*<sup>60</sup>

Despite his own proletarian background in the most industrialized areas of the most industrial countries in the world, Peregrino's interest in the Black and Coloured Labour of South Africa was that of paternalist management. He ran an employment agency in Cape Town for Coloured domestic servants and tradesmen, charging a registration fee of one



shilling per head.<sup>61</sup> In about 1917 he published his research into African labour conditions around the Rand which, if his publication of 1918 is taken as a guide, would have been more a catalogue of good conditions provided by the mining companies than a chronicle of employee grievances.<sup>62</sup> He was himself an employer, through his continuing proprietorship of the *South African Spectator*,<sup>63</sup> and probably engaged in other commercial ventures — such as the British Boot & Shoe Repairing Co. which had the same P.O. Box number as Peregrino's employment agency in Cape Town.<sup>64</sup>

It is difficult to perceive F.Z.S. Peregrino's old radical fire during the last years of his life, when he was in his late sixties. From his position as privileged intermediary between black and white, he appears to have degenerated to the position of little more than a placeman of the white power-structure. His last publication, *His Majesty's Black Labourers* of 1918, was written for the government to encourage recruitment for the South African Native Labour Corps. An initial detachment had already been sent to the War overseas, but the military authorities were disappointed by the lack of African response to serve His Britannic Majesty as non-combatant labourers in the mud of France.<sup>65</sup>

Peregrino dedicated his appeal "To the Chiefs, Headman, the Clergy and Other Native Leaders in South Africa". The pamphlet lacks editorial discipline in the order and subject of its paragraphs; it is liberally spiced with mottos such as "If any man will not work, neither *should* he eat"<sup>66</sup> Its literary style is flamboyant even in reference to mundane matters; there are long descriptions of the stores and the liquor regulations at the transit-camp of Rosebank outside Cape Town.<sup>67</sup> There is scarce mention of France; there is

almost nothing about the organization, training or living conditions at Rosebank. The pamphlet is frank propaganda, in English and Sotho and Zulu languages, aimed at the African leaders who managed the labour supply.<sup>68</sup> However a lively old Peregrino shines through a complex web of acquired views and prejudices, as can be seen in one characteristic passage:

*The Black man is philosophic, and adapts himself to circumstances, hence the absence of anarchists, regicides, and other such pests among them even during chattel slavery in another hemisphere, and his capacity for adaption is reflected in and illustrated at the Rosebank Camp. His demeanour towards his superior officers, his manners of approach, his knowledge of when, and how to salute would satisfy the most captious martinet, and many there are of the superior race who, despite more favourable ancestry and longer training, would do well to emulate and take a lesson or two of this man, who, yesterday a semi-savage and wholly removed from all refining influences, has so easily ascended from those terrible depths today, and to such sublime heights.*<sup>69</sup>

F.Z.S. Peregrino died in 1919, his sixty-ninth year. He had lived a full life, extraordinary in the range of his experiences, his contacts, and his many abilities. His career is an outstanding example of the African Diaspora of the nineteenth century — a diaspora promoted by imperial communications, whereas the slave-trade had promoted it earlier, that was not only inter-continental but intra-continental. Peregrino was a product of pan-Africanism in the most literal sense of physical travel. He was also an exponent of a 'pan-Africanism' in ideas, which pre-dates the Pan-Africanism associated with the post-1919 DuBoisian Pan-African Congresses, and which is as yet insufficiently studied. It was an ideology



which one may summarize as seeking not the old Africa, which was conceived of in terms of mutually hostile units, but of a new Africa — united by a self-conscious pan-African elite in both eastern and western hemispheres, Western-educated and espousing Western (especially English-language) democratic ideals.<sup>70</sup> The pan-Africanism associated with the 1900 Pan African Conference differs in degree from the more socialist Pan-Africanism of the DuBoisian Congresses, by being more frankly élitist and bourgeois,<sup>71</sup> but not necessarily any less outspoken in its day.

Even if it did not take root, this was the early

ideology of pan-Africanism that F.Z.S. Peregrino in 1900 took to South Africa. In 1924 a usually perceptive missionary journal, published at Lovedale in Cape Province, was not fully informed when it remarked:

*The Pan-African Movement ... is the black man's challenge to the white man's dominion. It is true that here in the Union we have hardly, as yet, been touched by that movement, the centre of which is in the United States and which is only beginning to extend the tentacles of its propaganda to the African continent.*<sup>71</sup>

#### NOTES

1. This paper was given at the Commonwealth and American History Seminar, Department of History, Edinburgh University, 12<sup>th</sup> January 1970. [Editor's note: this previously unpublished paper is published three decades later as unrevised juvenilia by permission of Prof. Parsons now at the University of Botswana. It is dedicated to his then Supervisor at the University of Edinburgh, George 'Sam' Shepperson, now retired as William Robertson Professor Emeritus in Commonwealth & American History].
2. I utilize the distinction between Pan-Africanism and pan-Africanism as in G. Shepperson: 'Pan-Africanism and "pan-Africanism": some historical notes', *Phylon* (Atlanta, Ga.) Vol. xxiii, no. 4, winter 1962, pp. 346-58.
3. Alexander Walters, *My Life and Work*. (New York, 1917.)
4. Date given by E. Rosenthal (comp.) *South African Dictionary of National Biography*. (London, 1966. p.208)
5. The names could be Afro-Brazilian, more identified with "the emerging bourgeois and petty-bourgeois society of Lagos" than with Accra. C.f. G. Shepperson, "The African Abroad or the African Diaspora", p.152-76. In T.O. Ranger (ed). *Emerging Themes of African History*. (London. 1968.)
- 6.a) Peregrino's evidence before the *South African Native Affairs Commission*. Cape Town. 1904. Vol. ii. p.325-6. (Hereafter SANAC)
- b) *Somerset House* (Registry of Births, Deaths & Marriages for England and Wales), London. Marriage Certificate of F.Z.S. Peregrino. 22 October. 1876.
- c) Who was his uncle? The first African Christian minister on the Gold Coast, Philip Quaake, would seem to have been too old to be Peregrino's uncle. The uncle could therefore have been one of Quaake's juniors in the (Episcopalian) Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The uncle might even have been a white missionary — though photographs of F.Z.S. Peregrino indicate that he had a dark complexion himself. Or, unlike Peregrino, the uncle may not have been an Episcopalian. (There has recently been a leading Ghanaian Methodist by the name of Peregrino-Aryee.) C.f. J.H. Brewer The Ordination of Philip Quaake *Bulletin of the Society for African Church History*. Vol. i, 1964, pp. 89-91. C.f. photographs in W.H. Ferris, *The African Abroad*. (New Haven. Comm. 1913. p.822.) & F.Z.S. Peregrino, *His*



- Majesty's Black Labourers.* (Cape Town. 1918. p.30.)
7. *Somerset House.* London. Registration of birth and marriages. Peregrino said he had spent 11 years in the U.S.A. prior to 1900, and 23 in England prior to that; this dates his arrival in America c.1889 and in England c.1866. *SANAC.* Vol. ii. p.323 & 326. Peregrino's mobility was not unprecedented for a Gold Coaster. A Nzima boy, born about 1703, was taken to Germany at about the age of four; he became a lecturer in Philosophy at the Universities of Wittenberg, Halle and Jena. See, N. Lochner Anton Wilhelm Amo: A Ghana Scholar in Eighteenth Century Germany. *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana.* Vol. iii. 1958. Part 3. p.169-79.
  8. *SANAC.* vol. ii. P.323-24.
  9. G. Shepperson, "The African Abroad", p.169. A recent socialist-oriented account states that in 1909 Peregrino claimed to have sat with the master minds of socialism in Europe and America. H.T. & R.E. Simons, *Class and Colour in South Africa, 1850-1950* (Harmondsworth, 1969. p.155.)
  10. *SANAC*, vol. 11, p.
  11. I. Geiss, The Development of Pan-Africanism in the Twentieth Century Edinburgh, seminar paper, May 1966, p.4 — citing George Padmore. Sylvester Williams 1868-1911 was a strong advocate of the rights of the "British Negro". After the 1900 Conference he was General Secretary of the short-lived Pan-African Association and Editor of its journal, *The Panafrican*. He continued his legal career in South Africa, became a councillor for 1906-7 of the Marylebone Borough in London, lectured in Liberia during 1908, returned to Trinidad and died there on 26<sup>th</sup> March 1911. C.f. H.S. Williams *The British Negro: A Factor in the Empire.* (Brighton, Eng., 1902.) G. Shepperson *The African Abroad* p. 169, Liberian National Bar Association to F.O., r. 16<sup>th</sup> June 1908, Public Records Office, London, F.O. 367/85, *Metropolitan Borough of St. Marylebone Minutes of Proceedings*, vol. ii, Nov. 1906-Nov. 1907, *Africa and the World*, Sept. 1965 p. 10.
  12. I. Geiss, seminar paper, p.4. For example one delegate to the Conference, Professor Calloway of Washington, was "Government Commissioner to the Negro section of the Paris Exhibition". (*Scotsman*, Edinburgh, 25 July 1900, p.9.) There was also an African exhibition of sorts in London, a Rhodesian version of Buffalo Bill's 'Wild West Show' called 'Savage South Africa', with Ndebele warriors and families under strict compound control on exhibition. King Lobengula's son, reportedly married an Irish 'actress', but by June 1900 was estranged from her. G. Pauling, *Chronicles of a Contractor.* London, 1926, pp.188-93, *Diamond Fields Advertiser*, Kimberley, 11<sup>th</sup> August 1899, South Africa, vol. xvi, 23 June 1900, p.647.
  13. See British newspapers of Saturday, 19 May 1900, for the mass mania occasioned by news of the relief of Mafeking. There was spontaneous cheering, ringing of bells, singing of patriotic songs, student processions, and decoration of public buildings in Britain and the Empire.
  14. J.E. Quilian, (St. Lucia) — see news agency report in *Scotsman* 25 July 1900, p.9. This, like many other speeches of the Conference, was not recorded in *The Times* (London) reports, which in this period were particularly partisan in African affairs.
  15. G. Christian, *Scotsman*, 26 July 1900, p.7.
  16. J.A. Langley, *West African Aspects of the Pan-African Movements: 1900-1945*. (Edinburgh University: Ph.D, 1968), p.36; *Scotsman*, 26 July 1900, p.7
  17. *Scotsman*, 25 July 1900, p.9. Du Bois' comment became immortalized in the communiqué of the Conference, called 'To the Nations of the World', which he prepared, as: "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line — the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the Sea." The militancy of Conference speakers was not limited to attacks on white capitalism, but also attacked black deference. One delegate, reportedly U.S. Consul at Luanda, attacked all black soldiers in American or British employ as Race-renegades, another bitterly satirised the historic black attitude to white as "Take all the world from me, but give me Jesus!".



- Henry F. Downing, and P.C. Lee of Rochester, N.Y., *Scotsman*, 26 July 1900, p.7. It is not unlikely that P.C. Lee accompanied Peregrino from New York State to London.
18. Q.E. Quilain of St. Lucia, Edwin van Loch, (van Loch?).
  19. I. Geiss Notes on the Development of pan-Africanism. *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*. Vol. iii. June 1967. No. 4. p. 746.
  20. *SANAC*. Vol. ii. p.323. Was 'South African Pan Congress' a stenographer's error or Peregrino's deliberate mistake?
  21. Williams was driven out of his Transvaal legal practice by threat of assassination for his dangerous 'Ethiopianist' ideas, and may then have gone to Swaziland. In a later contact with the Colonial Office, Williams claimed to represent the African populations of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony. See, C.B. Wallis to F.O., 13 & 25 February 1908. C.O. to F.O., 10 April & 25 August 1908. Public Records Office. London. F.O. 367/85. I owe this reference indirectly to Mr Christopher Fyfe.
  22. *SANAC*. Vol. ii. p.317-27 *passim*. It has been claimed that Peregrino arrived at Cape Town in the 1890s, founded the Progressive Institute there, and published *A Short History of the Native Tribes of the Transvaal*. 1899. (E. Rosenthal *National Biography*. P. 208.)
  23. H.T. & R.E. Simons, *Class and Colour*. p.74. In South Africa at the beginning of the century the present distinction between 'Coloured' (Eurafrican) and Bantu (Black) was not always made.
  24. It is said that Sir Harry Johnston called Dean 'the most dangerous Negro in the world'. *Observer* advance notice quoted on fly-leaf of H. Dean with S. North Umbala, *The Adventures of a Negro Sea-Captain in Africa and on the Seven Seas in his Attempts to Found an Ethiopian Empire*. (London. 1929.) Dean claimed to have connections with Pondo and Lesotho royalty; to have visited Swaziland during the Anglo-Boer War; finally to have been expelled from South Africa for elicit diamond buying. For further comment, see, Eric Rosenthal, *Stars and Stripes in Africa*. (London. 1938. p.259) G. Shepperson 'Ethiopianism, "Past and Present" p.255n in C.G. Baeta (ed) *Christianity in Tropical Africa*. (London, 1968.)
  25. H. Dean, *Umbala*. p.138-9.
  26. *Ibid.* p.245-7; J.R. Coan, 'The Expansion of Missions of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in South Africa. 1896-1908'. Hartford Seminary Foundation. Ph.D. 1961. p.311-2.
  27. See footnote 44 below.
  28. J.R. Coan 'Expansion of Missions'. p.319n.
  29. *Ibid.* p.458. Citing A.M.E. *Christian Recorder*. 16 January and 7 May 1902.
  30. *SANAC*. vol. ii. Pp. 317-27.
  31. *Ibid.* In 1859-60 a black American, J.J. Meyers, had visited Southern African to investigate Afro-American settlement possibilities. Bishop H.M. Turner, who had organised the A.M.E. church in South Africa by 1900, was a leading exponent of Negro American colonisation in African. A. Meier, *Negro Thought in America, 1830-1915*. (Ann Arbor, Mich. 1963. p.65-6.)
  32. *SANAC*. p.317.
  33. *Ibid.* pp.319-20.
  34. *Ibid.* p.320.
  35. *Ibid.* pp. 321-2 & 317 and 325.
  36. The South African Native Political Association, and the South African Aborigines Association were both founded in 1883. C.C. Saunders "The New African Elite in the Eastern Cape and some late nineteenth century origins of African nationalism". (London University, Institute of Commonwealth Studies seminar paper. 1969).
  37. R. Jones, 'The Black Problem in South Africa.' *Nineteenth Century and After*. vol. lvii. May 1905. no. 339. p.775.
  38. C.f. E. Roux, *Time Longer than Rope*. University of Wisconsin Press. 1964.
  39. H.J. & R.E. Simons, *Class and Colour*. p.118.
  40. *Ibid.* p.119.
  41. S. Trapido, "The Early History of the African People's Organization". (London University. Institute of Commonwealth Studies: Seminar Paper. 1970.)
  42. *Ibid.*
  43. T.O. Ranger, "The Ethiopian Episode in Barotseland, 1900-1905". In *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*. (Manchester). No. 37. June 1965. p.26-41. *Passim*.



44. T.O. Ranger, "Nationality and Nationalism: the case of Barotseland". *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*. Vol. iv. June 1968. No. 2. p.232.
45. G.L. Caplan, "A Political History of Barotseland 1878-1962". (London University. Ph.D. 1968. pp.215-6, 225 & 263n.)
46. Ibid. p.228-230.
47. According to G.L. Caplan. Ibid. p. 219 ... but T.O. Ranger "Nationality and Nationalism", p.232, says Peregrino left for home on 11<sup>th</sup> July 1906.
48. T.O. Ranger, "Nationality and Nationalism". p.232.
49. Ibid.
50. cf. G. Shepperson, "The African Abroad". p.166.
51. W.H. Ferris, "The African Abroad". p. 863-5. Peregrino's membership of the Society could have been based on an old connection with Bruce in New York State or Negro journalism.
52. Khama, Serowe to F.D.S. Peregrino. 12 August 1911. (Khama Papers; Serow/Pilikwe. Botswana). G.K.S. was Khama's Secretary, Goapothlake K. Sekgoma.
53. C.f. Khama, Serowe to Lekoko Montshiwa. 12 March 1911. (Khama Papers). Khama was insistent on rejecting involvement in wider politics lest the Bechuanaland Protectorate should be absorbed into the new Union of South Africa. He rejected the honorary presidency conferred on him by the N.N.C. [later A.N.C.] (Khama to P. ka Isaka Seme, 10 Jan. & 13 Feb. 1912 — Khama Papers).
54. *African Times and Orient Review*. London weekly edition. Vol. i. No. i. 24 March 1914. p.19. His address was given as 62 Wall Street, Cape Town. I owe this reference to Mr Ian Duffield.
55. F.Z.S. Peregrino, *The Political Parties and the Coloured Vote* (Cape Town. 1915.)
56. E. Rosenthal, *National Biography*. p.184. cf. J.W. Jagger & C Tredgold. *The Native Franchise Question*. (Cape Town, 1930.)
57. F.Z.S. Peregrino, *The Political Parties*. p. 3-4 & 7.
58. Ibid. p.8
59. Ibid. p. 5-7.60Ibid. p.8.
61. Ibid. Inside front cover.
62. F.Z.S. Peregrino, *Life Among the Native and Coloured Miners in the Transvaal*. Unlocated. C. 1917. See, F.Z.S. Peregrino, *His Majesty's Black Labourers. A treatise on the camp life etc. of the S.A.N.L.C.* (Cape Town. 1918. pp. 16-18 & front cover.)
63. According to E. Rosenthal, *National Biography* p.208, Peregrino remained its publisher till his death in 1919.
64. F.Z.S. Peregrino, *The Political Parties*. (Inside front cover.)
65. e.g. Khama might have sent soldiers but refused to send non-combatant labourers.
66. F.Z.S. Peregrino, *Black Labourers*. p.1. Citing St. Paul.
67. e.g. lists of how many pounds of butter, bread, jam, tea, etc. were consumed in August 1917. Ibid. P.8.
68. The different language texts are not identical, e.g. Moshoeshoe is invoked in the Sotho text. The pamphlet also contains valuable photos of Peregrino himself (in Sergeant's uniform?). T.M. Makiwane, J.J. Mqgqambo, E.Masiu, J.D. Rathebe, H.L. Appolis, H.P. Kuzwayo & Revs. Mdolomba, Mlongi, Peteretse, Zestranti & Polisa. Plus a full-page photo of Rev. J.I. Xaba.
69. F.S.Z. Peregrino, *Black Labourers*. p.7.
70. C.f. H.S. Williams, *The British Negro*; T.B. Ominiyi. *A Defence of the Ethiopian Movement*. (Edinburgh, 1908.) e.g. G. Shepperson, "Pan-Africanism and pan-Africanism: some historical notes", *Phylon*. Op cit.
71. *South African Outlook*. 1 December 1924.