For God or Caesar : An Historical Study of Christian Resistance to Apartheid by the Province of South Africa, 1946-1957

by

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CHAPTER TEN

THE INTRODUCTION OF BANTU EDUCATION.

The re-ordering of the system of education for Africans which took place in South Africa with the enactment of the Bantu Education Act in 1953, and which resulted in the compulsory take-over of Mission schools by the state, evoked a varied and significant response from churchmen. The Anglican Diocese of Johannesburg, and the two religious orders, the Society of the Sacred Mission (S.S.M.) and the Community of the Resurrection (C.R.) refused to hand over any of their schools, and decided on the drastic step of closure, rather than submit to a system of education which was totally repugnant to them.

The Roman Catholic Bishops, deeply concerned by the implications that state control of Catholic schools would have for evangelism and church development in the African community, determined to maintain their schools under the new system without state subsidies, as "private" schools.

The Church of the Province of South Africa, and the other major protestant denominations, found themselves in the position of having to make, reluctantly, what Archbishop Clayton called a "grievous" choice between two evils.[1] The lesser evil was to acquiesce in the take-over of their schools and colleges by the state, under protest. Since it was the School Boards of Community Schools that were required to pay the rent for school buildings owned by the church, many dioceses decided upon a policy of charging only nominal rents, sufficient only to provide for ongoing maintenance. There were still others who, believing that church schools had long since ceased to be an effective base for evangelism, were only too glad to be relieved of a responsibility which

1. Church News, No. 11, Vol. XX, 17.11.1954; Statement by the Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa on the Bantu Education Act. Appendix "E", p. 1127.

they considered to be a drain on the church's resources. Some thought that there were a few schools which ought to be kept under church control.

Thus, among Anglicans, reactions ranged from the response of total resistance by Bishop Reeves in Johannesburg to the attitude of Bishop Inman who presided over the transfer of church schools in the Diocese of Natal with such speed and alacrity that he could claim after visits to all the schools in his diocese in 1955 to explain the significance of the change-over that "nowhere did I meet with the slightest opposition or spoken criticism".[2] Archbishop Clayton's response of reluctant acquiescence under protest generally reflected the majority view of the C.P.S.A. at that time. Among Roman Catholic bishops there were those who advocated outspoken protest, like Archbishop Hurley (Durban), but the majority view was represented by Archbishop Whelan (Bloemfontein), who held that if the Church was to retain control of Catholic schools, prudence demanded that they negotiate separately with the Minister, and avoid being identified with the general clamour and public protests of the Protestant churches.[3] The spectrum of viewpoints among other major denominations, such as the Methodists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists, each of which had a considerable stake in African education with some fine schools like Healdtown, Lovedale and Tigerskloof, was similar to that among the Anglicans, and the official reaction of each church was not dissimilar to the stance taken by Archbishop Clayton. As the then President of the Methodist Conference, Dr. J.B. Webb, told the Secretary of the Christian Council, Dr. Arthur Blaxall,

> You may be disappointed, as others have been, but there was no doubt about the common mind of the African people themselves; although they hated this Bantu Education Act like poison, they still felt that a wreck was better than nothing at all, and there was no disposition on their part to advocate complete non-co-operation. If we had gone against this huge body of opinion, we would not have kept faith with the African people which was, to my mind, as important as trying to keep faith with our own conscience.[4]

2. Natal Diocesan Office, Durban. Proceedings of the Natal Diocesan Synod 11th-13th September 1955; Bishop's Charge, 11.9.1955.
3. Khanya House Archives, Pretoria, Minutes of Catholic Bishops' Conference. Extraordinary Plenary Session 29.4.1954, at Pretoria.
4. Wits. Archive, CCSA Papers, letter from Dr. J.B. Webb to Revd. A.W. Blaxall, 8.11.1954.

By the Afrikaans churches the Bantu Education Act was regarded as

> an overdue acknowledgement by Government of its proper responsibility for primary education .... Christian teaching and to embody many desirable educational reforms. 5

They had consistently advocated the transfer of control of African education to the Department of Native Administration, and their whole-hearted support for the principles of Christian National Education embodied in the report of the Institut vir Christelike-Nasionale Onderwys (I.C.N.O.) gave crucial religious legitimation to the Government's plan.[6]

The purpose of the present chapter is to give an account, firstly, of the background to the introduction of Bantu Education and its implementation between 1953 and 1955. Chapter eleven reviews and evaluates the reactions of the C.P.S.A. and its principal supporters overseas to the imposition of Bantu Education, in the context of moves by both the Christian Council and the Roman Catholic Bishops to negotiate with Dr. Verwoerd. Chapter twelve, the third in this trilogy of chapters about Bantu Education, concentrates upon those who chose the path of resistance to the Government and deals, inter alia, with the A.N.C.'s Schools' Boycott and Resist Apartheid Campaign in 1955, and provides a case study of three church schools, Christ the King, Adams and Grace Dieu, which unsuccessfully made the attempt to stay open as "private schools".

The circumstances in which the Minister of Native Affairs was given extensive powers under the Bantu Education Act to withhold subsidies and expropriate buildings, gave the state an overwhelming advantage. Faced with such powers of coercion, the church could choose between resistance, collaboration or capitulation. However repugnant the principles of Bantu Education may have been to them, most churchmen found themselves compelled to accept the last course. Some believed, like Bishop Reeves and Father Huddleston, that

5. Wits. Archive, CCSA Papers AC 623/C. Some notes on the Inter-Racial Conference of Church Leaders, Witwatersrand, December 1954, by Dr. Norman Goodall, C.B.M.S., 2 Eaton Gate, London, January 1955, p. 2.
6. CPSA Archive AB 1014, Christian Education Movement Records, 1950-63. I.C.N.O. Christian-National Education policy, Mimeo 14 pp., English translation by J. Chr. Coetzee, Potchefstroom 17.4.1949.

had the churches unanimously refused to hand over their buildings to the Government, and had African parents been ready to support the A.N.C.'s schools' boycott on a wide enough scale, the Government could have been compelled to change course. However, although there was a wide measure of unanimity amongst all the churches, except of course the three Afrikaans churches, in opposing the Bantu Education Act as such, there were wide differences when it came to deciding on the methods of expressing this opposition.

The chances of successful resistance to the Bantu Education Act depended upon the churches acting together, but the will to resist was not so unanimous. The question that needs to be explored is why this was so. The explanation, though linked to the state of ecumenical relations at the time, seems to lie in the divergent attitudes held within the churches towards the propriety of resistance to the state, as well as in an assessment of the practical consequences of so doing. In the event the churches' response to the imposition of Bantu Education on mission schools was not an issue on which consensus could be reached in the circumstances prevailing between 1953 and 1955.

"NATIVE" EDUCATION BEFORE 1953.

On 2nd February 1944 a conference was convened in Cape Town by the Secretary for Native Affairs, on the "Control and Finance of Native Education". Among those attending were two senior ministers in Field Marshal Smuts' government, Major P. van der Bijl, Minister for Native Affairs (Chairman), and Mr J.H. Hofmeyr, Minister of Finance and Education. Also present were their departmental secretaries, the Natives' Representatives in the Senate and in Parliament, representatives of the Provincial Departments of Education (except Natal), and of the Christian Council of South Africa, Dutch Reformed and Roman Catholic Missions, the Federated African Teachers' Association and the African National Congress.

Major van der Bijl described the three courses that lay open to the Government with respect to the control of "Native" education.

These were firstly, to leave control with the Provinces; secondly, to place Native Education under the Union Department of Education; or thirdly with the Department of Native Affairs. It was acknowledged that the existing position regarding finance was unsatisfactory. The Provincial Councils administered, but did not provide, the funds, which were supplied by four-fifths of the "Native Tax", a per capita tax levied on all male Africans, the other fifth being used for "Native Welfare". In 1926 this had amounted to only £ 453 000, and in 1944-5 to £ 1 894 000. Mr Hofmeyr believed that the soundest course would be to place control with the Union Department of Education, and that the provision of funds should come from general revenue voted by Parliament.

In the light of these proposals the Christian Council considered that "the general feeling was one of deep gratification".[7] The Revd. J.G. Strydom, for the Dutch Reformed Churches, however said that they "preferred that the Native Affairs Department should establish a special Native Education section controlled by experts", since they were "afraid that the Union Department might not carry out the segregation policy and might not pay attention to making education fit the special needs of the Natives as a distinct population group but might give the same education as given to the Whites".[8]

Fr. O. Clark, on behalf of the Roman Catholic Missions, emphasized that "the Catholic Church did not take part in politics and was prepared to co-operate with any Government". They favoured the transfer of control to the Department of Education, adding that Africans he had discussed the matter with were "100% against the transfer of Native Education to the Native Affairs Department". This view was borne out by Mr Donald M'timkulu, representing the African Teachers' Federation, who said "the Education of the Africans should be financed on the same system as for Europeans with control

7. Wits. Archive, CCSA Papers, CC 2/44. Report on the Cape Town Conference on the Control and Finance of Native Education, 2nd February 1944. Signed by Alexander Kerr and E.W. Grant, 12.2.1944.
8. Wits. Archive, CCSA Papers. Report in minute form of the Conference on the Control and Finance of Native Education held at Cape Town on 2.2.1944, signed by O. Clark O.P.

by the same authority."[9]

As a direct consequence of this Conference, in which the views of the churches, the missions and members of the Christian Council had been diligently sought, in 1945 African education became a direct charge on the Consolidated Revenue Fund. Since 1922 the principle had been applied by various governments that African education should be financed only out of direct "Native" taxes. Now this was abandoned. Muriel Horrell has observed that it was only then "that there were possibilities of real advance".[10] The Christian Council described these as "momentous decisions".[11] The Provinces, which had opposed the centralization of African education at the Conference, were left in control, although the funds were to be provided by the central government.

As a result of these decisions the expenditure on African education doubled between 1945 and 1948, and doubled again between 1948 and 1954, increasing from £ 2,2 million to £ 8 million.

	Expenditure on African Education.	Number of Pupils.	Expenditure per capita.
1945	£ 2 248 529	587 586	£ 3,83
1948	£ 4 283 625	723 039	£ 5,93
1954	£ 8 016 247	938 211	£ 8,54

[12]

This still compared very unfavourably with the per capita expenditure on education for other racial groups.

	White.	Coloured.	Indian.	African.
1945	£ 38,58	£ 10,81	£ 10,81	£ 3,39
1953	£ 63,92	£ 20,21	£ 20,21	£ 8,54

[13]

At the same time a statutory Union Advisory Board for Native Education was created, with the purpose of advising the responsible Minister of Education (Hofmeyr). This had eleven members,

9. Ibid. Dr. M'timkulu later became the first full-time General Secretary of the All Africa Conference of Churches in 1959.
10. HORRELL, M., A Decade of Bantu Education, Johannesburg: SAIRR 1964, p. 1.
11. Christian Council Quarterly January 1944, p 3.
12. SAIRR Jan Hofmeyr Library Johannesburg, Box 20, "Financing of Bantu Education", A.G.M. of the S.A.I.R.R. in Cape Town, 18.1.1961, paper delivered by Mr F.J. de Villiers, Secretary for Bantu Education, p. 4.
13. HORRELL, M., Bantu Education to 1968, Johannesburg: SAIRR 1968. (Note the discrepancy in the figures cited for 1945 by Horrell and de Villiers above).

representing the Union government, the four Provinces, the Natives' Representative Council and the Christian Council. In June 1947 Dr. Kerr, the C.C.S.A.'s representative on this Board, could report enthusiastically on the progress being made by this body. "The future" he declared, "is full of hope", and he urged that the churches should

> .... see that their schools are maintained in a state of efficiency, not only as regards the means of instruction, but also and more important, as to the living conditions of their pupils. 14

However, he continued, it was "the quality of the lives with which the students came into daily contact" which provided the "most potent agency that can be devised". It was significant that the community looked to the church for the "supply of such devoted men and women".[15]

In spite of a marked improvement in the funds allocated to African education by both the United Party and Nationalist administrations between 1945 and 1953, serious difficulties still remained in the system of dual control by the churches and provincial administrations. The Provincial Departments of Education paid teachers' salaries and also made grants for the maintenance of school buildings. Conditions, however, varied enormously. There were some excellent high schools and teachers' training colleges with buildings well-maintained and high standards of academic achievement. Such institutions naturally attracted the greater proportion of the available resources from churches and missionary societies. At the same time conditions in many urban and most rural primary schools left very much to be desired. Muriel Horrell ascribed the problems to "inadequate funds and often, inefficient management" which resulted in "under-staffing, overcrowding, inadequacy of buildings, a lack of equipment".[16] The Bishop of Natal, T.G.V. Inman, recalled how the "country church schools" in his diocese "were quite a headache".[17]

> The incessant pilfering of funds, teachers' salaries not being paid, and the impossibility of trying to maintain

14. Christian Council Quarterly, June 1947, p. 7.
15. Ibid.
16. HORRELL, M., A Decade of Bantu Education, op. cit., p. 1.
17. INMAN, The Right Revd. T.G.V. (Bishop of Natal 1951-1974), Interview, Durban, 14.9.1977.

> these wretched buildings, as they mostly were on the Government grant, with the Government paying all the salaries; I always felt that we were Government schools without admitting it. So when they decided to take them over I didn't feel I had any grouse. 18

Bishop Robert Selby Taylor, who came to the Diocese of Pretoria at the end of 1951 from Northern Rhodesia, told me that he "arrived on the scene with the belief that eventually education ought to be taken over by the State".

> It is too big a thing for the churches to do, and my impression of what the churches were doing when I arrived on the scene wasn't very encouraging. I do not think that apart from one or two outstanding places like St. Peter's and Khaiso, where we were doing very good work, most of our - well, for lack of a better name we called them Bush Schools - were pretty poor, even by the standards that I had seen in Northern Rhodesia. And I wasn't therefore altogether sorry that elementary education should be taken over. I still hoped we would be able to keep a foothold in African education, and I would have liked to have seen something done about one or two particular schools, perhaps St. Peter's, perhaps Khaiso, and other places which I felt would always be a leaven within a state system. 19

In November 1951 the Bishop of Birmingham, John Leonard Wilson, visited South Africa on behalf of the S.P.G. and made a confidential report to the Society's Africa Sub-Committee, in which he was critical of "a great many of the educational institutions because there are not enough Christian teachers on the staff". He found that "some institutions were more concerned to prevent their pupils attending other Christian denominations that keeping up the standards of their own". This was "because the numbers had to be kept up because the Government grant depended upon this".[20]

The wide disparity between the per capita expenditure on education for Africans and that for other racial groups already referred to needs to be seen in relation to the fact that in 1949 only 32% of African children received any education at all.[21]

18. Ibid.
19. SELBY TAYLOR, The Right Revd. Robert (Bishop of Northern Rhodesia 1941-51, Pretoria 1951-9, Grahamstown 1959-64, Archbishop of Cape Town 1964-74), interview, Kalk Bay, 24.4.1976.
20. CPSA Archive, AB 707, SACI Papers. Letter C.T. Wood to Archbishop Clayton, 13.12.1951, reporting on Bishop Wilson's confidential verbal report to the Africa Sub-Committee in November 1951.
21. Wits. Archive, CCSA Papers, CCSA Answers of Education Section to Questionnaire of Commission on Native Education, 13.4.1949, p. 2, para (7).

A conference called by the S.A.I.R.R. in July 1952 acknowledged that there was "much in the present system which needs review and alteration".[22] None doubted that a systematic reform of African education was overdue. The system which had developed over the years, whereby the churches had received state subsidies to run their own schools, had obvious shortcomings, and there were cogent arguments pointing to the need for the state to intervene and take more responsibility for African education. Successive South African governments had left it to the Provincial Departments of Education to bear this responsibility. Such funds as were available from the "Native" tax for education had to go first to pay the teachers and maintain the subsidies laid down before building new schools. Until the Hofmeyr reforms of 1945 funds were pitifully scarce, so that in spite of the considerable increase in funds applied to African education from that date, the backlog was still too great and the problems persisted. Missionaries and educationists could blame the parsimony of the government for their difficulties as could the Provincial Departments of African Education. The United Party administration did its best to increase the education vote for Africans, and valued the contribution of the churches. The Nationalists, however, continued to increase the sum voted for African education, but blamed the system of dual control of African education. Their view was reinforced by the difficulties which arose from time to time between the church and educational authorities.

Although the relationship between the Provincial Education Departments and the churches seems to have been generally an amicable one in the Cape, the O.F.S. and in Natal, early in 1950 a sharp dispute arose between the new Bishop of Johannesburg, Ambrose Reeves, and the Transvaal Education Department. In November 1949 Tom Bishop, Superintendent of Mission Schools in the Diocese of Johannesburg, expelled a number of pupils, a decision which rested with the church authorities. Realizing the potential difficulties that could arise, Bishop Reeves insisted that he be consulted. In January 1950 Reeves wished to dismiss the Head-

22. SAIRR Jan Hofmeyr Library Johannesburg, Box 26A, Record of the Proceedings of National Conference convened by the Institute in July 1952 to study the report of the Native Education Commission. Conference Report, p. 2, para (1).

master of St. Boniface School, Boksburg on the grounds of his remarriage after divorce. However, the dismissal of a teacher was regarded as the prerogative not of the church but of the Transvaal Education Department. Bishop Reeves responded by giving notice that the school would be closed on 31st March 1950. The School's Board of Management was said to have passed a unanimous resolution, and, it was explained,

> The grounds for this decision to close the school is that the present principal, a divorced man has remarried. This act of his contravenes a rule of the Church of which he is a member: he thus becomes excommunicate .... It is intolerable that an excommunicate of the Church should continue to teach in one of the schools of the Church; and as the regulations of the Department do not provide for such a contingency, the Church is forced to adopt this measure in order to uphold the rule of the Church. 23

Bishop Reeves then took the matter up with the Administrator of the Transvaal, Dr. W. Nicol, himself an ordained minister and one-time Moderator of the N.G.K. in the Transvaal. Dr. Nicol, however, advised against closing the school, pointing out that the mere fact of remarriage after divorce was not sufficient grounds for disciplinary action by the Department of Education "unless disgraceful conduct were proved". The Secretary of the Transvaal Education Department underlined the point by warning that they might not be in a position to provide teaching grants so that the school might be re-registered the following year, and that the six teaching grants were being re-allocated. The Bishop stood his ground and the school closed, for in the diocesan schedule of church schools for 1952, no school was listed for Boksburg. Tom Bishop explained the dilemma in his report to Synod in 1952:

> Whilst the Church through its Superintendent has the right of appointment of teachers, once these teachers are made permanent we have no means of enforcing discipline other than through departmental channels. The Department is very loathe to act in view of the many legal actions instituted by teachers against it. The Church and the Department have very different ideas of discipline e.g. matrimonial tangles and the like requiring the discipline of the Church do not interest the Department in any way. 24

This incident reveals the difficulty inherent in the system

23. CPSA Archive, AB 388 Reeves papers, Church Schools. Letter from Superintendent of Mission Schools to the Director of African Education, January 1950.
24. Ibid., Superintendent of Mission Schools' Report to Synod, 1952.

of dual control of church schools. In an attempt to harmonize relations between the Transvaal Education Department and the churches a decision was made in June 1951 to re-constitute the Transvaal Advisory Board for Education, and after consultation with the Transvaal heads of churches it was suggested that there should in future be regional school boards, and that the schools be categorized as "mission" or "non-mission" schools, giving to the churches the right to appoint and to dismiss teachers in their own schools.[25] Bishop Reeves' readiness to threaten and to carry out so drastic an action as the closure of a school in order to establish a principle he held to be important, provides an early and significant precedent for his later decision to close all Anglican church schools in the diocese of Johannesburg in April 1955, rather than acquiesce in the imposition of a system of "Bantu Education".

THE CHURCH'S UNCO-ORDINATED RESPONSE TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE OF THE EISELEN COMMISSION ON NATIVE EDUCATION (1949-1951).

In view of the widespread concern over the conditions prevailing in many mission schools and the serious shortcomings in South Africa's system for African education, it occasioned no surprise that the new Government should soon appoint a Commission on Native Education under the Chairmanship of Dr. W.W.M. Eiselen, a former Chief Inspector of Native Education in the Transvaal. Early in April 1949 churches and missionary agencies were called upon to complete an extensive questionnaire. This evidence of a renewed interest in African education should have been welcome but for the fears engendered by the stated objectives of the new Government's apartheid policy, and the vigorous promotion of the concept of Christian National Education by the F.A.K. at the time. Such questions as:-

2) Is it correct to regard the Native as a separate or independent race ?
3) What do you understand by the racial characteristics of the Native ?
4) What are the special qualities and aptitudes of the Native ?[26]

25. Ibid.
26. Wits. Archive, CCSA Papers, Questionnaire on Native Education, copied by the Principal of Blythswood College, and attached to the answers of the CCSA Education Committee. Mimeo 2 + 5 pp., p. 1, Questions 2-4.

seemed to have ominous political overtones. This was especially so if these questions were read in conjunction with parts of the Eiselen Commission's Terms of Reference. The Commission had been asked inter alia to report on

(1) .... The formation of the principles and aims of education for Natives as an independent race, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and their aptitude and their needs under the everchanging social conditions are taken into consideration 27

and

(2) .... the extent to which the existing primary, secondary and vocational education system for Natives and the training of Native teachers should be modified in respect of the contents and form of syllabuses, in order to conform to the proposed principles and aims and to prepare Natives more effectively for their future occupations. 28

The churches were caught unawares for they were given only three weeks in which to formulate their replies. Archbishop Clayton was unable to do anything to co-ordinate the Anglican response, and it was left to individual dioceses, schools and institutions to submit their own replies to this crucial questionnaire. Consequently, each denomination and the church schools individually spoke with a divided voice.

An example of this confusion may be illustrated by the replies to Dr. Eiselen's questionnaire from the Society of the Sacred Mission. The S.S.M., the Diocese of Johannesburg, and the Community of the Resurrection were the only three Anglican bodies which refused to hand over any of their schools and colleges to state control in 1954. Yet the memorandum prepared by Brother Patrick True, Principal of the Modderpoort Schools, which was sent to the Commission as the combined reply of the Chapter of the S.S.M., accepted that the state should finance and "have ultimate control" of African primary, secondary and industrial schools, "so long as the State recognizes and respects the place which the Church must play in any effective system of Christian education". With regard to teacher training, Brother True

27. Ibid., p. 2. Item (1) of the Terms of Reference.
28. Ibid., Question (8), referring to Item (2) of the Terms of Reference.

conceded, there were "some grounds" for allowing these establishments to "remain in the hands of the churches".[29]

The Provincial Superior of the S.S.M., the Ven. Arthur Amor, Archdeacon of Kroonstad, who was also Secretary of the C.P.S.A. Provincial Board of Mission, however submitted his own personal memorandum, with the explanation that

> The Society of the Sacred Mission has submitted the same memorandum [Brother True's] as its combined evidence.

This memorandum, he said, "is my personal additions to or differences from these memorandum."[30] Archdeacon Amor then modified the view expressed by the Chapter of the S.S.M. on the crucial question of State control by saying,

> .... the multiplicity of Religious Bodies in South Africa must lead the Government finally to remove all Primary schools from Church ownership and control. When this moment arrives the fullest right of entry must be reserved to religious bodies .... The State must pay for education, which suggests an ultimate cession [of] denominational schools to the State. Nevertheless I sympathise with the "hold what we have" attitude of certain ecclesiastical bodies: but doubt if the divided Church can manage to "man" schools, save in a few specially favoured centres. 31

The Diocese of Johannesburg, a second Anglican body which refused to hand over its schools in 1954, responded with more consistency than the S.S.M. The task of answering Dr. Eiselen's questionnaire was given to the Diocesan Social and Industrial Council, successor to the Church and Nation Commission's Continuation Committee, and they composed a cogent reply. By choosing to discuss each of the Eiselen Commission's Terms of Reference, rather than answering the questionnaire in detail, the memorandum prepared by the Diocese of Johannesburg was able to challenge some of the fundamental assumptions which lay behind the Nationalist Government's thinking about the aims and principles of "Bantu" education.

The Diocese of Johannesburg said it wished to see no change

29. CPSA Archive AB 938f. Memorandum submitted to the Commission on Native Education by Brother Patrick True, Principal of Modderpoort Schools, 1949. Mimeo 14 pp., p. 12.
30. CPSA Archive loc. cit., Memorandum from the Venerable Arthur Amor S.S.M. to the Commission on Native Education 1949. Mimeo 3 pp.
31. Ibid.

in the system of control for African education, and emphasized that the Superintendents of Mission Schools should have the right restored to them of suspending a teacher for misconduct or breach of discipline. The Union Advisory Board of Native Education should be retained, and more notice taken of its recommendations. Control should remain with the Union Department of Education.[32] The Johannesburg memorandum went on to point out that "a form of education based on racialism is not accepted", and

> Education which would prepare a Native for becoming a member of a proficient subservient race is no education at all. 33

Nor did they think it reasonable

> .... to expect these people to co-operate in any scheme which would make the attainment by them or their children of a higher standard of education impossible. 34

If the task of eliciting a co-ordinated Anglican response to this important questionnaire was difficult, any attempt by the Christian Council to present an agreed reply from its member churches was impossible. It was left to the Christian Council's Education Committee to formulate an "ecumenical" reply to the questionnaire, while individual churches, schools and institutions each submitted their own replies independently. This had the effect of undermining the authority of this Committee's reply, which was one of particular perspicacity. Already intimately involved in the work of the Union Advisory Board for Native Education through Dr. Alexander Kerr, the Committee's Chairman and Convenor, the membership of this Committee was such as to command particular respect. Among its members were four educationists of great eminence: Dr. R.H.W. Shepherd, Principal of Lovedale, Professor C.P. Dent, Principal of Fort Hare, Professor D.D.T. Jabavu and Professor Z.K. Matthews.[35]

They thought that the system of control for African education should not be changed. Indeed, since "only 32% of African

32. CPSA Archive, AB 388, Reeves papers, Bantu Education. Diocese of Johannesburg, the Diocesan Social and Industrial Council, Evidence to be presented to the Commission on Native Education. Mimeo 6 pp., p. 5, (III) Organization and Administration of Native Education.
33. Ibid., p. 3, (II) Modification of Native Education.
34. Ibid., p. 3.
35. Wits. Archive, CCSA Papers, CCSA Answers of Education Section to Questionnaire of Commission on Native Education, 13.4.1949.

children had the opportunity of becoming literate" it was necessary that

> .... the State and every other organized body which has the welfare of the African at heart .... must provide additional, better staffed and better equipped schools. 36

With regard to the future career for which "Native" education should equip its beneficiaries, the committee was quite emphatic:

> There can be no limit therefore to the number and variety of occupations followed by the African in the service of the community. In such environments there should be the fullest opportunity to practice all trades, commercial undertakings and professions normally required by any society, and the scope of his education should be correspondingly wide. 37

It was clear too, that this Christian Council committee spoke with an intimate knowledge of the practical problems facing African education at the time. The following trenchant criticism was made with tact and firmness:-

> The main defect in the system of Native Education is the same as for European education but worse:- Courses and syllabuses and methods neglect the pupil's life needs; unreality, bookishness, accumulation of facts becomes increasingly worse as one goes up the educational ladder. Secondly there are not enough schools and the available schools have poor and insufficient buildings and equipment and the teachers have too large classes. 38

THE SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS CONFERENCE, JULY 1952.

It was not until the Eiselen Commission published its report in 1951 that some attempt was made to co-ordinate the response of those engaged in African education at the time.[39] It might have been expected that the Christian Council would take the initiative for such an undertaking. It was not, however, until July 1952 that the Institute of Race Relations organized a three-day national conference at the University of the Witwatersrand for the purpose of studying the Report of the Native Education Commission.[40] Some 274 delegates attended, representative of the Churches and

36. Ibid., p. 2 (7). 37. Ibid., p. 2 (8). 38. Ibid., p. 2 (9).
39. UG 53/1951, The Report of the Native Education Commission.
40. SAIRR, Jan Hofmeyr Library Johannesburg, Box 26A, Record of Proceedings of National Conference to study the report of the Native Education Commission, convened by the Institute in July 1952.

Missions, educational bodies, the Universities, members of Governing Boards, Superintendents, Managers, Wardens, Principals and members of staff from training colleges and schools. The Provincial Education Departments sent their Chief Inspectors of Native Education and their Senior Inspectors, the churches their Superintendents of Mission Schools.

This conference therefore was widely representative of all those actively engaged in African education at the time. Although Archbishop Denis Hurley led a strong delegation from the Roman Catholic Church who were not members of the C.C.S.A., it was surprising to find that no Anglican Bishop was present. The C.P.S.A. was represented by official delegates from only three dioceses: the Revd. R. Fane from Grahamstown, Archdeacon R.P.Y. Rouse of Johannesburg and the Revd. Mark Nye of Pretoria. Fr. Trevor Huddleston represented the Community of the Resurrection and the Revd. C.F. Martin the Society of the Sacred Mission. Also present were delegates from some of the major Anglican church schools and colleges, like Khaiso School Pietersburg (the Revd. R.M. Jeffery) and the Modderpoort Schools (the Revd. C.B. Hemsley). Mr H.A. Fynes-Clinton represented St. Chad's College, Ladysmith, Mr D.H. Darling St. Peter's Secondary School, Johannesburg, the Revd. Fane St.Philip's Schools Grahamstown and Mr M.P. Ngaloshe St. Cuthbert's Secondary School, Tsolo. Amongst the 63 schools and colleges represented were the leading institutions of all the denominations: Adams, Blytheswood, Eshowe Zulu Lutheran High, Healdtown, Inanda, Indaleni, Kilnerton, Lemana, Lovedale, Mariazell, Ohlange, Pholela, Pimville, St. Ansgar's,Tigerskloof, the Jan Hofmeyr School for Social Work and the Wilberforce Institute. In many instances both the Principal and the Chairman of the governing board attended.[41] A more representative gathering of those engaged in African education could hardly have been assembled, and they met as the Defiance Campaign began.

For the first two days of the conference six groups studied different aspects of the Eiselen Commission's Report. In that time they also heard an opening address from H.R. Raikes, Principal

41. Ibid., pp. 28-9.

of the University of the Witwatersrand, and three papers. The first was by Dr. Winifred Hoernlé and Dr. Ellen Hellman on "The analysis of social change and its bearing on education" (published by Race Relations as RR 98/52), and the second by Dr. H. Jowett C.M.G., Principal of the University College of Roma in Basutoland, on "Educational policies in other African territories" (RR 105/52). The third was by Dr. Simon Biesheuval M.B.E., Director of the National Institute of Personnel Research, on "Education and the African in a developing society".[42] The findings of each group were submitted to the full conference in a plenary session that lasted the whole of the third day. There they were discussed and amended, final editing being entrusted to a small continuation committee elected for the purpose. It is significant that church representatives who had expressed their views so divergently in replying to Dr. Eiselen's questionnaire in 1949, and who spanned a wide spectrum of opinion, at this conference succeeded in achieving such unanimity over a considerable range of questions.

The conference welcomed "the careful analyses of facts" in the preamble to the Eiselen Report, and the "timely criticism of much in the present system which needs review and alteration".[43] It believed that "Africans are not culturally, economically or politically 'independent',but that they are an integral part of South African Society".[44] It "regretted" the suggestion that "missionary control should be gradually abolished" and "upheld" the "necessity of preserving missionary inspiration and control as a vital element in the school system in order to safeguard the permanence of religious faith and ideals".[45] The need was so great that "there need be no rivalry between Government schools and aided mission schools".[46] Thus the Commission's proposal to set up a Division of Bantu Affairs for the control and administration of African education by a Department of Bantu Education was "entirely unacceptable". Provincial control of primary, secondary and teacher-training schools should be retained.[47] The co-ordination of African education should be achieved by the extension of the membership and powers of the Union Board for Native Education.[48] Whilst some of the differences between

42. Ibid., p. 1. 43. Ibid., p. 2 (1). 44. Ibid., p. 2, (2).
45. Ibid., p. 2, (4). 46. Ibid., p. 2 (5) 47. Ibid., p. 3, (9) and (10).
48. Ibid., p. 3, (11).

Provinces were "unnecessary and undesirable", the Conference did not see the need for "absolute uniformity".[49] The Conference saw no conflict between the role of the Government and of the Church and missionary bodies.

> Government efforts and resources should be directed to the provision of education for the two-thirds of the African school-age population as yet unprovided for 50

and "no effort should be spared to provide financial aid for all worthy schools without delay".[51] Hence,

> Government-aided and private mission schools should remain under missionary control working parallel to Government, tribal and community schools. 52

The Eiselen Commission had recommended a return to the old system, whereby the financing of African education would come only from direct taxation.[53] The Conference, however, endorsed Professor Murray's minority report that "this would involve the dangerous principle of differentiated taxation", and observed that in any case "the Bantu forms an integral part of the system of producing the total income of the country".[54] What was required was that the Government and Provincial Administrations should "educate European public opinion on the need to greatly increase expenditure on educational facilities for Africans".[55]

"Every effort should be made to introduce compulsory education as soon as possible".[52] This would mean that building programmes would have to be "considerably accelerated" and the platoon (or double session) system be accepted "until South Africa catches up with its school building programme for Africans".[57] There should be "no special 'Bantu' curriculum" in vocational courses at Secondary Schools.[58] With regard to teacher training, the Conference was against the system proposed in the Commission's report, which "aims at restricting potential teachers to a particular type of training college".[59] Nor did the Conference agree with the criticism in the report that "pupils were drawn from wide areas in the Union."[60] This was certainly not a "fundamental

49. Ibid., p. 4, (13). 50. Ibid., p. 4, (16). 51. Ibid., p. 4, (17).
52. Ibid., p. 4, (15)
53. UG 53/1951, The Report of the Native Education Commission, op. cit., 1027 (d).
54. Ibid., p. 180.
55. SAIRR, Record of Proceedings of Conference, op. cit., p. 6 (26).
56. Ibid., p. 9, (51). 57. Ibid., p. 10, (53). 58. Ibid., p. 14, (83).
59. Ibid., p. 17, (93) (cf. Native Education Commission Report op. cit., paras 950, 971).
60. Ibid., p. 16, (92c) (cf. Native Education Commission Report, op. cit., para 675c).

weakness", whereas "freedom of choice [for] parents is a fundamental right".[61]

The Conference reserved its strongest condemnation for the proposal that University education for Africans should be subsidized by a Department of Bantu Education. "Universities for Africans would cease to enjoy academic and administrative autonomy so carefully guarded for other Universities" by the Union Department of Education.[62] It "regretted" that the Report had "accepted the segregated system of University education as its ultimate ideal" and considered that "African students should be free to apply to attend courses at the University of their choice".[63] Recognizing that industry suffered from "the lack of adequate technical and industrial educational facilities" as well as from "the restricted range of openings for the use of skills and aptitudes of Africans" the Conference favoured the extension of general education and practical training within industry.[64] Thus it expressed concern that the Eiselen Commission proposed a strict control of adult education.[65] Rather it believed that

> .... encouragement should be given to individuals, churches, local authorities and other organizations to undertake literacy work with the necessary latitude to experiment.[66]

The control of adult education should remain with the Union Department of Education.[67]

This summary of the Conference's findings shows how detailed consideration was given to the whole range of issues dealt with by the Eiselen Commission. However, the important fact that it illustrated was the wide measure of agreement that existed amongst those who were actively involved in African education at the time. They came from churches and missionary bodies who were members of the C.C.S.A., as well as from the Roman Catholic Church, which was not at that time a member of the Christian Council. This Conference succeeded in bringing together those who had the task of running the Church schools, as well as some of those directly

61. Ibid.
62. Ibid., p. 18 (98), (cf. Native Education Commission Report paras 876 and 892).
63. Ibid., p. 19, (101) and (104). 64. Ibid., p. 19, (106) and (107)-(113).
65. Ibid., p. 22, (cf. Native Education Commission Report, p. 213, paras 4 and 5).
66. Ibid., p. 22, (125b). 67. Ibid., p. 24, (135).

interested in the welfare of the African. What the S.A.I.R.R. could not do, however, was to convene a meeting of church leaders in order to work out a common strategy to combat the threat posed to the churches' "African work" by the proposed take-over of mission schools, and the centralization of African education under a Department of Bantu Education and Administration in Pretoria. The report of the Eiselen Commission did not explicitly say that the churches would be required to hand over all their schools, but it was clear enough that both the financing and the control of African education would belong to the central Government, and that the churches would cease to have much influence over the conduct of community schools, with only a minimal representation on school committees that would be dominated by official nominees.

CHRISTIAN NATIONAL EDUCATION.

There was an important correlation between the principles of "Bantu Education" set forth by the Eiselen Commission and Afrikaner ideas about Christian National Education (C.N.E.) being promoted by the Broederbond and its satellite organizations at the time. An understanding of the background to the development of this movement within Afrikanerdom for C.N.E., together with the contents of a policy statement published early in 1948 by Die Instituut vir Christelike Nasionale Onderwys is important for our consideration of Bantu Education.[68] This is because the philosophy of Bantu Education seemed to rest upon some of the leading premises of C.N.E., and it was those principles of C.N.E., adopted by the proponents of Bantu Education, which were to be the main points of contention between the churches and the Government.

The origins of the movement for Christian National Education lie in the strong Boer reaction to Lord Alfred Milner's policy

68. CPSA Archive AB 1014, Christian Education Movement Records, 1950-63. I.C.N.O. Christian-National Education policy, Mimeo, 14 pp., Preface, p.1, by J.C. van Rooy, Chairman of F.A.K., Johannesburg, February 1948. English translation by J. Chr. Coetzee, Potchefstroom, 17.4.1949. See also VATCHER, W.H., White Laager, London: Pall Mall 1965, Appendix V, pp. 288-301, and Natal Witness, 20.8.1959, "Brief analysis of the CNE approach to Education" by Professor R.G. MacMillan.

in the Transvaal between 1902 and 1910 of trying to anglicize the Afrikaner in State schools. Led by the ministers of their churches, the defeated Afrikaners of the Boer Republics established at their own expense their own schools, in which the mother tongue (Dutch) was to be the sole medium of education. Thus according to J.C. van Rooy, Chairman of the F.A.K., "the soul of our nation remained alive in the younger generation".[69] In 1937 a commission appointed by the Transvaal Provincial Council to report on the language-medium question in state schools recommended that Afrikaans and English-speaking children from the same community should, wherever possible, be at school together in parallel or dual-medium schools. However, four members of the commission, including the chairman, Ds. William Nicol, then Moderator of the N.G.K. (Transvaal), signed a minority report calling for separate schools for each language group.[70] To Nationalists it was evident that the fusion Government of Generals Hertzog and Smuts was going to adopt a policy of bilingualism in dual-medium state schools. This was seen as a threat by the Broederbond and its cultural satellite the F.A.K., which in July 1939 organized a special congress on Christian National Education at which the Instituut vir Christelike Nasionale Onderwys was founded.[71]

Originally C.N.E. was never conceived as anything more than a policy for Afrikaans children in their own schools, which, said Van Rooy, "must not be merely mother tongue schools. They must be in the true sense of the word Christian and National schools."

> They must be places where our children are steeped and nourished in the Christian-National spiritual cultural stuff of our nation .... we do not want any mixture of languages, or culture, of religion, or of race. 72

In February 1948 the I.C.N.O. Executive proudly published its policy statement, the fruit of nine years' labour. Among the members of this group were two figures of considerable influence in Dr. D.F. Malan's cabinet; Dr. T.E. Dönges the Minister of the Interior, and Dr. E.G. Jansen, Minister of Native Administration until 1950, when he became South Africa's first Afrikaner Governor-

69. Ibid.
70. MALHERBE, E.G., Education in South Africa, Vol. II, 1923-1975, Cape Town: Juta 1977, p. 40.
71. CPSA Archive AB 1014, ICNO Christian-National Education Policy op. cit., cf. MALHERBE, op. cit., pp. 6 ff., 30 ff, 39 ff.
72. Preface to ICNO Christian-National Education Policy, loc. cit.

General. But for Dr. D.F. Malan's election victory in 1948 this document might have remained an archival curiosity. However, on its publication in English in 1949 the document suddenly assumed a new importance, because it represented the educational theory of many in powerful positions in the new Government. Because of its implications for the revision of the Transvaal Education Ordinance, the subject of Christian National Education became the dominant issue of the Provincial elections of March 1949, in which the Nationalists won control of the Transvaal Provincial Council for the first time by winning 34 out of the 65 seats.[73] These developments were regarded with deep concern by many educationists. Dr. F.E. Auerbach later made a cogent case to show that a deliberate policy of Christian National Education has been adopted by the Transvaal Education Department, by making an enquiry into history text books and syllabuses used in Transvaal High Schools.[74] In 1950, Natal's Provincial Director of Education, Dr. Murray Booysen, emphasized that he would "not countenance the introduction of so-called Christian-National Education in the schools under his control" and that he would "take disciplinary action if it [was] reported that any attempt [was] made to do so".[75]

What then is Christian National Education ? Whilst the influence of C.N.E. theories in white schools may be debatable, and that debate need not concern us here, an understanding of the contents of the I.C.N.O.'s policy statement is important for our consideration of Bantu Education. By itself the proposal that the state should take over the financing and the control of African education might have occasioned little controversy. It was, however, the influence of C.N.E. principles upon the architects of the Eiselen Commission Report and the Bantu Education Act which gave the English-speaking churches their chief grounds for objection.[76]

73. The Natal Mercury, 12.3.1949, "Provincial Election Results". See above, Chapter Five, p. 180, reference 1.
74. AUERBACH, F.E., The Power of Prejudice in South African Education, an Enquiry into History text books and syllabuses in the Transvaal High Schools in South Africa. Cape Town & Amsterdam: A.A. Balkema 1965.
75. Christian Council Quarterly, August 1950, p. 2.
76. Church News, 19.5.1954, p. 71, "Calvinist Indoctrination or Christian Education?".

The main concern of the Christian Council with the I.C.N.O. policy statement was that it sought to make education "the tool of politics". The Christian Council held that "no subject in the curriculum may legitimately be used for any form of national propaganda".[77] Whilst sympathizing with Afrikaans people in their desire that their tradition be handed on, they were concerned that there should be

> .... no narrowness of outlook and that the religious freedom of those Afrikaans children who do not belong to the three Afrikaans churches should be respected. 78

Article One of the I.C.N.O. policy stated that

> The Christian foundation of this view of life and the world [was] based on Holy Scripture and formulated in the Articles of Faith of the three Afrikaans churches. 79

"National Education" was defined as

> .... education in which the national principle of love for one's own finds effective expression on the basis and within the scope of the Christian principle in the whole content of education and in all activities of the school. 80

The aim of education was seen as "the controlling, guidance and formation (vorming) of a child's development into an adult" and "instruction in the subject of 'Civics' would be such that it will rear Christian and National citizens".[81] The teaching of Geography should be "rooted in" a "thorough knowledge of our own native land".[82] Together with teaching in the mother tongue, the teaching of "national history is the important means of fostering love for one's own", and this would be done on the premiss that "God .... willed separate nations and peoples, and has given to each separate nation and people its special calling and task and talents".[83] There should be no mixed schools. "The parents as an organized group .... in co-operation with the church and the state [should] establish, maintain and control the schools".[84] However, "in ordinary circumstances the church does not establish schools", and it was the state, "as the institution for the maintenance of justice in human society [that] should see to it that a proper standard of popular education is maintained."[85] The

77. Wits. Archive, CCSA Papers, "A critical commentary of the I.C.N.O. Statement of Education Policy in the Light of Christian Principles", 30.1.1950, p. 2.
78. Ibid.
79. CPSA Archive AB 1014, ICNO Christian-National Education Policy op. cit., p. 3.
80. Ibid., p. 3, Article 3. 81. Ibid., p. 4, Article 5 and p. 5, Article 6.4.
82. Ibid., p. 5, Article 6.5. 83. Ibid., p. 6, Article 6.6.
84. Ibid., p. 7, Articles 8.1, 8.3. 85. Ibid., p. 7, Articles 8.4. and 8.5.

"control of the schools should in the first instance be in the hands of the parents; the church may exercise control only through the agency of the parents". Thus great emphasis was placed upon "school committees for individual schools."[86]

In "Coloured Education" the "principle of guardianship of the non-European by the European and particularly by the Afrikaner" was accepted, and it was stated that

> We believe that he can be made race-conscious if the principle of "apartness" (apartheid) is just as strictly applied in education as in his church life. 87

With regard to "Native Education" it was "the calling and task of white South Africa .... to Christianize him and to assist him culturally", and this would find expression in "the principles of guardianship, no levelling and segregation". Furthermore,

> The education of the native should be based on the life and world view of the European, more particularly that of the Boer nation as the Senior European guardian of the native, and that the native should be led to a mutatis mutandis but independent acceptance of the Christian and National principles in education. 88

The mother tongue was to be the medium of education, and both official languages should be learned. The financing of both Coloured and Native education "should not be provided at the cost of European education".[89] Thus, as Father Huddleston is reported to have said, "We are told we must love our own - at the expense of our neighbour".[90]

The publication of the I.C.N.O. policy caused understandable alarm amongst many educationists and teachers, and particularly so when both the Cape and the Transvaal Congresses of the National Party passed resolutions supporting the policy in October and November 1948, and urged the Government to "bring about systematic changes in our system of education to conform with the Christian National Education policy which was approved by the F.A.K."[91] The Education League was constituted by a group of university

86. Ibid., p. 8, Article 8.7. 87. Ibid., p. 11, Article 14.
88. Ibid., p. 11, Article 15 (my italics).
89. Ibid., pp. 11-12, Articles 14, 15.
90. VATCHER, op. cit., p. 100.
91. EDUCATION LEAGUE, Blueprint for Blackout, Johannesburg: Education League 1949. The Cape Congress of the National Party was on 27.10.1948, and the Transvaal one on 17.11.1948.

and school teachers on the Witwatersrand, and in January 1949 they published a booklet Blueprint for Blackout, which by July 1949 had been given five impressions and a second and enlarged edition. This publication made a forceful criticism of the I.C.N.O.'s policy, observing that its favourite synonym for "education" was the sinister "vorming", and declared, "We want our children to be educated not indoctrinated".[92] The Education League drew attention to the implications of this policy being implemented in Afrikaans schools.

> The Afrikaans speaking people make up over 60% of the white population i.e. of the voting population. Imagine what would happen even in one generation: 60% of the white population will have been brought up in ignorance of anybody not exactly like themselves; suspicious of what is "foreign", taught (as we shall show) to stamp out in themselves and others all freedom of thought and generosity of spirit. Criticism will be "treason". 93

The South African Teachers' Association (Cape) (S.A.T.A.), published Christian National Education, a Critical Commentary. S.A.T.A. believed that Civics should be a "training field for democracy", not a "'moulding' of a severely restrictive type". Geography, in which "every people and nation is attached to its own native soil, allotted to it by the Creator" would be a "travesty of the known facts of history". In the teaching of History, "the exponents of this policy are deliberately glorifying racial separation".[94] S.A.T.A. "condemned" the I.C.N.O document which, it averred, if translated into practice "would make South Africa a byword for bigoted, retrogressive and educationally unsound principles".[95]

Constance Pollock, President of the South African League of Women Voters, contributed an article to the magazine of the Diocese of Pretoria criticizing the C.N.E. scheme as "neither Christian, national nor educational" because "the basis of the scheme is not education of the child for his own benefit but instruction of the child for the benefit of the authority bestowing that instruction".[96]

92, 93. Ibid.

94. SAIRR, Jan Hofmeyr Library, Johannesburg, Box 26A, undated pamphlet published by the South African Teachers' Association (probably 1949), "Christian National Education, a Critical Commentary". p. 11.

95. Ibid.

96. The Kingdom, June 1949, "A few Salient Points on Christian National Education", pp. 4-5.

The Christian Education Movement issued a statement in July 1949 stressing that whilst "all sincere attempts to base education in South Africa on a firm Christian foundation [were] welcome", this education should be "directed solely to the Glory of God and not to any partisan ends", and stressed that "within the compulsory system of state education no one religious viewpoint should be pressed upon teachers or pupils".[97]

In January 1950 the Christian Education Movement's critical commentary on the I.C.N.O. statement was circulated amongst members of the Christian Council and approved, with minor amendments, to be published in August 1950.[98] Like the S.A.T.A., the C.E.M. believed that the teaching of Civics "must not be used for the promotion of selfish sectional interests". In regard to Geography and History

> The "Beleid" would appear to claim divine sanction for national interests which we believe to be dangerous presumptuous and untrue.

So far as Science and Religion were concerned, "the distinction between Christian and non-Christian science made in the 'beleid' is entirely unwarranted".[99] In March 1952 Margaret Snell, the Secretary of the Christian Education Movement, issued the C.E.M.'s own Plan for Christian Education in South Africa , in conjunction with the Christian Council. This encouraged Christian boys and girls to consider teaching as a vocation, pointed to the "many Christian teachers who felt incompetent to undertake religious instruction" and urged that theological faculties be established at all universities, and that there be better opportunities for courses in Biblical Studies at Teachers' Training Colleges.[100] The Christian Education Movement in this period, led by its Chairman Canon Charles Cranswick and Secretary Margaret Snell, gave strong encouragement to the teaching of theology in universities. Initiated by the C.E.M., there were successful negotiations between the churches and the Universities of Natal, the Witwatersrand and Rhodes

97. Christian Education, No. 29, October 1949, p. 2.
98. Christian Council Quarterly, August 1952, pp. 2-3, and CPSA Archive AB 1014, Christian Education Movement Records 1950-63 CC 2/50, mimeo 6 pp, with amendments circulated by the Secretary of the Christian Council, Stanley G. Pitts, 30.1.1950.
99. Ibid., p. 3.
100. C.E.M. & CCSA, A Plan for Christian Education in South Africa, Johannesburg: C.E.M. in conjunction with the CCSA, March 1952. pp. 14-15.

(Grahamstown), which later led to new chairs of divinity being established at these universities.[101]

C.N.E. also attracted severe criticism in Diocesan magazines and Church newspapers.[102] At the height of the controversy, in July 1949, Die Kerkbode, dismayed by all the furore over what seemed to it a perfectly reasonable policy which had precedents in England and Holland, complained that the Christian Education Movement was promoting precisely the same principles in Natal.[103]

It was in the ideas of the Instituut vir Christelike Nasionale Onderwys that the Eiselen Commission for Native Education found its guiding principles. Nor is it without significance that the Eiselen Commission did its work in the period when the C.N.E. controversy waxed loud and strong. In 1958 Dr. Edgar Brookes observed how the views of the Institute for Christian National Education on the education of Africans are "of very special importance as they form essentially the basis of the Eiselen Commission's Report on Native Education (1949-1951) which in turn forms the basis of the Bantu Education Act of 1953".[104] Dr. C.J. Juta in his unpublished doctoral thesis in 1965 observed that

> All the ingredients of Christian National Education were present in the recommendations of the report, namely schools and syllabuses of a "Christian" character, mother-tongue

101. CPSA Archive AB 1014 Christian Education Records 1950-63, Summary of the work of the Christian Education Movement 1942-1956, p. 2:
"When C.E.M. started (1942) there were no courses in Divinity at any English-speaking university in South Africa .... It was owing to a revival of discussion on the desirability of a chair of Theology at Rhodes University on the part of our first Natal Committee that the establishment of the Chair took place. Courses offered are mainly used by men training for the ministry in our churches but some are also used by prospective teachers.

"During her two year term as Organizing Secretary, in 1947 talks were initiated by Miss Kachelhoffer which resulted in the establishment of the Department of Divinity at the University of Natal. A steady stream of men and women who have taken courses under that Department now go out each year to teach in high schools, and, in the last year, the training given in Biblical content has been supplemented by lectures on Method given under the Department of Education.

"Discussions between church leaders have now been initiated by C.E.M. with regard to the desirability of a Department of Divinity at the University of the Witwatersrand, and it is hoped that an approach to the University Council may soon be made with an offer of financial assistance from the main English-speaking churches. Financial assistance from the churches has also under-written the previous establishments".

102. e.g. The Kingdom, July 1949; George Diocesan Magazine July 1952.

103. Die Kerkbode, 6.4.1949, "Die C.N.O. Belied", p. 11.

104. BROOKES, E.H. & MACAULAY J.B., Civil Liberty in South Africa, Cape Town: OUP1958 p 113.

> education, the development of "National" characteristics of the African society, parent-participation .... It can safely be claimed that in the field of African education the government clearly implemented a Christian National policy. 105

Where it had been the Christian Council and the Christian Education Movement which had taken the initiative to articulate the churches' response to C.N.E., it was the Anglican Diocese of Johannesburg which led the way in responding to the Eiselen Commission's Report on Native Education. A committee appointed by the Bishop, Ambrose Reeves, under the leadership of his Archdeacon for Native Missions, R.P.Y. Rouse, compiled a cogent reply to these new proposals regarding "Bantu" education. Whether it is because all records have not been lodged in the C.P.S.A. Archive, or due to the fact that other dioceses lacked the necessary motivation to undertake the considerable task that a thorough study of the Eiselen Commission Report entailed is unclear, the conclusion however can safely be made from the evidence of the Johannesburg Commission's Report itself that Anglicans in that diocese were uniquely alert to the threat posed to church schools by Dr. Eiselen's Report.

Archdeacon Rouse's Committee made it clear that they were "grateful for the painstaking care" that had been devoted to the collection of data, and considered that the Report deserved "careful consideration." While many of its recommendations "especially those dealing with improvements in the administration and functioning of schools .... can be accepted by all interested in education", there were other recommendations however, where the Committee differed "on points of principle".[106] They considered that the Eiselen Commission's emphasis on the maintenance and development of "Bantu culture", and the statement of the general function of education as being "to transmit the culture of a Bantu society from its more mature to its immature members" was at the root of the problem.[107] It was "impossible for the Bantu now to develop along his own lines

105. JUTA, C.J., Aspects of Afrikaner Nationalism, unpublished doctoral thesis for Natal University, 1965, p. 175.
106. CPSA Archives AB 388, Reeves papers. Bantu Education. Diocese of Johannesburg, undated memorandum on the Report on the Commission on Native Education (1949-51) compiled by a committee appointed by the Lord Bishop of Johannesburg, Introduction, p. 1.
107. UG 53/1951, Report of the Commission on Native Education, op. cit., p. 129 para 754.

because he has already been powerfully acted upon by outside influences" and any system of education "should not attempt to reverse the process".[108] The suggestion in the report that

> .... the Bantu should exist in a self-contained society, separate from the rest of society and in a subordinate position, and that the Bantu should be educated within this limitation and his education induce him to be satisfied with the position which is planned for him ....

was "unsound educationally, socially and politically".[109] Education should be based upon the general principle of "a respect for the personality of each child so that his capabilities, given to him by the Creator, are developed to their fullest extent because each child is precious in the sight of God".[110]

> In what other country in the world would considerations of social and economic opportunities affect the effort of providing the best education possible for its youth ? 111

The Johannesburg committee thought that the Commission's criticism of mission schools "borders on the superficial", and pointed out that the criticisms would have been obviated had the State stepped in earlier to share responsibility in the work of education.

> It is questionable if the missions had not established schools here there and everywhere with such meagre material at their disposal whether the Commission would have had any education of Bantu children to consider at all.
>
> .... We are of the opinion that the criticism of the present situation, necessary as such criticism is, does not call for the radical change recommended. 112

The committee also pointed out that the period in which the change-over to state control would take place was left indefinite.

> If the State is to take over the schools it must do so immediately and then plan the future policy. We suggest that this radical change is unnecessary. 113

They also believed that the Native Affairs Department "would not be so constituted as to ensure that education would be in the hands of those who had the interests of education most at heart".[114] Nor

108. CPSA Archives AB 388 loc. cit., Memorandum op. cit., p. 1, II, Bantu Culture.
109. Ibid., p. 2, III, Principles of Education.
110. Ibid., III (a).
111. Ibid., p. 3, V, Critical appraisal of the present system.
112. Ibid., p. 4.
113. Ibid., p. 4, VI, The Future of Mission Schools.
114. Ibid., p. 5, VIII, Administration and Finance of Schools.

could they agree that there was a lack of participation on the part of the Bantu themselves in education, and they considered that "the proposed elaborate structure, with the preponderance of official representatives, will offer less scope and less incentive for this hitherto active participation", and concluded:

> .... although the report expresses the hope (see para. 1043, page 163) that the Bantu and the Missions will still play an important role in conducting and financing schools, we believe that this hope will not be endorsed by either the Bantu or the Missions. 115

Whilst the Government could obviously rely on support from the Afrikaans churches for the Eiselen Commission's proposals regarding Bantu Education, widespread opposition had been expressed by all those from the English-speaking church and mission schools who had attended the conference called by the Institute of Race Relations in July 1952. The following chapter will look in greater detail at the churches' response to the new proposals. The contradictory replies made to Dr. Eiselen's questionnaire in 1949, however, must have reassured the Government that the English-speaking churches were by no means unanimous in their determination to resist the proposed take-over of church schools. Thus, with an increased majority in Parliament, the Nationalists turned to the implementation of the next phase of their apartheid programme in the new session of Parliament, which began on 3rd July 1953.

THE BANTU EDUCATION ACT, No. 47 of 1953.

The Bantu Education Bill was introduced half way through the session, on 11th August 1953. Despite consistent opposition from the United Party, the Natives' Representatives and the Labour Party, the Bill passed through all its stages between 17th and 29th September.

The Act transferred the control of Native Education from the four Provincial Administrations to the Union Government's Department of Native Affairs.[116] Everyone who on 1st July 1953 was

115. Ibid.
116. Government Gazette, Act No. 47 of 1953, Clause 2.

serving under a Provincial administration in connection with Native Education was transferred, with the approval of the Minister, acting in consultation with the Administrator of the Province concerned, to the Department of Native Administration, "unless the Minister, acting in consultation with the Administrator of the province concerned decides otherwise".[117] The Act then gave discretionary powers to the Minister of Native Affairs over a whole range of matters: with regard to financial assistance to Bantu Community Schools "the Minister may, on such special conditions as he may stipulate and in accordance with such general principles as he may determine in consultation with the Minister of Finance" subsidize or "in his discretion at any time suspend, reduce or withdraw" the subsidy of any state school.[118] With regard to grants-in-aid to state-aided Native schools,

> .... the Minister may, on such special conditions as he may stipulate and in accordance with such general principles as he may determine in consultation with the Minister of Finance ....

make grants-in-aid to any native school approved by him. Again,

> The Minister may, in his discretion, at any time suspend, reduce, or withdraw any grant made under this section or revoke his approval of any native school. 119

It was made a criminal offence punishable by a fine of £50 or six months' imprisonment to "establish, conduct or maintain" a school that had not been registered by the Minister.[120]

The Minister was given the power to prescribe the conditions of service for teachers in Government Bantu Schools, to provide for the "active participation of the Bantu people in the control and management of Government Bantu Schools", and to expropriate "any land required for the purpose of a Government Bantu School".[121]

The final clause (15) gave the Minister even more extensive powers to make regulations. These covered prescribing a code of discipline for teachers, the medium of instruction, the provision of religious instruction and the establishment of advisory boards.[122] Lest any contingency had been overlooked, the Minister was also

117. Ibid., Clauses 4 and 5.
118. Ibid., Clause 6.
119. Ibid., Clause 8 (1) and (2).
120. Ibid., Clause 9.
121. Ibid., Clauses 10, 12 (1) and 14.
122. Ibid., Clause 15 (1), (c), (e), (f) and (p).

given power to make regulations for

> .... any other matter relating to the establishment, maintenance, management and control of Government Bantu schools or which the Minister may deem necessary or expedient to prescribe for achieving the purposes of this Act .... [123]

Furthermore, such regulations issued by the Minister would have the force of law, for he would have the power to provide penalties for failure to comply with them of a £50 fine or six months' imprisonment.[124]

In introducing the Bantu Education Bill at the second reading on 17th September, the Minister of Native Affairs did little to allay the fears being expressed about the measure. In his speech Dr. H.F. Verwoerd betrayed his suspicions of mission schools which, he considered, were giving "the wrong type of education .... to Natives".

> Good racial relations cannot exist when the education given is under the control of people who create wrong expectations on the part of the Native himself, if such people believe in a policy of equality. [125]

He reminded the House that the United Party Government of Generals Hertzog and Smuts had prepared a Native Education Bill in 1939 which, but for the outbreak of war, would have placed Native Education under the Department of Native Affairs.[126] With the diversity of missionary bodies and provincial authorities, Native Education "in the past was planless [and] undermined communal and parental authority".[127] Provincial control was "inefficient and wasteful" because there were four systems of control and four systems of education.[128] He failed, however, to mention that the division of education on ethnic lines would itself create four separate systems of education, for Europeans, Coloureds, Indians and "Bantu".

He tried to assure the House that he wanted to frame no regulations over which Parliament would have no control.

> All these regulations will have to be laid on the Table of the House and the select committee can deal with them.[129]

Budgetary control would also be exercised by Parliament. To meet the criticism that Bantu Education would offer an inferior

123. Ibid., Clause 15 (1) (s).
124. Ibid., Clause 15, (3) and (4).
125. House of Assembly Debates, 3576/53, 11.9.1953, Minister of Native Affairs.
126. Ibid., 3578/53.
127. Ibid., 3577/53.
128. Ibid., 3578/53.
129. Ibid., 3580/53.

type of education, he stressed that any education had to proceed from the known to the unknown, and had to take account of the needs of both rural and urban workers, as well as "those who would develop to the higher professions". There would be

> .... differentiation of education on a sound basis which takes into account the divisions which in fact exist especially the ethnological position. 130

Dr. Verwoerd was ably supported by Mr D.C. de Wet Nel (Nationalist, Wonderboom), who later succeeded him as Minister of Native Affairs when he became Prime Minister in 1958. Mr Nel said he wanted to refute the three "misconceptions; firstly that Bantu Education would be of "a weak and a low standard", secondly that "tribal education" was a means of "withholding knowledge and education from the native", and thirdly that the Bill was designed to eliminate "the missionary societies who had done so much for Native education".[131]

> We want to give the Native the best, the best in his own interests, and it is not in the least our purpose to give him second-grade education .... [Indeed] the Native population levelled the accusation that the education controlled by the mission societies was an inferior education .... the request and the demand of the Native population was that the State should take control. 132

Without electoral considerations to divert them, the United Party's opposition to the Bantu Education Bill was cogent and consistent. Dr. D.L. Smit (United Party, East London City) replied on behalf of the Opposition, and received firm backing for his amendment from the Natives' Representatives and the Labour Party. His amendment was that the Bill "be read this day six months", the most stringent form of criticism known to parliamentary procedure short of opposing a measure at its first reading. There were four main grounds for the United Party's opposition to the measure. Firstly it would "abridge the powers conferred on the Provincial Councils". In terms of Act No. 35 of 1934 these could not be changed "except by petition to Parliament by the province concerned".[134] Secondly, "the principles of education

130. Ibid., 3580/53.
131. Ibid., 4044-6/53, 23.9.1953, Mr de Wet Nel.
132. Ibid., 4046-7/53.
133. Ibid., 3599/53, 17.9.1953, Dr. D.L. Smit.
134. Ibid., 3592/53.

are the same for all races and the body that controls education of other races should also control Native education".[135] Thirdly, "the Native will feel that he is getting a system of education which is different from and inferior to that which is being given to other races", and this would be "resented".[136] Fourthly, "the Minister will have extensive powers to legislate by regulation in his office, in place of the Ordinances that are discussed in open council by the provinces".[137] The Bill, however, quickly passed through all its stages in Parliament and received the Governor General's assent on 5th October 1953.

The first clear indications of how the Act would be implemented came in a speech by Dr. W.W.M. Eiselen, Secretary for Native Affairs, in a speech to the United Transkeian Territories General Council (the Bunga) on 27th April 1954.[138] Dr. Eiselen began by saying that he would address them in English. He hoped however that in the near future they could conform to the language requirements of the South Africa Act by using English and Afrikaans in alternate years, having noted an item on the agenda requesting "the inclusion of Afrikaans in the syllabus of your schools."

> I wish to assure you that provision for the teaching of Afrikaans in your schools will be made at an early date in order to help the Transkeian people to become conversant with both official languages. 139

Although the Bunga system was there for consultation, it was clear that Dr. Eiselen's purpose in addressing them was merely "to explain why the Government decided to transfer the control of Bantu Education to the Department of Native Affairs".[140] Firstly, he claimed the mission schools had not become "community schools". While a school was open to all, he argued that it was controlled by a church representing only one section of the community.[141] Secondly, there was a "lack of uniformity in administration" and "provincial departments lacked the power to co-ordinate effectively education with the development of the Bantu community".[142] Thirdly,

135. Ibid., 3597/53. 136. Ibid., 3598/53. 137. Ibid.
138. SAIRR Jan Hofmeyr Library Johannesburg, Box 26A Bantu Education, "Co-ordination of Bantu Education and Bantu Development" by W.W.M. Eiselen, mimeo 8 pp., opening address at 24th Session of the United Transkeian Territories General Council, 27.4.1954. cf. The Times, 28.4.1954, "Bantu Education: S. African Government Plans Explained".
139. Ibid., p. 1. 140. Ibid., p. 3. 141. Ibid., p. 4.
142. Ibid., p. 5.

"Native Schools" were "divorced from the life of the community". The school that was "merely within the community must become the school of the community".[143] The only department "capable of bringing about a close co-ordination of Bantu Education and Bantu development" was the Department of Native Affairs, and the purpose of placing Bantu Education under this Department was "to link it in effectively with a comprehensive development programme".[144]

He emphasized that the "home language would be the medium of instruction".[145] In order to admit more pupils the double session of three hours would be introduced in the sub-standards.[146] Regular attendance would be insisted on, and pupils who did not attend regularly would be struck off the roll to make way for others.[147] Since it was "essential to employ women in the lower classes", assistants' posts for male teachers in primary schools would be eliminated gradually.[148] The training of teachers would be planned and supervised by the Department.[149] Opportunities for advancement as Education Officers and Inspectors would be enhanced.[150] The old five-mile radius rule governing the establishment of schools would be abolished.[151] The teaching of both official languages would be introduced in all primary schools "as soon as circumstances permit".[152] The object was that the control and administration of Bantu Education should have the "active participation" of and be the "responsibility" of the Bantu themselves.[153]

If the publication of the Eiselen Commission Report had aroused some misgivings in the mission schools for their future, it was the speeches of its proposers,and the enactment of the Bantu Education Act in October 1953 which intensified these anxieties. The Minister of Native Affairs already had the widest powers to regulate the lives of Africans in terms of the Urban Areas legislation of 1945, the Group Areas Act of 1950 and the influx control regulations. The Institute of Race Relations

143. Ibid., pp. 5 and 6.
144. Ibid., p. 7 (a).
145. Ibid.
146. Ibid., p. 7 (b).
147. Ibid., p. 8, (c), (d) and (e).
148. Ibid., (f).
149. Ibid., (i).
150. Ibid., (h).
151. Ibid., (i).
152. Ibid., (g).
153. Ibid., p. 8, (my italics).

called the expanded Department of Native Affairs and Education "a government within a government".[154] Fears as to how these new powers would be exercised were no whit diminished, nor the idea that Bantu Education was going to be deliberately inferior in any way altered, by the comprehensive statement made to the Senate by Dr. Verwoerd on the Government's policy for the immediate future of Bantu Education on 7th June 1954.[155]

DR. VERWOERD'S SPEECH TO THE SENATE, JUNE 1954.

Dr. Verwoerd spoke of the mission school "being replaced" by the community school, and although there were still to be the same four categories of school under the new system, Dr. Verwoerd said, namely aided mission or church schools, aided community schools; state schools and private schools (that would in future be called "registered schools"), it was plain that the object of Bantu Education was to effect a total "transition from mission to community schools".[156] It was said that "the State is taking over from the churches to prosecute the same work more efficiently", and this meant that "the State must obtain full control over the training of teachers".[157] At the same time Dr. Verwoerd gave the assurance that "there would be no interference with the churches' training of people for their own requirements", i.e. the training of evangelists and ministers.[158] Churches that wished to retain control of a school would have to apply for permission to do so on a reduced grant of 75%, and even this would be only a "provisional" arrangement.[159] Churches would, however, have the choice of retaining control of school hostels, with grants as before, but this too would only be provisional.[160] All private schools must apply for registration, and new schools must not be established

154. SAIRR Jan Hofmeyr Library Johannesburg, Box 26A, RR152/53, Bantu Education Bill, Summary by F.J. van Wyk, 3.9.53, p. 3, Criticism of the Bill, 4 (a).

155. VERWOERD, H.F.. Bantu Education, Policy for the Immediate Future, (statement by the Hon Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs, in the Senate of the Parliament of the Union of South Africa, 7.6.1954), Pretoria: Information Office of the Department of Native Affairs 1954, 24 pp.

156. Ibid., pp. 8, 9, 8(Bis). The term "aided mission or church schools" used by Dr. Verwoerd in his speech, was significantly altered in the Departmental brochure to read "aided schools".

157. Ibid., p. 12 (III).

158. Ibid.

159. Ibid., p. 12 (IV).

160. Ibid., p. 13 (IV).

without the prior approval of the Department.[161] Only readers in the mother tongue and the two official languages would be supplied in primary schools. Pupils were to buy all the books they needed in post-primary schools, and children without other school requisites like pens and exercise books would not be enrolled.[162] The "Bantu Community" would be responsible for the care and maintenance of the buildings and "as far as possible all the work must be carried out by the pupils themselves" as would the daily cleaning of the school buildings and grounds under the supervision of the teachers.[163] School hours in the sub-standards would be shortened from four and a half hours to three hours, and the platoon or double session system introduced in order to accommodate more children.[164]

The establishment of farm schools would combat the "trek from the farms".[165] The churches would be allowed access to give religious instruction to their own adherants, and "a monopoly by one or other church would not be allowed".[166] It was insisted that this instruction be given in the mother tongue. It was the policy of the Department to "do away entirely with the European teacher in Bantu primary schools".[167]

It was stated that both the Natives' Representative Council and the Transkeian General Council had "complained repeatedly" about the lack of attention given to Afrikaans "in two of the provinces". Dr. Verwoerd then announced that "instructions have already been issued to introduce the teaching of Afrikaans immediately" and that the two official languages would receive "equal recognition".[168] Teachers were expected to become bilingual, and in any case "teachers who belong to a church order .... will not be able to serve in teacher training schools".[169]

Dr. Verwoerd then explained the purpose of his policy. "Bantu education should stand with both feet in the reserves and have its roots in the spirit and being of Bantu society".[170]

161. Ibid., (my italics).
162. Ibid., p. 14, (V).
163. Ibid., p. 14, (VI).
164. Ibid., p. 15, (II).
165. Ibid., p. 18, (II) (4).
166. Ibid., p. 18, (III), (2).
167. Ibid., p. 20, (V).
168. Ibid., p. 18.
169. Ibid., p. 21.
170. Ibid., p. 23.

> There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within his own community, however, all doors are open. For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community, where he cannot be absorbed. Until now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze .... the effect on the Bantu community [is].... [the] frustration of educated Natives who can find no employment that is acceptable to them. It is abundantly clear that unplanned education creates many problems, disrupting the community life of the Bantu and endangering the community life of the European.[171]

Thus did Dr. Verwoerd justify the aims of Bantu Education. Yet the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs could claim "There is no intention, as has been alleged, of training the Bantu as a 'labour force for the White man'".[172] Dr. Verwoerd's criticism of mission education was that it "served to create a class of educated and semi-educated persons without the corresponding socio-economic development which should accompany it".

> This is the class which has learnt to believe that it is above its own people and feels that its spiritual, economic and political home is among the civilized community of South Africa i.e. the Europeans, and feels frustrated because its wishes have not been realised.[173]

Thus was a lack of employment opportunities for Africans made the reason for giving them an education commensurate with the station in life which their White masters had allocated for them. Instead of developing the socio-economic system and creating employment on a non-racial basis for well-educated Africans, the Government proposed to level down the education system so that there would no longer be any well-educated "Natives" to become frustrated. It seemed that what the Government was proposing to do was to sacrifice quality for quantity in Bantu Education, and that its main concern was to ensure that a greater proportion of the African population received some sort of education, however rudimentary, in order to bring down the illiteracy rate. Another retrogressive change was in the system of financing Bantu Education, by a return

171. Ibid., p. 24 (my italics).
172. S.A.B.R.A., Bantu Education, Oppression or Opportunity ? Stellenbosch: Pro Ecclesia 1955, p. 24.
173. VERWOERD, Bantu Education,Policy for the Immediate Future op. cit., p. 17.

to the system which applied between 1925 and 1945, when funds for African education came only out of direct Native taxation. Dr. Verwoerd considered that

> A sound pedagogic maxim was sacrificed when there was a deviation from the principle laid down by the establishment of the Native Development Account (1925) under which a direct contribution from the Natives was required in order to earn a subsidy from the State. 174

Accordingly, in the 1954/5 budget a fixed sum of £6,5 million was allocated by Parliament. Whatever was required in excess of that would have to come from direct Bantu taxation.[175] Thus the reforms made by Mr Hofmeyr in 1945 were reversed.

It is not the purpose of this study to assess the actual consequences and achievements of implementing Bantu Education in South Africa. This has already been done most effectively by other authors.[176] Whilst statistics show that more pupils were brought into the education system after 1955, there is clear evidence of a sharp deterioration of standards in Bantu Education schools between 1953 and 1961. The abolition of school feeding in 1949 undoubtedly had deleterious educational consequences, as did the sudden departure of numbers of skilled missionary teachers on no other grounds than that they were white. With data derived from figures cited in the House of Assembly by the Minister of Bantu Education and Administration on 16th May 1962, Muriel Horrell has shown how the matriculation results for African candidates in Bantu Education schools deteriorated between 1953 and 1961 in comparison with those achieved in the few "private" schools which survived the take-over of African Education by the Department of Bantu Administration on 1st April 1955.[177] What was as serious, even if this had not been true, was the fact that Africans perceived this to be so. There can be few grounds to doubt that those who opposed the imposition of Bantu Education and believed that quality had been sacrificed for quantity in the interests of a particular political ideology were correct, and that the continued operation of aided church schools in parallel

174. Ibid., p. 7, (II), (c).
175. S.A.B.R.A., Bantu Education, Oppression or Opportunity ?, op. cit., p. 24.
176. e.g. HORRELL, M., A Decade of Bantu Education, Johannesburg: SAIRR 1964, and HORRELL, M., Bantu Education to 1968, Johannesburg: SAIRR 1968.
177. HORRELL, A Decade of Bantu Education, op. cit., pp. 98 ff.

with the state system would have resulted in a larger and better-educated school-going African population after 1955.

The following two chapters examine the means by which different individuals and groups within the C.P.S.A. expressed their opposition to, or acquiesced in, the imposition of Bantu Education by the Nationalist Government between 1953 and 1956. Perhaps because church leaders all diligently sought to reflect African opinion in their dioceses, it is interesting to see how the spectrum of views articulated were re-echoed by similar divergent attitudes within the A.N.C., and amongst African teachers and parents. Of particular interest is the independent line taken by the Roman Catholic Bishops to retain their schools. The eventual closure of three schools who fought valiantly to keep open in spite of everything, Christ the King Sophiatown, Adams and Grace Dieu, in conclusion provides a vivid case study in the practice of resistance. The most lasting impression left by the study of the grievous conflicts of choice that were thrust upon the English-speaking churches of South Africa by the compulsory take-over of all African education by the Nationalist Government was on the one hand the futility of it all, and on the other the absolute implacability shown by the Minister concerned, Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, in the attainment of his political purposes.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE CHURCHES' RESPONSE TO THE BANTU EDUCATION ACT.

THE ANGLICAN DILEMMA.

The immediate Anglican response to the passage of the Bantu Education Act was given by Episcopal Synod in October 1953 in a wide-ranging statement on racial discrimination.[1] Without any specific use of the words "apartheid", "Bantu Education" or "separate amenities" the Bishops' statement provided a trenchant criticism of all three. It also contained a delicate defence of the practice at that time of not admitting children of all races to Anglican private schools, and the reality that "Europeans" and "Africans" generally worshipped in different buildings. The statement finally ended with a guarded and somewhat ambiguous comment upon the condemnation of racial discrimination by Christian opinion throughout the world.

The main thrust of the Bishops' attack was on apartheid and the Bantu Education Act. It was "morally wrong", they said, "to follow a policy which has as its object the keeping of a particular racial group in a permanent position of inferiority". With regard to education, "it is morally wrong to educate one particular group in such a way as to fit its members only for subordinate and inferior positions". Education, the Bishops averred, "should have the same aim as that for Europeans, namely to make them fit to render the best service to the common life of the country that their natural abilities make possible".[2]

1. Church News, 18.11.1953, No. 11, Vol XIX, "Bishops' Statement on Race Discrimination". Also in CPSA Archive, AB 191 Clayton papers, mimeo 3 pp., "The following statement is issued by the Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa", dated October 1953, and published in Diocesan Magazines for November 1953. For full text, see Appendix. "D".
2. Ibid.

As Archbishop Clayton explained to his diocese,"the criticisms of our statement .... do not attempt to deal with this matter at all. Our critics have been content .... to question our sincerity and to accuse us of inconsistency in our own practice .... "

> We are trying to do a very difficult thing, trying to give expression in our Church life to the principle laid down by St. Paul: "There can be neither Jew nor Greek ...." today in this land St. Paul would have added: "There can be neither European or non-European". We are trying to give expression to that principle in our Church life in a land where the colour-bar prevails. Of course that is a difficult thing to do, and it is not surprising that we are not in every case and in every place completely successful. But that does not mean that the principle is wrong. 3

Besides this firm rejection of Bantu Education, the value of the Bishops' statement was that it also exposed the falsity of the Government's claim that "it would be possible to keep the different racial groups separated and yet to give each group equal opportunities". The Separate Amenities Act thus came in for its share of criticism too:

> Since the passing of legislation which absolves the state from providing equal facilities for different racial groups, it is no longer legitimate to defend racial segregation by claiming that it does not involve any infringement of the principle of equality. 4

The Bishops' condemnation of racial discrimination in general, and in particular of education which had as its aim the subordination of a specific racial group, was cogent, and their challenge was expressed with a dignity and moderation that commanded respect. The crucial issue concerning the state control of mission schools was not, however, mentioned at all, for neither the Eiselen Commission nor the Government had yet given any definitive indication regarding the role of mission schools within the new state-controlled system of Bantu Education.

Nevertheless the Bishops' statement attracted considerable attention both in South Africa and overseas. The London Observer praised the Bishops for "braving the wrath not only of their sister Church [the D.R.C.] but also of some of their own Church members".[5]

3. Good Hope, December 1953, The Archbishop's Letter, "The Bishops and their critics".
4. Church News, 18.11.1953, Bishops' Statement, op. cit.
5. The Observer, 1.11.1953, Comment: "Brave Bishops."

The Archbishop of Canterbury commented on "how admirably the Archbishop and Bishops of the Province of South Africa say precisely what Christian consciences would wish to say".[6] The Cape Times thought that the statement "blows like a fresh wind down the rather musty corridors of South African politics".[7]

Regarding the admission of children of other races to white church schools, the Bishops had also said however that

> As long as the present insistence on social segregation persists it would not be in the interest of the child to grow accustomed at school to a degree of social intimacy which would be impossible after leaving school. 7

From Pretoria, the Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr Eric Louw, reiterated an earlier challenge to the C.P.S.A. to admit non-European children to Anglican church schools. Observing that whilst the Bishops were in favour of doing away with social segregation, "in deference to public opinion" they were prepared to disregard the principles annunciated in their own statement, he asked,

> Can it be that the bishops are also worried about the possible drop in revenue from school fees which would inevitably result if children of well-to-do non-Europeans were admitted to St. Andrew's, Michaelhouse, Diocesan College, St. Cyprian's and other superior Anglican Church Schools ? 8

Criticism from the Government was probably inevitable, but the statement also evoked a strong reaction from another quarter. Mr Thomas Ngwenya of the African National Congress in Cape Town challenged the Bishops for conceding that "linguistic and geographical reasons make it natural that normally Europeans and Africans should worship in different places", for the Bishops had emphasized also that

> an African member of the church is at liberty to worship in any church which he may desire, and no-one has any authority to exclude any Churchman of any race from any of our Churches. 9

Mr Ngwenya said that he saw no difference between Nationalist

6. S.P.G. Reports, 1953/4, (ed. Dewi Morgan), p. 57.
7. Cape Times, 27.10.1953, Editorial, "The Bishops' Statement".
8. Cape Times, 28.10.1953, "Mr Louw Replies to Bishops - Alleged inconsistency in their statement". cf. Church News, 20.12.1950, referring to Mr Louw's earlier challenge to the C.P.S.A. in 1950, "to allow Coloured children to attend private Anglican church schools".
9. Church News 18.11.1953, Bishops' Statement, op. cit. (See Appendix "D", p. 1125.)

policy and the views of the Bishops. Did they really support a policy of "equality" ?[10]

Meanwhile a conference of Anglican school heads had met at St. Benedict's House in Johannesburg, at the behest of the Archbishop, on 30th September, to advise him on this difficult question. They met under the chairmanship of Archdeacon S.P. Woodfield, who served Grace Dieu College as Vice-Principal from 1922-24, and as Principal from 1924 to 1938 and again from 1953 to 1959.[11] In all there were present the Principals of twelve High Schools and Teacher Training Colleges, representing the very best of what were then called "Anglican Native Institutions". If Anglicans wanted a short list of the institutions that they could have tried to retain, they were these: Gore Brown (Kimberley), All Saints, St. John's and St. Cuthbert's (St. John's), St. Matthew's (Grahamstown), St. Chad's and St. Hilda's (Natal), Modderpoort, the S.S.M.'s College in the Bloemfontein Diocese, St. Augustine's (Zululand), St. Peter's, the C.R.'s College (Johannesburg), Khaiso and Grace Dieu (Pretoria).[12]

The conference was able to make what turned out to be a remarkably accurate assessment. Although the terms of the Act gave no clear indication as to the Government's immediate intentions, from a consideration of the Bill, the Eiselen Report, and recent utterances of the Minister, the Headmasters' Conference concluded with sober realism that it was nothing less than "the elimination of Mission controlled schools and institutions" that was Dr. Verwoerd's real objective. They went on to observe that "elimination" could be achieved by expropriation (Bantu Education Act, Section 14), or by withdrawal of recognition (under Section 9). They foresaw the means by which mission schools might be "elbowed out". These were the withdrawal or reduction of grants, the imposition of

10. Cape Times, 29.10.1953, letter from Mr Thomas Ngwenya, 45 Mount Street, Cape Town, "The Bishops".
11. CPSA Archive AB 750, Grace Dieu Diocesan Training College Pietersburg, 1906-1958.
12. CPSA Archive AB 388 Reeves Papers, Bantu Education. Conference of Heads of Anglican Native Institutions held at St. Benedict's House on Wednesday September 30th 1953 at 10.30 a.m., and Memorandum on Bantu Education Act. Those present were: Archdeacons S.P. Woodfield and S.W. Wade, Revd. A.C. Atkinson, N. Blamires, R.M. Jeffery, K.A. Johnson, J. Shand, Fr. Shrive SSJE, Br. P. True SSM, Miss Prestcott, D.H. Darling, H.A. Fynes Clinton and D.L. Shange.

syllabuses that cut across religious convictions, the withdrawal of grants for European teachers or the creation of "Community" schools in competition with mission schools. They recommended that the first concern of the church should be to hold fast to post-primary schools, and that wherever primary mission schools were lost, Sunday School work should be emphasized.[13]

They asked the Archbishop to "consider the advisability of getting in touch with the leaders of other denominations concerned with Missionary education". They noted that the majority of non-Anglican mission schools were controlled by Methodists, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Swiss Mission, London Missionary Society and the Dutch Reformed Churches. They wanted to stress that church schools should continue "as a permanent part of the education system" parallel to Government and Community schools. They also suggested a statement, that would include such points as

> Education is for the benefit of the individual not the state.
> The Church has certain duties.
> The State should not prevent children from being educated in accordance with the parents' religious beliefs. 14

They also warned of the danger of rioting in the schools. Their doubts may have sounded unduly alarmist, but subsequent events were to show that even their worst fears were well-founded.

Archbishop Clayton again discussed the dilemma of how the C.P.S.A. should respond to the threat to its church schools implicit in the enactment of the Bantu Education Act in his charge to the Cape Town Diocesan Synod on 2nd December 1953. The realism of the Headmasters' warnings and the strong reactions aroused in his former diocese of Johannesburg, needed to be tempered by the warning that these forebodings, if expressed too strongly in public, might have the effect of becoming self-fulfilling prophecies. It seems that Clayton was addressing these remarks as much to his own diocese as to the Diocese of Johannesburg, where he knew that the view was firmly entrenched that the objective of the Bantu Education Act was to fit Africans for an inferior position in society.

13. Ibid., Memorandum, pp. 1,2 and 3.
14. Ibid., p. 3.

> There is something perculiarly offensive in educating people to fit them for an inferior position and then to withhold from them more responsible positions on the ground that they are not fit for them. There is a very widespread fear that this is the intention. What I want to say is that while I regret that so much power is put into the hands of a particular minister, I have no knowledge that he will use his power with that intention. I don't think we must assume that that will be so. Similarly we have no knowledge what the Commission on Coloured Education in this Province is going to report. I deprecate the assumption that the worst is bound to happen. It may happen. But do not let us make ourselves miserable before it is necessary. I think myself that to expect the worst is to make the worst more likely to occur. 15

Archbishop Clayton's concern was more obviously shared by Dr. Shepherd of Lovedale. He wrote an angry and hostile letter to Bishop Reeves in May the following year, after Reeves had issued a strong statement condemning Bantu Education.

> I see from recent newspapers that you have expressed concern regarding the work which missionaries have laboriously constructed and now the Government threatens to destroy.
>
> May I say that with 35 years experience of missionary service in this land behind me, I believe also that a factor in the destruction if it comes will be your own uninformed, inexperienced and one-sided pronouncements. 16

I asked Bishop Reeves how he handled criticism, and his reply illustrated how deeply it hurt him. He said "I am bent by criticism".[17] Dr. Shepherd's retort, however, did not deflect Bishop Reeves from the growing conviction that the church must stand its ground. On 6th May 1954 he wrote to the Bishop of Pretoria (Selby Taylor) expressing the hope that their two dioceses should have a "common policy". He was to meet the next day with the Board of Management of Mission Schools in his diocese, when they would discuss

1) That we should refuse to allow churches to be used by schools under government control for teaching purposes.

15. CPSA Archive, AB 191 Clayton Papers. The Charge of His Grace the President, the Most Reverent Geoffrey Hare Clayton D.D. Lord Archbishop of Cape Town, to the thirty-eighth Session of the Synod of the Diocese of Cape Town given in the Cathedral Church of Saint George on the Second day of December in the Year of our Lord One thousand nine-hundred and fifty-three. Mimeo 12 pp., p. 7. Also published in WOOD, C.T. (ed.), Where we stand, Oxford: OUP 1960, p. 27.
16. CPSA Archive AB 388, Reeves papers, General Correspondence 1953-4, letter Shepherd to Reeves, 1.5.1954.
17. REEVES, The Right Revd. A., Interview, Shoreham-on-Sea, 2.4.1975.

2) that where we have schools on freehold land not subject to the Group Areas Act we should consider neither letting nor selling such buildings to the government, but keep them for parochial purposes.
3) that we should examine the practicability of selling the majority of our schools outright to the government, and invest the money received, using the interest to make up the loss of State subsidy on the schools we retain. 18

Bishop Reeves also said how distressing it was that the Government was not waiting to implement the Bantu Education Act until they had taken over the mission schools. Already they were proceeding to implement double sessions in primary schools in his diocese. "If we allow this to go on, it seems to me that we are aiding and abetting the introduction of a system to which we are opposed". He suggested writing to inform the authorities that they must "either desist or take over our schools forthwith".[19] On 21st June 1954 Reeves in fact wrote to the Secretary for Native Education, Mr F.J. de Villiers, expressing his "distress" that "without any consultation with the superintendents of our schools, double sessions have been started in a number of them" and asking that this should cease until these schools had been taken over by his department.[20]

Meanwhile, Bishop Selby Taylor responded to Reeves' overture by sending him a circular which he had sent to all Mission School Superintendents in his diocese on 10th May, in preparation for a meeting of the Executive of the Provincial Board of Mission on 2nd June under the chairmanship of Eric Trapp, the Bishop of Zululand. Bishop Trapp was well aware of the conflicting views that were being expressed by Anglicans at the time, and how difficult it was going to be to find a common policy. He wrote:-

> Some think we should seek representation on the School Boards; whereas others think that the Boards will be packed with Government nominees and reactionary chiefs (even with non-Christians), that representation would be worthless. Some think that we should try to influence the syllabus of religious instruction; but others have no confidence whatever in "school religion" and are advocating an entirely different approach to the problem of teaching children once we have lost control of mission schools. Some think that

18. CPSA Archive, AB 388 Reeves Papers, Bantu Education. Letter Reeves to Selby Taylor, 6.5.1954.
19. Ibid.
20. CPSA Archive AB 388, Reeves papers, Bantu Education, letter Reeves to Under-Secretary for Native Education (Bantu Education Division), 21.6.1954.

> we should not rent to Government any churches which are used for classrooms; but others say that this would lead to the closure of schools and much acrimony. Some believe that the running of hostels would offer us an opportunity for evangelism; whereas others argue that the opportunity wouldn't be worth the time and money spent on it. 21

Every option, it seemed, had vehement protagonists and opponents. It is notable that Bishop Selby Taylor, in expressing his own views, showed that he agreed with the three points that Bishop Reeves made, quoted above. However, on the crucial question of what the Church should do with school buildings, Selby Taylor was more cautious. He thought that

> .... the position with regard to the majority of our schools is still too hypothetical for us to be able to take any decision as to whether we should sell, rent, or try to retain.

He shared Reeves' view about retaining "at least one or two schools" and added, "it may be possible to run one or two schools on the income of the money obtained from the sale of the majority".[22]

THE CHRISTIAN COUNCIL.

Meanwhile, the Christian Council was making a new effort to co-ordinate the views of its member churches. A special conference took place at Pretoria in March 1954 on the implementation of the Bantu Education Act and its effect on the educational work of the churches and missions. Fourteen churches and missions met, and Mr F.J. de Villiers, the Secretary of the new Division of Bantu Education, attended the conference to answer questions. There was a further meeting with Mr de Villiers on 6th May, at which he stated that the situation was still fluid, but that a circular would be issued by his Division at the end of June or early in July, "stating the terms on which the Department will take over the Churches' schools and institutions". Twelve months would be allowed for the Churches' replies.[23] The Education Section of the Christian Council then made some pertinent observations

21. CPSA Archive AB 388 loc. cit., Mimeographed circular dated 10.5.1954 from the Bishop of Pretoria to all Mission School Superintendents, headed "Bantu Education Act". Quotation from Bishop Trapp.
22. Ibid, Bishop Selby Taylor's views.
23. Christian Council Quarterly, June 1954.

about the situation at the beginning of June.

> Apart from the bureaucratic passion for uniformity, one fails to see the necessity why successful schools under church auspices should not be welcomed and allowed to continue .... It is true that the state under the Bantu Education Act does not in so many words propose to take over compulsorily the missionary institutions. It issues a challenge to the Church. It says in effect: "You may continue if you care, but if your work is as important as you say it is, you should be prepared to sustain it by your contributions. The state recognizes your excellent work too, and will continue to subsidize you but you may expect only half or at the most three-quarters of what you have been accustomed to receive".
>
> The State in so saying cannot but know that in the conditions as they have developed over the years this is a sentence of death !
>
> .... After a century and more of conscientious effort and consistent unhurried development, it is now proposed to cut the subsidies which have hitherto been less than equal to sustaining the programme of work in full vigour, without presenting a demand for increased fees and making a heavier call upon resources. Surely the policy of the State should be just the opposite of this ! 24

This plea was however to no avail. Archbishop Clayton, who attended the biennial meeting of the Christian Council in Bloemfontein on 19th May, at which he was re-elected President, heard the report of the meetings with Mr de Villiers. In a letter to the Director of the South African Church Institute in London, the Revd. C.T. Wood, Clayton explained that there would be a circular within a month giving definite information.

> I really don't think that we can do anything till we have received this circular. As soon as possible after its receipt the Christian Council is going to call a conference of the educational experts of all its constituent bodies, inviting also the Roman Catholics who will certainly accept and the Dutch Reformed Churches whose acceptance is uncertain, but quite possible. 25

Clayton looked forward to framing an Anglican policy

> .... when the Episcopal Synod and the Provincial meetings take place in October, provided at that meeting we have before us the provisional decisions of the dioceses. 26

As the Christian Council's biennial meeting began in

24. Ibid., p. 2, "Whither Bantu Education ?" by Dr. Alexander Kerr.
25. CPSA Archive AB 707, SACI papers, Letter Clayton to Wood, 20.5.1954.
26. Ibid.

Bloemfontein on 19th May 1954, Church News called for "an authoritative statement from the Church of the Province as to what policy is to be pursued", and published the following comment by Archbishop Clayton on the Bantu Education Act:-[27]

> It often happens that the Church is the pioneer in education, in hospitals, in many things: and when the Church has started something in the course of time the Government takes over. There is nothing wrong in that. But in this case the reason for the Government taking over seems to be not so much that the Church cannot do the job efficiently as that the Government desires to make African education an instrument for forwarding the ideals of a European political party. That is the recognized pattern of a totalitarian state. It is the sort of thing most of us objected to in the Nazi system in Germany. For a long time the Government has produced all the money to pay the piper. It is not really surprising that it now proposes to call the tune. But the tune which it is calling is one which we do not like, and the Africans do not like it either. 28

In his presidential address to the Christian Council Clayton emphasized that "it was the duty of the Christian community to speak its mind, but also to try to see the point of view of the Government and not crave the impossible".

> It [is] all too easy to equate religion with conscience and private judgement with the will of God. Vigilance as the price of freedom [is] especially important in South Africa. The curse of South Africa [is] fear and fear could lead to dreadful things. There should be no fear in the Church with its basic faith - "God reigns". 29

He also wrote to the Prime Minister requesting an interview in order to express the Council's concerns about certain matters which "jeopardise religious liberty". These were

1) Restrictions which still appear to be placed upon the right of persons upon whom orders under the Suppression of Communism Act have been served to attend bona fide religious services.
2) The attempt to dictate to the African Methodist Episcopal Church as to the constitutional arrangements of that Church, and the refusal to allow persons appointed as bishops of that Church to enter the Union for the purpose of performing their functions.
3) Certain conditions imposed upon missions to whom sites for churches in Native locations may be leased.

27. Church News, 19.5.1954, p. 65, "When are they taking our Mission Schools away ?"
28. Ibid., p. 74, "Archbishop comments on Education Act", cf. Good Hope, 26.5.1954, Archbishop's Letter.
29. Church News, 16.6.1954, "Christian Council of South Africa Biennial Meeting at Bloemfontein", p. 93.

4) Certain aspects of the implementation of the Bantu Education Act. 30

The Government's reply, however, came not from Dr. D.F. Malan, but from Dr. Verwoerd whose department was responsible for all except the first item, about which he reported the advice of the Minister of Justice, Mr C.R. Swart, that

> .... as exemptions for the attendance of bona fide religious gatherings are usually granted upon application to individuals who have been prohibited from attending public gatherings, there would appear to be no necessity for an interview with him. 31

The Minister of Native Affairs obligingly offered no less than three dates, either 10th, 14th or 17th June for the interview.[32] Nor could anyone have accused him of making a tardy response to the Archbishop's letter of 26th May. Yet it is important to note that Dr. Verwoerd was careful to arrange the interview only after he had made his wide-ranging policy statement about Bantu Education in the Senate on 7th June.[33] It was this statement, printed by the Information Office of the Department of Native Affairs, that was the "circular" that had been promised by the Secretary for Native Affairs Mr F.J. de Villiers only a month before. Dr. Verwoerd clearly had no intention of allowing any representations by the Archbishop of Cape Town or the Christian Council to alter his plans. The record of the subsequent interview with Dr. H.F. Verwoerd on 17th June shows that he conceded little.[34] With regard to the refusal of an entry permit to Bishop F.D. Jordan of A.M.E. Church,

> The Minister stated that no interference with religious liberty by the Department was intended .... [but] it cannot accept the principle that any church may bring in any official at any time. The American Negro way of life has nothing in common with Bantu life in South Africa. 35

On the question of leasing church sites in locations Dr. Verwoerd

30. CPSA Archive, AB 191 Clayton papers, letter Clayton to D.F. Malan, 26.5.1954.
31. Ibid., letter H.F. Verwoerd to Clayton, 4.6.1954.
32. Ibid.
33. VERWOERD, H.F., Bantu Education, Policy for the Immediate Future, (statement by the Hon. Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs, in the Senate of the Parliament of the Union of South Africa, 7.6.1954), Pretoria: Information Office of the Department of Native Affairs 1954, 24 pp. See above, Chapter 10, p. 570-3.
34. Wits. Archive, CCSA Papers, Notes on Interview with Minister for Native Affairs by the Archbishop of Cape Town and the Revd. E.W. Grant, 17.6.1954. Mimeo, 2 pp.
35. Ibid., p. 1.

said that "an offending African minister or church leader could be dealt with by being refused entry to the location" and that "legal action must be taken against individual law-breakers" but accepted that "the church or denomination must not suffer".[36] In a letter to Dr. Arthur Blaxall written the same day, Clayton told how they had met for two hours that morning. Dr. Verwoerd, said Clayton "was geniality itself, but he never stops talking for one moment". He "doesn't propose to prevent Anglican bishops or even Roman Catholic bishops from coming from overseas", but "we got no change at all about the A.M.E." After their extensive "discursive and vague" discussion in which "we had a long talk about the Bantu Education Act", Clayton summed up the outcome by observing that Dr. Verwoerd "was full of assurances", but that "the assurances didn't seem to me to amount to very much". Although "he was as genial as could be," Clayton complained, he had been unable to "get anything definite from him about dates" and that "it looks as though we are going to have less time to make up our minds than I had hoped".[37]

One significant point of clarification obtained was that Sunday Schools and theological colleges would not have to be registered under the Bantu Education Act as had been suggested by the church's legal advisors.[38] Regarding the hostels of teacher training institutions, "the Department would prefer that churches should retain control of the hostels for, say, two years or so", and that "churches should retain hostel buildings on a rental basis". It was impossible to make out whether <u>all</u> church schools were to be taken over, for the Revd. E.W. Grant's notes record that

> The subsidy to be paid in respect of schools retained by the churches would be 75% and not 50% as at first proposed. If for any reason the Department should find it not desirable to take over a particular school or institution immediately, full subsidy would continue. 39

However, further on in the record it was stated that "final dates for receiving applications by churches to retain schools would be indicated by circular during July or August". It was also made

36. Ibid.
37. CPSA Archive, AB 191 Clayton papers, letter Clayton to Blaxall, 17.6.1954.
38. Ibid., letter Clayton to Blaxall, 17.6.1954, and Wits. Archive CCSA Papers, notes on Interview with Minister of Native Affairs 17.6.1954, op. cit.
39. Notes on Interview with Minister of Native Affairs op. cit.,

clear that the Department of Native Affairs would not buy school property but pay "an economic rent of possibly 8%".[40] Claims by the Government that the object of this policy was that Africans should have control of their own affairs in their own areas did not, however, mean that Teacher Training Institutions would come under African control, for "no local Bantu authority could control an institution", Dr. Verwoerd emphasized.

> There was a possibility of setting up a European local authority to advise the Bantu authority in respect of schools in their area; but institutions as distinct from local schools, will not become Bantu community institutions but Government institutions. 41

As Clayton had rightly perceived when writing to C.T. Wood a month earlier, "it is quite clear that the Government is determined to get teacher training into their own hands. I don't think there is the slightest chance of that being altered".[42] This was to be a key factor in subsequent attempts that were made by the churches to keep even some of their schools, since many of the High Schools that were worth retaining had Teacher Training Institutions on the same campus.

At this stage in June 1954 Archbishop Clayton's relationship with Dr. H.F. Verwoerd on first meeting seems to have been an affable one, even if the Archbishop came away almost empty-handed. Clayton told Blaxall,

> I'm glad we went because I think that it is useful to have some kind of contact with people in authority with whom we shall find ourselves in continual opposition and he himself said he regarded the interview as of great importance. 43

A month earlier, as has already been noted, Archbishop Clayton had condemned the Government's policy as "totalitarianism in education", linking his criticism with "the sort of thing most of objected to in the Nazi regime in Germany".[44] A year later Archbishop Clayton's disenchantment with the futility of negotiating with Dr. Verwoerd was eloquently expressed when he spoke at a crowded meeting in the Cape Town City Hall on 10th June 1955, when large numbers had gathered to protest against the Senate

40. Ibid, p. 2. 41. Ibid., p. 2.
42. CPSA Archive AB 707, SACI papers, letter Clayton to Wood, 20.5.1954.
43. CPSA Archive AB 191, Clayton Papers, letter Clayton to Blaxall, 17.5.1954.
44. Good Hope, 26.5.1954, Archbishop's Letter, cf. extract in Church News, 19.5.1954, p. 74, "Archbishop's Comments on Education Act".

Bill. Clayton referred to an earlier meeting between them, probably the one in June 1954, when Dr. Verwoerd had protested, "we are not Nazis you know". Clayton added bitterly, "a rose by any other name would smell as sweet".[45] As we shall see in the next chapter, Archbishop Clayton refused to join a Christian Council delegation to interview Dr. Verwoerd on 27th March 1956 concerning the closure of Christ the King, Sophiatown.[46]

On 1st September 1954 the Christian Council reconvened its Conference on Bantu Education in the St. Andrew's Presbyterian Hall in Pretoria. With the Revd. D.P. Dugmore from the Methodists' Kilnerton Institution as chairman, D.H. Darling the Headmaster of St. Peter's Rosettenville and Dr. Blaxall acted as joint secretaries. Eric Trapp, Bishop of Zululand, and Archdeacon Woodfield represented the C.P.S.A. Archdeacon Rouse, as Chairman of the Christian Council's General Purposes Committee, was also there. In all sixteen member churches and mission bodies were represented, and in addition Mr Jack Grant came from Adams College, Fr. St. George from the Roman Catholic Church, as well as Dr. Winifred Hoernlé and Quintin Whyte from the Institute of Race Relations. The Federal Mission Council of the Dutch Reformed Churches was not, however, represented.[47]

At this meeting Dr. Blaxall submitted a proposal which, if adopted, might have salvaged something from the wreck that threatened. He pointed out that

> If the churches decide gradually to close down they will be consistent in refusing to co-operate with a system which they have condemned ever since it was outlined in the Eiselen Report, but they will deprive Christian parents of the opportunity to have their children educated in an atmosphere which will produce the Christian character in which they believe. 48

45. CPSA Archive AB 811, "The Critical Years 1949-1957", sermons and addresses of Archbishop Clayton ed. C.T. Wood, (typescript), p. 163, Address by the Most Revd. G.H. Clayton Archbishop of Cape Town, Cape Town City Hall 10.6.1955. See also below, Chapter 15.
46. Wits. Archive, CCSA Papers, Action Committee Records referring to the CCSA delegation regarding the registration of Private Schools on 27.3.1956 in Cape Town. See also below, Chapter Twelve.
47. Wits.Archive, CCSA papers, The Christian Council of South Africa Reconvened Conference on Bantu Education, St. Andrew's Hall, Pretoria, September 1st 1954, Agenda and Membership.
48. Wits. Archive CCSA Papers, A proposal submitted to the conference called by the Education Section of the Christian Council, held in Pretoria September 1st 1954, submitted by A.W. Blaxall, P.O. Box 81 Roodepoort.

Dr. Blaxall did not think that the only alternative was to accept the part-subsidization scheme. He instead proposed that an Association be established to raise a large capital sum, to which missionary societies and individuals throughout the world should be invited to subscribe, and that as a start three or four schools only should be opened, on an inter-church basis.[49] There is, however, no record of anything coming of this proposal, although it was discussed at some length.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Meanwhile the Roman Catholic Church had also been considering its reactions to the Bantu Education Act. A plenary session of the heirarchy of the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference began in Pretoria on 27th April 1954, with the Apostolic Delegate as President and the Archbishop of Durban, Denis Hurley O.M.I., as Chairman. The Apostolic Delegate set the tone for the meeting by speaking approvingly of "the prudent manner in which the church had so far managed relations with the Government".[50] Two views were advanced at the meeting. The first, led by Archbishop Hurley and Bishop Rosenthal of Queenstown, argued for a vigorous policy of open opposition. The second followed the cue of the Apostolic Delegate, that prudent negotiation with the Government was the better course. All were agreed on the objective of retaining Catholic schools come what may. Archbishop Hurley acknowledged that open opposition would mean a

> .... clash with the Government, but that was bound to come sooner or later .... If the clash did not come over the Education issue it would come over some other application of apartheid.... apartheid had been elevated to a formal doctrine. As such we could not compromise with it .... It would be better to fight while our moral position was intact and strong, instead of weakening ourselves by compromise .... If we wanted the right to contribute to the formulation of the new policy, we must oppose apartheid now. Only those who fought it would have the right to speak later. If fighting meant suffering we should be prepared for that. 51

49. Ibid.
50. Khanya House, Pretoria, SACBC Papers, Minutes of the South African Bishops' Conference, 1954 Extraordinary Plenary Session, Pretoria 27.4.1954.
51. Ibid.

Considering the two options, that of negotiation and that of a vigorous campaign against Bantu Education, Archbishop Garner of Pretoria suggested that by collaboration with non-Catholics, "we would find ourselves badly compromised".[52] It was finally the view of Archbishop Whelan of Bloemfontein that was accepted, when he said,

> A strong policy should be adopted but it was necessary to go as far as we could on the line of negotiation before openly attacking the government. This was an understanding between Archbishop Lucas, the former Apostolic Delegate and Dr. Malan. We should not commit ourselves to joint action with non-Catholics. Discuss with them .... but stand alone. 53

Archbishop Whelan then gave his view on the proper conduct of church-state relations:

> We must not become involved in party politics. Apartheid was practised in South Africa long before the present Government came to power. Openly opposing it would not help us much. The Holy Father had indicated how, without surrendering our principles, we must be tolerant towards others and take into account the situation in which we find ourselves. We must think very seriously before appearing to oppose authority. We should define our principles and leave it to the Board to achieve what it could. 54

It was then resolved to draw up a memorandum and pursue private negotiations vigorously, and to maintain the present system of aided schools in which the church had full control. Thus, in the first instance, a policy of private negotiations was adopted. The question then arose, what if negotiations failed ? The Administrative Board was given a mandate to consult with non-Catholic bodies only "if it is to the advantage of the church, to take joint or parallel action", and, should negotiations fail, "another plenary session should be called to decide on the line of action".[55] They then agreed to issue the following statement to the press.

> The Catholic Bishops express their serious concern over the manner in which it appears that the Bantu Education Act will be applied. They have great fears for the future of mission schools. They feel that the harmonious collaboration in the past beween the Church and the State had contributed substantially to the welfare of the country generally and of the African people in particular. They are convinced that religion must continue to be an integral part of education and that only the Church is competent in the religious field. They hope to negotiate with the Government with a view to reaching a solution acceptable to both parties. 56

52-56. Ibid.

Thus the proponents of prudence had prevailed. At the meeting of the Administrative Board the following day it was resolved to submit a memorandum to the Government on the Bantu Education Act in pursuance of the mandate of the Plenary Session. On the question of contact with non-Catholic bodies, the Board was not prepared to meet them directly, but deputed Fr. St. George O.M.I. "to make unofficial contact with them and to report to the board".[57] The Board prepared its memorandum, and in due course arranged to meet Dr. Verwoerd, on 2nd September 1954 in Pretoria, the day after the Christian Council's conference.

From the two accounts that are available of this crucial meeting with Dr. Verwoerd, one by Archbishop Hurley and the other by Fr. St. George, it would seem that the Catholic delegation came away almost empty-handed. The advocates of prudence were no doubt encouraged at the outset when Dr. Verwoerd

> .... expressed his appreciation at the manner in which the Catholic Bishops had dealt with the Bantu Education Act. They had not indulged in irresponsible press publicity, but had come to put their case in a responsible manner. [58]

The advocates of open opposition must, however, have wondered whether their silence had been bought too easily when Dr. Verwoerd continued that he was sorry he would have to disappoint them completely. He could make no alteration or concession.[59] The remainder of the interview seemed to consist in a reiteration by Dr. Verwoerd and Dr. Eiselen of their policy. Dr. Verwoerd explained that the

> .... aided system was nothing more than a cushioning precaution, temporary only, to enable the missionaries to adjust their methods to a regime where their activities were confined to the spiritual side. [60]

He also explained his action in reducing state aid to mission schools. "The State was not infringing on any right. It was merely withdrawing a privilege".[61] Dr. Verwoerd then let slip the statement that "Missions if they wished could continue as private institutions".[62] Father St. George described how the Catholic Bishops succeeded inadvertently in getting an undertaking

57. Khanya House Pretoria, SACBC Papers, Minutes SACBC Administrative Board, 28.4.1954.
58. Khanya House Pretoria, SACBC Papers, SACBC Minutes. Notes on interview of Administrative Board with Dr. Verwoerd, by Archbishop Hurley.
59-62. Ibid.

from Dr. Verwoerd that they could retain their schools provided they were paid for by the Church.

> What shocked the Minister most of all was the statement that the policy amounted to religious persecution, when it vetoed church schools in certain areas. Nothing in the Act had been said about the Church being refused a private school in a township if they were prepared to build and conduct it out of their own resources. Explanation at this point showed that the Minister had not understood the force of the argument. In fact he got a bit involved and seemed to have "dropped a brick" by saying that new private schools could be started in new townships and reserves .... He was at a loss to see how existing rights were infringed when the Government merely ceased to give its own money to the churches to spend. 63

Archbishop Denis Hurley was President of the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference at the time, and led the deputation. Exactly twenty-seven years later he could give this vivid reminiscence of that vital interview. He emphasized Dr. Verwoerd's courtesy but confirmed the tenacity with which he maintained his own point of view.

> .... My recollection is that Dr. Verwoerd received us with great courtesy. He had a kind of a twist to his lip that gave the impression of a perpetual smile, and he appeared to be a very courteous gentleman. He sat down at the head of the table, and we sat down one side. I forget who sat at the other side. He allowed us to present our case, very fully. We presented our case. Then he responded to us, and he had an extraordinary capacity for presenting his own position with great clarity, great cohesion, and great sequence of argument. He had no trouble in developing an argument with devastating logic from his point of view. Once he had established his premisses, the rest flowed very logically, and he had an extraordinary command of the flow of his argument, right down to the conclusion. So, once he had heard us out, he spoke, and of course what he said was, by implication, a refusal to consider what we were trying to put forward at the time. Then we got into some exchange. I think he allowed us a further period of discussion in which questions were put, comments were made, arguments were advanced and countered. I remember his referring, towards the end of this interview, to his dissatisfaction with the situation in many mission schools, because the pupils went on strike, or got a bit turbulent. We had minor riots. These were characteristic of all schools in those days, mission schools, especially the High Schools. He said that the Government was tired of this, and they were going to set up a system which would eliminate rioting and strikes.

63. Khanya House Pretoria, SACBC Papers, SACBC Minutes. Notes on Interview of Administrative Board with Dr. Verwoerd, 2.9.1954. by Fr. St. George.

> I can't remember the words I used to him, but I said something like this: "Well, Mr Minister, we wish you well, but we don't think that you will succeed any better than the churches in eliminating rowdiness, and riots and turbulence, and you probably, because of the system you are endeavouring to impose, you'll probably have a far worse time than we ever had". That I remember saying to him, but he was a man who never lost his cool. He remained remarkably self-composed throughout the whole interview, always in perfect command of his feelings, and this extraordinary ability to put his arguments clearly, lucidly, even elegantly I'd say. But he hadn't a very pleasant voice. He had a high-pitched voice. But he was always fully in command of the situation, and I think, as far as I remember, never lacking in courtesy. 64

At the next meeting of the Administrative Board on 24th November it was Bishop Riegler and Archbishop Whelan who reported on this interview. The minutes record that

> .... a lengthy discussion followed about the dangers involved and how best to safeguard the rights of the church. The Board felt that organized opposition could only do harm to our cause and that collaboration with Protestant bodies would at this stage be inadvisable. 65

It was, however, regarded as of the greatest importance to keep in touch with the authorities concerned, "in order to obtain authoritative and timely information and to have an opportunity to put the views of the Church before them".[66]

On St. Andrew's Day the Roman Catholic Bishops issued a pastoral letter, to be read in all churches on 12th December 1954. The Bishops referred to the atmosphere of "bitter verbal strife, of misunderstanding and misinterpretation, of allegation and counter-allegation" in which

> .... the Catholic Church, with calm serenity and untiring charity has striven by every means to reach a conclusion which would be satisfactory to the Church, to the State and to the parents of our Bantu children. 67

They pointed out that

> Though the State has certain recognized rights and obligations in the sphere of education, it is the Church, and the Church alone, which possesses the competence to define the scope

64. HURLEY, Archbishop Denis, O.M.I., Interview, Durban, 2.9.1981.
65. Khanya House Pretoria, SACBC Papers, SACBC Minutes of Administrative Board, 24.11.1954.
66. Ibid.
67. SOUTHERN AFRICAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS' CONFERENCE, Pastoral Letters 1952-1966, Pretoria: Capital Printers, Press Commission SACBC 1966, p. 8.

> and guide the progress of Christian Education .... To satisfy the demands of the Catholic Church, it is necessary that all the teaching and the whole organization of the school, its teachers and the whole spirit of their teaching, be regulated by a truly Christian spirit, under the direction and supervision of the Church. 68

They regretted that the State would not guarantee future financial aid "though this could well be done in harmony with the provisions of the Bantu Education Act". Then, with an appeal to the "self-sacrifice", "genuine charity" and "apostolic zeal" of Catholics, the Bishops announced the establishment of the "Catholic Mission Schools' Fund", and a special fund-raising effort each year to be known as the "Catholic Education Drive".[69]

> The struggle may be long and arduous, the immediate results discouraging, but we know that with God's help and the prayers of Mary, our heavenly Mother and Patroness, we will triumph in the end. We will come through the present difficulties, stronger in the faith of Christ, more fixed in hope and trust, more united than ever before in the life of grace and charity that flows from our crucified King and Saviour.[70]

THE ANGLICAN RESPONSE.

When the Anglican Bishops met at Umtata early in November 1954, they faced what Archbishop Clayton described as two "grave matters of policy".[71] The first was how to respond to the Minister's statement on Bantu Education. Secondly, in spite of the meeting with Dr. Verwoerd on 17th June, the Minister had placed the churches under further pressure by not withdrawing the circular stipulating that no church sites in urban native locations were to be leased for mission purposes without the approval of the Minister himself, and that such leases were to be on an annual basis. The Minister had threatened that leases would be terminated if "the intervention by representatives of certain church and other bodies in matters outside the scope of the work they should undertake among Natives" was deemed by the Minister to be "of a subversive nature [which] might tend to or encourage deterioration in the relationship between Natives and governmental persons or bodies".[72]

68. Ibid., p. 9. 69. Ibid., pp. 10-11. 70. Ibid., p. 11.
71. Good Hope, November 1954, the Archbishop's Letter.
72. Church News, Vol XX no. 11, 17.11.1954, Statement by the Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa on the conditions of leasing church sites in urban locations. See Appendix "E", p. 1128.

Episcopal Synod had no difficulty in formulating a unanimous response to these threats that were patently designed to silence the opponents of Bantu Education. The Bishops said:

> If it could be proved that any representative of the Church uses language that is subversive or incites persons to break the law we should not deny the right of the State to take action against that person. But it seems to us unjust that the Church or any other body to which he belongs should be held responsible for his actions; and the terms of the circular go much further even than this. They identify the State with certain governmental persons, and appear to be an attempt to silence any criticism of the Government of the day. Against such a threat we desire to make the strongest protest. No Church can admit that a particular Minister of State has the right to be the sole judge of the scope of the work it [the Church] should undertake, either among Natives or among any other part of the community .... "We will obey God rather than men". We find it difficult to believe that such threatenings can really have the approval of any Christian people, and we greatly hope that the circular may be withdrawn. 73

In their statement on the Bantu Education Act the Bishops were unanimous in "deploring" the Act, but could not agree on the action they would take on the issue of leasing their buildings to the State. They reaffirmed their belief that it was

> .... morally wrong to follow a policy which has for its object the keeping of a particular racial group in a permanent position of inferiority. Because we are convinced of that we cannot but deplore the Bantu Education Act. 74

The question whether the church should refuse to co-operate in any way with the Government in the implementation of an educational system with which they were in such fundamental disagreement had been hotly debated. Bishop Reeves was the only one prepared to refuse to rent any of his diocese's school buildings to the State, a move that also required the schools to close. The Provincial Board of Missions had met in June, and again prior to Episcopal Synod, and according to the Archbishop it had been their unanimous recommendation that the church should not refuse to lease their buildings.[75] "We took the best advice .... and that

73. Church News, loc. cit., and CPSA Archive AB 191 Clayton papers, "Statement by the Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa on the conditions of leasing Church Sites in Urban Native Locations", November 1954.
74. Ibid., "Statement by the Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa on the Bantu Education Act", November 1954. Appendix "E", p. 1127.
75. WOOD (ed.) Where we Stand, op. cit., p. 34, Archbishop Clayton's Charge to the Diocese of Cape Town, 24.11.1954. Also cited in a statement issued by the South African Church Institute, 1.12.1954.

advice was unanimous" Clayton said of these meetings. Furthermore, this was the opinion of "a body of very experienced missionaries including both African and European clergymen, some of whom have devoted most of lives to running educational institutions for Native Africans."[76]

But nothing Archbishop Clayton said could disguise the deep cleavage of opinion between the majority of the Bishops and the Provincial Board of Mission on the one hand, and Bishop Reeves, the S.S.M. and the C.R. on the other. In their statement Episcopal Synod could only speak of a "majority", who had expressed the agonizing decision they had finally made thus:

> Both as to religious and secular teaching it is our conviction that the Bantu Education Act will retard the true education of the African and the majority of us are of the opinion that the Church should not make itself responsible for taking part in such an educational system. All we are prepared to do is to lease certain of our buildings to the State. The majority of us think that in many cases it would be wrong to refuse to do so. Such a refusal would throw many teachers out of employment and leave many children without opportunity of any kind of instruction. It is incompatible with our duty to the African people to take action which might lead to such results. Here we are faced with a grievous choice of evils. We must choose the lesser. But this does not imply that we approve in any sense of an Act which will retard the progress of African education, and weaken the connection of such education with the teaching of the Christian faith. 77

FROM PROTEST TO RESISTANCE: BISHOP REEVES.

Bishop Reeves had stood alone, nor was he prepared to accept the majority decision of his brother Bishops. The Johannesburg Diocesan Synod had already met on 23rd October 1954, and passed overwhelmingly a resolution proposed by Father J. Shand S.S.J.E., the Diocesan Director of Education, that deplored "the type of school education which will be provided for African children under the Bantu Education Act". The resolution proposed no specific action beyond calling upon Christians to demand and work for the repeal of the Act, but it was expressed in the strongest terms,

76. Ibid.
77. Church News, loc. cit., and CPSA Archive AB 191, Clayton papers, "Statement by the Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa on the Bantu Education Act", November 1954,. Appendix "E", p. 1127.

describing the Act as "contrary to the Will of God" and "designed to ensure the perpetual domination of one racial group by the intellectual starvation of another". The resolution also asserted that the Act was "educationally unsound and by Christian standards indefensible".[78]

Bishop Reeves returned to Johannesburg from Episcopal Synod, and immediately met with his Diocesan Board of Management for Mission Schools on 15th November 1954. He wrote immediately to the Secretary for Native Affairs, informing him that on 1st April 1955 the Anglican Church would close all its schools throughout the Southern Transvaal. Reeves explained,

> The Church could rent or sell the schools. We refuse to consider either of these alternatives because we want it to be clearly understood that we will have no part in a system of education whose objects are contrary to the principles which we believe ought to be the foundation of all education .... Whatever the cost, we must make it plain to the Government, to the members of our Church and all the African people that we disagree so profoundly with the policy that is about to be put into effect under the Bantu Education Act, that we cannot be a party to it in any shape or form. Any kind of co-operation would be a violation of conscience. The schools close on 1st April 1955. 79

The same day, Reeves also wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, explaining his decision at length, and thanking Dr. Fisher for the statement he had made on 19th October, which, said Reeves, had been "such a tremendous encouragement" to him personally.[80] This letter gave the fullest exposition of Reeves' thinking. He wished to counter the mistaken view in England that "if only sufficient money could be found we could still keep our schools", and pointed out that "in order to keep our schools in this diocese alone under our control as private schools would probably require a quarter of a million pounds every year". To retain schools in Johannesburg alone on a 75% grant would require "at least £50 000" per year. The other alternatives were either to sell or to lease school buildings to the Government. Of these options Reeves said,

> From the statement issued after our Synod you will no doubt have learnt that the majority of the Bishops agreed to the

78. CPSA Archive, AB 388 Reeves papers, Bantu Education. Synod 1954, Agendum No. 21.
79. PEART-BINNS, J.S., Ambrose Reeves, a Biography, London: Gollancz 1973, pp. 121-2.
80. CPSA Archive AB 388 Reeves Papers, Bantu Education. Letter Reeves to Fisher, 15.11.1954. And AB 1095, Archbishop's Correspondence with Archbishop of Canterbury 1950-1961: Extract from the Primate's Presidential Address to the Convocation of Canterbury 19.10.1954.

> last of these proposals. After considering most carefully the views expressed during our discussions, I found myself unable in conscience to agree with the proposal to lease our school buildings to the Government. It is my conviction that if a proposed system of education is morally indefensible, the church has no right to assist the authorities in carrying out their plans however remotely or indirectly .... Hence my decision to close the schools under our control on the date [1st April 1955] on which the government plans to take over all mission schools. 81

Bishop Reeves then referred to the cost at which this decision was made.

> It has been a very hard decision to make, because by it I have found myself in opposition not only to the leaders in the State, but also to the other members of Episcopal Synod from whom I have learnt so much, and whose fellowship has meant so much to me in the difficult times through which we have passed together in these last years. Certainly, if in conscience I could have avoided coming to a decision which would separate me from my brethren in this way, I should have done so. 82

Although disagreeing with his decision, there is evidence that some of his brother bishops respected Reeves' courage. Alan Paton has recorded how Reeves asked his Archbishop whether the vote of Episcopal Synod was binding. Clayton had replied that this was so important that he would give his reply the following day. "His ruling was that the decision was not binding".[83] Two weeks after Episcopal Synod dispersed Archbishop Clayton delivered his charge to the Diocese of Cape Town on 24th November. He referred to the Johannesburg decision, and commented, "the reasons given will command respect".[84] Bishop Selby Taylor, commenting upon Reeves' decision twenty-two years later, said:

> I told him at the time I disagreed with him on this point. But Reeves was a great fighter and he felt that this was the right thing to do, and he fought stoutly for his point of view. But when I saw the writing on the wall I believed that the right thing was to co-operate as fully as we could in good conscience. 85

On the other hand Bishop Inman told me quite bluntly that he thought "Bishop Reeves and the S.S.M. were just plain stupid".[86] The

81-82. Ibid.

83. PATON, A., Apartheid and the Archbishop, Cape Town: David Philip 1973, p. 236, reference 12 p. 302, "told me by Bishop Reeves".

84. WOOD (ed.) Where we Stand, op. cit., p. 34.

85. SELBY TAYLOR, The Right Revd. Robert, Interview, Kalk Bay, 24.4.1976.

86. INMAN, The Right Revd. Vernon, Interview, Durban, 14.9.1977.

Revd. C.T. Wood recorded in his journal at the time the difficulty that he faced as Director of the South African Church Institute in London, "in representing and presumably attempting to justify both points of view".[87]

In a major editorial the Star recognized the sincerity of the motives which had led Bishop Reeves to make his decision, but thought that it was the 10 000 African children in twenty-three schools in the diocese who were being "sacrificed as a gesture that might be admirable in other circumstances". The Star thought that the church should stay in the field "to put up a fight for the principles of sound education rather than by such an early surrender".[88] Three days later the Star published a letter from Trevor Huddleston, in which he described the Bantu Education Act as an expression of "tyranny", and argued that it was both the right and the duty of Christians of all denominations to resist it. Nor did he think "tyranny" in terms of the Shorter Oxford Dictionary's definition as "arbitrary or excessive exercise of power" too strong a term to describe such an Act. Huddleston's cri de coeur was addressed more to the conscience of the church than to that of Dr. Verwoerd. He chided the church for taking refuge in the idea that "once a thing had become law it is wrong to fight against it". Christians must examine their motives "when in supporting or acquiescing in a law which does not affect them they yet do so deliberately".[89] He mentioned that "every mission which has so far debated the subject has publicly declared its opposition to the principles underlying the Act". He reminded readers that

> .... the Roman Catholic heirarchy, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, Dr. J.B. Webb (President of the Methodist Conference) and the Bishop of Johannesburg had all alike condemned the high-handed and arrogant attitude of the Government ....

He then pointed to the "cruel dilemma of conscience" facing all denominations.

> The Native teachers and parents are in a yet more cruel dilemma. Hating the idea of "Bantu Education" and all

87. WOOD, C.T., These Critical Days, unpublished ms. (journal) lent to the author. pp. 16-17, 22.11.1954.
88. The Star, 22.11.1954, "The Bishop's Decision".
89. The Star, 25.10.1954, letter from Trevor Huddleston, "Bantu Education Act and the Christian Conscience".

> that it implies, they yet cannot easily contemplate the closure of the schools, the crowded dusty streets an alternative. It is the Christian conscience - White as well as Black - that is being disturbed and threatened to the very depths .... Is it not a fantastic thing that - knowing themselves to be so troubled - the different denominations do not together declare that they cannot in principle co-operate to work this Act ? And surely it is not too late to do so. 90

He concluded with the parody of a well-known hymn that had appeared in a church newspaper in England: "Lie down, O men of God, for standing up is risky".[91]

So strongly did Trevor Huddleston feel about this, that even twenty years later he was to tell me that he thought it more important for the church to have stood its ground on the Bantu Education Act in 1954 than over the "Church Clause" in 1957.

> The Bantu Education Act was a very strong attack on the church - more so than the "Church Clause". Of course the implications were enormous but I couldn't see them doing it. Whereas they did act on the schools. The Bantu Education Act was to me, the most effective bit of [apartheid] legislation on the Statute Book because of the consequences over so many years. 92

In a letter to the press, Christopher Gell also took a similar view of Episcopal Synod's decision.

> .... only the Roman Catholics and a few Anglican Orders will translate their disapproval of the Act and its principles into resolute refusal to co-operate in any way. This is indeed a reproach and grief to Christians and a subject for self-congratulation to Dr. Verwoerd who rightly prophesied a period of noisy protest ending in submission. 93

Like Father Huddleston, Mr Gell believed that "if this decision

90-91. Ibid. The paper referred to was probably the Christian Recorder.

92. HUDDLESTON, The Right Revd. Trevor, Interview, Stepney, 25.6.1975.

93. CPSA Archive, AB 388 Reeves Papers, Bantu Education, an undated newspaper cutting of a letter to the Editor of a South African Newspaper (probably the Star at the end of November 1954) from C.W.M. Gell, "Disturbed by Anglican Bishops' Confession". Christopher Gell was paralyzed by polio in 1945, while he was Under-Secretary to the Government of the Punjab in the Indian Civil Service. He came to South Africa in 1947. Although confined to an iron lung for all but a few hours each day, he made an intensive study of the South African socio-political scene. His writing won him many friends in the Congress movement and in the Liberal Party, who were his regular visitors. Thus he was always well-informed and this gave to his writing a refreshing vitality and to his judgement a shrewd perception. cf. PATON, Alan, The Long View, ed. Callan, London: Pall Mall 1968, pp. 82-85. Christopher Gell died on 28th May 1958. Alan Paton's "The people wept", published in Contact, Vol. I No. 10, 14.6.1956, was dedicated to him. The Christopher Gell Memorial Award, established in his memory, was first presented to Chief Albert Luthuli in 1961.

[not to co-operate] were widely taken, it would gravely embarrass the Government and might conceivably defeat the Act".

In his book Naught for your Comfort, written in 1955, Huddleston said,

> Every Church authority in the country, with the single exception of the Dutch Reformed Church (which to do it justice had consistently urged State control of all Mission schools), condemned the Act and the measures which flowed from the Act. The Minister was approached directly and indirectly by the different Churches and urged to reconsider his decisions. The tragic mistake, as I shall always believe, lay in the failure of the Churches to act together. I am convinced that had, say, the Methodists, the Roman Catholics, the Presbyterians and the Anglicans united for once on this single issue: had they approached the Prime Minister and stated that in conscience, they could not co-operate in the implementation of the Act at least some major concessions would have been won. 94

But, as Christopher Gell correctly perceived, for resistance to succeed it would require two prerequisites:

> .... it would need not only a far greater measure of unanimity than yet prevails among church leaders; it would also require the willing co-operation of the African people whose children would be, temporarily at least, deprived of schools. 95

Christopher Gell also wrote to Bishop Reeves, assuring him that "many will feel heartened that you felt able to say what you did and to take that very grievous decision". He continued,

> I personally am sure and many Africans will agree though they and their children have to bear the brunt [it is] the only proper and Christian answer to the present challenge. 96

Reeves' reply showed obvious warmth and appreciation. Another letter came from James Calata at Cradock, in which he said feelingly

> The African people of South Africa would long have repudiated European leadership if it had not been for the spiritual leadership of the Church of the Province in the north (i.e. Johannesburg and Pretoria have worn African spectacles and looked at all situations that affected Christianity with African eyes) and this outlook has been the only means of preserving the little confidence there still is in the leadership of the white man.

94. HUDDLESTON, Trevor, Naught for your Comfort, London & Glasgow: Fontana 1957, p. 127.
95. CPSA Archive AB 388 undated newspaper cutting, loc cit, cf. HUDDLESTON, op. cit., p. 127.
96. CPSA Archive, AB 388 Reeves papers, Bantu Education, letter Gell to Reeves, 22.11.1954.

> You may be criticized by the other Bishops and perhaps some Africans for refusing to co-operate with the Government in the implementation of the Bantu Education Act. I feel you have done the right thing. 97

Calata concluded, "We need your prayers, for we are beginning to doubt the policy of the Church of the Province in our Affairs".[98]

There is little doubt that Reeves had the support of the Africans in his diocese. Father David Rakale C.R. contributed an article to the Watchman, expressing his entire agreement with the Bishop's decision. Indeed, had the Bishop agreed to lease the schools, Rakale asserted, "I would have said that he betrayed my people".

> We are told that half a loaf of bread is better than no bread at all. Those of us who agree with the Bishop's decision say, we would rather have our children starve than to even contemplate giving them as much as a slice of poisoned bread. 99

Reeves must also have drawn some comfort from the support of Quintin Whyte, who also wrote to him on 24th November, stressing that he did so in his personal capacity. Congratulating Reeves on his decision, "to refuse to co-operate with the government", Whyte continued,

> .... some demonstration must be made at some point in time in opposition to the government, and I think that you have done this. I realise how difficult that decision must have been for you .... I share with you some of the heart-searching that must have been yours. 100

WHY THE MAJORITY OF ANGLICAN BISHOPS AGREED TO LEASE THEIR SCHOOL BUILDINGS.

Of Reeves' decision to close his African schools, Canon C.T. Wood justifiably considered that his biographer's account

> .... is less than just to men of integrity such as Clayton,

97. Ibid., letter Calata to Reeves, 23.11.1954.
98. Ibid.
99. The Watchman, January 1955, pp. 9-10, "My reaction to the Bishop's decision to close the mission schools", by Fr. David Rakale, Priest-in-Charge, Randfontein Mission. Reeves also consulted his African clergy before going to the Umtata Synod and was advised accordingly. (MOLOI, Canon Bertram, Conversation, 8.7.1982.)
100. CPSA Archive AB 388 Reeves papers, Bantu Education, letter Whyte to Reeves, 24.11.1954.

Inman, Selby Taylor, Trapp and Alderson; and gives no indication of the agonising debate that must have taken place. Their resolution was as follows:

> This Synod deplores the ideology on which this Act is based but urges that the Church should still participate in the education of Africans, even though this may mean leasing property to the Government. 101

Why did the majority of Anglican Bishops reach this decision in Umtata, in spite of all the arguments that Bishop Reeves, the Community of the Resurrection and the Society of the Sacred Mission had raised against adopting such a course ? Trevor Huddleston, writing in the Observer, considered it "a lamentable comment on the defeatist attitude which is gripping the Church in this country", and regarded their decision as capitulation. 102 Even C.T. Wood, who was always loyal to Clayton, wrote in his journal at the time in praise of the S.S.M.'s statement, which he thought "could not be bettered and is the authentic note of Christian defiance down the ages". The S.S.M.'s stance commanded respect. It read:

> If the Minister cannot entrust the training of African teachers to Christian Missions, we, as a Christian Mission, cannot and will not entrust our land and our buildings to him or to his Department for educational purposes, for we are convinced that the true welfare of the African people is being denied by virtue of a political theory and educational principles which we affirm to be contrary to the will of God. 103

But for the political overtones of Bantu Education, the majority of bishops, Reeves included, would have been only too willing for the church to relinquish responsibility for administering most of their mission schools to the state. It was the manifestly ideological objectives of the proposed Bantu Education that complicated the issue and caused a division between the advocates of total non-co-operation or defiance, and those who recognized that defiance on this issue would not work. The moral justification for the adoption of a policy of defiance was made more difficult because of the realization that it would be African

101. WOOD, C.T., unpublished journal op. cit., pp. 353-4, 1973, cf. PEART-BINNS, Ambrose Reeves, op. cit., p. 120.
102. The Observer, 14.11.1954, cited by WOOD, unpublished journal op. cit., p. 14. cf. HUDDLESTON, Naught for your Comfort, op. cit., p. 128.
103. WOOD, loc. cit.

school children who would have to bear the consequences. Furthermore, the church authorities feared they would run the risk of their properties being expropriated by the Government. Such charges of defeatism or cowardice could not justly be levelled at any Anglican bishop in South Africa at that time. As President of the Christian Council, Archbishop Clayton exercised an important influence over the discussion there, and his leadership of Episcopal Synod was decisive. The reasons he advanced for agreeing to lease buildings to the State fairly represent the view of all the bishops except Reeves, and they deserve closer study here. Certainly the arguments on both sides ought to receive less biased attention than Peart-Binns gave them in his biography of Bishop Reeves, and a fuller treatment is also needed than was possible in Alan Paton's biography of Archbishop Clayton.[104]

Clayton set out his arguments very clearly in his charge to the Diocese of Cape Town on 24th November 1954, and in a memorandum he sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury as President of the British Council of Churches, dated 29th November 1954, which was expressly designed to explain the difference of opinion about policy within the Church of the Province. That Archbishop Clayton's arguments were persuasive may be illustrated by the fact that he won over even Patrick Duncan to his view. Although only a month later he was quick to congratulate Trevor Huddleston on hearing the announcement of the Community of the Resurrection's decision to refuse to hand over any of their schools in August 1954, a letter from Duncan to Clayton two months earlier provides a noteworthy tribute to the Archbishop's persuasiveness in advocating a case for the church not refusing all co-operation with the Government. Duncan thanked Clayton "for writing as you did".

> .... - nothing could be more persuasive, and you have shaken my view on Bantu Education. Just after attending the Christian Council conference I was feeling the atmosphere of surrender and acquiescence that - as it seemed to me - so many delegates breathed. Your letter shows me that the case for co-operating with Verwoerd is extremely strong, especially if there is the firm determination not to give at any point where one is not forced to give. [105]

104. PEART-BINNS, op. cit., Chapter 7 pp. 114-136, and PATON, A., Apartheid and the Archbishop, op. cit., Chapter 27 pp. 232-6.

105. CPSA Archive AB 191 Clayton papers, letter Duncan to Clayton 8.6.1954 from Riverside Farm, P.O. Box 77 Maseru, also in Borthwick Institute York, Duncan Papers DU 6 Archbishop Clayton. cf. DU5.45.30, letter Duncan to Huddleston 21.8.1954.

Clayton had told Duncan,

> I do not myself think that it is possible to avoid all co-operation with the Government .... I think we should be doing a very ill service to our Natives if we left the field wholly clear to the Government and the Dutch Reformed Church. I think we must seize any opportunity we can get of bringing such influence as we can upon those who are being trained to be teachers and on the schools ....
>
> "Come out from among them and be separate and touch not the unclean thing" is the sort of policy which is only possible for a small and perfectionist sect ....
>
> My own belief is that we have to try to combine the prophetic and the pastoral office. We have to say that things are wrong when they are wrong. We have to proclaim what we believe to be the Christian way. But at the same time we have to recognise that those to whom we are called to minister have to live under the existing government whatever it may be, and for their sake we have to take every opportunity of helping them and ministering to them, remembering that it is possible to be a Christian under any outward circumstances, though such early Christians were slaves to heathen masters, but even under those conditions they manage to be Christians. And in its pastoral activities the Church must minister to people in the circumstances in which they are as well as it can. 106

Only four days before he replied to this letter from Archbishop Clayton, Duncan had written to G.C. Grant, the Principal of Adams College, saying,

> .... it is hard to justify an attitude of willing co-operation with the Bantu Educationists. There is a stage when a human group becomes evil to such an extent that one should not co-operate. 107

A year earlier Archbishop Clayton had told his Diocesan Synod that he "deprecated the assumption that the worst is bound to happen".[108] They must wait until the Minister was more explicit. After Dr. Verwoerd's speech to the Senate on June 7th 1954, Clayton could have had no doubt that Bantu Education was a form of training for servitude. In his charge to the Diocese of Cape Town in 1954 he said that it aimed "to fit people to take their place in an uncivilized community in South Africa. I don't want to misrepresent the Minister but frankly I cannot put any other interpretation upon his words".[109] Clayton made no concessions

106. Ibid., letter Clayton to Duncan, 2.6.1954.
107. Borthwick Institute York Duncan Papers DU5, letter Duncan to G.C. Grant 4.6.1954.
108. See above pp. 579-80, and p. 580, reference 15.
109. CPSA Archive AB 191 Clayton papers, Archbishop's Charge to the Diocese of Cape Town, 24.11.1954, Mimeo 13 pp. Also published in WOOD, ed. Where we Stand op. cit., pp. 32-40.

to the Government in expressing his abhorrence of "this fantastic Bantu Education". He thought that it would certainly retard the education of the African "but I do not believe that it will prevent it". Indeed "the policy is so fantastic that it cannot succeed". Clayton believed that the church should take no part "in giving this fantastic 'Bantu Education'". They should retain ownership of their buildings. Where schools were used for church purposes they should not be leased to the Department "unless satisfactory arrangements are made for them to continue to be used for church purposes".[110] However, their decision had turned on what was going to be in the best interests of the African children themselves.

> I am haunted by the fear that if the number of school buildings available is greatly reduced by the refusal of the missions to lease any of their buildings, the result would be the throwing of large numbers of children upon the streets, and in country districts their loss of any opportunity of instruction of any kind. Even a rotten system of education is better than that which young children pick up in the streets. [111]

Clayton was also concerned that any whole-sale refusal by the church to lease its buildings might lead, not to a change of heart, but to expropriation of their property by the Government. In Johannesburg Bishop Reeves' decision affected only twenty-three schools. In the Cape Province Clayton estimated there were some 450 schools as well as a great many in Natal. Clayton also asserted that African opinion had been consulted and that their opinion had been unanimous.[112]

Clayton also explained to the British Council of Churches the consequences of a total refusal by the church to lease to the Government any school buildings.

> The result would be that very large numbers of Native children would be deprived of any education at all, for it would take a long time for the Government to provide new buildings. We believe that it is better that Native children should receive elementary education and be taught to read and to write than that they should be left without such instruction. Therefore we are prepared to lease such buildings as we cannot use in other ways for the benefit of the Native people to the Government.

110-112. Ibid.

> As it appears that the Government intends to make the local Native population pay the cost, the Bishops do not propose to charge more than a nominal rent. They do not wish the Native people to be taxed in order to pay rent to the Church. 113

He told the British Council of Churches that any money that came from England should be used, therefore,

> .... not for keeping any schools open but to strengthen the Church so that it may be able to develop plans for improving its pastoral work among Native Africans, and especially for giving religious instruction on the assumption that we shall have lost our schools. 114

The Bishops even rejected a plan put forward for trying to run one or two private schools without any subsidy at all.

> I think that this would be a gesture that would be welcome to a good many of the Native people, but I doubt its wisdom .... I think we must be careful about gestures unless they are going to be really useful. 115

Clayton pointed out the difficulties involved in running even a few schools on that basis. It would be expensive. To keep St. Peter's alone would cost £ 10 000 per annum. "While it may be possible to raise the money now, I think it is very doubtful whether it would be possible to raise the necessary money year by year." He also doubted whether the Government would agree to register it. Private schools would be difficult to staff, because African teachers would find their future employment uncertain. It would not be possible to keep enough schools going to help the situation very much. Clayton admitted that these suggestions would not have as much appeal value as an appeal for private schools would have done.

> Nevertheless the most useful purpose to which we can devote any money put at our disposal would be to enable us to develop youth work on the assumption that we have lost our schools. 116

Lest it be thought that the other Bishops blindly followed Archbishop Clayton's lead at the Umtata Synod, or that in refusing to be swayed by the argument of Bishop Reeves they reacted in a spirit of defeatism of lacked courage, something further needs to be written. There could hardly be a better guide than Eric

113. CPSA Archive, AB 1095, Archbishop's correspondence with Archbishop of Canterbury 1950-1961. A memorandum prepared by the Archbishop of Cape Town for the use of representatives of the British Council of Churches. 29.11.1954.
114-116. Ibid.

Trapp, Bishop of Zululand, who was the Chairman of the Provincial Board of Mission, the body whose advice was decisive in informing Episcopal Synod of opinion in the C.P.S.A. on the issue, and who also attended the Christian Council's Conference in Pretoria on 1st September as the Archbishop's nominee. On 26th December he wrote a letter for the February 1955 issue of the Net, the magazine of the Zululand Missionary Association. He acknowledged that

> It would of course, have been a fine thing if all the Missionary Bodies would have put up a united front of opposition. It might even have obliged the Government to repeal or substantially amend the Act. But it simply wasn't possible, and I want to tell you some of the reasons.
>
> In the first place, the Government chose to release information in dribs and drabs over a long period of time, with one official contradicting another, until there was speculation everywhere and no assurance to be found .... I do not suggest that the Government deliberately sought to sow confusion. I simply declare that that has been the effect. 117

The effect of this was that the meetings of church leaders that took place were "neither practical or useful". At the Christian Council's Pretoria conference, for instance, "we were hazarding guesses, propounding hypothetical suggestions and talking at cross-purposes".

> Even in a more homogeneous fellowship than that of such a body as the Christian Council of Churches .... conscientious difference of opinion proved inescapable over the complicated set of questions raised by the Bantu Education Act.... 118

Bishop Trapp then set forth what some of these differences were:

> Some set little store by the utterances of the Minister of Native Affairs. They dismiss his speeches as political tirades, delivered with an eye to the ballot box .... They derive comfort from the reflection that men of proven integrity, often the sons of missionaries, are working in the Government Department concerned and they accept the assurances of men like F.J. de Villiers (Under-Secretary for Bantu Education) that the actual syllabi are being drafted by educationalists in full accord with sound pedagogic principles. But others maintain that politicians hold the puppet strings, and that we know well enough what curious capers will be cut. Then again, there are some who think the schools offer a most valuable means of evangelism. They want to stay within the educational system as long as they can .... seeking in every way to salvage what can be salvaged from the wreck. Others think that what can

117. The Net, February 1955, p. 6.
118. Ibid., p. 7.

> be salvaged is of negligible worth .... Some go so far as to say that they have long lost confidence in the converting and shepherding efficacy of the schools and they are not sorry to be relieved of the need to write cheques, buy chalk, mend windows and fill in forms.
>
> How can such differences of opinion be resolved by a date stipulated on a Government circular ? The very impossibility of it means that the actions which result from different viewpoints will themselves be different. 119

Referring to the Johannesburg decision to close its schools, Bishop Trapp admitted that

> .... most of us have thought at various times that it was the wisest and bravest and indeed the only honest line to take. Yet we were finally deterred by a number of weighty considerations. 120

Like Clayton, Trapp was deterred by twin fears. The first was of throwing large numbers of African children on to the streets and leaving them without the prospect of any kind of education whatsoever. The second was the far from fanciful fear that the Government, presented with a concerted refusal by the churches to lease their property would resort to expropriation, as the only means of getting some buildings for educational purposes in the immediate term. Bishop Trapp made much of this.

> There is nothing fantastic in the contention that, were we to refuse permission for our buildings to be used as schools, the Government might consider itself justified in resorting to expropriation - and then we should be left without churches. 121

This was because in most areas church buildings were dual-purpose and used as schools on week-days and for worship on Sundays.

> If there be some vestige of paradoxical truth in the assertion that to close schools is to defend the educational interests of the people ought we to adopt this defence at the risk of jeopardising their spiritual welfare ? Ought we to gamble with their fonts and altars ? 122

He did not condemn the Johannesburg decision. He simply pointed out that

> .... the majority of their African churchfolk there, or at any rate their representatives in Synod, were in favour of closing the schools. Ours were not. 123

Bishop Trapp's final reason was very similar to that of Dr. Webb, cited at the beginning of the previous chapter.

119. Ibid., pp. 7-8. 120. Ibid. 121. Ibid., p. 9.
122-3. Ibid.

> We Europeans might have salved our own consciences by locking doors, but we resisted the temptation in the knowledge that the chief sufferers from our action would be the Zulus we were sent to serve - and who need us more in their fresh adversity. 124

There were those who were deeply disappointed that a concerted effort had not really been made to retain at least some schools, to serve as an on-going leaven within the state system. The benefits to the Roman Catholic Church and the African community of the effort to retain Catholic mission schools under church control will be discussed in the next chapter, together with such attempts that were made to keep open some protestant schools. The loss of all protestant church schools has been keenly felt in the African community, a situation that has been partly mitigated some twenty-five years later by the admission of some black pupils to "white" private church schools. At the time the Editor of Church News found it possible to accept the position by saying "the time was bound to come when, again, the State would have to step in".[125] Few in the C.P.S.A. would not have shared the sense of sadness expressed by the Revd. W.G. Hardwick, Rector of Matubatuba in the diocese of Zululand, over the enforced closure of St. Peter's High School Rosettenville. Fr. Hardwick thought that "the Bantu Education Act is about to destroy something vital .... to African ethical and spiritual life" by the substitution of an education designed to fit the African into "a preconceived pattern".[126] The conscience of Christians had been sorely tried. The Minister had got his way. Episcopal Synod's decision in Umtata in October 1954 had been a victory for Dr. Verwoerd. His bitterest critics, the Anglican Church, were going to let him have their schools, and the Government could lease them at a nominal rent.

For the church, it was not so much a defeat as a recognition of its powerlessness. Moral suasion and the ownership of property were insufficient to withstand the more powerful legal and financial constraints which the Minister now had it in his power to apply. For all that, it was a phyrric victory. For what the Bishops'

124. Ibid.
125. Church News, 15.12.1954, p. 178, Notes of the Month, "The State takes over".
126. Church News, 17.11.1954, p. 170, "Bantu Education".

decision at Umtata did ensure was that all the obloquy for the hated system of Bantu Education did finally rest where it belonged, on the shoulders of Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd. He was Minister of Native Affairs between 1950 and 1958, and then Prime Minister of South Africa from 1958 until 1965 when he was assassinated.

For the majority of Anglican bishops to bow out gracefully but under protest was seen to be the wisest course in the circumstances at that time. The Defiance Campaign had compelled the C.P.S.A. to think about the ethics and the strategy of Christian resistance to the State. The imposition of Bantu Education challenged the churches to think again about the need to resist apartheid. However it was one thing to sacrifice oneself in offering resistance to the Government. Those who contemplated such a refusal found it necessary to ask whether it was morally right to decide upon a course of action which entailed sacrificing not just their own safety but the education of an entire generation of defenceless African school children. The majority of Anglican bishops reluctantly chose the safer course because the consequences of resistance were too unpredictable and the threat of expropiation of church property too real. Those who were ready to resist Dr. Verwoerd on the issue of Bantu Education were, however, in a minority, which in turn undermined their stand and reduced it merely to a brave gesture. This chapter concludes with a description of how the scene of this agonising debate shifted to Britain, and the impressive support which the plight of the C.P.S.A. aroused in England in 1955 over the loss of its mission schools.

SUPPORT FOR THE C.P.S.A. IN ENGLAND, 1955.

Growing concern in England for the churches in South Africa, faced with the loss of their mission schools, increased in intensity with the news that not only the C.R. and the S.S.M. but also the Diocese of Johannesburg had on 15th November 1954 decided to close their schools rather than co-operate in any way with the implementation of Bantu Education. By then the British Council of Churches had already appointed a group to consider how best

Christians in Britain could help. A report of the meeting of this group on 1st November, signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury Dr. Geoffrey Fisher, was in close accord with the majority decision of Episcopal Synod two weeks later.[124]

The B.C.C. group first considered the wisdom of making some kind of appeal to maintain a limited number of schools, but went on to suggest that

> When all is said and done it might very well be that if we could raise any money, the best use of it would not be to fight a desperate battle over the educational field, but to give as much money as we could to strengthen the Church itself. [125]

Archbishop Fisher thought that such an appeal could not possibly aim at "Canon Collins' figure of half a million".[126] In order to obtain the best possible advice from South Africa two emissaries were sent, Canon Fenton Morley, Secretary of the Overseas Council of the Church Assembly, and the Revd. L.B. Greaves from the Conference of British Missionary Societies.[127]

On 17th October the Dean of Windsor, Bishop E.K.C. Hamilton, persuaded all the chairmen of the associations connected with the South African Church Institute to make an appeal "as a mark of confidence in the witness of the Church of the Province of South Africa", to be given to the Archbishop of Cape Town for use at his discretion for the work of the Church in South Africa. This appeal was to yield a sum of £ 1760.[128] On 1st November the Director of the South African Church Institute in London, C.T. Wood, addressed the following telegram to Archbishop Clayton "in view of Episcopal Synod to meet in Umtata shortly".

> Every indication imaginative appeal to England present moment would meet with ready response. Even Archbishop of Canterbury mildly inclined action and Canon Collins ready to raise half a million pounds or perish in the attempt. Either result highly desirable. Could you consider moving Modderpoort to Basutoland. [129]

124. CPSA Archive AB 1095, Archbishop's correspondence with Archbishop of Canterbury, letter Fisher to Clayton 2.11.1954, thanking for his "timely letter" of 27.10.1954.
125. CPSA Archive AB 1095 loc. cit., "South Africa", a report by the BCC Group, 1.11.1954, signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, p. 2, para. (3).
126. Ibid., p. 3.
127. CPSA Archive AB 1095 loc. cit., letters Fisher to Clayton 2.11.1954 and 10.11.1954.
128. WOOD, unpublished journal op. cit., pp. 6-7, 17.10.1954 and p. 42, 28.4.1955.
129. Ibid., p. 12, 1.11.1954.

Spurred on by the S.A.C.I's appeal, on 16th November S.P.G.'s Africa Sub-Committee pressed for an urgent and immediate appeal on behalf of the Church of the Province of South Africa. On 26th November S.P.G. announced that it would immediately make available a sum of £ 25 000 from its own reserves and launched its South African Emergency Fund, which was to raise a further £ 42 000 in only nine months.[130]

In South Africa, Father Huddleston announced the Community of the Resurrection's "Save St. Peter's Fund".[131] From Johannesburg, Bishop Reeves announced his intention to raise £ 50 000 in England for the Church Family Centres that he proposed to start on 1st April in the schools that would be closed.[132] Canon Collins had already called for donations to Christian Action's Race Relations Rund to assist the South African churches in meeting the challenge of the Bantu Education Act.[133] On 11th December the Africa Bureau urged its supporters to contribute to the above funds.[134] On 4th February 1955 a joint appeal was announced by members of the boards of both Christian Action and the Africa Bureau.[135] The fund was to be administered by a group of distinguished trustees in England, with the help of a committee of advisors in South Africa that included Alan Paton and Fr. Huddleston.[136]

130. Ibid., p. 15, 16.11.1954, p. 18, 26.11.1954, cf. Chunch Times, 26.11.1954.
131. CPSA Archive AB 702, Africa Bureau Press Release dated 11.12.1954.
132. CPSA Archive AB 707, SACI Papers. SPG, meeting of Africa Sub-Committee, 7.1.1955. cf. The Watchman, January 1955, p. 3, the Bishop's letter.
133. CPSA Archive AB 702 Scott papers 1949-57, Africa Bureau Press Release 11.12.1954.
134. Ibid., and WOOD, unpublished journal op. cit., pp. 33-4, and CPSA Archive AB 707 SACI papers, S.P.G. Press release 13.2.1955, "Bishop of Johannesburg makes an important statement", sermon at Yarmouth 13.2.1955.
135. CPSA Archive AB 702 loc. cit., Africa Bureau Press Release 4.2.1955.
136. Wits. Archive AD 1169 A 1-8, Paton papers, letter Mary Benson to Paton 12.2.1955, and CPSA Archive AB 702 loc cit., handbill "Justice in South Africa African Schools and Families Fund". The Signatories to the Appeal were:- Dr. John Baillie (former Moderator, Church of Scotland), Lady Violet Bonham-Carter (Vice-President, Liberal Party), the Bishop of Birmingham (J.L. Wilson C.M.G.), Sir Maurice Bowra (Warden Wadham College Oxford and former Vice Chancellor, Oxford University), Sir Hugh Casson (architect), the Bishop of Chichester (Dr. George Bell), Canon Collins (Precentor, St. Paul's Cathedral), Fr. T. Corbishley S.J. (Master, Campion Hall, Oxford), Mr James Crawford J.P., (President, National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives), the Rt. Hon. A. Creech Jones (former Colonial Secretary), Mr Issac Foot (Liberal Party), the Rt. Hon. James Griffiths M.P. (former Colonial Secretary), Lord Hemingford (Chairman, Africa Bureau), Fr. Raymond Raynes C.R. (Superior, Community of the Resurrection), Dr. W.E. Sangster (Moderator of the Methodist Church), Revd. Michael Scott (Hon. Director of Africa Bureau), Lord Winster K.C.M.G. (former Governor of Cyprus and Labour Minister of Civil Aviation).

This was called : "Justice in South Africa: African Schools and Families Fund".

Leaving Archdeacon R.P.Y. Rouse in Johannesburg as Vicar General, Bishop Reeves set out for England on long leave at the beginning of January.[137] Every five years the S.P.G. made it possible for their missionaries and those on their list of clergy overseas to take long leave in England. A furlough involved a certain amount of deputation work on behalf of the Society in England, with visits to parishes and other engagements. The S.P.G.'s Editorial and Press Secretary, Dewi Morgan, took up with enthusiasm the opportunity afforded by Bishop Reeves' presence in England, and arranged a formidable programme of engagements for him, including several radio and television interviews.

It was realized that the Johannesburg Family Centres had more appeal value than the as yet unspecified and tentative plans of the other dioceses.[138] However, a meeting did take place at S.P.G. House on 5th January between Bishop Reeves, the Revd. C.T. Wood as Chairman of the Society's Africa Sub-Committee, and a special group formed to mount the S.P.G.'s South African Emergency Fund, in order to smooth over potential problems. Reeves emphasized that although Christian Action and the Africa Bureau were confident of raising all the funds he needed, he wanted to co-operate with S.P.G., but not at the cost of "using his appeal to bolster the South African Emergency Fund with only an unspecified proportion for his Diocese". Equally, S.P.G. realized that it could not afford to be altogether dissociated from the Johannesburg appeal since "the Johannesburg plan has great appeal value in this country".[139] As a result Johannesburg was promised an immediate allocation of £ 6000 from the Reserve Grant allocation, "to provide salaries for the first twelve months". Another major concern of S.P.G. was

> that any such dissociation [of the Johannesburg appeal from the needs of the C.P.S.A.'s other dioceses] would give an

137. The Watchman, January 1955, Bishop's Letter.
138. CPSA Archive AB 707, SACI Papers, SPG Memorandum prepared after consultation with the Bishop of Johannesburg by the Chairman of the Africa Sub-Committee in consultation with the Special Group which met on January 6th. 7.1.1955.
139. Ibid.

> unfortunate impression of a deep cleavage of opinion within the Province. 140

Reeves co-operated to avoid giving the impression of making a separate appeal, and tried to underplay the differences in policy over the Bantu Education Act.[141] For instance, in a sermon preached at St. Peter's, Great Yarmouth, on Sunday 13th February, he did not even mention the Bantu Education Act. Preaching on the text Ephesians 2;14 "For He is our peace who made both one and brake down the middle wall of partition", Reeves began with a biblical condemnation of "compulsory segregation". To drive home what this meant, he devoted the rest of his address to the Western Areas removal scheme. Under the guise of slum clearance, this was being done simply because "the policy of compulsory segregation had to be put into effect".[142]

On the other hand, what gave Reeves' appearances their "appeal value" was the impression being given by Christian Action and the Africa Bureau that the rest of the C.P.S.A. had given in to Dr. Verwoerd, whereas Bishop Reeves had stood firm. The appeal from Christian Action and the Africa Bureau was specifically "for those who refuse to compromise with this travesty of education".[143] The C.R.'s "Save St. Peter's Fund" and Bishop Reeves' Church Family Centres, together with the S.S.M.'s stand over Modderpoort, thus became the symbols of brave defiance to the injustices of apartheid. On 21st February, when the Africa Bureau and Christian Action launched their appeal for "Justice in South Africa" at the Central Hall, Westminister, before an audience of some 2000,the sum of £ 2300 was collected spontaneously at the meeting itself. A message to the meeting from Canon Collins, who was absent ill with pleurisy, pointedly referred to the Bishop of Johannesburg as

> .... one of the few Churchmen with courage to apply Christian insights, in action as well as in words to the racial situation in South Africa. 144

140. CPSA Archive AB 707 SACI Papers, SPG Special meeting of Selection and Reference and Finance Sub-Committees, and Africa Sub-Committee, South Africa Appeal 5.1.1955. Signed A.E.A. Sulston, Oversea Secretary, and J.D. Dixon Home Secretary. Cf. WOOD, unpublished Journal op. cit., pp. 25-6, 3-5 January 1955.
141. The Watchman, March 1955, Bishop's Letter.
142. CPSA Archive AB 707 SACI Papers, SPG Press Release 13.2.1955.
143. SACI Papers loc. cit., Africa Bureau Press Release 4.2.1955 "Justice in South Africa: African Schools and Families Fund".
144. CPSA Archive AB 702 Michael Scott papers, Christian Action press release 21.2.1955.

Bishop Reeves was the speaker, and gave what C.T. Wood described as "a very thoughtful address carefully documented", in which he "stigmatized the Western Areas scheme as 'legalized theft'".[145]

At a meeting of S.P.G. during March Bishop Reeves reiterated his view that "what is happening in the Western Areas of Johannesburg is not a genuine slum clearance scheme but an enforced population removal inspired by racialist motives".[146] In the same address he also explained the positive side of his decision not to lease church schools in his diocese to the Government.

> This does not mean we are abandoning the African children. Already we are taking active steps to fill the vacuum created by the loss of the schools. Plans are being made to give our African clergy training to equip them better for the organization of work among children. Similarly every effort is being made to recruit and train suitable Africans to teach in Sunday Schools and for leadership, in Youth Clubs and similar organizations. Most urgently we are taking steps to open fourteen of our schools at the end of this month as Church Family Centres. In these we plan to provide out of school activities and recreational activites. Already we are recruiting and training a full time paid staff and enrolling voluntary helpers. In these centres emphasis will be placed on training in worship and religious instruction, and will also include organized games, singing, drama and handicrafts .... the buildings would be used by children by day and teenagers and families in the evenings.
>
> In some ways the loss of our schools is a grievous thing, but as so often, when one door closes others open, and there is no reason why as a church we should not render even greater service to our African members .... we are determined to use this as an opportunity for greater service to the African children in our Church community. 147

In his many public appearances Reeves aroused widespread sympathy and support. An autograph hunter from Lancashire wrote to him:

> I saw your television appearance and may I say how nauseating I find the situation in South Africa. The Government there are well behind the times and their latest move is really disgraceful. 148

The S.P.G.'s Editorial and Press Secretary continued to issue press releases of Reeves' speeches, which were avidly used by

145. WOOD, unpublished journal op. cit., p. 32, 21.2.1955.
146. SPG Archives, Missionaries' Reports, Johannesburg Diocese 1955/6.
147. Ibid.
148. CPSA Archive AB 388, Reeves papers, letter to Reeves 19.2.1955.

British newspapers, and there were also further approaches from the B.B.C.[149]

Meanwhile, Archbishop Clayton had accepted the S.P.G.'s invitation to speak at their Annual General Meeting on 26th April 1955, and this was to be followed on 28th April by a rally at the Royal Albert Hall.[150] At the rally Bishop Basil Roberts, the Secretary of S.P.G., presented Archbishop Clayton with a cheque for £ 30 000.[151] By September Dewi Morgan wrote to Reeves to report that the Emergency Fund had "now exceeded £ 42 000, and included one cheque for £ 5 500 of which £ 2000 was earmarked for Johannesburg".[152] To give further support to this highly effective public relations exercise, S.P.G. published a booklet on the church's work in South Africa, which gave special attention to the resolutions of the Umtata Episcopal Synod. The booklet presented a "virile, young and self-governing" Church of the Province, whose witness had "never ceased to uphold the standard of Christian race relations". The criticism "You preach one thing and practice another" was answered by referring to the Advent Sunday Eucharist for all races held in Durban and Pietermaritzburg, and the multiracial character of all diocesan synods.[153]

The undoubted climax to all these efforts in England came at the S.P.G. rally at the Royal Albert Hall, when Archbishop Clayton shared the platform with Bishop Reeves, on 28th April 1955. The auditorium and the galleries were filled, and there was both a seriousness and a gaiety reminiscent of an audience at a promenade concert.

When Bishop Reeves, who had held the British public in his thrall for fully two months, surrendered the spotlight to his Archbishop, Clayton bluntly stated his objections to Bantu Education. "It is an instrument for the implementation of the policy of apartheid".[154] But what was to be done ? He referred to

149. CPSA Archives, AB 388 Reeves papers, letter Dewi Morgan to Reeves.
150. CPSA Archives AB 811, WOOD, C.T., (ed.), The Critical Years 1949-1957, unpublished typescript collection of Archbishop Clayton's sermons and addresses.
151. WOOD, unpublished journal op. cit., p. 42, 28.4.1955.
152. CPSA Archive AB 388 Reeves Papers, letter Dewi Morgan to Reeves 19.9.1955.
153. "KAFFERBOETIE", The Church Serves South Africa, London: SPG 1955 (43 pp), pp 33-4.
154. CPSA Archives "The Critical Years 1949-1957" op. cit. p. 117.

Catholic policy. "But their schools will still be part of a Government system. We are not prepared to do what they are doing".[155] He referred to the Coloured people and their representation in Parliament. "Can Christian witness really make any difference to the policy of the country ?"[156] Clayton believed it could, but "only if Christians spoke with one voice".[157] His audience must have wondered whether Clayton was referring to Bishop Reeves as he set out some guidelines for dealing with the situation.

1) We must try to believe that those who don't agree with us are sincere. We don't find that easy. But neither do they find it easy in their attitude to us.

2) We mustn't mind being criticized, and when we're criticized we mustn't lose our temper .... The natural man, and there's a good deal of natural man left in Bishops, wants to hit back when somebody hits him.

Perhaps the Archbishop was referring to Anglican attitudes towards the Dutch Reformed churches, but what he said also spoke eloquently to Bishop Reeves.

> Then he referred explicitly to the Bishop of Johannesburg.
>
> Rome was not built in a day ! I am bound to say that I didn't really make any great effort to build it. I don't know whether my friend and successor, the present Bishop of Johannesburg, has made any progress towards its building. But I am quite sure we can go on with our work and we must go on with it. We don't like the conditions under which we have to work. But we must work under those conditions or not at all. We can't give up our work by refusing to accept those conditions, though we accept them under protest without letting people down who depend on us and trust us very much.... 159

What should the church do, faced with the loss of her schools ? Clayton was in no doubt that it was a loss, and would deprive the church of many points of contact with African youth.

> We shall have to find new methods, and the implementing of our plans will inevitably cost a good deal of money .... Your money will be spent in an endeavour to fill up the gaps in our opportunities of work among Native youth caused by our giving up our schools. 160

He said that his Diocese would not ask for any money because this did not as yet affect Coloured schools.[161] His theme and purpose was to assure his audience that the work of the church was going

155. Ibid., p. 119. 156. Ibid., p. 129. 157. Ibid., p. 120.
158. Ibid., p. 129. 159. Ibid., p. 130. 160. Ibid., p. 117 and 119.
161. Ibid., pp. 121-3.

on, and would continue. Those who heard Archbishop Clayton could see that here was no "sell-out" to apartheid, nor someone who did not act on his beliefs. Here was a brave Archbishop calmly leading his people through difficult times, and conserving the church's resources so that they might be deployed in the most effective way. This encouraged the faithful to give, as the continued and spontaneous growth of the S.P.G.'s South African Emergency Fund showed. In the end it was Clayton's masterly address that night which gave "appeal value" to the straightforward pastoral work of the church.

Yet Bishop Reeves also deserved considerable credit for the outcome. Dewi Morgan paid a sincere tribute to those efforts when his busy furlough was concluded at the end of May.

> I am not going to attempt to comment upon your visit to England except to say that as one looks for an overall plan in the working out of Divine Providence it would appear that your furlough could not have fallen at a more opportune moment. Neither would it appear that such a furlough could have been more nobly used. 162

It remains to give a summary of the uses to which this money was put. Johannesburg received £ 6000 towards the staffing of family centres from the Reserve Fund. The dioceses of Kimberley and Kuruman, and of Pretoria, received grants for a Director of Religious Education, Bloemfontein for a Religious Education Advisor, Grahamstown for a Sunday School Director, St. John's for the training of ordinands and Sunday School organizers, and Zululand towards the cost of training ordinands.[163] Pretoria also received something for the continuation of Grace Dieu School at Pietersburg. On-going support for all these programmes was disbursed from the £ 42 000 collected in England and was administered by the Archbishop and the Bishops of George and Natal, whose dioceses were not to be beneficiaries of the Fund.

What, if any, were to be the tangible results of all this effort ? The Johannesburg Church Family Centres were able to

162. CPSA Archive, AB 388, Reeves papers, Bantu Education, Letter Dewi Morgan to Reeves, 31.5.1955.

163. CPSA Archive AB 1289, Archbishop of Cape Town's SPG File, 1955-7. Letters Sulston to Clayton 15.2.1956 and 27.6.1956.

start work, but they were not to have any lasting success. For a time, they did serve to keep some school children off the streets. However, as the children returned to schools built by the Department of Native Affairs, numbers dwindled. The Family Centres could never be an effective substitute for a school. Police surveillance ensured that no formal teaching took place, and such incriminating evidence as chalk, slates, books and writing materials could not be found on the premises. They could aspire only to be day recreation centres, and they lacked the trained and experienced staff and equipment to make this brave experiment succeed.[164]

In other dioceses the on-going work of diocesan advisers or directors of education, the establishment of a Test School for African Ordinands at Modderpoort, and a considerable effort to expand the production of vernacular literature was to have more lasting results. Programmes for the in-service training of both clergy and laity, the promotion of Bible Study groups in parishes, training courses for Sunday School teachers and superintendents, and the provision of week-end courses on other aspects of the Christian religion, Christian education and leadership training, which were to become such a common and well-developed feature of parish and diocesan life in the C.P.S.A., owe much to the appointments that were made possible by this infusion of funds for the C.P.S.A. in 1955. The sum of £ 25 000 contributed by S.P.G. from its Reserve Fund, matched by a further £ 40 000 contributed by British Christians into the South African Emergency Fund, did much to strengthen and invigorate the life of the C.P.S.A. at this critical time. Nor is it without significance that these developments took place at a time when the Anglican Church was being singled out by Government spokesmen as "having misled the people" whilst the "true friends of the Africans were the Dutch Reformed Church".[166]

164. See also below, Chapter 12, p. 635, for the ANC's "Cultural Clubs".
165. CPSA Archive,AB:1289, Archbishop of Cape Town's SPG File 1955-57, Minutes of the Emergency Fund Committee at Bishop's House Pietermaritzburg 11.1.1956.
166. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan papers DU 6, letter Duncan to Canon L.John Collins 18.1.1955, commenting on the surprisingly large vote for the Nationalist candidate (Pretorius) who stood against Walter Ballinger for the OFS and Transvaal Senate Natives Representative seat in 1955. Duncan commented on how "the Minister himself" (Dr. Verwoerd) had held several large "pitsos" at which such allegations had been made.

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE RESISTANCE TO BANTU EDUCATION.

AFRICAN REACTIONS TO BANTU EDUCATION.

African opinion about Bantu Education, though not easy to assess, seems to suggest that there was deep suspicion about the Government's motives as well as considerable dissatisfaction with the new system. The African people eventually accepted what they were given, simply because they had no other choice.

Dr. H.F. Verwoerd made a surprising claim in Parliament in April 1956 by speaking about "the enthusiasm of the Native for the new system".[1] On the other hand Father Trevor Huddleston C.R. has suggested that such claims by the Minister and the Information Office of the Department of Native Affairs were mere "propaganda".[2] Oliver Tambo, Acting Secretary General of the African National Congress, said in December 1955 "nor can there be any doubt that its enforcement revealed the united hostility of the vast majority of the [African] people against this tyrannical measure".[3] Reference has already been made to the views of African members of the Methodist Conference, as reported by its President, Dr. J.B. Webb, in December 1954, who told Dr. Arthur Blaxall Secretary of the Christian Council, "there was no doubt about the common mind of the African people themselves; although they hated this Bantu Education Act like poison, they still felt that a wreck was better than nothing at all.[4] Also, Fr. David Rakale C.R.

1. House of Assembly Debates, 3676/56, 16.4.1956, Minister of Native Affairs.
2. HUDDLESTON, Trevor, Naught for your Comfort, op. cit., p. 129, ".... the propaganda line is that the African people, if left to themselves and the Government, would be more than content with the Bantu Education Act. It is only agitation, 'liberalists' (a new and now familiar term of abuse) and 'misguided clerics' who create opposition and mistrust".
3. KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol III, op. cit., p. 232, Document 13c, Report of the National Executive Committee for the ANC's Annual Conference, 17-18 December 1955.
4. See above, Chapter 10, p. 536.

had likened Bantu Education to "poisoned bread".[5] On the other hand, Bishop K.B. Hallowes, who was Priest-in-Charge of Springvale Mission in rural Southern Natal, told me that whilst it was "the way in which it was done, more than anything else, which was painful, unnecessary and hurtful", the African people at Springvale Mission he knew so well were "quite happy with the change-over".[6] However, the overwhelming impression conveyed by the reports of missionaries to S.P.G. in 1954 was that they held the threat of Bantu Education and the preaching of apartheid responsible for the growth of African Independent churches at the time. The Revd. Cyprian Thorpe, Priest-in-Charge of St. Michael's Mission in the Grahamstown Diocese, reported how "one of our most sincere Christian teachers said that the policy of the Native Affairs Department was to recreate the old heathen traditions and to wean Africans from the church back to tribal life". This was being done at a time when "there is too much evidence of an increased activity of those who want to invent their own brand of religion. The sects are apparently bursting with vitality".[7] Anglican Bishops, like missionaries, tried to reflect the reactions and wishes of African people in their response to the Bantu Education Act, and whilst it is evident that all were at one in their dislike of the new system, where they differed was in their attitude on the question of whether they should in the circumstances refuse to lease their school buildings to the Government. It was with regard to the State's use of church property for the purpose of imposing Bantu Education on an unwilling African people that Archbishop Clayton told his diocesan synod in November 1954 that "Africans are not unanimous". In his charge Clayton said,

> The question has been asked whether African Natives have been consulted about this policy. The answer is, Yes. Africans are not unanimous, but generally speaking .... the more vocal and politically minded, would welcome a refusal to lease any schools to the government, that is not the view of most of those who are themselves more intimately concerned with the matter. In one diocese at least a systematic attempt was made to discover the opinions of the Africans directly concerned, and it appeared that there was unanimous agreement that it would be wrong to refuse to lease any schools.[8]

5. See above, Chapter Eleven, p. 602.
6. HALLOWES, The Right Revd. K.B., Interview, Winterskloof, 28.9.1981.
7. SPG Library London, SPG Reports 1954, p. 24.
8. WOOD, C.T. (ed), Where we Stand, op. cit., p. 34, Clayton's Charge to Diocesan Synod, 24.11.1954.

An interesting expression of rural African opinion, uninfluenced by the A.N.C., is contained in a letter amongst the papers of the Swiss Mission. The letter was written by an elder of the Tsonga Presbyterian Church, Mr J.S.S. Shimati of Elim School, Louis Trichardt in the far Northern Transvaal, to the wife of the Superintendent of the Swiss Mission Schools, at the time of the change-over to state control.

> Yes, the change is received with mixed feelings. The headman and his adherents are certainly disappointed - the majority of the people they do not know what it means and all the implications. The teachers are only worried by the rules and regulations governing them as they [the rules] do not promise any security of tenure. The Board or Manager may terminate your services without being obliged to give reasons. My point of view is that the Mission Schools will still be better as the church influence will be maintained.[9]

Another opinion, from a speech by Mr A.E. Mpapele, also an elder of the Tsonga Presbyterian Church and a teacher, urged his hearers to "carry out the provisions of this law to the best of our abilities".

> We should know it is now the law of this land and we cannot undermine its provisions and expect to remain Government servants. [10]

Another thoughtful, dispassionate and objective assessment of African reaction to Bantu Education at the time came from an Anglican priest, the Revd. Mashite-Maimane, Priest-in-Charge of Mmakau Mission in the Diocese of Pretoria. He was commenting on an article by the Revd. Robert Jeffrey, Headmaster of Khaiso School in the journal Cape to Zambezi, published in London by the South African Church Institute.

> As your writer, the Rev. R. Jeffrey, on the above Act in your February issue intimated that the reaction of the African members of the Church is not very easy to assess, I ask you Sir, to allow me, as an African, to give some assessment of the African reaction on this Act; not from the viewpoint of Church members only, but of Africans as a whole. It is true that many educated Africans wish that the Churches and Missionary Societies that had controlled Native Mission Schools would have been of one mind and all closed their schools as the Diocese of Johannesburg has done, "as they believe that such action would cause the Minister to change his policy". But they feel that, as such unanimity

9. University of the Witwatersrand, William Cullen Library, historical papers section, AC 1084, Swiss Mission. Letter from J.S.S. Shimati, 29.3.1955.
10. William Cullen Library AC 1084 loc. cit., An Address on some aspects of the Bantu Education Act by A.E. Mpapele, 2.10.1954. In 1981 the Tsonga Presbyterian Church was renamed the Evangelical Presbyterian Church.

> amongst the religious bodies has been nil, the only alternative was what most of the Churches have done, that of leasing. They support the decision of the Bishops of the Church of the Province, that of taking the lesser evil, because it would still have been an evil to deprive thousands of children of the opportunity of any education and hundreds of teachers of their livelihood - men and women who have done so much for the Church in the classroom.
>
> A substantial number of Africans, it is also true, are not opposed to taking away the control of education from the Missions, but are opposed to their education being transferred to the Department of Native Affairs. All African organizations in this country have at one time or another passed resolutions in their conferences asking the Government to take education out of the control of Churches, but none has ever wished that the transfer should be to the N.A.D. but to the central Government like European schools .... There should be one and the same Department that controls education for all in the country, Europeans and Non-Europeans.
>
> We have already had for some years a number of Community or public schools, not under the control of Churches or Missions. These schools were increasing, and the Mission schools, compared with these, were deteriorating in regard to building and equipment. It was evident that the Mission schools would ultimately die a natural death - the majority of them, in any case - because many parents were now sending their children to these community schools. The African did not really dislike the control of the schools by the Missions, but he felt that the Missions had not enough funds to make their schools as attractive as the others.
>
> The African is strongly opposed to apartheid in education. Nobody, however tactful, will convince the African that this apartheid in education does not mean that the Bantu are to be restricted to a certain rôle in society, and a rôle of inferiority for that matter. He believes this is un-Christian and invokes the Church to come to his aid, especially by prayer that this evil does not last. 11

Amongst varied reactions of black people to the imposition of Bantu Education in 1955, it was the trenchant criticisms by black teachers which provided the most striking commentary upon African perceptions generally concerning the application of the new system of Bantu Education. Whilst there were many African teachers who were careful to keep their own counsel for fear of

11. Cape to Zambezi, Vol. XXII, No. 3, August 1955, p. 86, "Bantu Education Act: African reaction assessed" (from the Revd. H. Mashite-Maimane, Priest-in-Charge of Mmakau Mission, Diocese of Pretoria; who has for many years attended conferences of African teachers and ministers, and has been a Member of the Executive Committee of the Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation of the Union of South Africa). cf. SAIRR Jan Hofmeyr Library, Van Wyk Papers of the Cottesloe Planning Committee, "The objections of Africans to compulsory vernacular tuition" by J.C.M. Mbata (1960), submitted to the Cottesloe Consultation as the view of the S.A.I.R.R. of which the author was Field Officer.

losing their jobs, and others who spoke up in favour of state control for the same reason, a significant number of African teachers did neither. Some left the profession. Others raised their voices in urgent criticism of serious short-comings in the application of state control. In spite of the severe constraints being applied against those who were either so bold or so foolish as to criticize the Government's educational policy, the candour and courage with which these representations were made to the Department of Native Affairs testify to the deep feelings of resentment aroused by Dr. Verwoerd's whole philosophy of Bantu Education.

On 22nd April 1955 the Department of Native Administration issued regulations governing the conditions of service of Bantu teachers in Government schools. Government Notice No 841 defined "misconduct" for which summary dismissal was the penalty, as applying to any teacher who:

h) encourages through his acts or behaviour disobedience or resistance to the laws of the State;

i) identifies himself actively with a political party or body, or actively participates in political affairs; ....

l) contributes to the press by interview or in any other manner, or otherwise publishes a letter or article criticizing his superior officers or the policy of the Department of Native Affairs; or

m) behaves or acts or neglects to act in a manner which in the opinion of the Secretary is deleterious to his position as a teacher, regardless of whether such behaviour, act or negligence has been defined in these regulations or not. 12

As Brookes and Macaulay have observed, "Misconduct" under these heads leads to dismissal (Regulation 15 (f)). Legal representation is denied to any accused teacher at a disciplinary enquiry (Regulation 19 (5)), although a European teacher is entitled to representation in the same situation, under the appropriate provincial ordinance. The decision of the Secretary for Native Affairs on the case is explicitly declared to be final (Regulation 20 (3)).[13]

An early indication that the Department of Native Affairs

12. BROOKES, E.H., & MACAULAY, J.B., Civil Liberty in South Africa, Cape Town: OUP 1958, p. 116.
13. Ibid., cf. SAIRR Jan Hofmeyr Library, Box "Bantu Education", "Education for the Bantu in operation", 6.7.1962, by M. Prozesky, Regional Director of Bantu Education, Southern Transvaal.

intended to countenance no dissent from African teachers, and that the Government's attention was being directed towards the Cape African Teachers' Association came early in December 1953. Die Transvaaler headlined the fact that Dr. Eiselen had warned the C.A.T.A. that they were doing a very serious thing in calling upon teachers from other provinces to take part in a conference at Queenstown on 14th December 1953 to discuss the new Bantu Education Act. In a letter to Patrick Duncan, Dr. Arthur Blaxall commented,

> His "warning" suggests that the conference will oppose the measure which, he points out, is now the law of the land, and therefore to be obeyed not criticized. To me it is an appalling example of what we are up against - the mentality which legislates in the teeth of opposition from those most intimately concerned, and then says there is no more to be said, only obey. 14

It was no surprise therefore that among those to feel the effects of the new regulations governing African teachers employed by the Department of Bantu Education were the leaders of the Cape African Teachers' Association. In 1955 they published a pamphlet entitled Education in Peril, which earned the censure of Mr W.A. Maree (N.P., Newcastle) in the course of the parliamentary debate on the Bantu Education (Amendment) Bill in April 1956.[15] Not satisfied with dismissing them from their posts, the Native Affairs Department and the Special Branch of the Police seem to have engaged in what members of the C.A.T.A. regarded as a concerted campaign of victimization, which effectively prevented some of their members from finding alternative employment. Mr Sihlali, editor of C.A.T.A. publications, cited three examples in an article commissioned by Ronald Segal for his new journal Africa South:

> Three months after the expulsion from teaching of the first batch of C.A.T.A. members, one of them, who had the requisite qualifications, was offered employment as an accountant by an Insurance company. In spite of representations by the Managing Director of the company as well as by its Legal adviser, the Labour Bureaux of the East London City Council would not allow this man to enter the municipal area ....
>
> Not long after this the President of C.A.T.A. was, on the intervention of the Magistrate of Willowvale, compelled to sell his property and leave the area where he had been

14. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan papers DU 5 Arthur Blaxall 19, letter Blaxall to Duncan 9.12.1953.
15. House of Assembly Debates 3757/56, 17.4.1956, Mr W.A. Maree (N.P., Newcastle).

> principal of a school for thirteen years. Not only was this man forced out of hearth and home, but he was refused by the Native Affairs Department of the East London Municipal Council the right to reside in that city where the company of which he is a director has its headquarters.
>
> .... the writer also received similar treatment. In his case, no sooner did he enter the area under the jurisdiction of the East London Municipality than were members of the Special Branch and the C.I.D. busily enquiring how he got there. Though he was in employment, the head of the East London Labour Bureaux, accompanied by a constable of the N.A.D., came to his place of work to effect his arrest, but could not as he was lawfully employed. However, only a few days after members of the Special Branch had intimated that he would be sacked by his employers, he was summarily dismissed. 16

Another African reaction worth noting was that of the African teachers who had the task of implementing the new Bantu Education system. A fourteen-page memorandum to the Department in April 1956 from the Federal Council of African Teachers' Associations raised no less than twenty-five issues, only three of which were directly concerned with teachers' conditions of service.[17] Although the memorandum ended with the polite request "We beg his Honour, the Minister, be approached with a view to simplifying the organizational set-up", and began by complimenting the Department for conveying their representations to the Minister on the "plight of teachers mainly in Roman Catholic Schools" and the steps taken by "His Honour the Minister and the Department" to "effect some relief to those concerned" the tone of the memorandum, whilst courteous, was characterized by honesty and candour, and showed there were serious problems inherent in the new system.[18]

The first doubt concerned the willingness of the Department to listen, reflected in the comment that

> .... some of our people had developed serious misgivings as to whether these painstaking memoranda and costly deputations we are constantly engaged upon are worth-while after all. 19

16. Africa South, Vol. I, No. 1, Oct-Dec 1956, p. 50, "Bantu Education and the African Teacher", by Leo L. Sihlali.
17. SAIRR Jan Hofmeyr Library Johannesburg, 326:37 (68), Federal Council of African Teachers' Associations. Memorandum to the Department of Native Affairs (Bantu Education) Pretoria, on Important Educational Issues and Developments, April 1956. Mimeo, 14 pp.
18. Ibid., p. 14, para. 25 and p. 1, para. 1.
19. Ibid., p. 1, para. 1.

There was a concern about the vernacular as a medium of instruction up to Standard VI, and the teachers thought Standard II the moment to change.[20] The raising of the school admission age to the seventh birthday, and the closing of nursery schools, meant that "children will be idle for almost four years of the most formative stage of their lives".[21] They disagreed with automatic promotions up to Standard II, and commented,

> .... we cannot imagine how it is hoped to inspan successfully horses, mules, oxen and asses all together. Is it not likely that the speed of the whole caravan will thereby be reduced to ox-waggon pace ? 22

They pointed out the weakness of the double session system, which was that "when the mid-day session starts the teacher is worn out", and suggested that the platoon system with fresh teachers would achieve a "happy mean between quantity and quality".[23] The restrictions on school attendance on grounds of domicile, and the insistence that where concessions were made, scholars were being required to carry the letter of permission with them "to avoid ejection or prosecution" had meant that "the permission letter becomes a new kind of 'pass'".[24] The teachers agreed that it should be a matter of parental choice where children attended school.

They were also against Reference Books for scholars aged 16 and over.[25] They complained about the two shillings per month levy on urban housing for educational purposes.[26] They pleaded for the right of establishing private schools, referring to the "unhappy incident" of the closing of Christ the King Sophiatown in 1956, citing "what European Education owes to names such as Michaelhouse St. Andrew's Hilton College".[27] There was concern over the closure of the school meals service, and the retrenchment of personnel involved.[28] They were "shocked and grieved" that the services of school caretakers were to be terminated on 31st March 1956, and complained that school boards had been used as instruments to carry out an "unpalatable injunction".[29] They

20. Ibid., pp. 1-2, para. 2.
21. Ibid., p. 3, para. 3.
22. Ibid., p. 3, para. 4.
23. Ibid., p. 3, para. 5.
24. Ibid., p. 4, para. 7.
25. Ibid., pp. 4-5, para. 8.
26. Ibid., p. 5, para. 9.
27. Ibid., p. 5, para. 10.
28. Ibid., p. 5, paras. 11 and 12.
29. Ibid., p. 6, para. 13.

quoted one "moderate but influential member of a School Board", who was having second thoughts about serving on a school board.

> We are being made dustpans to convey the dust and dirt of the Government to our people. The people know us but they don't know the Government. They will lose confidence in us and call us names. It started with School Meals and went on to School Fees and now it is flinging stones at caretakers. How long shall we allow ourselves to be made scapegoats ? Can we now blame those who condemned us for serving on these Boards ? 30

Notwithstanding recommendations of the Eiselen Commission or the treatment accorded to civil servants, teachers faced compulsory retirement at 55 for women and 60 for men, without a pension scheme.[31]

The issue which aroused the deepest resentment was the power given to School Boards to dismiss a teacher, and the regulations already cited which precluded any kind of legal representation at an enquiry. They had still not heard the views of the Department on their compromise suggestion that a fellow-member of a Teachers' Association could represent a teacher at such an enquiry. They could cite instances of teachers receiving a notice of termination without reason, being found not guilty by an enquiry instituted by the School Board and then subsequently being given three months' notice of dismissal by the Department.

> How can people living in such an unpredictable atmosphere be happy and creative ? .... We protest at this attitude towards the teacher. It creates an unhealthy atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust. 32

Another serious issue was what appeared to be a total breakdown in the requisitioning of school supplies and equipment. Schools had run out of essentials such as chalk, stationery, preparation books and mark books, sewing materials, dusters, timber, etc.

> It is not possible to economize on essentials, and a starved educational system means inferior educational standards. 33

School Board secretaries were having to find their own office equipment and stationery.

> The Department may, perhaps, not feel very happy about a number of things it may have inherited from the past - that is understandable. But it is surely under an obligation

30. Ibid., p. 7, para. 13.
31. Ibid., pp. 8-9, para. 15.
32. Ibid., pp. 9-10, para 16.
33. Ibid., p. 12. para. 20.

> to maintain and threngthen those institutions of its own creation such as School Board Secretaryship. 34

There were complaints about the inadequacy of certain statistical forms, delays in correspondence caused by the Department's insistence on channelling all correspondence from School Boards through "Administrative Organizers" instead of giving School Principals direct access to the Regional Office.[35] They suspected a lack of co-ordination within the Department of Native Administration, the Division of Bantu Administration, the Minister, the Native Affairs Commission, and the Information Service of the Native Affairs Department, "whose approach is not really educational".[36] They considered the Departmental structure "top-heavy" and "complicated", citing two examples, firstly contradictory instructions given to teachers attending a Locations Advisory Board Congress in Pietermaritzburg, and secondly the Christ the King School affair.[37]

The teachers believed that nothing less than a two-day meeting would be sufficient to deal with all these matters, and asked that the Regional Directors of all regions should be present.[38]

These were the views of teachers who now worked within the new system. White missionaries were no longer required, and amongst African teachers the most outspoken opponents of Bantu Education had either resigned or been dismissed. Those who compiled this memorandum, knowing the risks involved, nevertheless spoke up.

Many of the complaints stemmed from the doctrinaire decisions of Dr. Verwoerd's new system, like the insistence on mother-tongue education, or the idea that the children themselves should clean and maintain the buildings. Other difficulties, like the shortages of equipment and school requisites, and the strain on teachers operating the double-session system, could have been foreseen. Administrative delays could be ascribed to the inevitable teething problems associated with a change-over of administration on such a vast scale. However, some of these complaints were to become

34. Ibid., p. 12, para. 20
35. Ibid., pp. 12-13, paras. 22 and 23.
36. Ibid., p. 13, para. 25.
37. Ibid., pp. 13-14, para. 25.
38. Ibid., p. 14, Conclusion.

the perennial problems of Bantu Education schools. The most serious criticisms of the teachers' conditions of service stemmed from the Government's strong-arm tactics to quell dissent, which created a climate in which criticism was regarded as treason.

The Federal Council of African Teachers' Associations' memorandum did much to vindicate the view of those who had said they would have nothing to do with the new system. The memorandum also gave the lie to claims by pro-Government organizations like the South Africa Bureau of Racial Affairs that criticism of Bantu Education was "irresponsible", or that the Bantu Education Act heralded "a new dawn in the relations between White and Bantu in South Africa".[39] Rioting in Soweto in 1976, widely interpreted as having started after police intervened in a peaceful protest by African school children against the Department of Bantu Education's insistence on the teaching of certain subjects through the medium of Afrikaans, does not suggest that S.A.B.R.A.'s more sanguine hopes for improved race relations were realized. A considerable body of African opinion still regards Dr. Verwoerd's bequest to them of Bantu Education with loathing, as evidenced by the insistent call by Black leaders 25 years later for a single education system for all races.[40]

THE A.N.C.'S SCHOOLS BOYCOTT CAMPAIGN IN 1955.

Of all the varied African reactions to Bantu Education, it is the response of the African National Congress in organizing its Resist Apartheid campaign in 1955 which is of particular interest to this study. It is interesting that Patrick Duncan was especially disparaging of the decision by the A.N.C.'s Annual Conference in Durban in December 1954 to call on all African parents to remove all children from school on 1st April 1955. "An appropriate day for such a resolution", he told Arthur Blaxall, "Don't they see how ridiculous it will make them, to pass resolutions

39. S.A.B.R.A., Bantu Education, Oppression or Opportunity ?, Stellenbosch: Pro Ecclesia 1955, p. 48.

40. SAIRR, Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1979, Johannesburg: SAIRR 1980, p. 488 ff. Chief G. Buthelezi, Dr. Motlana and Mr N. Molope are quoted on p. 489 calling for a single education system. cf. HORRELL, Muriel, A Decade of Bantu Education, Johannesburg: SAIRR 1964, pp. 66, 68, 78, 103, 105, 108-9; and BROOKES, E.H., City of God and City of Man in Africa (Two lectures delivered at the University of Kentucky in May 1963), Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press 1964, p. 73.

that are quite impossible of fulfilment ?"[41] Two months later he also wrote to Jordan Ngubane,

> I understand the African National Congress has begun to recast its attitude to withdrawing African children on April 1 .... If Congress has changed its mind .... it will mean that the Luthuli Matthews wing is once more in control. 42

The views of Professor Z.K. Matthews therefore are of particular significance. Not only was he an Anglican, but in view of Albert Luthuli's serious illness at the time, it was Matthews whose leadership was decisive and did much to moderate the call for a total boycott being made by Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela in the Transvaal. In his presidential address to the Annual Conference of the A.N.C. (Cape) on 18th June 1955, Professor Matthews discussed some of the methods for dealing with the situation created by the Bantu Education Act. "How then are Africans going to prevent their children suffering the fate that is prescribed for them ?"

> There are those who say that the Bantu Education Act should be fought against from within. In other words what is suggested here is that African parents, teachers and children should, while appearing to accept Bantu Education engage in a widespread campaign of sabotage of the system. The members of the school committees and school boards should discharge their duties in such a way as to make the system unworkable. The teachers should expose every untruth contained in the syllabus they are supposed to follow and imbue the children they teach with the spirit of freedom and opposition to the conception of white supremacy .... To those who intend to fight Bantu Education in this way we can only say we do not envy them the chamelion-like role which they have chosen to play. 43

He also spoke disparagingly of "individuals who intend to make the most of any benefits, material or otherwise ...."

> They are concerned with making the most of it while they can be feathering their own nests and clearing out as soon as they have to. Such individuals .... want to exploit it to the full for their personal benefit. 44

Another option was to feign collaboration with the new system

41. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan papers DU 5 Arthur Blaxall 60, letter Duncan to Blaxall, 29.12.1954.
42. Duncan papers, loc. cit., letter Duncan to Jordan Ngubane, 15.3.1955.
43. KARIS, CARTER & GERHART Vol. III, op. cit., p. 175, Document 8.
44. Ibid.

in order to gain control of it, "turning the whole system into a powerful arm of the liberation movement".[45] Whilst the new system of education could have provided the African people "with an opportunity of capturing the whole school system by getting into all the key positions in school committees, boards, staffs etc" Professor Matthews did not show any enthusiasm for the idea, and he merely commented, "This will I suppose call for the creation of a kind of Broederbond to direct this necessarily underground movement".[46] Knowing the rigid control that was to be exercised by the Minister and his Department, this idea, though an interesting strategy for non-co-operation, would not have worked. Professor Matthews seems to have rejected this also, for he continued,

> The African National Congress has adopted the total withdrawal of African children from Bantu Schools as a method of fighting against the Bantu Education Act. .... In doing this the A.N.C. has as usual chosen the hard road .... It will be for this conference to consider ways of making this campaign the effective blow for freedom which it ought to be.[47]

In saying this Professor Matthews was reflecting the policy decision of the A.N.C. Conference of December 1954.[48] But it was a line of action about which he had serious misgivings. Matthews argued that the withdrawal of pupils should be postponed, and requested a special meeting of the National Executive Committee to discuss this. At a meeting held in Durban on 5th March 1955 the decision was made to defer withdrawal until a date to be fixed by the National Executive Committee.[49] In this Matthews was supported by Luthuli, who lay seriously ill in the McCord Hospital in Durban. "Ultimate withdrawal", it was stated, was the objective, and to prepare for that time a committee, to be called the African Education Movement, was appointed to plan for alternative education and cultural activities.[50] This angered Oliver Tambo, the Acting Secretary General, and the Transvaal A.N.C.'s Johannesburg-based Working Committee, who indicated their determination to intensify preparations for an "indefinite boycott" beginning on 1st April.[51]

45-46. Ibid. 47. Ibid., pp. 175-6.
48. Ibid., p. 152, Document 7b, Report of National Executive Committee to ANC Conference 16-19 December 1954.
49. Ibid., pp. 231-2, Document 13c, Report of National Executive Committee to ANC Conference 17-18 December 1955.
50. Ibid., p. 232 and p. 32. 51. Ibid., p. 32.

A conference sponsored by the A.N.C. in Port Elizabeth on 9th-10th April 1955, which brought together over 700 delegates from organizations opposed to Bantu Education, gave the National Executive Committee another chance to meet, and it was then accepted that in those areas where the people were ready and where alternative activities for school children had been arranged, the boycott should begin as planned.[52]

Scattered boycotts began on 12th April on the East Rand, and these spread to Port Elizabeth. Dr. Verwoerd, reacting to a call by the Johannesburg-based Working Committee to intensify the boycott on 25th April, warned that students absent on that day would be expelled.[53] New Age reported that at the beginning of the third week of the campaign, that is on April 25th, the day of Dr.Verwoerd's ultimatum,

> .... the boycott campaign in some areas like East Rand, having achieved its protest purpose and pioneered the boycott struggle, the children returned to school as planned.[54]

Karis, Carter and Gerhart noted that

> .... some withdrawals were prolonged; others began and ended sporadically. About 7000 children dropped out of school and the government dropped well over 100 teachers from their positions. 55

On this Luthuli commented:

> The decisions in various centres to boycott, and the final decision to boycott in particular areas, may be criticized as unrealistic because unlikely to succeed. Yet these decisions reflected the mood of the people, and that mood had to find some expression. 56

The lack of realism of the A.N.C.'s Bantu Education campaign lay, not in going ahead with a partial boycott, but in believing that a mass boycott could be indefinite. The A.N.C.'s ability to mount a prolonged boycott was dependent upon the provision of adequate alternatives. Since the law now prohibited running a school without permission, and any attempt to do so was easily dealt with by the authorities, this meant that "cultural clubs" were the only alternative. Father Huddleston's description of

52. Ibid., p. 33.
53. The Star, 15.4.1955.
54. New Age, 28.4.1955, p. 1.
55. KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 33.
56. LUTHULI, A., Let My People Go, op. cit., p. 132.

one is instructive:

> I went first to Benoni, one of the older African locations on the Reef. I drove into the heart of the township and stopped the car outside a dilapidated building which had once been a cinema. With Robert Resha, a Congress leader in the Western Areas, I entered the building. It was very dark. What light there was filtered through two holes high up on the walls, where bricks had been removed just for that purpose. At first it was impossible to see: my eyes had to grow accustomed to the gloom. Then gradually the light fell upon a mass of heads; upon a crowd of children of all sizes, of all ages, gathered round a table. Seated at the table was a young African woman, trying to demonstrate some game: trying to keep fifty, a hundred children interested: or at least quiet. There were two or three other groups playing round the hall, or sitting on the dusty floor arranging letters into an alphabet, or just sitting. There was no blackboard there were no schoolbooks: there were no benches .... This was a "Cultural Club" and such things as would equip a school would immediately make it illegal. 57

It is astonishing in the circumstances prevailing in these clubs that, despite all the adversities, after nearly two years in 1957 there were still 1515 children attending cultural clubs.[58] Dr. Verwoerd's refusal to re-admit children who had taken part in the boycott may provide part of the explanation. There was also the spirit of resistance engendered in them. Fr. Huddleston described the scene at another cultural club meeting in the open air at Brakpan:

> .... there was an élan, a vitality about the whole place that was infectious. "When our children pass the children from the Bantu Education school," said one of the organizers, "they put their thumbs up and cry out 'Verwoerd, Verwoerd ...'" .... We drove away still hearing the chorus of their last song, sung with great gusto and obvious enjoyment: "Down with Bantu Education, Down with Bantu Education ...." some of the singers were only seven years old. 59

Edward Feit has rightly pointed to ambiguous leadership, vacillation and the inability of the A.N.C.'s National Executive Committee to control its local organizations. Thus:

> As a consequence of the leaders' confusion, combined with the reluctance of parents to see their children in the streets

57. HUDDLESTON, op. cit., p. 131.
58. FEIT, Edward, African Opposition in South Africa, Stanford California: Hoover Institute 1967, p. 186.
59. HUDDLESTON, op. cit., pp. 131-2.

> and the steady loss of alternatives, the boycott lost momentum in the Cape as it had in the Transvaal. 60

Karis, Carter and Gerhart made an even harsher judgement.

> Of all the campaigns conducted by the A.N.C. the campaign against Bantu Education was the most poorly planned, the most confused, and, for Africans generally, the most frustrating. 61

Patrick Duncan told Arthur Blaxall,

> The school boycotts was deplorably managed from the start [sic]. Firstly children ought to be kept out of the political struggle as far as possible. Then the decision to have a nation-wide boycott without seeing that the machinery for it was there was a piece of stupidity almost without parallel.[62]

Why then did the A.N.C.'s schools boycott fail so lamentably ? The original decision of the Annual Conference of 1954 was to recommend the withdrawal of children for one week. The execution of the planning was left to the women's and youth sections, who were to "specialize in this campaign".[63] The National Executive, already fully occupied with organization for the Congress of the People, had other difficulties to contend with. Besides Luthuli's illness, there were bans on many key leaders. Luthuli, Sisulu, Dr. Njongwe, Oliver Tambo (Acting Secretary-General), Robert Matji, J. Motshabi and M.B. Yengwa (Provincial Secretaries in the Cape, Transvaal and Natal) and Professor Matthews' son Joe, President of the Youth League were all banned, and this made co-ordinated planning difficult, and caused further organizational problems.[64]

Yet these difficulties could have been overcome, but for the tug-of-war between moderates and radicals on the National Executive Committee. This was evidenced in Professor Matthews' attempt at postponement, which was vigorously resisted in the Transvaal by Oliver Tambo, and by the Korsten Branch in Port Elizabeth. It is significant that in December 1955 Luthuli's message to the A.N.C. Conference called for "clarity in the ideological field", a "strengthening of disciplinary control",and suggested

60. FEIT, op. cit., p. 185.
61. KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 30.
62. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan Papers DU 5, letter Duncan to Blaxall 29.4.1955.
63. KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 152, Document 7b, Report of National Executive Committee to ANC Annual Conference 16-19 December 1954.
64. Ibid., p. 154 and p. 156 ff.

that "it might pay Congress handsome dividends in efficiency and dignity if from time to time it took stock of its workings and machinery".[65] Professor Matthews' reference, in the course of his Presidential Address to the 1955 Conference in Luthuli's absence, to "place-seekers and people who regard public affairs as a kind of parlour game in which the people are merely pawns" also hinted at some of these difficulties.[66] Oliver Tambo, too, in his Secretarial Report of the National Executive Committee, referred to "branches and members who have shown lack of discipline on some occasions."[67]

Whatever the weaknesses of organization or conflicts of leadership in the A.N.C., Oliver Tambo blamed the failure to forward subscriptions and levies to head office for the inability of the Executive

> .... to do all that was necessary to guide, direct and control the development of the campaign in all its phases and so prevent it from breaking up into what may have appeared to be sporadic, unrelated and ineffectual small incidents in various parts of the country. 68

Dr. Verwoerd's counter-measures were savagely effective. Seven thousand children were told that they would not be allowed in school again. Parents were warned that any further attempts at boycott would also lead to permanent exclusion. Schools affected by the boycott lost their teachers' salary grants, and 100 teachers lost their jobs. As Father Huddleston observed.

> In face of such drastic measures, it was small cause for wonder that the boycott as a whole failed to materialize. 69

What is significant is that the debate in the African National Congress paralleled that which had already taken place in the Anglican Church. Where it was the "moderate" view that prevailed in the Church, the A.N.C. decided on a policy of total resistance. It is noteworthy that Professor Z.K. Matthews expressed the heart-

65. Ibid., pp. 213-4, Document 13a, Special Presidential Message by Chief Albert Luthuli to ANC Annual Conference 17-18 December 1955.
66. Ibid., p. 221, Document 13b, Address by Professor Z.K. Matthews.
67. Ibid., p. 241, Document 13c, Report of National Executive Committee signed by O.R. Tambo, Acting Secretary-General.
68. Ibid., p. 233.
69. HUDDLESTON, op. cit., p. 130.

felt gratitude of Africans to the Roman Catholic Church for raising the funds to retain control of their schools, and also to the Diocese of Johannesburg, "under the able leadership of the Bishop of Johannesburg" for starting the family centres.[70] Yet it is also interesting that Chief Luthuli, whilst disagreeing with the view "save something from the wreck" should have expressed the dilemma facing African parents in terms not dissimilar to those that had been used by Archbishop Clayton in 1954.[71]

> The choice of parents is an almost impossible one - they do not want Bantu Education and they do not want their children on the streets. They have to choose between two evils and no rule of thumb indicates which is the greater. The chances of universal agreement are small, not because of hesitation that Bantu Education is evil, but because, as Archbishop Clayton told his synod "a rotten education" may be "better than none". 72

An African teacher who attended the A.N.C.'s Conference in Port Elizabeth on 9th April on behalf of the Liberal Party found that both he and his ideas were received with interest and respect. He told the Conference that "a boycott of the magnitude envisaged would be impossible in practice ...."

> The difficulties of organization alone were prohibitive but when these were combined with the urgent desire of all parents to ensure that their children could receive whatever education they could, the difficulties would become insurmountable. The parents could not be blamed for their opposition to the boycott, but even if they were blameworthy the A.N.C. should recognize that such opposition existed, and would make it impossible for the withdrawal to be effective. The A.N.C. should, therefore, accept the inevitable and make arrangements accordingly. There was no point in pretending that alternative educational arrangements were possible .... A heavy responsibility rested on Congress, and it was the duty of its leaders to ensure that whatever programme of activity was adopted, they had the means to carry it out .... Working on the assumption that the decision to boycott would be unchanged .... I suggested a boycott in a limited area. It seems evident that in an area where the A.N.C. is strong and well-organized, such as Port Elizabeth, a complete boycott could be successful .... I should not be surprised if in the event a partial boycott plan is followed. Matthews particularly seemed attracted to the suggestion. 73

70. KARIS CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 219, Document 13b, Address by Professor Z.K. Matthews to Annual Conference of ANC, 17-18 December 1955.
71. LUTHULI, Let my people go, op. cit., p. 125.
72. Ibid., p. 135.
73. Wits. Archive A410 Ballinger papers, B2.14.1, ANC Report on the Conference on Bantu Education held by the African National Congress on Saturday 9th April 1955, Mimeo, signed Moya.

In the event resistance amongst parents and teachers meant that the A.N.C.'s call for a complete boycott failed even in Port Elizabeth. According to the Port Elizabeth Evening News of 23rd April, in a city where there were as many as five thousand children, only one school in Korsten had at that stage as many as one hundred absentees. Dr. Verwoerd's threat to deny schooling to those who stayed away had done its work, proving the accuracy of Mr Moya's analysis quoted above.[74]

"PRIVATE SCHOOLS": (1) ST. PETER'S ROSETTENVILLE AND CHRIST THE KING SOPHIATOWN.

Amongst the schools which had made the Community of the Resurrection's contribution to African education such an outstanding one were two in Johannesburg. Situated at Rosettenville, a so-called "white" area in the southern suburbs of Johannesburg, and on a site that also housed the Priory and the St. Peter's Seminary, was the High School of St. Peter's. St. Peter's had a proud record, and could count among its old boys eminent teachers, doctors, some priests and several lawyers, among whom was Oliver Tambo, who nearly became a priest, but who established a legal partnership with Nelson Mandela, and served as Acting Secretary General of the A.N.C. in place of Walter Sisulu. In obedience to the Bishop of Johanneburg's decision to refuse to co-operate with the Government, St. Peter's High School closed on 1st April 1955.[75] The buildings are now occupied by St. Martin's School (for whites). In Sophiatown, near the church of Christ the King, stood the St. Cyprian's School for African Children, which had moved there from a site in the centre of Johannesburg in 1928. The old wood-and-iron building placed there by Fr. Wilfred Parker in 1928 had been completely rebuilt in the early 1930's when Fr. Raymond Raynes was Priest-in-Charge, "with accomodation for over 1000 pupils equal to the standard of a European school".[76]

74. FEIT, op. cit., p. 173.
75. HUDDLESTON, Naught for your Comfort, op. cit., p. 130.
76. CPSA Archive AB 718, "Till Darkness Fell", an unpublished history of the C.R. in South Africa up to the Bantu Education Act, by Fr. Alban Winter. p. 95.

Faced with the prospect of closing St. Cyprian's in 1955, the Priest-in-Charge, Father George Sidebotham, had written to the Under-Secretary for Education, Mr F.J. de Villiers, on 24th December 1954, applying for the registration of St. Cyprian's as a private school, and reminding him that when he had visited the school earlier that month with a circuit inspector, he had said he saw no reason to object to a private school there. On 11th January Fr. Sidebotham was told that he must apply to the Regional Director of Bantu Education, Mr M. Prozesky, in Pretoria, which he did on the 13th January 1955, and registration forms were completed. On 10th April 1955 Fr. Sidebotham opened the school under the new name of Christ the King, after having visited Mr Prozesky in Pretoria, "who assured me the application had been received and there was no reason why I could not start straight away pending the decision of the Minister".[77]

Most of the money needed to run the school came from the donations of well-wishers and supporters of the C.R. in South Africa and overseas. In order to help pay the teachers a fee of ten shillings per month was charged for each child, reduced to five shillings for brothers or sisters.[78] The school thrived. There were fourteen teachers, and 600 pupils with a waiting list of equal length. Among 35 candidates entered for the Standard VI National Examination in 1955, nineteen gained distinctions. The school took no part in the A.N.C.'s boycott, and even refused to accept children who had been excluded from their schools for participating in it. From the money donated by well-wishers there was still £ 2000 in hand in March 1956.[79] Fr. Sidebotham told me:

> In Sophiatown it wasn't just the negative policy of shutting down schools. I discussed it with the Bishop, and because there is a clause in the Bantu Education Act that Private Schools could be run without Government support, I got permission to do so. It wasn't a matter of calling the Government's bluff about this but trying to do something for the people who wanted a better kind of education. And it was at this point that I went over to Pretoria, with a syllabus that a group of us had worked out in Sophiatown, and got

77. The Star, 8.2.1956, p. 3. "Verwoerd says permission should have been sought to re-open school".
78. House of Assembly Debates, 3808/56, 17.4.1956, Minister of Native Affairs.
79. CPSA Archive AB 191, Clayton papers, letter Reeves to Clayton 13.3.1956.

> their verbal permission for us to start the school with the people paying ten shillings a month. 80

In spite of this, on 4th May 1955 Fr. Sidebotham received a letter from the Under-Secretary for Native Affairs, Mr F.J. de Villiers, to say that until the school was duly registered no pupils should be admitted, and telling him to close the school immediately.[81] On 26th May Dr. Eiselen wrote, to say that Sidebotham's action in opening the school had been condoned. The school could be kept open, pending Dr. Verwoerd's decision. On 18th August they were asked to appear before the Native Affairs Commission, and Bishop Reeves presented the case on behalf of the school.[82]

Father Sidebotham recalled that

> Soon after the new year got under way [i.e. 1956] I think through publicity in the Rand Daily Mail, Verwoerd had his attention drawn to the fact there was a flourishing private school in Sophiatown, and it was at that point that Eiselen wrote to me saying that I was contravening the law because I'd not got permission. I was able to point out that his assistant in Pretoria in the Bantu Education Department had in fact given me verbal permission. But that didn't seem to make any difference, and I got the letter that the school had to be closed forthwith .... and I took it literally that I'd be contravening the law if the school continued at all. 83

Thus, on Tuesday 7th February Father Sidebotham, Fr. Guiness and Mr Diale the Principal had the task of telling six hundred expectant black school children that the Minister had ordered the school to close "forthwith".[84] The Star quoted Bishop Reeves as saying "it was far better as a private school than it had ever been before".[85] Father Sidebotham was reported to be negotiating to open a Church Family Centre in the school. "Then we will teach only religion, give instruction in arts and crafts and organize recreation".[86]

The next day it was explained by the Department that the order to close "forthwith" had been a "clerical error". The school would not have to close until the end of March. Dr. Verwoerd

80. SIDEBOTHAM, Fr. George, C.R., Interview, London. 27.8.1975.
81. The Star, 8.2.1956, loc. cit., p. 3.
82. Ibid.
83. SIDEBOTHAM, Interview, loc. cit.
84. The Star, 7.2.1956, p. 3, "600 children of closed school play aimlessly in the sun".
85-86. Ibid.

was quoted as saying that among the Native Affairs Commission's reasons for closing the school were

> .... the bad influence which a school started in protest to the Bantu Education Act would have on the children and the fact that all the children could be admitted to Bantu community schools. 87

He also alleged that the Community of the Resurrection were exploiting the parents by charging them fees, and that the school was subversive.[88] The Star, which had strongly opposed Bishop Reeves' decision to close schools in 1955, now criticized Dr. Verwoerd equally strongly for closing Christ the King Sophiatown, saying,

> We must conclude that Dr. Verwoerd objected to the school merely because the Anglican Church, its sponsors, wished to provide an institution in which children of its denomination could be educated without State subsidy and with the voluntary support of parents. What crime is there in that ?
>
> .... we say categorically that the official apologia does not justify the Minister's decision, except on the supposition that he is determined to deny the Natives a right that is not denied to Europeans who are free to send their children into private schools of their own choice. 89

Mr P.A. Moore, Chairman of the United Party's Education Group and M.P. for Kensington, told the Star that the argument about the "protest" school was "not worth discussing".

> Parents might protest and so might teachers or children but not a school .... I have always believed that the Bantu Education Act has serious faults, but that with good and sympathetic administration it could be made to work to the advantage of the Native people. 90

On 10th February Dr. Verwoerd was called upon to answer questions in Parliament put by Mrs Margaret Ballinger and Mr John Cope (U.P., Parktown). Dr. Verwoerd was not present at question time. Amid much clamour from the Opposition benches, demanding to know where the Minister was, Mr C.R. Swart read a written answer that had just been handed to him. It was stated that there had

87. The Star, 8.2.1956, p. 3, "Verwoerd says permission should have been sought to re-open school".
88. CPSA Archive AB 191, Clayton papers, letter Archbishop of Cape Town to Minister of Native Affairs, 10.3.1956.
89. The Star, 8.2.1956, Editorial p. 12, "The Closure of a School".
90. The Star, 9.2.1956, p. 3, "M.P.'s demand facts about closing of mission school".

been a "thorough enquiry by the Native Affairs Commission", and that "ample opportunity was afforded interested parties to be heard among whom was the Bishop Reeves of Johannesburg".[91] It was admitted that through the "purely inadvertant omission of certain words of the letter informing the school authorities of the decision said the school should close forthwith instead of at the end of the present term".

> The Priest in Charge of the school was advised that the registration of a private school applied for after instead of before opening, had been refused, but the illegal action would be further condoned until the end of the current school term. 92

Father Sidebotham told me ruefully:

> All these experiences made me feel that there is a policy carried out by the Government which doesn't regard the injustices done, and they are prepared to tell all kinds of untruths, and do all kinds of false window-dressing in support of their policy.
>
> .... You can't trust a word they say. They promise you this, and then stop you. 93

Explaining this from his point of view Mr Prozesky told me,

> I know Father Sidebotham was very hurt. I personally went to the school as soon as I found out, and asked the School Inspector, Dr. Hartshorne, to meet me there. I told him that "forthwith" does not mean immediately. He did not believe me, and he made me write it down at a desk in his office. Later a clerk confessed to me that he had drafted the message with "forthwith" in it. 94

With this new turn of events, after all the public controversy surrounding the diocese of Johannesburg's decision to close its schools, Archbishop Clayton now showed some sympathy for Bishop Reeves. After consulting Reeves, he sent a stiffly-worded letter to Dr. Verwoerd. Clayton did not think it would make Dr. Verwoerd change his mind, but he believed that he ought to say something because "I should like to have it on record somewhere that I did write and get an answer."[95] In his letter to Dr. Verwoerd, Clayton

91. The Star, 10.2.1956, p. 3, "M.P.'s clamour for Dr. Verwoerd in the Assembly".
92. Ibid.
93. SIDEBOTHAM, interview, loc. cit.
94. PROZESKY, M. (One-time Regional Director of Bantu Education, Transvaal), Interview, Pietermaritzburg, 28.8.1981.
95. CPSA Archive, AB 191, Clayton papers, letters Clayton to Reeves, 9.3.1956 and 20.3.1956.

set out the alleged reasons for this refusal to register the school: firstly that it was a "protest school", secondly that the Community of the Resurrection were "exploiting" the parents by charging them fees, and thirdly that the school was "subversive".[96] Clayton continued:

> .... with regard to the former point, there was no legal obligation to hand over the School buildings to the Government and any person has a right to express his disagreement with Government policy so long as he does not incite people to break the law. I am not aware that any charge has been brought by any responsible person against the Bishop that he has done this. If evidence could be produced that the teaching in the school were subversive, it would be natural that registration should be refused, but I find it hard to believe that the decision of a Minister in such a matter should be dictated by his personal feelings about the Bishop rather than by the evidence of what is actually being taught in the School.
>
> With regard to the second point, it is difficult to see why objection should be taken to the fact that a large number of African parents have shown themselves willing to make substantial sacrifices in order that their children may go to a School of their own choice unless indeed it can be shown that the teaching given in that School is either inefficient or subversive .... The fact that the School had a long waiting list indicates that African parents did not share your view that the fees charged were extortionate. 97

The reply to Clayton's letter, from Dr. Verwoerd's private secretary, refused to reconsider the question of registering Christ the King as a private school. It went on to assert:

> The reasons you summarized and the arguments you adduce are restated in the form in which they were presented by the United Party and its Press. 98

It also claimed that the "so-called long waiting list" had been "queried", and concluded,

> The Minister and his Department are quite convinced that the action taken is in the best interests of the Bantu parents and children and that this will be realised in due course just as the attacks on many other worthwhile measures were gradually proved wrong. 99

Bishop Ambrose Reeves called it "an attack on the Anglican

96. CPSA Archive AB 191, Clayton papers, letter Archbishop of Cape Town to Minister of Native Affairs, 10.3.1956.
97. Ibid.
98. CPSA Archive loc. cit., letter Minister of Native Affairs to Archbishop of Cape Town, 19.3.1956. Also published in The Watchman, May 1956.
99. Ibid.

Church".[100] Father Raymond Raynes, then Superior of the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield, asked,

> Is it really an offence to provide the best possible form of education that can be given in the context of the Christian religion and to do so without receiving one penny of help from the Government ? [101]

He urged the Community to "continue with patience and courage to uphold the full principles of the Gospel 'until this tyranny be overpassed'". Raynes considered that Dr. Verwoerd had given no reasoned reply in the House of Assembly to explain the closure, "the facts being that there are no reasons for closing it".[102] In his charge to the Diocese of Johannesburg on 14th October 1956 Bishop Reeves again stated

> .... no sufficient reason emerges for closing a school which in twelve short months had achieved such a fine academic record. [103]

In the outcry against this action, Dr. D.L. Smit, (United Party, East London City), charged that the Native Affairs Commission had not been consulted, and that no proper enquiry had been made at the school, nor had the school authorities been given a hearing.[104] Dr. Verwoerd countered by saying that a condition set for the school's registration had been that no fees should be charged, and that the breaching of this condition justified his closing down the school.[105] If Bishop Reeves' contention is correct, that there was not sufficient reason adduced by the Minister for closing the school, it is necessary to ask what other reasons lay behind this startling decision.

The debate in Parliament during the second reading of the Bantu Education (Amendment) Bill, from 16th to 18th April 1956, as Bishop Reeves observed, "is illuminating".[106] In presenting this measure to amend the Bantu Education Act, Dr. Verwoerd was intent on closing any legal loophole which might have caused his decision to close Christ the King School to be postponed or revoked.

100. The Watchman, March 1956, The Bishop's Letter.
101. C.R. Review, No. 210, 1955, p. 26, Superior's Notes.
102. Ibid.
103. SAIRR Johannesburg Jan Hofmeyr Library, 26/183 (56), Bishop Reeves' Charge 14.10.56.
104. House of Assembly Debates 3678/56, 16.4.1956, Dr. D.L. Smit.
105. Ibid., 3676/56, 16.4.1956, Minister of Native Affairs.
106. Jan Hofmeyr Library loc. cit., Bishop Reeves' Charge 14.10.1956.

He limited the authority of the Native Affairs Commission to instances where registration was cancelled.[107] But even then he insisted that the Minister was not obliged to follow the recommendations of the Native Affairs Commission. Because the Minister had the final say, it was pointed out by Mr W.A. Maree (National Party, Newcastle), Parliament had the final authority, because it could hold the Minister responsible.[108] But in the case of Christ the King, Dr. Verwoerd was careful to stress that it was a new school which was applying for registration for the first time. A draft open letter to the Minister from the Christian Council of South Africa's Action Committee (this was not in fact issued) contained the interesting admission "We erred in referring to the school in Sophiatown as if it were already a private school".[109] Dr. Verwoerd also made sure that he was not obliged to consult the Native Affairs Commission when cancelling a registration, when the reason for the cancellation was non-compliance with the conditions set for the registration of the school.[110] This made doubly sure that the issue of Christ the King could not be reinvestigated by the Native Affairs Commission. Dr. Verwoerd was clearly anxious to avoid further embarrassing discussion on the matter of Christ the King:

> I do not wish to repeat that debate [about Christ the King], because it has been completed, but there we had the case of a school which would not have complied with various of these conditions, apart from the further sins they committed. If the Hon. Member for Kensington [Mr Moore] says that Bishop Reeves did not wish to act illegally, I say that he did act illegally. [111]

Although Dr. Verwoerd may not have revealed his real reasons for closing the school, the Nationalist back-bench M.P. for Pretoria District, Mr J.F. Schoonbee, made the Government attitude plain. The closure of Christ the King was not an attack on the church, as Bishop Reeves had said, nor was it altogether because of the Minister's attitude towards Bishop Reeves, as suggested by Archbishop Clayton. His attack was upon Father Huddleston. Mr Schoonbee told the House that he had been a teacher for 26 years,

107. House of Assembly Debates, 3675/56, 16.4.1956, Minister of Native Affairs.
108. Ibid., 3764/56, Mr W.A. Maree.
109. Wits. Archive, CCSA Papers, Bantu Education.
110. House of Assembly Debates, 3803/56, 17.4.1956, Minister of Native Affairs.
111. Ibid.

and he began his speech by protesting at the special treatment for the Catholics:

> This country must not forget, and the white race must not forget, that our ancestors who came to this country were fugitives from the doctrines of that church, whose interests the hon. member over there now advocates 112

He then turned to Father Huddleston:

> I am not prepared to allow my part of South Africa to develop as it has developed in Johannesburg under people like Father Huddleston. Having regard to what he is preaching today against South Africa overseas, is it not clear that the schools which he established there are breeding grounds of evil ? Since those are the facts, we in this House, as people of reasonable intelligence, must seriously consider along what lines we want the Natives to develop. Along what lines do we want them to be educated ? Mr Speaker, what is wrong with the Government system of education ? Why is the white child trained along these lines ? Why then do people advocate that the Native child should be taught along different lines ? Why do people plead that we should place the Native, who is inexperienced and uncivilized, in the hands of the missionary ? Is this educational system as devised by this House, the highest Assembly in this country not the system we ought to apply to the Native ? 113

He then expressed deep resentment over Huddleston's articles overseas:

> I do not believe even on that side there is a single member this evening who can be proud of the statements of a clergyman like Father Huddleston who is today besmirching and slandering South Africa abroad. 114

Thus it seemed that the accusations being levelled by the Minister against Christ the King were really directed at Father Huddleston. To the Government, the creation of the School of Christ the King was an act of defiance that symbolized all the most hurtful aspects of the opposition that had been raised against their sincere attempts to provide more education for the Bantu. The School had come to epitomize all the "calumnies" and all the "misrepresentations" that were being levelled against Bantu Education. If allowed to remain, it would continue to be a reproach, implying the inferiority of the state system. As Bishop Reeves commented, "It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that our fault, if fault it is, was that at the school of Christ the King we did

112. Ibid., 3777/56, 17.4.1956, Mr Schoonbee.
113. Ibid.
114. Ibid., 3778/56, 17.4.1956, Mr Schoonbee.

our job too well".[115]

One reason for the closure which Dr. Verwoerd did not mention was that "slum clearance" operations had already begun in Sophiatown. The Western Areas removal scheme, so long delayed because of the need to provide alternative housing for those removed, was at last being implemented. The first removals of Africans from Sophiatown to the new township of Meadowlands had taken place on 9th February 1955.[116] Had Dr. Verwoerd granted registration to Christ the King School in March 1956, it would have been an admission that Africans could continue to live in Sophiatown.

Meanwhile, at their biennial meeting, the Christian Council had reacted to reports about the closure of Christ the King School, and on 10th February they sent a telegram to Dr. Verwoerd, asking him to receive a deputation. Dr. Verwoerd refused, adding,

> This was not truly a private school as your telegram suggests .... It was a school opened without complying with the provisions of the law and has already received special consideration by the Minister through this being condoned while the question of its registration was investigated by the Native Affairs Commission. The decision not to grant registration was therefore not lightly taken. 117

However, in March 1956 the Christian Council's Action Committee did succeed in persuading Dr. Verwoerd to see a delegation, but on the understanding that the discussion on Christ the King, Sophiatown, was closed, and that only the general principle of the registration of private schools under the Bantu Education Act would be under consideration. The Christian Council pointed out:

> .... our chief concern is still to obtain clarification as to the ways and means by which parents who desire their children educated according to a particular faith may do so.[118]

They urged that Christ the King be allowed to continue,

115. SAIRR Johannesburg Jan Hofmeyr Library 26/183 (56) Bishop Reeves' Charge 14.10.1956.
116. The Natal Mercury, 10.2.1955, cf. HUDDLESTON op.cit., p. 133, and see below, Chapter Thirteen.
117. Wits. Archive CCSA Papers, CCSA Press Release 6.4.1956, publishing the correspondence between the Secretary of the Christian Council, Dr. A.W. Blaxall, and J. Fred Barnard, Dr. Verwoerd's Private Secretary.
118. Wits. Archive CCSA Papers, Action Committee records, Draft of an open letter to Dr. Verwoerd (undated) 1956.

> .... until such time as the basic issue is finally resolved, reserving of course, the right at any time to rescind that permission if you have reason to believe them guilty of action which a court of law would term subversive.
>
> If you can find it in you to act in this way we are confident that the Bishop of Johannesburg and those associated with him, will be content to keep solely to the work of the school, restraining themselves from statements which appear to many people to be unworthy and provocative. 119

A deputation finally met Dr. Verwoerd on 27th March 1956. From the agreed report of this interview it would seem that it merely gave Dr. Verwoerd the opportunity to reassert his own position. Before the meeting Archbishop Clayton told the Revd. Basil Brown, Chairman of the Christian Council Action Committee in Cape Town,why he would not attend.

> I am not sure what the deputation is expected to do and say. I doubt myself whether the minister will be willing to state what his policy is about the registration of private is going to be. In his statement the other day he said things which would suggest that he proposes to make a distinction between a "protest school", by which he appears to mean a Bantu school which refuses to accept any subsidy at all, such as the school at Sophiatown was, and a school which will accept a diminishing subsidy, like the Roman Catholic Schools, and Grace Dieu in the Anglican Diocese of Pretoria. I don't know whether we can protest against this distinction. I myself, like all the other people who would be on the deputation, wasn't in agreement with the Bishop of Johannesburg's policy and I don't quite see how we can go to the minister and defend it. And yet nor should we at the present time publicly assert our disagreement with it 120

It is interesting to note that by 1956 Archbishop Clayton had decided that further meetings with Dr. Verwoerd were pointless. This did not however deter others from persevering with such deputations to the Minister. Bishop Robert Selby Taylor described to me the futility of a later meeting with Dr. Verwoerd, when he, as a member of a Christian Council delegation, tried to persuade Dr. Verwoerd to allow some private schools to continue to receive a state subsidy.

> Oh, Dr. Verwoerd was an impossible person to meet on an occasion such as that, because he - I remember on that

119. Ibid.
120. Wits. Archive, CCSA Papers, letter Clayton to Brown, 16.2.1956.

> occasion he had his set piece, which he gave us at full length, and then when he'd finished speaking I think he allowed those who had come to see him, I think there were four of us, I've forgotten now who we were, he gave us just a moment in which we could say just a brief thing, and he said "Now, gentlemen, my time is up, and that is all I have time to do." It was quite useless going to him. He made up his own mind and he wasn't prepared to listen to anything that anyone might have to say about it.
>
> I found Mr Eiselen by himself more prepared to listen than Dr. Verwoerd, but whatever Mr Eiselen's private views may have been I think that he had his instructions and he wasn't able to deviate from these very far. And I think as an educationist he saw that ultimately education must come under the State .... Our aim was to try to ensure that the Church should be allowed to keep certain schools, and that these schools should continue to be subsidized as they had been in the past.
>
> .... My own feeling at the time was that although it was desirable that there should be co-operation and a common mind among the churches, at that stage we were too ill-organized. The Christian Council was a very nebulous sort of body, and it really didn't speak for the churches with any unanimity .... [and this was because] .... the people who were sent to represent their churches in the Christian Council were very often people who were enthusiasts in ecumenism rather than leaders of their churches. [121]

This view of Dr. Verwoerd was confirmed for me by Mr Prozesky, who told me "He came there with a policy and he had to implement it. Nothing would make him budge. He was like a rock, you could not shift it".[122]

The Christian Council deputation which met Dr. Verwoerd on 27th March 1956 in Cape Town included no Anglican, and followed the pattern described by Bishop Selby Taylor above. The Christian Council had prepared a set of questions in advance. These were presented by the Revd. C.K. Storey of the Methodist Church. The Minister then gave his reply. The record states that they were "graciously received" and that Dr. Verwoerd gave them an hour and a quarter of his time.[123]

However, Dr. Verwoerd made no concessions whatsoever.

121. SELBY TAYLOR, The Right Revd. Robert, Interview, Kalk Bay, 24.4.1976.
122. PROZESKY, M. (one-time Regional Director of Bantu Education (Transvaal)), Interview, Pietermaritzburg, 28.8.1981.
123. Christian Council Quarterly, June 1956, "The Place of the Private School in Bantu Education".

"Church Schools would not be encouraged in competition with Bantu Community Schools".[124] Establishing a private school was a "privilege" and not a "right", and permission would only be given "where the department could not provide adequate schooling". Farm schools could, however, be run by churches at the request of the farmers concerned.[125] Dr. Verwoerd explained that "private schools" had been retained in the Act to cover two needs:-

i) where churches had schools before the Act they could continue to operate these schools ....(under certain conditions).

ii) where children cannot be housed in Bantu Community schools any organization might, with its own funds, be permitted to start a school to meet a need. 126

However, he also added that no fees could be charged, and that there "was no guarantee that a private school once registered would be allowed to continue indefinitely", and that "no new private schools would be permitted to compete with existing Bantu Community Schools".[127] Dr. Verwoerd also explained why he could not register Adams and Grace Dieu, the only two remaining Protestant schools that were prepared to continue the struggle to keep open.

> The difficulty about the registration of schools like Adams and Grace Dieu was that they would cater only for secondary students. Where were such students to come from ? Private schools must cater for the whole scale of school need from Sub A upwards, as did the Roman Catholics. He claimed that "In the case of Adams strong representations had come from the Bantu people that the school there be a Bantu Community School". The establishment of new private schools for purely secondary or high school classes could therefore not be entertained. 128

Nor would he allow "denominational boarding schools", the equivalent of Bishops or Kingswood, since "they would draw students from various parts of the country". Why was this a bad thing ? Dr. Verwoerd replied:

> Education had in the past so often served as a means of escape from the Bantu community that it had now become imperative to insist on its fulfilling its prime function of providing service for and within the Bantu community. 129

Instead, he recommended that the churches should exercise their right of entry into each Bantu Community School for religious instruction. But, as the Executive Committee of the Christian

124. Ibid., para.(a).
125. Ibid., para. (b).
126. Ibid., para. (c).
127. Ibid., paras. (f) and (g).
128. Ibid., para. (h).
129. Ibid., para. (n).

Council later observed,

> The Churches have not the resources in manpower to avail themselves of the opportunity provided by the right of entry for religious teaching. 130

The meeting with the Minister had been "graciously" stage-managed. Dr. Verwoerd's unfailing courtesy was matched only by his absolute implacability in refusing to deviate from his own preconceived policy. Where the Catholic bishops had wrested an important concession from him in 1954 in being allowed to retain their mission schools as private institutions, the Christian Council again came away empty-handed.

"PRIVATE SCHOOLS": (2) ADAMS COLLEGE.

Adams College, situated near Amanzimtoti just south of Durban, was founded in 1853 by the American missionary Dr. Newton Adams.[131] In its century of service, the student body was made up mainly of Zulu-speaking students belonging to the Bantu Congregational Church of the American Board, although other denominations and language groups were also welcome.[132] Old students remembered it gratefully from the Cape to the Equator, among them Chief Albert Luthuli and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of Zululand, Cromwell Diko of Transkei, David Warohio of Kenya, Joshua Nkomo of Zimbabwe and, for a short time, Sir Seretse Khama.[133] Professor Z.K. Matthews and Dr. Donald M'Timkulu had each been Headmaster of the High School. From 1934 to 1945 Dr. Edgar Brookes had been its Principal. When Adams celebrated its centenary in 1953 there stood on its campus a thriving Teachers' Training College, a High School and an Industrial School. Now it was Mr and Mrs Grant, whom Alan Paton described as "two people outstanding in the profession of teaching" who tried to fight for its survival, and finally had to preside over its demise in December 1956.[134]

130. Christian Council Quarterly, June 1956, Statement prepared by the Executive Committee.
131. BROOKES, E.H. & WEBB, C.de B., A History of Natal, Pietermaritzburg: Natal University Press 1965, p. 27.
132. BROOKES, E.H., A South African Pilgrimage, Johannesburg: Ravan 1977, p. 63.
133. Ibid.
134. GRANT, G.C., The Liquidation of Adams, booklet printed for private circulation. Durban, 1956. Foreword by Alan Paton. The contents of this booklet are also included as Chapter 2 in PATON, David M., Church and Race in South Africa, London: SCM 1958, pp. 51-93.

The statement in the Senate by Dr. Verwoerd on 7th June was followed by two circulars from Dr. Eiselen on 2nd August 1954 which set out the Government's terms for the transfer of mission schools. Grant's initial reaction was to "think quickly of some bold alternative". There seemed to be four possibilities. Firstly, to expand their Theological School; secondly to run the Industrial School as a private enterprise; thirdly to offer university classes and so "get outside the orbit of the Native Affairs Department"; or, fourthly, to launch an "ecumenical institute" which would "provide courses in advanced studies or refresher courses of one kind or another".[135] In the event the Governing Council decided to accept the Government's ruling that they could no longer run their own Teachers' Training College, and decided "to run our own High and Industrial Schools for as long as we can with such assistance as the Government is willing to give".[136] On 26th May 1955 the Secretary for Native Affairs, Dr. Eiselen, wrote to the Principal of Adams College informing him of a statement received from the Regional Bantu Education Office in Pietermaritzburg stating,

> On January 14th, 1955, a full meeting of the Chiefs and headmen of the Umlazi Magistracy passed a unanimous resolution condemning the action of the Adams Council in closing down the Adams Training College. The meeting requested both the Native Commissioner and the Inspector of Schools to pass this resolution on to the higher authority. 137

Dr. Eiselen's letter concluded,

> Should it be your aim "to run the two schools as entirely private schools", notwithstanding the attitude of the Bantu community and notwithstanding the desire of the Department to use this institution for teacher-training, you are, in accordance with the regulations entitled to apply for their registration as such. This should be done at your earliest convenience and not later than 20th June. 138

Grant described this as "a monstrous letter".[139] No representative of the College had been present at the meeting of chiefs and headmen. Knowing that "the chief inspirer of this move is a chief whom the Mission had to reprimand and discipline for immorality in years gone by" Grant invited the Chiefs to meet with

135. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan papers DU5.36.6, letter G.C. Grant to Duncan, 27.8.1954.
136. Ibid., DU5.36.12, letter G.C. Grant to Duncan, Good Friday 1955.
137. Ibid., DU5.36.14, copy of letter from Secretary for Native Affairs (signed W.W.M. Eiselen) to the Principal, Adams College.
138. Ibid.
139. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan papaers DU5.36.15, letter Grant to Duncan, 30.7.1955.

him "to discuss the future of the College". Grant's description of this three and a half hour meeting with four out of seven of those present who were reported to have passed this unanimous resolution condemning the College only nine months before is revealing.

> For 3½ hours, with the aid of an interpreter, I put the case for the College and then answered questions.... At the close, one dear old fellow said he wanted to do something for the College. Yes. What was it ? He wanted to pray for the College. So he knelt down and we all did the same, and he prayed. And yet it was these same men who passed a unanimous resolution condemning the College!! .... I suppose it is all part of the wearing down process. 140

Thus, like those of Father Sidebotham, George Grant's dealings with the Department were characterized by "false window dressing" and frustrating delays. The first application to register the Adams High and Industrial Schools as private institutions, posted in June 1955, were said to have "gone astray". When a second application, sent via the Regional Director of Bantu Education in Natal Mr J.R. Dent, was alleged not to have arrived after a further six weeks, a third application was then submitted. On 3rd October Mr F.J. de Villiers relayed the decision by telephone.

> In view of the delay and in order not to penalise you Minister has decided to grant you the 75% salary subsidies in your High and Industrial Schools until the end of 1956. 142

There was still, however, no answer to the crucial question of their registration as private schools. This they were told would depend on the recommendations of the Native Affairs Commission later in 1955.[143] The publication of Dr. Verwoerd's amending legislation on 27th January 1956 and the closure of Christ the King Sophiatown on 7th February were not encouraging signs.[144] The Christian Council deputation heard on 27th March that there were difficulties over the registration of Grace Dieu and Adams on the grounds that they only catered for secondary students, and that

> .... In the case of Adams, strong representations had come from the Bantu people that the school there be a Bantu

140. Ibid., DU 5.36.15, letter Grant to Duncan 30.7.1955, p. 2.
141. Ibid., DU 5.36.18, letter Grant to Duncan 30.9.1955.
142. Ibid., DU 5.36.19, letter Grant to Duncan 7.10.1955.
143. Wits Archive, CCSA papers, letter Grant to Blaxall 15.2.1956.
144. House of Assembly Debates 496/1956, 27.1.1956.

Community School. 145

By April 1956 a crisis of uncertainty had again developed. In the light of what Dr. Verwoerd had said to the Christian Council delegation and the passage of the Bantu Education Amendment Act through Parliament, George Grant wrote despairingly to Duncan,

> This delay is a sore trial to me .... As Principal I know that unless an answer is forthcoming soon I shall not be able to keep my staff - one resigned this week. Further, until I know the answer I can accept no new students for next year. 146

The Department was careful to ensure that Dr. Verwoerd's amending legislation had first become law, and that Parliament was in recess, before writing to Adams on 12th July 1956 in order to communicate to them the decision which must have been known in March.

It was claimed that "educational considerations carried the most weight" in making the decision.

> One is that it is considered essential that the Adams Training School, which was closed down last year, should be continued as a centre for teachers' training in this area, and should be re-opened at an early date. Since at present a training school can operate only as a government Bantu school, the associated schools - secondary, practising and industrial must be classified either as community schools or as government Bantu schools. 147

On 24th July the Chairman of the Governing Council announced that the land and buildings were being handed back to the American Board for Foreign Missions, who later decided to lease these buildings to the Government.[148] Alan Paton wrote a moving obituary:

> .... Adams College has gone, a Christian school in a Christian country, a Protestant school closed down by a Protestant government, all because it could not adhere to a doctrine that would have been as offensive to Luther and Calvin at it would to their Lord. But we can give thanks for its century of devoted service, and for the courage of those, the Grants among them, who resisted to the end the evil doctrine that has corrupted so many Christians in a Christian country. 149

145. Christian Council Quarterly, June 1956, p. 2, para. (h).
146. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan papers DU 5.36.20, letter G.C. Grant to Duncan, 27.4.1956.
147. Wits. Archive, CCSA papers, letter Secretary for Native Affairs (F.J. de Villiers) to The Secretary, Adams College Inc. (Also in Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan Papers DU 5.36.22, quoted by G.C. Grant in a letter to Duncan 30.7.1956.
148. Rand Daily Mail, 24.7.1956, "Verwoerd says no to Adams".
149. GRANT, The Liquidation of Adams, op. cit., foreword by Alan Paton. Also PATON, David M. (ed.) Church and Race in South Africa, op. cit.

Twenty years later Dr. Brookes in his autobiography paid tribute to his successor George Grant and his wife, "who bore themselves magnificently through all this long travail",

> The process was like a man in jackboots walking all over the garden into which you have put all your love and trampling down your best flowers. It could have been otherwise .... The takeover everywhere represented the victory of apartheid. In the new regime at Adams the dish-washer was severely criticized for washing the tea-cups of the black staff and the white staff in the same sink 150

Dr. Brookes also recalled how the Native Affairs Commission descended on Adams.

> The intelligence with which they approached the question may be illustrated by one of the questions they put: "I see in this brochure that you claim that Adams gives a liberal education. Does this mean an education based on the principles of the Liberal Party ?" 151

"PRIVATE SCHOOLS": (3) GRACE DIEU.

The Christian Council viewed with grave concern the situation arising from the closure of Adams. Only one Protestant school remained open: Grace Dieu. Questions were asked as to why Roman Catholic schools were being allowed to function, and the Protestant ones not.[152] In response to this complaint, and a request for a further delegation to be received, the Secretary for Native Affairs pointed out that only the Roman Catholic Church and the Seventh Day Adventists had taken up the option of retaining their schools at a reduced subsidy.

> The churches themselves exercised their own free choice and the Department cannot in any way be held responsible for the differential development that took place. 153

There would be no further point, in the opinion of the Secretary for Native Affairs, in a meeting to discuss Adams with the Christian Council. After a long delay Dr. Blaxall replied, questioning the assertion that the Protestant churches had freely relinquished control of their schools. "Our decision was forced by the with-

150. BROOKES, A South African Pilgrimage, op. cit., pp. 68-9.
151. Ibid., p. 68.
152. Wits. Archive, CCSA Papers, Minutes, CCSA Executive Committee at Church of Sweden Hall, Hancock Street, Johannesburg, 10 a.m., 7.8.1956.
153. Wits.Archive, CCSA Papers, letter Secretary for Native Affairs to Secretary, Christian Council, 22.10.1956.

drawal of the Government subsidies on the strength of which the schools had been established". The suggestion was then made that "independent Church Schools" like Inanda under the American Board and Ohlange in Natal, should receive special consideration.[154]

Following the decision of Episcopal Synod in November 1954, Archdeacon Woodfield issued a circular to parents, guardians and friends of Grace Dieu, announcing "the impending closure of the College".[155] No new students would be admitted in 1955, and at the year-end the Teacher Training College would be closed. The Secondary and Technical Schools and the Boarding Department would all close at the end of 1956. It was hoped to retain the Primary School, and a decision on the use of the buildings would be made "to see that Grace Dieu continues to be a strong Christian Centre in the days to come".[156] On 24th October a combined meeting of the Governing Bodies of Grace Dieu and Khaiso had decided that an attempt should be made to carry on the Secondary Schools on a 75% grant.[157] This, however, had been overturned by the decision of Episcopal Synod that there should be no dual control of hostels and schools, and that no arrangements should be accepted for carrying on educational work on a 75% grant for salaries. The "inevitability of closure was accepted" by the Bishop, Selby Taylor, and the Principal, Woodfield, as reflected in the circular. The Governors reluctantly confirmed their action on 7th December 1954.[158]

The Revd. Robert Jeffery, Principal of Khaiso, was rightly concerned that so momentous a decision had been made without first consulting the Governors, and said that another plan might have been possible.[159] By April 1955 Archdeacon Woodfield had rethought the position, and he circulated a confidential memorandum putting forward the possibility of continuing the College as a private institution after 1955. He advocated that the burden

154. Wits. Archive, CCSA Papers, letter Secretary of Christian Council to Secretary for Native Affairs, 9.4.1957.
155. CPSA Archive AB 750, Grace Dieu Diocesan Training College Pietersburg, 1906-1958. Mimeographed circular undated "To parents guardians and friends of the College".
156. Ibid.
157. Ibid., Minutes, Governors, 24.10.1954
158. Ibid., Minutes, Governors, 7.12.1954, cf. Church News 15.12.1954, p. 184, "Grace Dieu to Close".
159. Ibid.

of continuing the school be shared by the dioceses of Johannesburg and Pretoria, since a large proportion of students came from Johannesburg and the Reef. The Principal and Vice-Principal were on the payroll of the Diocese of Pretoria. The salary bill for eight teachers would be £2750, and the fees fixed at £35 per year. If the enrolment were increased, the chances of success were "not unreasonable".[160] Woodfield had been encouraged by the revival of the Old Pietersburgian Association. At a meeting in the Bantu Men's Social Centre in Johannesburg on 27th June 1953, one hundred old students had gathered from all parts of the Transvaal for their first reunion since the war, and their generosity had helped to liquidate an accumulated debt of £5000. Among them were one doctor of divinity, two doctors of medicine, many graduates in arts and sciences, many in holy orders, and many social workers, as well as those who were prominent businessmen. The most famous alumnus of the College was Peter Abrahams, who had distinguished himself as a writer.[161] When the Governors met in July 1955, Bishop Reeves and Father Huddleston were specially invited. This meeting is of particular interest for the way in which the contending theories within the C.P.S.A. were applied to the particular problem of keeping Grace Dieu open.

> Archdeacon Woodfield reported that:
>
> .... as a result of negotiations with the educational authorities the College had been allowed to continue until the end of 1955 on condition that no new students were admitted. This also applied to the Secondary School, the Industrial Department and the Primary School. Application had been made to register the Primary School as a Farm School from January 1956 and for the other departments to be recognized as a Private School with or without subsidies. 162.

Bishop Selby Taylor then invited the Board to accept the diminishing subsidies, as paid to other church schools, i.e., 75% until March 1956, 50% from April to December 1956, and 25% for 1957. In response to this Bishop Reeves and Father Huddleston

> .... made it clear that they would not be able to fund any financial assistance unless no governmental subsidies were received by the College. 163.

160. Ibid., Confidential Memorandum by the Ven S.P. Woodfield, April 1955, to the Governing Body of Grace Dieu.
161. Ibid., and see ABRAHAMS, Peter, Tell Freedom, London: Faber 1954.
162. CPSA Archives AB 750, Grace Dieu, Governors' Minutes July 1955.
163. Ibid.

It was calculated that provided that there was an enrolment of 190 male and 90 female students, to be achieved by drafting Khaiso students and staff to Grace Dieu, £5000 per annum would be needed from outside sources. Reeves and Huddleston immediately undertook to do what they could to guarantee half the amount for five years. Bishop Selby Taylor pointed out that the Board would be undertaking a very great financial risk, which the Diocese of Pretoria could not possibly contemplate. At a meeting a month later promises of support were counted, and these totalled £2960, excluding the salary of the Principal, which would be met by the Diocese of Pretoria. Bishop Reeves reported that any money coming from his diocese would be in the form of bursaries. Father Huddleston held out the possibility of the Community of the Resurrection transferring large sums of money as a result of the sale of their Rosettenville property, but added,

> .... the community were only prepared to act if no subsidies were received from the Government and an entirely new institution were set up in place of the College. 164

Eventually the meeting decided on a proposal of the Bishop of Johannesburg to accept Government subsidies as long as they were available. Thus the possibility of a co-operative venture with the Johannesburg Diocese and the Community of the Resurrection was lost.[165]

Grace Dieu celebrated its Jubilee in 1956. For Archdeacon Woodfield it was his life's work. He had served as Vice-Principal from 1922-24, and as Principal from 1924-38. He returned as Principal in 1953 at his own request, and it was clear from his report to Synod in 1956 that he was still doggedly determined to continue, despite overwhelming difficulties over finance.[166] Archbishop Clayton wrote to Robert Jeffrey in November and commented:

> As to Grace Dieu, I am not surprised that you have difficulties, for I don't myself believe that Grace Dieu will last beyond the end of next year. I believe Woodfield does but I'm afraid that I think he's wrong. 167

Woodfield reported that the S.P.G. Emergency Fund had made an annual grant of £1000 for four years, and that many gifts had come in from parishes, organizations and individuals. Woodfield could

164-165. Ibid.
166. CPSA Archive AB 750, Grace Dieu, Grace Dieu Report to Synod 1956.
167. CPSA Archive AB 191, Clayton Papers, letter Clayton to Jeffrey, 6.11.1956.

say "Grace Dieu is the only Anglican Boarding School for Africans in the whole of the Union of South Africa".[168] Only two years earlier, under Woodfield's chairmanship, as many as twelve Anglican headmasters had met, and signified their determination to persevere. Now, in his report to S.P.G. in December 1955, he expressed his sense of isolation. He feared Grace Dieu might even receive no allocation from the S.P.G. Emergency Fund.

> We are "out-of-step" with the province and so do not seem to have secured the approval of those in authority although the recent Provincial Synod passed a resolution "welcoming" the decision of the Governing body to carry on the work of Grace Dieu. That was as far as we dare go in framing the resolution, for to have asked for Provincial status would have been courting disaster. 169

Edward Sulston, the S.P.G.'s Overseas Secretary, who had done so much to mount the Emergency Fund, wrote encouragingly to Woodfield, expressing disquiet at the C.P.S.A.'s policy.

> We felt considerably deflated when we learned that the Church of the Province was not going to make a stand for at least some of its schools. We know that most would have to go but we hoped that some would remain. This feeling of depression was greatly intensified when we learned that the Romans had raised £ 1 million for their schools .... we felt an opportunity had been missed. The decision to continue Grace Dieu as a private school was therefore much welcomed by very many people. 170

Woodfield's last report to S.P.G. on 17th January 1958 finally accepted the inevitable. The school would have to be handed over to the Bantu Affairs Department.[171] Clayton's prediction was only incorrect by one year. The Revd. Robert Jeffrey was appointed Principal to preside over the change-over during 1958. Woodfield and the Vice-Principal, Fr. Norburn, returned to parish work in the Diocese of Pretoria. The last straw was not the financial problem, but a letter from the Department of Bantu Education. In November 1957 Woodfield reported to the Governing Council that he had received from the Bantu Education authorities permission to carry on the Secondary and Industrial Schools after 1957 as a Private (non-aided) Missionary School, subject to certain conditions. Some of the conditions were specified, others not.

168. CPSA Archive AB 750, Grace Dieu, Report to Synod 1956.
169. Ibid., report Woodfield to S.P.G., 20.12.1955.
170. Ibid., Letter Sulston to Woodfield, 21.8.1956.
171. Ibid., Report Woodfield to S.P.G., 17.1.1958.

Permission to continue would be "subject to such further conditions as the Minister may determine".[172] Then a critical resolution was proposed by Canon Maleka, and seconded by the Bishop of Johannesburg, which stated,

> The Governing Body is unable to accept the conditions laid down by the Bantu Education Department for the registration of the Secondary and Industrial Schools as Private (non-aided) Missionary Institutions. 172

When put to the vote, Archdeacon Woodfield was the only dissentient.

No-one had suggested that the conditions might be a subject for further negotiation. The other possibility would have been to reject the Government's conditions and declare their intention to continue nevertheless. The struggle had continued for three long years, and it seemed that no-one except Woodfield had the stomach for much more.

Robert Selby Taylor, as Chairman of the Governors, described it as an "unpleasant decision".[174] Highway, the magazine of the Diocese of Kimberley and Kuruman, which had promoted Grace Dieu's appeal with some vigour, commented, "So Dr. Verwoerd has had his way".[175] The Report to Synod presented by Archdeacon Wraige in 1959 was terse. At the beginning of 1959 the Department of Bantu Education took over the school, which was now named the Setotolwane High School. Negotiations were in progress for the sale of all or part of the property. A weekly service was being maintained by four clergymen in the area.[176]

So ended Grace Dieu's brave struggle for survival. Offers of help from the Diocese of Johannesburg and the Community of the Resurrection, conditional on their not accepting any state subsidies, yielded no tangible support. The granting of "Private School" status by the Government proved to be dependent upon certain unspecified conditions of the Minister, and this served to prove the wisdom of all Archbishop Clayton's contentions. The only conclusion to be drawn is that the church did not possess the

172. The Kingdom, December 1957.
173. CPSA Archive AB 750, Grace Dieu, Governors' Minutes November 1957.
174. The Kingdom, December 1957.
175. Highway, January 1958.
176. CPSA Archives AB 750, Grace Dieu, Report to Synod 1959.

strength to withstand the all-powerful dictates of the State on this issue. That Anglicans in only two neighbouring dioceses were unable to agree demonstrated that any hopes of a united stand by all the churches were an unrealizable dream. In this struggle the churches had been relentlessly outmanoeuvred.

OTHER DIOCESES.

It is unnecessary to describe exhaustively how each diocese in the Church of the Province handed its schools over to the Government, for the pattern repeated itself in each of those dioceses which accepted the provincial policy of leasing their buildings. It must suffice to summarize the procedure followed in only one typical diocese, Natal. There the Diocese controlled one Teacher Training College, St. Chad's, two Secondary Schools, St. Bede's Modderspruit and St. Hilda's Rosboom, and 39 Primary Schools.[177] Bishop Inman assured his Diocesan Synod in 1955 that the handover was proceeding well.

> I have personally visited almost all these schools during the past year and I am well satisfied that the terms on which we have leased the large majority of our primary schools to the Bantu Education Department are just and equitable ... 178

Indeed the Diocese's chief concern was that it could not happen soon enough. The transfer of St. Chad's Ladysmith, expected at the latest on 1st July 1955, took place six months later.[179] As the Principal, Canon Kenneth Johnson, explained to the Diocesan Missionary Conference in July 1955,

> Although the Government found itself not ready to accept the transfer of control of the college until the beginning of 1956, the Principal assisted by the Dean during the absence of the Bishop last year pressed that the Government should take full control of the College as from July 1955. The Lord Bishop on his return from overseas pressed the matter further, and has succeeded in getting the government to assume control as from July this year [1955]. 180

The Headmaster, Mr Fynes Clinton, had resigned at the end of 1954.

177. Natal Diocesan Office, Proceedings of the Natal Diocesan Synod, 11-13 September 1955, Bishop's Charge, 11.9.1955.
178. Ibid., cf. also Church News, 19.10.1955, p. 159, "Natal Diocesan Synod".
179. Ibid., Report on St. Chad's by the Principal, Canon Kenneth Johnson.
180. Natal Diocesan Office, Durban, Minutes of the Natal Diocesan Missionary Conference 7-8 July 1955 at St. Hilda's College Rosboom.

Canon Johnson explained that he was not prepared to manage St. Chad's when it ceased to be a church institution, and had accepted a post in Rhodesia.

> His position was most difficult to fill .... being a very able man, very conscientious and one who regarded the church's influence as of paramount importance in the training of teachers and [he] would naturally [have] made an excellent head when the Government took over the institution. 181

Now the new headmaster, Mr du Toit, was in the position of having to fill other vacancies of staff who had returned to England.[182]

It may occasion some surprise that Bishop Inman told his Synod that the decision to hand over the schools in Natal met with no opposition at all.

> I took advantage of my visits to the schools to address gatherings of our people on the significance of the change-over, and nowhere did I meet with the slightest opposition or spoken criticism. 183

The Revd. Alpheus Zulu, who in 1956 was appointed Director of Native Missions for the Durban area of the diocese (the only African to be so honoured), and who was at the time Priest-in-Charge of St. Faith's, Durban, told me,

> It was not likely that any African clergyman at that time would propose a motion that was contrary to the Bishop's views. 184

At the first meeting of six newly-appointed Directors of Mission in January 1956. the suggestion was made that St. Hilda's Rosboom might become a Private Church School, and a hostel for Church children be built at Springvale Mission. These proposals were parried by the Bishop, although he did undertake to "look into the position and see how the government would react to it".[185] At the next meeting, in May 1956, Bishop Inman reported that "someone had applied to S.P.G. for funds to run St. Hilda's as a private school" and added, "but the Diocese was not prepared to do this".[186] The minutes record that the Chief Inspector had been asked, and

181. Ibid., St. Chad's Ladysmith Report to Natal Diocesan Synod 11-13th September 1955, p. 46.
182. Ibid., cf. Church News, 19.10.1955, loc. cit.
183. Ibid., Proceedings of the Natal Diocesan Synod 11-13th September 1955, Bishop's Charge 11.9.1955.
184. ZULU, The Right Revd. Alpheus, Interview, Edendale, 22.2.1981.
185. Natal Diocesan Office Durban, Minutes, Directors of Missions January 1956.
186. Ibid., May 1956.

he had said

> .... at present the Department had no plan and for the present was leaving [St. Hilda's] to be run as it was. The Bishop was happy to leave it at that. 187

Of the hostel at Springvale it was curtly stated, "Not possible. The Government would not allow it". When thoughts turned to making Sunday Schools more effective in the diocese, and to the need for cyclo-styling suitable material in the vernacular, Bishop Inman pointed out that "the Government syllabus was produced by Sister Francis Mary of Grahamstown and was very good".[188] Bishop Inman thus used his authority to prevent any possibility of dissent.

When I asked Bishop Zulu to tell me what was his view of the controversy between Clayton and Reeves, he gave a most interesting reply.

> My first reaction was in support of Huddleston and Reeves. On reflection I was very much for the Clayton view. At the time most black people in Natal regarded Huddleston and Reeves as heroes of the black man. 189

Why did Zulu change his mind ? This too was significant.

> I was on the Adams College Board. Realizing it was impossible to educate the masses of the people at private schools I was of the opinion that we should have some private schools. Since we can't provide schools for all children outside Bantu Education, it was better to send the children to these schools than not at all. The A.N.C. said we shouldn't serve on school boards. I went to see Luthuli (in hospital at the time in McCord's) to explain why I was consenting to serve on a school board. I became chairman of the Cato Manor School Boards, but was expelled in less than my three year term of office. I felt I had a duty to follow "our children" who are obliged to attend these schools. 190

The diocesan policy regarding the lease of school buildings was settled at a meeting of the Directors of Mission in February 1957. Canon Johnson argued for a nominal rent "because we should still call the buildings our own and should not be called upon to make stupendous and expensive repairs". The minutes also record that

> The Bishop was concerned that no child should be deprived of education through the action of the church, but at the same time he realised that we must have funds to keep the

187-188. Ibid.
189. ZULU, The Right Revd. A., Interview, Edendale, 22.2.1981.
190. Ibid.

> buildings in repair .... it was decided that the Bishop should require a rent which would provide for repairs in all buildings of any value. 191

The generosity of the church's attitude was illustrated again at a meeting in August 1961, when it was decided that no rents should be asked after 31st December 1961, except in the case of Umlazi School. By then every school had accrued a balance of rents received, and this was to be used for repairs. Umlazi School was to be sold, retaining the School Hall for the Mission.[192] Evidently relationships continued to be amicable between the church and the school authorities. An unopposed resolution at the Natal Diocesan Missionary Conference in December 1961 recorded

> .... deep appreciation and gratitude to the Education Department in general and to the Principal of St. Chad's in particular for placing the College building at the disposal of the conference and giving us all the facilities for holding our meetings. 193

The relationship between the Department of Bantu Education and the Roman Catholic Church in running their schools seems also to have been a surprisingly amicable one, for Archbishop Hurley told me:

> I can't remember the Department interfering to any great extent, except to the extent of saying that only Catholic children could attend our schools. And yes, of course, they laid down how many children could be admitted to each school. They were quite strict on that, about how many children we could admit, and all of these had to be Catholics. This was very hard on the parents of other children who had been attending those schools. At the beginning there were strict requirements about floor-space, the number of admissions, but later on we began to relax because we could see that inspectors really couldn't pay all that attention to the details. We felt that, at the beginning, we had to conform very rigidly, otherwise steps would be taken against us. On reflection, and looking back now, it does seem impossible that inspectors could really have applied all that rigidity to keeping a check on the number of children, and whether or not they were all Catholics. I remember those two points very clearly. 194

Yet the effort of running these schools was always "a very anxious one".

> .... very soon we discovered that the financial question

191. Natal Diocesan Office, Minutes, Natal Directors of Mission, February 1957.
192. Ibid., August 1961.
193. Ibid., Minutes, Natal Diocesan Missionary Conference, 6.12.1961.
194. HURLEY, The Most Revd. Denis, O.M.I., Interview, Durban, 2.9.1981.

> was so burdensome that it looked rather difficult, almost impossible, to keep going. We were conscious of the fact that we were asking exhorbitant sacrifices of our teachers. Some stayed on because they had a powerful Christian motivation, others because they couldn't get jobs in other schools, but most of the best teachers with the best qualifications left us for the Community Schools, and the Secondary and High Schools, because they just couldn't face such a huge drop in living standards. We asked too much of them. 195

Bishop Inman's attitude towards the hand-over of Anglican schools in Natal seems therefore to have been vindicated by the difficulties experienced by the Roman Catholics in sustaining this effort to keep open their own schools over a long period.

St. Hilda's, a boarding school for African girls at Rosboom, near Ladysmith, was closed by the Department and now stands in ruins. Policy in the Diocese being what it was, no attempt was made to resist its closure. The school did not conform to Government policy, since the medium of education was English throughout, and the school also accepted pupils from all over the Union. An attempt to obtain funds from S.P.G. was quickly prevented by Bishop Inman, for the Diocese of Natal had since 1945 resolved that it would not receive grants from overseas for its African work in Natal. Archbishop Clayton, too, had instituted a similar policy in Johannesburg, which provided another reason for his viewing S.P.G. grants to Bishop Reeves' Family Centres with some disfavour.[196]

Schools in other dioceses of the C.P.S.A. were handed over with a sense of regret, but there was no other choice. Once the decision of Episcopal Synod had been made in 1954, all did their best to effect the change with as good a grace as possible. The division of opinion between Johannesburg and the other dioceses in the C.P.S.A. naturally undermined the stand made to retain certain mission schools as "private" institutions. The net result is that there are now no Anglican church schools for Africans in South Africa.

By the end of 1956 it was clear that Dr. Verwoerd's victory

195. Ibid.
196. INMAN, The Right Revd. T.G.V., Interview, Durban, 14.9.1977.

had been a considerable one. With the exception of the universities and possibly the Roman Catholic mission schools, the Department of Native Affairs was now in full control of all African education. The publication of the long-awaited Report of the Tomlinson Commission on the Socio-Economic Development of the Native Areas of the Union of South Africa in March 1956 indicated that the Government was ready to proceed with the next phase of its policy for the compulsory separation of the races.[197] What were the real feelings of the C.P.S.A. towards this ? A reliable barometer of the mood of the Church of the Province is to be found in the Annual Reports of missionaries to the S.P.G. Dewi Morgan, S.P.G.'s Editorial Secretary, who in the first three months of 1955 arranged Bishop Reeves's busy furlough, had the task of compiling an edited account from all the reports sent in each year by S.P.G. missionaries serving in the C.P.S.A.

> There is fear in South Africa. The amazing thing is that in probing through masses of reports of S.P.G. missionaries there is so little evidence of fear in them. There is anxiety, apprehension, suffering. But there is also hope and joy and thanksgiving. 198

Their chief concern in 1955 was with the funding and administration of the money contributed to the S.P.G.'s South African Emergency Fund. In 1956 however, there was a new spirit of asperity and even bitterness in these reports, arising from the realization that the church had relinquished control of its mission schools. Even in the few instances where a determined effort had been made to retain them as private institutions, only Grace Dieu survived, and even that school seemed destined to suffer the same fate. The philosophy of Bantu Education annunciated by Dr. Verwoerd, now underlined by the Tomlinson Commission, evoked a bitter comment from Bishop Reeves. "Does the Tomlinson Commission seriously desire the restoration of polygamy, ancestor worship, witchcraft and all the dark elements which went into the make-up of so much primitive African life ?" he asked.[199] Dewi Morgan likened the South African Government's design to return the "Bantu to tribalism" to William the Conqueror saying "send these English back to their Druid days". The Revd. Norman Gilmore from a rural parish

197. UG 61-1955. See below, Chapter Fifteen, pp. 867-8.
198. SPG House, London, SPG Reports, 1955, p. 33.
199. Ibid., 1956, p. 16.

in Natal provided a vivid illustration of this trend by reporting, "I have ministered to three people dying from witchdoctors' attentions".[200]

Early indications from the Reports of missionaries about the situation in mission schools now under the control of the Department of Native Affairs were varied. Archdeacon Woodfield reported that Grace Dieu School

> .... is now kept dangling at the end of a string, wondering whether at any moment the S.A. Government is going to close it, and says to me by implication "all the things you have done in Africa have been wicked and harmful". 201

From Hammanskraal in the Pretoria Diocese, the Revd. A.V. Campbell complained that "only the clergy are being allowed into the schools for religious instruction: teachers are not allowed to teach anything but the departmental syllabus". On the other hand at Etalaneni, Zululand, the Revd. W.J. Goodall reported that although "officially the clergy have no place in the new educational set-up .... I am consulted as much as ever .... We are making full use of our right of entry".[202] The Revd. Cyprian Thorpe at St. Michael's Mission near Zastron on the borders of the Northern Cape and Orange Free State reflected the more common view among Anglican mission priests at that time, by describing a general deterioration of standards which had accompanied the take-over of African education from church control.

> The first to suffer have been the children,by the complete cessation of school feeding. White and Coloured school children are still provided with refreshment during school hours. African school children arrive at school hungry. The high moral standards aimed at by the church with regard to teachers have been dropped and teachers have been allowed to remain at their posts after having caused grave public scandal. Another noticable thing is that now the incentive to improve buildings and build more classrooms has been taken away from the church all building has stopped. With the introduction of the shift system less teaching is given per child.... Thus the total effect of "Bantu" education is less food, fewer new buildings, less teaching and fewer morals. 203

200. Ibid., 1956, p. 16.
201. Ibid., p. 17.
202. Ibid., p. 20.
203. Ibid., p. 19.

SOME CONCLUSIONS.

What happened to Christ the King, Adams and Grace Dieu provides three case studies in the failure of the church's resistance to Bantu Education. Why did they fail ? The answer is not unconnected with what other dioceses and other churches decided to do with their schools. The willingness of some to hand over "with good grace" made it all the more difficult for those who were unwilling to hand over their schools without a fight. Considering that so many church schools were so strongly committed to continuing, when they met under the auspices of the Institute of Race Relations in June 1952, and expressed such resolute and unanimous opposition to the system of education that was being proposed, it may also seem surprising that there should not have been more institutions to choose what Father Huddleston called "death with honour".[204] Part of the explanation why more did not choose the path of resistance was that many were misled by the image projected by sympathetic officials. Most senior officials who were seconded from the Provincial Departments of Education to this new Department of Bantu Education were men who had spent a life-time of service working in close liason with the churches and missions. All were dedicated educationists, and the great majority committed Christian laymen who were members of the same churches whose schools were being taken over by the Government. Few could have been described as supporters of the National Party. For this reason, in J.R. Dent, J.H. Dugard and M. Prozesky, Dr. Verwoerd could not have chosen three men better suited to his purpose to be Regional Directors of Bantu Education in Natal, the Cape and the Transvaal.[205] They possessed an empathy with the churches and missions, and projected an image of reasonableness and readiness to listen, in total contrast to the personality of Dr. Verwoerd, in whose hands the power really lay. Mr Prozesky gave me this example:

> We worked at a disadvantage. With Mr Jansen I was appointed to a departmental committee to investigate all missionary institutions throughout South Africa in 1954. We were

204. HUDDLESTON, Trevor, op. cit., p. 128.

205. Mr J.H. Dugard and Mr Prozesky today both live in Pietermaritzburg, and are faithful members of the Anglican Cathedral congregation. J.R. Dent is one of those singled out as "outstanding men" by Dr. Edgar Brookes (BROOKES, A South African Pilgrimage, op. cit., p. 69).

> chosen for our knowledge of English, Afrikaans and German, and we visited them all, before I became Regional Director for the Transvaal in February 1955. But Dr. Verwoerd, Dr. Eiselen and Mr de Villiers had already decided to take over or close all institutions and did not wait for me to present my report. 206

However comforting it may have been for the mission schools that sympathetic churchmen and educationists of this calibre were in key positions, it did lead to some unfortunate results. Confusion and uncertainty marked the relationship between the Department of Native Affairs and school principals, for whilst sympathetic officials projected an image of a Department that was prepared to listen, Dr. Verwoerd and his chief lieutenants Dr. Eiselen and Mr de Villiers had in fact already made up their minds. Secondly, it made these officials an unwitting party to what Father Sidebotham called the "false window-dressing" of the Department.[207] It also accounts for the surprisingly amicable relationships that were maintained between the churches and the Department in the change-over period, when delicate negotiations had to take place on the leasing of school properties.

Another fact that seems paradoxical is that an Afrikaner Government should have compelled the Protestant churches in South Africa to hand over all their schools, when it allowed the Roman Catholic Church to retain theirs. The Synods of the N.G.K. in this period continued to speak eloquently about "die Roomse Gevaar", and Dr. Verwoerd's concession to the Catholic Church must have seemed a surprising one to many members of the Afrikaans churches. This, too, was to issue in some interesting results. Two statistics require explanation. Roman Catholic African church membership increased from 271 507 in 1951, to 755 073 in 1960, and to 1 375 456 in 1970. Over the same period the N.G.K. (Afrika), the African daughter-church of the N.G.K., grew from 196 831 in 1951, to 524 706 in 1960, and to 909 861 in 1970. In the same period there was a proportionally smaller growth in the African church membership of the Anglican, Methodist, Lutheran,

206. PROZESKY, M., one-time Regional Director of Bantu Education (Transvaal), Interview, Pietermaritzburg, 28.8.81.
207. SIDEBOTHAM, Fr. George, C.R., Interview, Stepney, 27.8.75.

Presbyterian and Congregational churches.[208]

Table of African Church Membership, Principal Churches.

	1951	1960	1970	Proportional Increase 1951-70
N.G.K. (Afrika)	196 831	524 706	909 861	4,6
R.C.	271 507	755 073	1375 456	5,0
Anglican	345 185	752 095	982 093	2,8
Congregational	89 314	136 330	216 627	2,4
Methodist	664 008	1320 556	1825 862	2,8
Lutheran	283 140	542 668	811 669	2,9
Presbyterian	112 960	203 929	451 186	4,0

[209]

The rise in Roman Catholic African church membership is not unconnected with their decision to retain their African church schools. When the Government took over African mission schools in 1958, the Roman Catholic Church had 120 000 pupils in 750 mission schools, and this represented 12% of the national total. Sister Brigid Flanagan, who presently holds the Education portfolio at the Secretariat of the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference, told me that the Church made a tremendous effort to maintain these schools throughout the sixties, but, as the table below illustrates, there has been a considerable decrease in the number of schools and their enrolment of pupils during the 1970's.

Numbers of Children in Roman Catholic Mission Schools.

Year.	Number of Schools.			Number of Pupils.		
	Primary.	Secondary.	Total.	Primary.	Secondary.	Total.
1958			750			120 000
1972	366	30	396	76 730	4 206	80 936
1973	358	29	387	75 274	4 299	79 573
1974	235	26	261	52 497	4 414	56 911
1975	185	29	214	44 357	5 133	49 490
1976	138	31	169	37 697	5 330	43 027
1977	95	29	124	28 222	5 235	33 457
1978	87	29	116	27 231	5 811	33 042
1979	80	27	107	24 189	6 359	30 548
1980	64	27	91	19 700	5 280	24 980

[210]

208. Statistics compiled by the author from the following: Union of South Africa Population Census 8.5.1951 Vol. VII, Marital Status, Religion and birth places of Coloureds, Asiatics and Natives. Vol. III, Religions of the White Population of the Union of South Africa. Republic of South Africa Bureau of Statistics, Population Census 6.9.1960, Vol. III, Religion. Department of Statistics, South African Statistics 1980.

209. Ibid.

210. Letters from Sr. B. Flanagan, Secretary to the Commission for Christian Education and Worship, S.A. Catholic Bishops' Conference, Pretoria, 30.4.1976 and 2.9.1981, to the author. She notes that "Some of our African Catholic Schools are now subsidized by 'Homeland' governments and so are no longer included in private schools" (2.8.1981).

The difficulties involved in sustaining this effort may be illustrated by the situation in the Archdiocese of Durban in 1972. With the teachers receiving only R 50 per month, the total bill for church schools in the Archdiocese of Durban alone was R 130 000 per annum, of which only R 30 000 would come from parents' contributions and the annual subsidy from the Catholic School Funds of the Bishops' Conference.[211] The scale on which the Roman Catholic Church succeeded nevertheless in maintaining so many of its schools has undoubtedly had a very important effect upon the remarkable growth in church membership that has taken place in that church over the same period.

This conclusion seems to be borne out by Archbishop Hurley's observation that "our motivation in wanting to carry on was more evangelization than education", and the Department's insistence that Catholic schools might only admit Catholic children must have provided a strong incentive for parents to validate their children's presence in these schools by becoming members of that church.[212]

Twenty-seven years later, with more schools being handed over to Government control year by year, I asked Archbishop Hurley whether he regretted the bold decision in 1954 to keep Catholic schools open. He said,

> In a way I do, because in the end it proved a failure, and we had to face up to the fact that the church could survive without these schools, and the missionary effort would have to go on without them, and that we would have to change tactics or strategy quite considerably, and develop a much greater catechetical effort at parish level, which we have been trying to do. But it's very very difficult in the circumstances of scattered rural parishes, as you know. On the other hand, I don't regret the great battle we put up from 1954 on. It brought the church together in a very significant way, and I think it had quite an impact, too, on black Catholics. So, possibly, what I'm saying now does have some relation to what you were saying about statistics. Possibly it does, but I'm always very conscious of the fact that we were much more concerned about evangelization than about good secular education, that I think the majority of the people were aspiring after. So, to go back to your question, yes, I have two conflicting feelings

211. Khanya House Pretoria, SACBC Conference Minutes for 1972, Appendix E, Mission Schools, p. 55.
212. HURLEY, The Most Revd. Denis, O.M.I., Interview, Durban, 2.9.1981.

about it.

> First, a feeling of gratification that there was this kind of "heroic effort" on the part of the church, which always calls for a certain spirit out of people, and rallies their loyalties. But on the other hand, in the end it proved fruitless. We had to give way, because it was hopeless trying to raise anything near the finance required to keep it going.
>
> There are one or two, or more than one or two, of our Bishops who are still very keen school people. The Bishop of Johannesburg is Archbishop Fitzgerald. Johannesburg has always been very keen on keeping its schools going, and there the white parishes rally round and make big contributions to the school funds. And round the country - there are scattered schools in other parts of the country, but I think Johannesburg now has the biggest and most signigicant number of them, of those that are left. 213

The growth of the N.G.K.'s daughter church is to be explained by the unprecedented investment of that church in missions in this period. Where the Department established Community Schools, the N.G.K. (Afrika) were alert to establish their missionaries, and to make full use of the opportunities given to the churches of access to the schools for religious teaching. Traditional patterns meant that established missionary churches like the Anglicans and the Methodists did not take up these new opportunities with the same vigour as the new missionaries of the N.G.K.(Afrika). The latter gained a reputation for making better use of the provisions for access to new Community Schools than did the other churches, who merely maintained contacts with the schools that had previously been theirs.[214]

A final point that needs to be made is that, however ineffectual the stand taken by the Anglican Diocese of Johannesburg, the S.S.M. and the C.R., in retrospect it now seems that it did have the effect of keeping faith with an important sector of black opinion. It retained a certain credibility for the Anglican Church with African political leaders, which would otherwise have been lost with incalculable results. The majority view of the Anglican bishops, represented so well by Archbishop Clayton, kept faith with that larger body of African opinion which wanted to

213. Ibid.
214. PROZESKY, M., Interview, Pietermaritzburg, 28.8.1981.

have education for their children even if it was a "rotten" education. There was an interesting parallel between the Church Family Centres of the Diocese of Johannesburg, and the Cultural Clubs of the African National Congress. Hesitations over the schools' boycott by moderates in the Congress leadership like Z.K. Matthews and Albert Luthuli find their counterpart in Archbishop Clayton's refusal to contemplate throwing children onto the streets by a total refusal to lease school buildings.

What would have happened, had the churches been able to do as Father Huddleston hoped, and unanimously resisted the Government by refusing to lease their property ? Would Dr. Verwoerd have been forced to change course and grant some concessions, or would he have retaliated by using the weapon of expropriation ? All that has been said of Dr. Verwoerd's implacable determination to implement his policy seems to indicate that Bishop Trapp and Archbishop Clayton were right in fearing the loss of their buildings by expropriation. By 1955 the situation was too far advanced for any major reversal of policy to have taken place. Of those who were glad that Bishop Reeves and Father Huddleston made their stand as they did, there must have been some who were also relieved that all the bishops had not resorted to the gamble of total resistance on this issue. A unanimous refusal by the churches to lease their schools to the Government could have led to a situation in which the total boycott desired by the A.N.C. (Transvaal) might have succeeded. With the whole of South Africa's African school-going population on the streets the dangers would have been immense. Nevertheless it is difficult not to sympathize with Trevor Huddleston's view that "the only way .... is for all church leaders to demand an interview with the Prime Minister [and] tell him they cannot accept the Act without major concessions". If the Government would not accept this then "the mission societies should go all out for private schools with or without Government permission".[215]

The aim of the A.N.C.'s boycott of Bantu Education, and of the Congress of the People, was to force the Government to make concessions on the education issue and convene a National Convention

215. Rand Daily Mail, 13.11.1954.

at which a new constitution would be negotiated between all the peoples of South Africa. Their sanguine hopes were not to be realized. Even if the churches and the A.N.C. together could have agreed upon a policy of total non-co-operation, many feared that the more likely outcome would have been to invite expropriation of church property in terms of the Bantu Education Act, and the severe penalties prescribed by the Criminal Laws Amendment Act of 1953 for incitement. Whereas most Congress leaders were willing to run that risk, most church leaders were not yet ready to adopt a stance of total resistance to the Government on the issue of Bantu Education.

Significantly, it was the issue of Bantu Education which irrevocably changed Bishop Reeves' attitude towards the principle of resistance to the State. On 20th October 1952 Reeves had spoken at a meeting organized by the Civil Rights League, on "The Moral Implications of the Passive Resistance Movement". On that occasion Reeves argued "that an individual ought to obey a law even if he is convinced it is unjust .... if such disobedience is likely to provoke civil disturbance, for all citizens have the duty of doing all in their power to assist in maintaining law and order".[216] In an essay "The Church in Relation to the State", published in February 1953 he again avoided making a clear decision on the question of divine or civil obedience, and pointed out that "there are times when some abuses and injustices have to be tolerated".[217] When he reproduced another version of the same essay as an article for the first issue of Africa South in October 1956, Reeves repeated that there were "times when some abuses and injustices have to be tolerated" but added "the fact that certain evils have to be tolerated for a time is no justification for acquiescing dumbly in things as they are in this country".[218] What changed Reeves' stance on this issue between 1953 and 1956 was not only the failure of his efforts to effect any change in the Government's attitude towards the Western Areas removal scheme. For him the crucial moment came with the decision

216. PEART-BINNS, John, Ambrose Reeves, op. cit., p. 110.
217. REEVES, R.A., The Church in Relation to the State, Johannesburg: St. Benedict's Booklet No. 4, February 1953, p. 15.
218. Africa South, Vol. I, No 1, Oct-Dec. 1956, p. 12, "Church and State in South Africa" by the Right Revd. R.A. Reeves, Bishop of Johannesburg.

he felt compelled to make at the meeting of Episcopal Synod in Umtata on 15th December 1954 to close all mission schools in his diocese. It is interesting to note that the Community of the Resurrection had already announced its decision to close its schools before Reeves did the same. It is evident that Reeves was beginning to change his stance when he was in the United States for the Minneapolis Anglican Convention and the World Council's Second Assembly at Evanston. On 29th August 1954 he told a meeting of the Chicago Round Table "I am becoming ever more sceptical of what I may call the counsel of gradualness".[219] In reaching this conclusion there is no-one who had a more profound influence upon him than Trevor Huddleston. In the foreword to a pamphlet published by the Congress of Democrats entitled Educating for Ignorance, just before that crucial meeting of Episcopal Synod in Umtata, Huddleston described Bantu Education as "racialism at its darkest and most damnable - that evil thing which seeks to direct and dominate even the minds of children".[220] Bishop Reeves, sharing Trevor Huddleston's conviction about the churches' response to Bantu Education, had also decided that resistance was the only way for Christians to defeat apartheid.

The concluding chapter gives a full comparative discussion of the manner in which such key personalities in the C.P.S.A. at that time as Michael Scott, Trevor Huddleston, Patrick Duncan, Ambrose Reeves and Archbishop Clayton abandoned a policy of mere protest and came to the point of deciding on resistance.[221] Further evidence of Reeves' change from a policy of gradualism to a stance of outright and uncompromising resistance to apartheid is portrayed in the long saga of trying to prevent the Western Areas removals.[222] It will be evident that Reeves changed from a policy of creative intervention through the activities of the Johannesburg Citizens' Housing Committee to a stance of resistance,

219. CPSA Archive, AB 388 Reeves papers, file on Minneapolis and Evanston, typescript of Address to Chicago Round Table, Sunday 29th August 1954.
220. S.A. CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS, Educating for Ignorance, The South African Congress of Democrats' View of the Bantu Education Act, Johannesburg: Prompt Printing 1954 (12 pp.) Introduction, p. 1. (Cited in Rand Daily Mail, 1.11.1954).
221. See below, Chapter Eighteen.
222. See below, Chapter Thirteen.

through his unequivocal support for Trevor Huddleston in his partnership with the African National Congress' Resist Apartheid campaign.[223] It was also in this period that Reeves changed his mind about criticizing South Africa overseas. In this matter, too, he was influenced by Trevor Huddleston. Huddleston had decided on resistance between February and June 1953, and unlike Reeves had given his open support to the Defiance Campaign.[224] Reeves' decision, made over a year later, in the latter part of 1954, turned on the issue of Bantu Education. After Michael Scott and Patrick Duncan, Trevor Huddleston and Ambrose Reeves must therefore be recognized as two most important forerunners in the gradual movement of the Church of the Province towards the acceptance of resistance as a legitimate means of withstanding the ideology of apartheid.

223. See below, Chapter Thirteen,
224. See above, Chapter Eight pp. 431-2, and Chapter Nine, p. 480 ff.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN.

WESTERN AREAS REMOVALS 1944-1955:

FROM CO-OPERATION TO RESISTANCE.

SOPHIATOWN.

At dawn on 9th February 1955 two thousand armed police converged on Sophiatown. It was their task to move the first 152 families to the new township of Meadowlands, seven miles further from the city. They came with 86 army troop carriers, signal units and military police.[1] Councillor J. Lewsen, who witnessed the events of that cold wet morning, said that he was astonished to find "police posses" stationed at intervals every few hundred yards or so all the way to Meadowlands. "It was nothing less than a military operation".[2] Father Huddleston, who with Robert Resha of the African National Congress was served with notices that all public gatherings had been banned, was quoted as saying "this show of force today is a disgrace to any civilized community".[3] By nine in the morning bulldozers were at work demolishing the homes that had been cordoned off for removal. Overnight forty of the families had abandoned their homes, preferring makeshift shelter arranged for them by Robert Resha's team of "freedom volunteers". Some went to friends and relatives, while others found temporary accomodation in the classrooms and corridors of St. Cyprian's School.[4]

The Western Areas removal scheme had begun, whereby all 60 000 inhabitants of Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare had their homes compulsorily expropriated by the Government.[5] Today,

1. The Natal Mercury, 10.2.1955, "2000 police in 'Black Spots' move", from our own correspondent, p. 2.
2. Daily News, 9.2.1955, p. 1, "Removal Scheme ahead of time begins well".
3. Ibid.
4. The Natal Mercury, 10.2.1955, loc. cit.
5. SAIRR, The Western Areas Removal Scheme: Facts and Viewpoints, Johannesburg: SAIRR 1953, p. 6.

where Sophiatown once stood, is the white suburb of Triomf. In the course of a sermon, the Priest-in-Charge of Christ the King, Fr. George Sidebotham C.R., described the removals as a re-enactment of the story of Naboth's vineyard. "It was just an ordinary remark in a sermon at Christ the King which was quoted by Dr. Verwoerd in the House of Assembly", he told me, "so it did look as though he'd got his informers all over the place, and the Government was keeping a watchful eye on us".

> [To the Government] Sophiatown was one of the explosive points. It was a place where there was a good deal of freedom to own property, to associate together, to conduct their own affairs. [To them] this was an alarming situation, a dangerous intrusion into the monolithic apartheid state. Therefore they got going on the removal of Sophiatown. 6

Preaching in the same church a month after the removals had begun, Father Trevor Huddleston was quoted as saying,

> How far are we prepared to stand up for what we know to be true and right and just in spite of the loss and hardship we may suffer ? In opposing the removal of the people of this very Sophiatown, in resisting the Bantu Education Act, in affirming her opposition to the whole evil doctrine of apartheid, the church has been guided by principle, not by malice or uncharitableness towards others. She has opposed these things because she believes them to be contrary to the very character and being of a righteous God. 7

On 22nd January Huddleston had appealed for restraint and warned of the imminent dangers inherent in the planned removals:

> It is in our view a highly dangerous proceeding for it must increase racial tensions at a time and in a place where such tensions are already sufficiently acute. We wish to make it clear to the citizens of Johannesburg that any incidence of violence in this area which results from the implementation of the removal scheme will be the sole responsibility of those who have planned it and who are determined to carry it through. 8

There was no violence, except for the violence implicit in the massive deployment of armed police to supervise the removals when they began. As Trevor Huddleston observed in Naught for your Comfort,

> I think many people expected violent resistance to the removal, and were surprised when the lorries moved off to

6. SIDEBOTHAM, Fr. George, C.R., Interview, Stepney, 27.8.1975.
7. Rand Daily Mail, 7.3.1955.
8. The Star, 22.1.1955.

> Meadowlands so safely and with such apparently happy travellers .... The seduction of power had worked effectively once more. 9

The destruction of Sophiatown effectively brought to an end much of the Community of the Resurrection's ministry amongst Africans in Johannesburg. St. Peter's Secondary School at Rosettenville closed at the beginning of 1955, and in 1960 the Theological College of St. Peter was ordered to move from Rosettenville.[10] In 1963 it was re-established as a constituent college of the Federal Theological Seminary.[11] Since white missionaries were to be prevented from living in black areas by the Group Areas Act, only the few African members of the Community like Fathers David and Leo Rakale and Simeon Nkoane could effectively continue parish work in the new townships of the diocese. Early in 1958 an English visitor, Captain Reginald Abel Smith, R.N.(Retired), sent Archbishop Joost de Blank some notes of his travels and conversations in South Africa. He saw Sophiatown and the derelict school of Christ the King, formerly St. Cyprian's. The Church of Christ the King, he wrote, "was still full of services, with many who have been removed to Meadowlands still coming, although ten miles away". He saw Fr. George Sidebotham, by then Provincial Superior of the C.R. at Rosettenville since Fr. Huddleston's withdrawal in 1956, and concluded,

> Government policy is definitely to squeeze out missionaries of all categories gradually .... what courage and patience the Fathers show, in spite of the intolerable sense of insecurity.

"Thank God", he ended, "Fr. Sidebotham is not a political missionary".[12]

Trevor Huddleston's ministry in South Africa between 1943 and 1956 coincided with all the main developments in the Western Areas removal scheme. As Priest-in-Charge of Christ the King Sophiatown from 1943 to 1949, Huddleston was called upon to challenge a resolution of the Johannesburg City Council to expropriate Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare as early as 1944. In December

9. HUDDLESTON, Trevor, Naught for your Comfort, op. cit., pp. 141-2.
10. Ibid., p. 130, and Wits. Archive CCSA papers, letter Blaxall to Sidebotham 27.4.1960.
11. The Newsletter, August 1962, The Bishop's Letter, by the Right Revd. Robert Selby Taylor.
12. CPSA Archive, AB 701, De Blank Papers, letter Captain Reginald Abel Smith R.N. (Rtd.) to Archbishop de Blank, 1.2.1958.

1949 he replaced Father Eric Goodall as Provincial Superior of the Community of the Resurrection in South Africa, and moved to the priory at Rosettenville, whence he was recalled to Mirfield early in 1956.[13]

The purpose of this chapter is to record the manner in which the destruction of Sophiatown was brought about, and to discuss the nature of the resistance to the Western Areas removal scheme. The severity of the blow dealt by Dr. H.F. Verwoerd to the church in 1955 needs to be appreciated. Nothing could illustrate this more dramatically than the combined effects of the Bantu Education Act, the Group Areas Act and the Western Areas removal scheme upon the work of the Community of the Resurrection in Johannesburg.

The saga of the destruction of Sophiatown is a long one, and it concerned Father Trevor Huddleston most intimately. It provides an invaluable case-study in the provocation and practice of Christian resistance. At issue was the urgent need for more African housing. The Government, however, seemed to be less concerned with African housing than with the implementation of its own apartheid ideology.

This chapter therefore records how the Western Areas removal scheme, first proposed by the United Party controlled Johannesburg City Council in 1944, was finally implemented by the National Party Government, but with opposition from the United Party and the City Council, in 1955. It begins with an account of the work of the Community of the Resurrection in Sophiatown. Also dealt with is the issue of African housing in Johannesburg between 1946 and 1952, in the period when Michael Scott, Geoffrey Clayton, Trevor Huddleston and Ambrose Reeves each tried to bring a creative and positive influence to bear. By the beginning of 1953 it was evident that the Government, in collaboration with a small but powerful group within the Johannesburg City Council, and with the tacit consent of the United Party, had taken over the necessary land at Diepkloof and Meadowlands, without which the removals from Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare could not have been implemented.

13. The Star, 11.11.1949, and MOSLEY, Nicholas, The Life of Raymond Raynes, London: Faith Press 1961, p. 106.

It was at this point in June 1953 that Father Trevor Huddleston, followed by Bishop Reeves a year or more later, decided to change tactics from those of protest to resistance. Michael Scott's agitation over the problems of African housing in 1946, Trevor Huddleston's growing concern for the erosion of civil liberty due to such legislation as the Suppression of Communism Act and the measures adopted in 1953 to suppress the Defiance Campaign, as well as the stance of Huddleston and Reeves over Bantu Education, have been described in previous chapters. From these narratives it will be evident how their methods of expressing opposition to the Government changed on an escalating scale in proportion to the degree of force which the authorities employed in imposing their will on the people concerned.

The ensuing description of the persevering efforts of many to forestall the compulsory removal of all the inhabitants of the Western Areas of Johannesburg between 1944 and 1955 provides a significant case study in the provocation of resistance. The degree of implacability displayed by the authorities provoked a concomitant radicalization in the means of opposition employed by their opponents. Nothing illustrates better the process whereby those whose patient representations are repeatedly ignored or rebuffed become alienated to the point where they decide that there is no point in continuing with negotiations or even with protests. Further repressive measures to enforce a policy that is conceived to be unjust provoke either sullen resignation or angry refusal. Already we have seen how the Indian people had been the first to be driven to the point of resistance by the vacillating attitude of a United Party Government over land tenure and voting rights in 1946. The racially discriminatory policies of the National Party Government elected in 1948 drove the African National Congress to move from a policy of protest to direct action in 1949, turning to mass resistance in 1952. It was the Government's unrelenting legislation for apartheid which provoked resistance. Reference has already been made to the moment when Trevor Huddleston and Ambrose Reeves each reached the conclusion that resistance had become the only proper Christian response to apartheid. This account of the opposition to the Western Areas removals shows how Huddleston and Reeves did not reach this conclusion until they had first tried every other means of persuasion and protest.

THE PROPONENTS OF REMOVAL.

Who, then, was responsible for initiating the Western Areas removal scheme ? In 1939 the Glen Leary Commission had been appointed, after a deputation from the Johannesburg City Council had been to Cape Town to inform the Minister of Native Affairs of its plans for the Western Areas. At the same time the Minister was asked to consider an alternative plan by Councillor S.G. Tighy, who claimed to be acting on behalf of white rate-payers in the neighbouring areas. Mr Tighy's plan suggested the removal of all non-Europeans from the Western Areas to Orlando/Pimville.[14] In October 1944 the Johannesburg City Council passed a resolution to expropriate Newclare and turn it into a Coloured area; to change the Western Native Township into a Coloured area; and to expropriate Sophiatown and Martindale.[15] During the debate on the Native Resettlement Bill in March 1954 Dr. Verwoerd could therefore truthfully say,

> I have never claimed that it was an original idea evolved by us [the National Party Government]. All I have said was that it is a pity they [the United Party controlled Johannesburg City Council] did not tackle it. 16

In October 1949 a deputation of ratepayers from the new white suburbs of Westdene and Newlands which now surrounded Sophiatown had made representations to the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. E.G. Jansen. They explained that the position of Europeans in these areas was very difficult, because they had to pass between Martindale and the Western Township when travelling by road to most other parts of the city. Attacks took place at frequent intervals, and because of the general state of lawlessness it had become unsafe to travel along this route.[17] Dr. Verwoerd could claim that when Dr. Jansen

> .... intervened and tried to bring these areas under control by making them areas predominantly for Native occupation, the City Council had objected .... because they wanted them removed. 18

14. SAIRR, The Western Areas Removal Scheme: Facts and Viewpoints, op. cit., p. 4, cf. Wits.Archive, A 410 Ballinger Papers, E2.47, Memorandum to the City Council of Johannesburg on the Non-European Western Areas Removal Scheme by the African Anti-Expropiation Ratepayers' Association and Proper Housing Movement, by Dr. A.B. Xuma, 1952, p. 3.
15. Ibid.
16. House of Assembly Debates 2525-6/54, 23.3.1954, Minister of Native Affairs.
17. CPSA Archive AB 707 SACI Papers, "Western Areas = Johannesburg, Sophiatown, Newclare etc. - Background Information", South Africa House London, 16.7.53, mimeo 3pp.
18. House of Assembly Debates 2526/54, 23.3.1954, Minister of Native Affairs.

On 28th February 1950 the Johannesburg City Council agreed unanimously that in view of the recent riots in the Western Native Townships, the General Purposes Committee should investigate and report on implementing the removal of all Natives from Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare without further delay. In 1951 the Government voted funds for the removal of Natives from the City's "black spots" in the Western Areas.[19] After rioting again broke out in Newclare in 1952, a petition signed by 7000 European inhabitants in the vicinity was presented to Dr. Verwoerd. This supplied the final argument for removal, since, it was argued, this was the only way to prevent friction between black and white.[20]

It is significant that it was during 1952 that the crucial steps were taken which ensured that the implementation of the removal scheme was irreversible. A deputation from the Johannesburg City Council went to see the Minister of Native Affairs during the 1952 parliamentary session.[21] The Government needed the land without which the people could not be relocated, whilst the City Council needed money to deal with its enormous housing backlog.

In June 1952 an ad hoc committee was appointed by the Johannesburg City Council to work out a detailed plan with the Minister's representatives.[22] In October 1952 a full Council debate took place, and the removal plan was adopted, in principle, on condition that there would be adequate compensation, and that the removal scheme should not interfere with the city's housing programme. The Council reaffirmed the desirability of retaining freehold tenure in the new townships.[23] The purchase of land at Meadowlands by the Department of Native Affairs in February 1953 ensured that the plan was irreversible.[24] On 29th July 1953 Dr. Verwoerd announced the appointment of an interim board that included four City Councillors, three of whom, Messrs Gordon, Page and Hurd, had been members of the ad hoc committee, while the fourth was leader

19. CPSA Archive, AB 707, SACI papers, South Africa House information sheet op. cit. p. 2.
20. House of Assembly Debates, 2526/54, 23.3.1954, Minister of Native Affairs.
21. SAIRR, The Western Areas Removal Scheme: Facts and Viewpoints, p. 5, "The relationship of the Johannesburg City Council to the Western Areas" by J. Lewsen.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. FEIT, op. cit., p. 93.

of the Nationalist group in the City Council, Mr van Vuuren.[25] Dr. Verwoerd's reply to the comprehensive set of questions put to him by the United Party's chief spokesman on Native Affairs, Dr. D.L. Smit, showed that the plan had been worked out to the last detail, even if he was deliberately vague on the conditions of the leasehold tenure to be offered. Nor was there mention of freehold rights in the new townships. Thus, by the time the Institute of Race Relations held its conference about the Western Areas on 22nd August 1953, it would seem that the time for talking was past. The refusal of both the Secretary for Native Affairs and the General Purposes Committee of the City Council to send representatives to the Institute's conference bluntly indicated that the official mind had been made up, finally and irrevocably.[26]

Listening to Dr. H.F. Verwoerd's arguments for the Natives' Resettlement Bill in Parliament in 1954 was Mr S.G. Tighy, who as a City Councillor had been the leading advocate of the removal scheme in 1944. In April 1953 he was elected as the United Party's Member of Parliament for Florida, believing that his party still supported the removals. Energetic lobbying against the removal scheme, however, led the United Party to oppose the Government in the debate in 1954 on the Natives' Resettlement Bill, in spite of many in its caucus who had supported the removal scheme over a long period. In a parliamentary question on 21st July 1953 Mr S.G. Tighy and Dr. A.H. Jonker (United Party, Cape Town Gardens) showed that they wanted the removal scheme extended to other so-called "black spots" too, by asking "Will Alexandra Township be included in this scheme; if not, why not ?" To this Dr. Verwoerd had replied:

> Alexandra Township is naturally not included in the Western Areas scheme. The possibility of dealing with other areas such as Alexandra Township will depend on the success of the Western Areas scheme and thus opposition to the carrying out of the scheme or delaying tactics jeopardise speedy and effective action in respect of other areas with similar problems. 27

On 22nd March 1954 Dr. Verwoerd introduced the second reading

25. SAIRR, The Western Areas Removal Scheme: Facts and Viewpoints, op. cit., p. 5, article by J. Lewsen loc. cit.
26. Ibid., foreword by Bishop Reeves.
27. Ibid., p. 11.

debate of the Natives' Resettlement Bill. He paid tribute to Mr G.B. Gordon, the late United Party leader of the Johannesburg City Council, who had died recently:

> Unafraid and with the deepest convictions in his heart, he co-operated right throughout all the various stages until his death, and his demise fills one with great sadness because that, I think, was one of the factors which prevented the further necessary and desirable co-operation.[28]

Trevor Huddleston described the change of heart in the City Council somewhat differently:

> After a great deal of shilly shally the Council announced that it would not co-operate with the Government. 29

The decision of the City Council was by then irrelevant, for the Natives' Resettlement Act effectively removed the matter from its jurisdiction. Now that the land at Meadowlands had been bought by the Department of Native Affairs, and the Government had itself assumed responsibility for the Western Areas removal scheme, Dr. Verwoerd made sure that his will could not be thwarted even by the non-co-operation of the Johannesburg City Council. The Rand Daily Mail aptly described the intention of the Natives' Resettlement Act:

> First he [Dr. Verwoerd] will instruct the Johannesburg City Council as to what it must do. Second it would create a board of nine members to deal with the Council.
>
> If the Council fails or refuses to carry out Dr. Verwoerd's instructions, the board will do so and debit Johannesburg with the bill. 30

This was correct except in one detail. It was the Government that would foot the bill, even if it was in reality Johannesburg that would ultimately bear the cost of African bitterness engendered by the injustice of it all.

SOPHIATOWN 1903-1943.

At the end of the Anglo-Boer War, in November 1902, the then Superior of the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield

28. House of Assembly Debates, 2516/54, 23.3.1954, Minister of Native Affairs.
29. HUDDLESTON, op. cit., p. 140.
30. Rand Daily Mail, 5.3.1954, cited by Dr. Verwoerd in the debate on the Natives' Resettlement Bill, House of Assembly Debates 2515-6/54, 23.3.1954, Minister of Native Affairs.

in Yorkshire, Father Walter Frere, received an urgent telegram for help from Bishop W.M. Carter, the second Bishop of Pretoria.[31] At about the same time as the first party from Mirfield came to South Africa in 1903, a Pole named Tobiansky bought a large tract of land four miles to the south-west of the centre of Johannesburg, with the idea of setting it out as a white township. He named it after his wife Sophia, and called the streets after his children. However, the City Council decided to establish a sewage disposal depot nearby, and this made it unattractive to whites. The municipality then built 3000 houses for Africans on land adjacent to Sophiatown, calling it the Western Native Township, and Mr Tobiansky found a ready sale for his land.[32] To Africans, Coloured people, Indians and Chinese, the great advantage of Sophiatown was that, however minimal the services offered, the people possessed freehold title to the land. So there grew up in Sophiatown a lively mixed dormitory suburb of Johannesburg. Father Osmund Victor C.R. described in 1931 how almost nothing was being done for the people who came in ever greater numbers to find work. "They had to live in slum dwellings, with no water supply and no recreational facilities".[33]

It was to this community that Dorothy Maud came in 1926, at the invitation of Fr. Wilfrid Parker, then Priest-in-Charge of St. Cyprian's in the city, and who became Bishop of Pretoria in 1933. On the ridge near the "Native" priest's house she established Ekutuleni, "The House of Peace" in 1928. She explained the object of Ekutuleni to Synod in 1930 thus:

> The house and clubroom were built in the hope that they might become a place of peace-making, where white and black, black and coloured, and people from the many varying Bantu tribes might learn together how to be happy and serve the world - without which there can be no peace. 34

At that time the pastoral work in Sophiatown was under the care of the Priest-in-Charge of St. Cyprian's. Wilfrid Parker had secured land for expansion, and the people worshipped in a

31. THOMPSON, Doris, Priest and Pioneer, a memoir of Osmund Victor, C.R., London: Faith Press 1958, p. 1.
32. PATON, Alan, Apartheid and the Archbishop, op. cit., p. 132.
33. St Peter's Paper, (published by SPG) No. 9, December 1931, "Ekutuleni and the Rand" by Fr. Victor C.R., p. 10.
34. CPSA Archive AB 396f, "Ekutuleni - the House of Peace. The Ways of the House - 1928" by Dorothy Maud, p. 1.

temporary wood and iron structure called St. Mary Magdalene's.[35] Dorothy Maud was soon joined by Clare Lawrence, Margaret Leeke and Peggy Knight. Born of upper-middle-class English society, they were at ease in the drawing-rooms of the wealthy in the Northern Suburbs of Johannesburg, and quickly proved themselves adept in enlisting the goodwill of the City Council. The Report of Ekutuleni to Synod in November 1930 noted gratefully that

> .... the municipality have fallen in with repeated requests, and Sophiatown can now get clean water from five different stand pipes, and electric light removes from Johannesburg a very black spot. 36

With 900 children at St. Cyprian's School next door, she explained, "Ekutuleni was a House of Peacemaking rather than a House of Peace", since

> Quietness can hardly be the note that is struck, when all about hundreds of children are making merry; and the peace-making that is attempted there is of the active rather than the passive type. 37

Soon after his arrival as Bishop of Johannesburg in 1934, Geoffrey Clayton asked the Community of the Resurrection to take over the African work in Sophiatown from St. Cyprian's.[38] By then Dorothy Maud had also succeeded in establishing a fully fledged hospital there, to be named after Princess Alice of Athlone.[39] In 1934, when Father Raymond Raynes was appointed the first Priest-in-Charge (with Fr. Downton and Fr. Trelawny-Ross), he established the Priory of Christ the King. From this base the C.R. became responsible for the "Native work" in the growing southern and western areas of Johannesburg, also taking Orlando under their care in 1935.[40] The new Church of Christ the King was built on the ridge and dedicated in 1935, with its well-proportioned spire and clock tower donated by a retired businessman, Mr Smith. Among Mr Smith's many benefactions was a swimming-pool, and funds for the expansion of St. Cyprian's School. Another valuable

35. The Mission Field, January 1930, p. 8, XXXV, "St. Cyprian's Mission Johannesburg" by Wilfrid Parker.
36. CPSA Archive AB 396f, Report of Ekutuleni to Synod, November 1930.
37. Ibid.
38. CPSA Archive AB 718, WINTER, Alban, Till Darkness Fell (1962), Unpublished history of the Community of the Resurrection's work in South Africa 1903-1953, p. 92.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid., p. 96, cf. C.R. Review, No. 225, Lady Day 1959, pp. 20-24, "C.R. in Orlando 1939-1959" by Fr. Claude Lunniss C.R.

development was a Nursery School that also served as a training centre for pre-primary teachers.[41] The work burgeoned, and Ramond Raynes and Dorothy Maud together made a redoubtable team. There were not a few who prophesied that it would be impossible for a religious community of men to work harmoniously with an already established, supremely well-led body of missionary women. As Trevor Huddleston wrote in tribute to Raymond Raynes on his premature death in 1958, their partnership was "a triumphant success", and they made Sophiatown "the most important missionary work in the diocese of Johannesburg".[42]

In 1942 Raymond Raynes was told that his name was the only nomination for the position of Superior of his Community at Mirfield. He went to his Bishop, Clayton, and said that he was an unsuitable person to be Superior, and would he, the Bishop, write to tell them this at Mirfield. Clayton refused, and in January 1943 Raynes was duly elected.[43] Trevor Huddleston had just completed his novitiate at Mirfield, and was chosen by Raynes to succeed him in Sophiatown.

TREVOR HUDDLESTON.

Huddleston was only twenty-nine. After reading history at Oxford he had attended Wells Theological College. His only parish experience had been as a curate in the railway town of Swindon, before his four-year novitiate at Mirfield. At Oxford he had attended the Anglo-Catholic Summer School of Sociology, and he was an admirer of Basil Jellicoe, the great pioneer of slum clearance in Paddington in the 1930's. Huddleston was also deeply influenced by leading members of the Christendom Group like Maurice Reckitt and Conrad Noel. He recalled how Bishop Frank Weston of Zanzibar had made a deep impression upon the Anglo-Catholic Congress of 1924 by re-directing the Anglo-Catholic movement away from fruitless "controversies over tabernacles and vestments" when he said "Go out and find the poor - this is your

41. CPSA Archive AB 718, WINTER op.cit., pp. 95-6.
42. C.R. Review, No. 223, Michaelmas 1958, p. 9.
43. MOSLEY, The Life of Raymond Raynes, op. cit., p. 122.

job - and identify Christ in the person of his brethren".[44]

At Mirfield these ideas were reinforced for Huddleston by the thinking of Father Neville Figgis and Bishop Gore on church-state relations. Raymond Raynes must have perceived that here was a man, strongly motivated like himself, who was mentally and spiritually equipped for the work which he had just relinquished in Sophiatown. In ten years under Raynes' energetic leadership the work had grown out of all recognition. Huddleston told me

> At the age of twenty-nine, I was put in charge of this vast job. It really was a very big job indeed, virtually the whole of the African work in the Western area of Johannesburg. Four churches, and a very large staff - and I was totally green. 45

Huddleston set sail from Liverpool on 19th July 1943 in the S.S. Themistocles, and reached Cape Town on 6th September.[46] Raynes had been only 31 when he started in Sophiatown in 1934. He wrote to Huddleston as he set out to take up this work,

> The only advice I dare give you is this. Don't change things too quickly .... above all things be unendingly patient with the people - and you will be rewarded with their love and their confidence; and try to be meticulously just - for that is what they look for in the Church and in her priests .... Be fearless and outspoken when and where necessary on their behalf with government and municipal officials .... I am entrusting to you with a glad heart what is very important work of the C.R., and one dearest to my heart. 47

Trevor Huddleston did not have long to wait before being confronted by an issue which required him to take this advice. In 1944 the Johannesburg City Council considered a proposal to expropriate the land owned by Africans in Sophiatown. Huddleston responded by proposing a well-motivated resolution at the 1944 Diocesan Synod deploring the plan, and the City Council dropped the idea, at least for the time being.[48]

When I asked Trevor Huddleston what had been the formative

44. HUDDLESTON, The Right Revd. Trevor, Interview, Stepney, 25.6.1975.
45. Ibid.
46. PATON, Apartheid and the Archbishop, op. cit., p. 128.
47. MOSLEY, op. cit., p. 127.
48. CPSA Archive AB 397, Diocese of Johannesburg, Commission on the Church and the Nation, Continuation Committee Records.

theological influence in his early training, he mentioned the Christendom Group at Oxford, and Bishop Charles Gore and Fr. Neville Figgis at Mirfield, but said nothing of Wells, and added significantly, "and Geoffrey Clayton of course".[49] Only two months after his arrival, on 15th November 1943, the Synod of the Diocese of Johannesburg had met, and adopted the Report of the Bishop's Commission, The Church and the Nation.[50] But, more than anything else, Trevor Huddleston's view of the church's ministry grew out of his experience in Sophiatown. He told me

> My conviction about the church's role in society grew out of my involvement. It was South Africa that created the way I looked at things. 51

Trevor Huddleston had made his mark in the Johannesburg Diocese by the way he had put his resolution to Synod in 1944 on the expropriation proposals for Sophiatown. He played an active part in the work of the Continuation Committee of the Church and Nation Commission, and in 1946 he was a prime mover in organizing a deputation, led by Bishop Clayton, to the Non-European Affairs Department of the Johannesburg City Council on the subject of African housing.[52] In 1946 Trevor Huddleston was invited to preach at a crowded civic service in St. Mary's Cathedral, on the occasion of the City of Johannesburg's Diamond Jubilee.[53] Unlike most of his audience, he had lived in Sophiatown for three years, and he preached with an authority that compelled attention. His text, Luke 19;42, was chosen to drive home the ignorance of "white" Johannesburg of the circumstances of black people in the same city: "If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace ! But now they are hid from thine eyes". He applied this text with telling effect:

> We stand in the valley of decision in this our jubilee year, and - it cannot be said too strongly - upon our decision will depend all the things which belong unto our peace in the years to come. For the story of Johannesburg is the story not of one city, but of two - It is a tale of two cities in very truth - the city of Dives who "fares sumptuously every day" and the city of Lazarus "laid at his gate

49. HUDDLESTON, The Right Revd. T., Interview, Stepney, 25.6.1975.
50. PATON, Apartheid and the Archbishop, op. cit., p. 119, and Appendix "A", p. 1108-16.
51. HUDDLESTON, Interview, loc. cit.
52. CPSA Archive AB 397, Diocese of Johannesburg, Church and Nation Commission, Records 1941-1950.
53. C.R. Review, No. 176, Christmas 1946, p. 15.

> full of sores" - the city of the European built upon the perilous foundations of gold - and the city of the African, not so much built as allowed to grow, until in size of population it has outstripped the other .... How are these two cities to live together; to work together in peace ? 54

He was, however, careful not to make this a direct indictment of the City Council or of the Government. "It is our problem, our personal responsibility, our own attitude which matters supremely - as it is also our peace which is at stake".

> What city in the world can claim to have created such appalling slum conditions in so short a time ? To say that these conditions - the stinking backyards of Sophiatown and Alexandra township; the breeze block shelters of Orlando; the shanties of Jabavu - are the inevitable outcome of the drift from country to town, or the result of world shortages in building materials, is only half the truth. These are the result of a criminal - a sinful - lack of vision in the years that are past .... These slums as Father Basil Jellicoe used to say of the slums of London, are but the outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual disgrace - the disgrace not of the City Councils of Johannesburg, but of its citizens who either did not know or did not care to know the truth. But they are more, they are the sacrament of the physical frustration of the African people, for even now, whilst we use the bodily strength and skill of the African every day in the shops and factories and gardens of our city, we will not let him use them to build his own home. 55

Besides physical frustration, Huddleston also emphasized how the African also experienced a frustration of the intellect. With only one African child in four in school, even those who in increasing numbers qualified in Secondary Schools could not find suitable employment. "What professions are open to them ?" he asked. Besides the African's physical and intellectual frustration, there was the "frustration of the spirit .... He longs most of all for freedom".

> The most important step is to give the African a real share in local government .... Social services and recreational facilities, much needed as they are in every field are of secondary importance. They cannot take the place of the primary need for a true measure of political freedom. 56

It was useless to have a vocational school for Africans "if at the end of their training there is no vocation for them to fulfil".

54. Ibid., p. 16. 55. Ibid., p. 17.
56. Ibid., pp. 18-19.

He called for "a drastic revision of the pass laws", and this revision had to be "so complete and revolutionary that it removes once and for all the cruel discrimination between white and black". He drew attention to the "disrepute into which our courts of law have fallen because all distinction as to the gravity of crime is blurred by indiscriminate arrest and imprisonment for technical offences against these laws". He referred to the Atlantic Charter, "so strongly advocated by our own Prime Minister", and asked, "the African knows about these principles but where does he find them put into practice ?"[57]

THE ISSUE OF AFRICAN HOUSING 1946-1951.

What was to be done about all this ? It was obvious that immediate priority had to be given to African housing. Squatting at Orlando prompted Fr. Huddleston to ask Bishop Clayton to lead a deputation to the Non-European Affairs Committee of the Johannesburg City Council in April 1946.[58] They advocated direct representation for urban Africans on the City Council, since the Advisory Boards had not functioned satisfactorily. The idea that "the urban native was only a temporary phenomenon" had to change. The City Council's dilemma in dealing with shanty towns and squatter camps was that it wished to build "decent houses". Referring to the erection of temporary breeze block shelters to relieve the squatter problem, the Bishop was asked, "Was temporary housing to be built at the expense of something more definite and permanent ?" Clayton thought that the Council should go on with its "decent housing" schemes, if, as was suggested, the only alternative was the abandonment of model building and the indiscriminate erection of thousands of breeze block shelters. With regard to conditions at Orlando, "It was very deplorable if conditions at Orlando for the moment and for the next year or two were unsatisfactory; but it was better for them to remain unsatisfactory for the moment than to face the prospect of never having any more decent houses". Asked whether the squatter camp should remain

57. Ibid., pp. 20-21.
58. CPSA Archive AB 397, Diocese of Johannesburg Church and Nation Commission records 1941-1950. "Deputation: Bishop and Clergy, Anglican Church, 17.4.1946", Mimeo 4 pp.

in existence until proper houses were built, or whether they thought that breeze block shelters should be provided to give temporary shelter in the mean time, Bishop Clayton said that he would prefer breeze block shelters, provided that this did not appreciably delay the building of decent homes. The deputation was thanked for the "informative" and "helpful" way in which they had presented their views.[59] As Dr. Sheila van der Horst observed in 1957,

> It took the growth of these squatter camps where Africans were forced to make shift to house themselves illegally, to drive home the failure to keep pace with the growth of the urban population. 60

No longer preoccupied by the war, although still having to contend with serious shortages of building materials, Field Marshal Smuts' Government and the United Party controlled Johannesburg City Council now seemed determined to tackle the problem with vigour. 1947 saw a dramatic improvement in the city's house-building programme for Africans, which, if it had been sustained, could have eliminated the housing backlog by 1953. This was estimated as 50 000 homes in 1952 by the Johannesburg Citizens' Native Housing Committee. The table and graph below, taken from their publication A Place to Live, gives a vivid picture of the extent of Johannesburg's African housing problem at the time.

Estimate of Houses required:

for the people of Moroka	11 000
for the people of the Breeze Block Shelters ...	6 800
for the slum dwellers of the Western areas	14 000
for families at present sharing houses in other Native Townships	6 500
for those in the Pimville tanks, etc.	5 000
for Native slum dwellers in Vrededorp	1 000
for people at present living in backyards in European townships	6 000

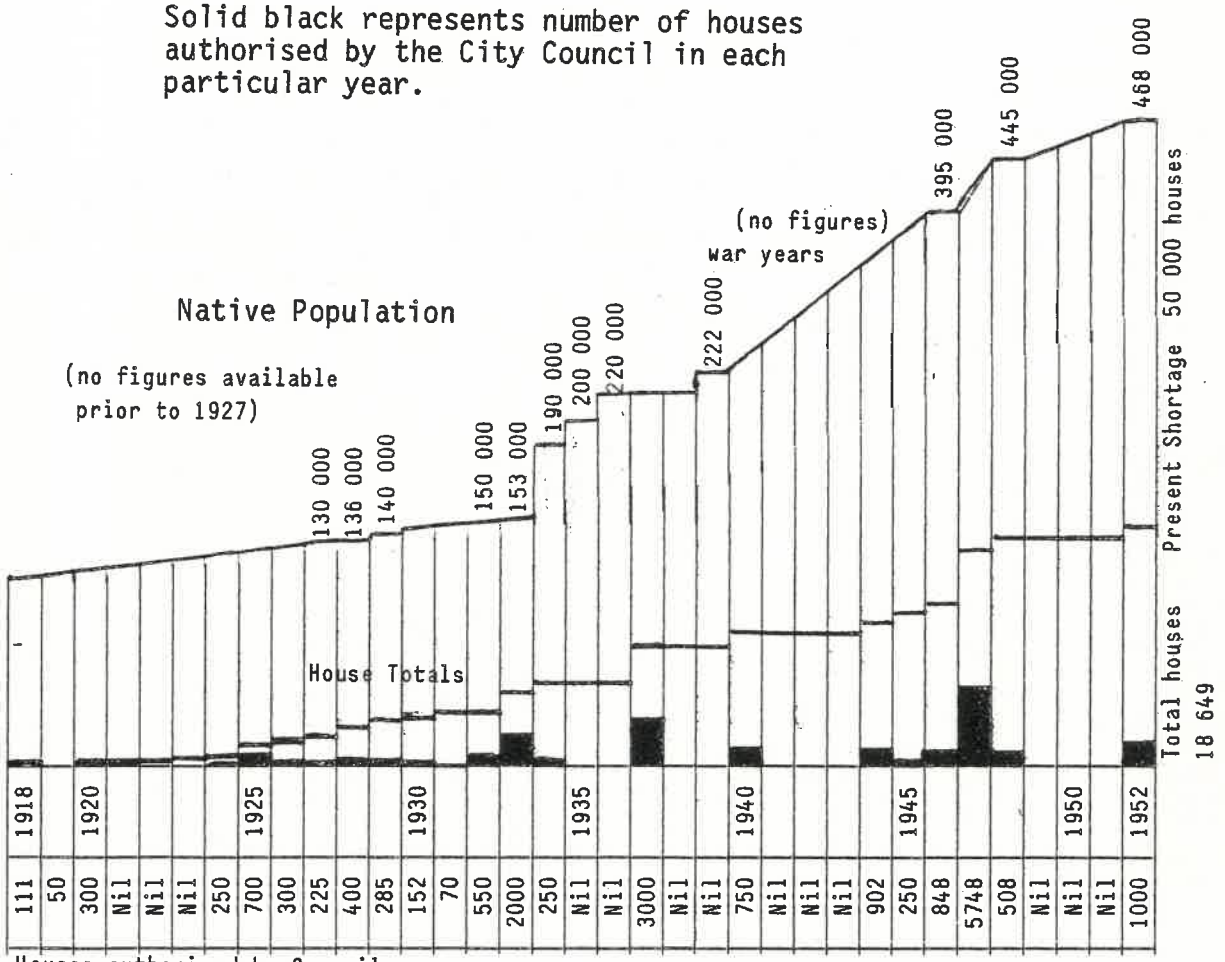
THE TOTAL PRESENT REQUIREMENTS ARE THUS 50 000 HOUSES. [61]

59. Ibid., pp. 3 and 4.
60. CPSA Archive AB 964f, Multi-Racial Conference of South Africa, held in the Great Hall of the University of the Witwatersrand, December 1957, "Economic rights and Duties in a Multi-Racial Society" by Sheila van der Horst.
61. JOHANNESBURG CITIZENS' NATIVE HOUSING COMMITTEE, A Place to Live, Johannesburg: Manne & McCann 1953, p. 24.

JOHANNESBURG'S NATIVE
HOUSE BUILDING RECORD
TO END OF 1952.

Graph of increasing Native population compared with progressive total number of houses.

Solid black represents number of houses authorised by the City Council in each particular year.



62

The spirit of co-operation which animated these discussions between the diocese and the municipality was also reflected in the attitude of the Government towards the problem of African housing. In January 1948 Field Marshal Smuts denounced the compound system as "inhuman", and declared that

> .... conditions should be created for housing natives in urban areas that will enable them to live like human beings.[63]

The Fagan Commission proposals recognized that urban Africans

62. Ibid., p. 25.
63. S.P.G. Magazine, January 1948, "Economic Liberty for Africa".

must be regarded as permanent residents in the cities.[64] Given the financial support of the central government, and provided that the impetus was sustained, it therefore seemed well within the capacity of the Johannesburg City Council to have brought the situation fully under control by the end of the next parliament.

The change of government in 1948, however, brought the city's African housing programme to a standstill. When the Synod of the Diocese of Johannesburg next asked its Bishop to lead a deputation to the City Council on the subject of African housing five years had elapsed since Bishop Clayton had seen the Non-European Affairs Department in 1946. On 25th November 1951 Bishop Reeves led a Synod deputation to see the Mayor, Councillor Atwell. On this occasion Bishop Reeves could cite as an "undisputed fact" that "no new contract for native houses has been placed since July 1948".[65] Instead the period 1949-1951 had been occupied in negotiations between the Minister of Native Affairs and the ad hoc group of Johannesburg City Councillors led by the Chairman of the city's Finance Committee, Councillor G.B. Gordon.[66] The object of these negotiations was the expropriation of Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare, and the removal of the whole population to a windswept tract of veld seven miles further from the city, to be called "Meadowlands".

In June 1950 African Ratepayers' Associations were invited by Councillor I.E.B. Atwell, the then Chairman of the Non-European Affairs Committee, and Mr W.J.P. Carr, Acting Manager of the city's Non-European Affairs Department, to co-operate in carrying out a survey "to facilitate relieving overcrowding and the removal of slum conditions in these areas".[67] The Group Areas Bill was being debated in Parliament at the time, and this aroused suspicions that there was some other hidden motive behind the survey.

64. UG 28-1948, Report of the Native Laws Commission (Department of Native Affairs) p. 49, para. 65 (3): "We therefore have to accept the fact that there is a permanent urban Native population".
65. CPSA Archive, AB 388 Reeves papers, "Native Housing" (mimeo, 4 pp.) memorandum presented by the Synod Deputation to the Mayor of Johannesburg, 28.11.1951, p. 3.
66. House of Assembly Debates, 2516/54, 23.3.1954, Minister of Native Affairs. See above, p. 686.
67. Wits. Archive, Ballinger Papers A 410 E 2.47, Memorandum to the City Council of Johannesburg on the Non-European Western Areas Removal Scheme by the African Anti-Expropriation Ratepayers' Association and Proper Housing Movement, by Dr. A.B. Xuma, 1952, p. 5.

Councillor Atwell, however, gave the assurance that "this scheme is not tied up in any way with the Group Areas Bill", and Mr Carr said that his department had engaged staff and prepared plans for the survey long before they heard of the Group Areas Bill.[68] Nevertheless, a report in the Rand Daily Mail of 13th June 1950 stated:

> The survey is part of the Council's £ 10 million scheme to remove all Natives from Western Native township, Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare to the Orlando/Pimville Area. In all, according to statistics twelve months old 20 300 families or about 100 000 Natives will have to be moved. 69

On 2nd June 1950, when trying to induce African representatives to support the survey, Councillor Atwell was recorded as saying

> The Western Areas Scheme can be forgotten at present. The survey is being undertaken at the request of the Government in order to give a clear picture of what has to be done for the African people. Until we have given the African people decent homes we cannot expect happy and safer living conditions and the lessening of crime. I hope we will have your co-operation in this survey. The better the information the better the idea the Council will have to plan for the future needs of the people. The Council had a meeting with the Minister of Native Affairs, but they did not plan the removal of the Natives from the Western Areas. There are still sufficient men in the City Council sympathetic to the Africans to give them a square deal. The City Council did not tie itself down to the Government at the meeting. We shall not proceed until we have consulted the people again. 70

Dr. A.B. Xuma, former President General of the African National Congress, and now the Chairman of the "African Anti-Expropriation Ratepayers' Association and Proper Housing Movement", considered that the City Council shared full responsibility with the Government for the development of the scheme.[71] The survey, however, provided valuable data to support arguments for the renovation, rather than the re-location of Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare.[72] Councillor Atwell's arguments in 1950, together with the fact that it was to Councillor Atwell, by then Mayor, that Bishop Reeves

68. Ibid.
69. Rand Daily Mail, 13.6.1950.
70. Wits. Archive Ballinger papers A 410, E 2.47 loc. cit., Memorandum by Dr. Xuma, p. 5.
71. Ibid.
72. SAIRR, The Western Areas Removal Scheme: Facts and Viewpoints, op. cit., pp 6-8.

chose to address his remarks in 1951, suggests that there was a power struggle within the City Council between 1949 and 1951 over the proposed removals. As the statistics clearly show, this resulted in a total paralysis of the city's African house-building programme. Eventually the Johannesburg City Council saw that until the matter was resolved in the Government's favour there would be no prospect of funds for African housing. Their plans had to conform to the Nationalist Government's Group Areas policy. Shortage of finance, which was the alleged reason for the Government's inaction over African housing, suddenly ceased to be a problem after 1952. The Government readily agreed to finance the Western Areas removal scheme itself, quite separately from the city's own programme to make up its housing backlog.

THE JOHANNESBURG CITIZENS' NATIVE HOUSING COMMITTEE.

Against this background of prevarication by the Government and the Johannesburg City Council, it is important to record the patient, constructive and creative role played by the Diocese of Johannesburg, and in particular by Bishop Ambrose Reeves, through the work of the Johannesburg Citizens' Native Housing Committee between 1950 and 1953.

The Johannesburg Citizens' Native Housing Committee was initiated by the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, while Dr. E.G. Jansen was still the Minister of Native Affairs. This group sought and immediately received the enthusiastic support of Bishop Reeves. They proposed that a capital sum of £ 3 million should be obtained as a gilt-edged municipal loan at three-and-three-quarters per cent, to support owner-builders. It was envisaged that each approved applicant would build his own home with materials valued at £ 100, making at the same time a contribution to land and services worth a further £ 100.

> The Native home owner would repay £ 1 per month for ten years when his home would become his sole property. In addition he would pay ten shillings per month for Municipal services. 73

73. CPSA Archive, AB 388 Reeves papers, African Housing. Johannesburg Citizens' Native Housing Committee, draft scheme 1950.

The Town Clerk, City Treasurer, City Engineer, Medical Officer of Health and the Manager of the Non-European Affairs Department, in a memorandum to the Special Housing Committee of the Johannesburg City Council, welcomed the idea. Their report stated that

> .... in view of the difficulties being experienced by the government and the Council in undertaking further housing contracts because of financial restrictions, future schemes should be planned on the "Home Ownership" basis where land and minimum essential services were provided by the Council and approved natives allowed to build their own houses. 74

The Minister, Dr. E.G. Jansen, it was stated, "endorsed this view".[75] Mr A.J. Cutten, describing himself as the Town Planning Consultant of the South African Institute of Race Relations, said

> .... there can be no doubt whatever that this system when established on a sufficiently large scale will create a new era in housing for the African. 76

Bishop Reeves was approached, expressed himself as "most enthusiastic" and circulated copies of the scheme to the clergy of his diocese.[77]

In August 1950 a meeting at the Anglican Church in Orlando greeted the suggestion with considerable interest. Specific questions were asked about security of tenure and property rights, as well as doubts as to the size and quality of building which could be built with only £ 100 worth of materials. Might the builder, they asked, build a larger house if he had resources of his own ? Might the debt be paid off in less than ten years ? The nature of the questions reflected keen interest, and clearly indicated that the question of freehold ownership was crucial to the speakers.[78] A report from the parish of Kensington approved the scheme, but emphasized the need for "very careful supervision of individual native builders", and commented that "inadequate financial provision had been made for the supervision that will be required".[79] Mr V.L. Houreld, a member of the Committee,

74. CPSA Archive loc. cit., Draft Report of the Town Clerk, City Treasurer, City Engineer, Medical Officer of Health and Manager of the Non-European Affairs Department to the Special Housing Committee of the Johannesburg City Council.
75-76. Ibid.
77. The Watchman, July 1950, Bishop's Letter, p. 3.
78. CPSA Archive, AB 388 Reeves papers, African Housing. Johannesburg Citizens' Native Housing Committee Plan for Native Urban Housing. Some comments upon the scheme and questions asked at two meetings of the St. Joseph's Men's Guild, Orlando Township.
79. CPSA Archive, loc. cit., Report from Kensington Parish Council re: Plan for Urban Native Housing.

wrote enthusiastically to Bishop Reeves to tell him that one "Native labourer" had described the Citizens' Committee as a "body of men whose hearts have been touched by the finger of God". He had attended two meetings at Orlando, where an attendance of seventy had indicated keen interest.[80]

A year later, in October 1951, the decision of the Johannesburg City Council to expropriate Africans in the Western Areas was bitterly lamented by Mr R.N. Harvey, Secretary of the Committee, in a letter to the Bishop. "It all seems so illogical when one speaks purely from the practical point of view".[81] The Johannesburg Diocesan Synod of 1951 passed a resolution which said it "viewed with the gravest concern" the decision, and asked the Mayor to meet a deputation to be led by Bishop Reeves. The deputation included Fr. David Rakale of Evaton, Mr S. Lesolang of Orlando, Father Trevor Huddleston and Archdeacon R.P.Y. Rouse.[82] In response to a letter from a well-wisher Bishop Reeves expressed himself as "much encouraged" by the meeting, although he added "we shall need to watch the situation closely".[83] Much of the deputation's prepared memorandum dealt with the need for economic housing schemes, and gave details of a scheme resembling very closely that of the Johannesburg Citizens' Native Housing Committee.[84]

The work of the Johannesburg Citizens' Native Housing Committee was not without success. Early in 1952 they proposed a scheme for self-building at Dube, where sufficient money had already been obtained for 100 houses. In August 1952 this led to an agreement in principle that the Non-European Affairs Committee of the Council should sponsor an application to the National Housing Commission for a loan of £ 227 000, to be used by the Johannesburg Citizens' Native Housing Committee to help 1000 Africans build their own homes in part of Dube township.[85] This succeeded, and the houses came to be known as "the bishop's houses".[86]

80. CPSA Archive, loc. cit., letter L.V. Houreld to Reeves, 4.8.1950.
81. CPSA Archive, loc. cit., letter R.N. Harvey to Reeves, 30.10.1951.
82. CPSA Archive, AB 390 Diocese of Johannesburg, Report of Diocesan Synod, October 1951.
83. CPSA Archive, AB 388, Reeves papers, letter Reeves to a wellwisher, Christmas 1951.
84. CPSA Archive, AB 388, Reeves papers, African Housing, Memorandum of Synod Deputation to the Mayor of Johannesburg, 28.11.1951.
85. Rand Daily Mail, 7.8.1952, "Plans to house 70 000 Natives get green light".
86. REEVES, Ambrose, South Africa Yesterday and Tomorrow, London: Gollancz 1965, p. 146.

The members of the committee, who met regularly at the Bishop's house, included Dr. Ellen Hellmann, J.D. Rheinallt-Jones, F.J. van Wyk, Mrs Helen Suzman M.P., R.N. Harvey (Secretary), Dr. A.B. Xuma and W.B. Ngakane. Efforts to involve the Dutch Reformed Church, however, proved fruitless. Ds. C.B. Brink, Moderator of the N.G.K. (Southern Transvaal) briefed a deputy who then always sent his apologies.[87]

In 1953 the records of the Committee made no further mention of the Dube scheme. Their attention turned to securing the United Party's opposition to the Western Areas removal scheme.

Besides the successful owner-builder scheme in Dube, another constructive achievement of the Committee was the publication of an illustrated booklet, A Place to Live, in January 1953.[88] This did much to rouse the conscience of white Johannesburg before the Western Areas protest campaigns started, besides countering some of the mis-information being supplied by the Non-European Affairs Department of the City Council at the time. The Department's glossy brochure published in 1951 depicted how much it was doing to house "the half million Natives populating the City [who] are from the rural areas where within living memory they lived as savages".[89] This publication also boasted that 3927 families were accomodated in the year ended 30th June 1950. With the black population estimated at just over half a million, the total number of council houses in 1951 was still only 16 518, which was only sufficient to accomodate the population of Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare.[90] The Department's brochure, however, presented a picture of "health happiness and education" for the "Native", "once he has left his traditional hut and lazy agricultural life".[91] Jack Cutten and Richard Harvey, the Secretary, deservedly received Bishop Reeves' praise for their work in publishing A Place to Live, which portrayed a very different picture of conditions in the African areas of Johannesburg.[92]

87. CPSA Archive AB 388, Reeves papers, African Housing, records of the Johannesburg Citizens' Native Housing Committee.
88. JOHANNESBURG CITIZENS' NATIVE HOUSING COMMITTEE, A Place to Live, op. cit.
89. CPSA Archive AB 388, Reeves papers, African Housing, Illustrated brochure on Native Housing published by the Johannesburg City Council's Non-European Affairs Department, 1951. Foreword by M.E. Bothner, Chairman of the Non-European Affairs Department, p. 1.
90. Ibid., p. 2. 91. Ibid., p. 12.
92. REEVES, South Africa Yesterday and Tomorrow, op. cit., pp. 145-6.

Bishop Reeves' enthusiastic participation in the activities of the Johannesburg Citizens' Native Housing Committee provides a vivid illustration of how he was still ready to co-operate with the authorities until the beginning of 1953. The records of the Johannesburg Citizens' Native Housing Committee preseved among Bishop Reeves' papers indicate a gradual change of attitude from a policy of creative engagement to protest. From early in 1953 the Committee's attention turned from promoting schemes like the one for owner-builders at Dube to protests against the Western Areas removal scheme.

On 29th January 1953 Jack Cutten addressed the Independent Cultural Association in Johannesburg on the unwritten assumptions behind current policy on "Native Housing".[93] He noted that Pimville had been established in 1904 at the time of an outbreak of smallpox in the city. This led "the Europeans to move the Natives as far away as they could". In 1914 a commission called to investigate the prevalence of tuberculosis amongst Africans had reported "the majority of urban locations are a menance to their inhabitants and indirectly to the health of the Europeans in the neighbouring towns". Pointing out that white fear of black people was at the root of the problem, Mr Cutten noted that the Native Urban Areas Act of 1945 decreed that African locations should be owned by the European municipalities "so that we can at will eject the inhabitants and also perhaps, should we wish it, even shift the whole location". He concluded by arguing that the time had come for Africans to enjoy "some security in his place of residence, even on a long leasehold basis".[94]

On 16th March 1953 Bishop Reeves opened an exhibition about African Housing, at which Mr Cutten's contentions were vividly illustrated and the committee's publication A Place to Live was extensively distributed.[95] Leading members of the committee like A.J. Cutten, R.N. Harvey and J. Lewsen, who were also active in the affairs of the United Party on the Witwatersrand, felt

93. CPSA Archive AB 388, Reeves papers, African Housing, Address on Native Housing by Councillor A.J. Cutten, 29.1.1953.
94. Ibid.
95. JOHANNESBURG CITIZENS' NATIVE HOUSING COMMITTEE, A Place to Live, op. cit.

deeply concerned by the support being given to the removals by the United Party. In a letter to Bishop Reeves, Advocate Lewsen said of a recent meeting with the leaders of the Witwatersrand General Council of the United Party in 1953,

> You will see from the contents of the letter [to the Chairman of the Witwatersrand United Party Council] that while we reserve our right to further oppose the removal of Africans from the Western Areas we implicitly acknowledge that our standpoint is in conflict with set United Party policy. 96

In 1954 the Committee turned its attention to changing the United Party's stance. Bishop Reeves persuaded Mr John Cope, M.P., to raise the matter with Mr J.G.N. Strauss, leader of the opposition, in order to ensure that the United Party should oppose the Natives' Resettlement Bill, and, secondly, to persuade the leader of the United Party caucus in the Johannesburg City Council not to have anything to do with the Government's removal scheme.[97] On 23rd March 1954 two members of the Committee, Dr. A.B. Xuma and Advocate Lewsen, addressed a meeting at the St. George's Hall, Parktown, at which the two sitting Councillors, Wilson and Fleming, were to be challenged to state their views. Similar protest committees were organized in other suburbs, and Fr. George Sidebotham wrote to Anglican clergy to ask their congregations to support such meetings and lobby their city councillors.[98] On 24th May 1954 Bishop Reeves and other leading citizens sent an open letter to the Mayor of Johannesburg, urging that the city should refuse to have anything to do with the implementation of the removal scheme.

> If the city refuses to be a party to the implementation of the scheme, the responsibility for it will rest unequivocally on those who have decreed it, and the difficulty of carrying it out without the assistance of the council may persuade the Minister to adopt wiser and more just measures. 99

Bishop Reeves followed this up by leading a deputation to see Mr Thorburn, the Mayor of Johannesburg, who was also the leader of the United Party causus in the City Council. Bishop Reeves' notes on a postcard in his minute hand-writing give the gist of

96. CPSA Archive AB 388, Reeves papers, African Housing, letter Lewsen to Reeves 1953.
97. CPSA Archive loc. cit., records of the Johannesburg Citizens' Native Housing Committee.
98. Ibid.
99. CPSA Archive loc. cit., open letter signed Reeves to Mayor of Johannesburg 24.5.1954.

what he said:

> While we are glad that the caucus of the majority group in the City Council has decided to have nothing to do with the scheme as contained in the Natives Resettlement Bill we are anxious that the City Council should maintain this firm line and we would appeal to you Mr Mayor to use the considerable influence you have in this direction 100

Reeves was, in effect, asking the City Council to resist the Government by refusing their co-operation. The crucial decision had, however, already been taken in October 1952. Nothing daunted, Jack Cutten, now himself a City Councillor, placed a resolution before the full City Council on 19th November 1953.[101] This had already been described in advance of the meeting by the Rand Daily Mail as the "voice of conscience", in an editorial designed to persuade City Councillors that they sould have an "uneasy conscience" about the removals.[102] Cutten proposed that all previous resolutions on the subject be rescinded, and that instead the provisions of the Slums Act be strictly applied to Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare; that the rate of demolitions be regulated by the availability of housing to be provided in an accelerated five-year housing programme. The resolution also revived an idea that had been put forward by Michael Scott in 1946, suggesting the creation of a public utility company to manage the purchase and sale of land, and the financing and construction of buildings,"and to assist the owners who experience financial difficulty".[103] It was, however, too late, and Cutten's resolution was not accepted.

During the first half of 1954 Bishop Reeves was still employing moderate means of persuasion and protest in induce the Johannesburg City Council and the United Party to change course. This campaign, though successful in persuading the U.P. to vote against the Natives Resettlement Bill in March 1954, proved fruitless because it came too late to prevent the sale of land at Meadowlands to the Department of Native Affairs in February 1953. It has been noted in earlier chapters on the Defiance Campaign how Trevor Huddleston changed his stance from protest to resistance between February and June 1953, because of the United Party's support of Mr C.R. Swart's bills in January

100. CPSA Archive, loc. cit., notes taken by Reeves at a meeting with the Mayor, 1954.
101. CPSA Archive loc. cit., Agenda of the 812nd Ordinary Meeting of the Johannesburg City Council, 19.11.1953, p. 5, Notice of Motion by Cllr. A.J. Cutten.
102. Rand Daily Mail, 27.10.1953.
103. CPSA Archive AB 397, Commission on the Church and the Nation. Extracts from a Memorandum by Michael Scott, "A Voluntary Housing Corporation for Johannesburg".

1953 coupled with the manner of Yusuf Cachalia's arrest at the opening meeting of the Western Areas Protest Campaign on 28th June 1953.[104] It has also been seen in previous chapters on Bantu Education how Bishop Reeves, influenced by Huddleston's earlier decision, himself adopted a stance of resistance in his opposition to Bantu Education at the Umtata meeting of Episcopal Synod on 15th November 1954.[105] By the time of the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Evanston, Bishop Reeves was already following Huddleston's example by taking every opportunity to speak against the evils of apartheid overseas during his extended visit to the United States between June and September 1954.[106] During his furlough in England between January and May 1955 Bishop Reeves spoke eloquently and often, not only about his refusal to hand over the missions schools in his diocese, but more frequently about the iniquity of the Western Areas removal scheme.[107] By 1955 Huddleston and Reeves were agreed that protests were not enough and apartheid had to be resisted by every possible means.

HUDDLESTON AND NEWCLARE : HIS THEOLOGY OF IDENTIFICATION.

Reeves' initial approach of constructive engagement with the authorities differed from that of Trevor Huddleston. As a parish priest in Sophiatown, Huddleston had identified himself totally with the plight of his parishioners. Many were poor. All were politically oppressed. In November 1948 Huddleston had attended a court hearing where Africans in quick succession were being fined for erecting shacks on their property to house homeless people. After the third man had been summarily fined, Huddleston stood up and asked the Magistrate if he could speak, saying,

> The situation in regard to Native housing your Worship is such that these people cannot find anywhere to stay. A grave injustice is being perpetrated. 108

Whereupon the Magistrate told him he had no standing in the Court

104. See above, Chapter Eight pp. 431-2, Chapter Nine pp. 480-5.
105. See above, Chapter Eleven, pp. 596-602.
106. CPSA Archive AB 388, Reeves papers, Minneapolis/Evanston File 1954, Extract from a sermon preached in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York, September 1954.
107. See above, Chapter Eleven, p. 615.
108. The Star, 10.11.1948, "Clergyman in City Court scene".

and that he declined to hear him. Huddleston replied that he declined to sit down, so the Magistrate adjourned the court. The Star reported that "the balance of the cases were then disposed of and in each case a fine of £3 was imposed and orders for the vacating ofthe premises was made".[109]

This incident illustrates how Huddleston identified with the poor and the oppressed, and his approaches to the authorities were often to reprove or rebuke them. Huddleston's theology of identification was vividly expressed in practice by his intervention on behalf of the people of Newclare.

In February 1950 there had been rioting in Newclare. Indian shops were set on fire and looted. The Minister of Justice, Mr C.R. Swart, ordered strong police action, and there were clashes in which some Africans were killed.[110] It looked like a dangerous repetition of the Durban riots of 1949 and the Government appointed a commission of enquiry. Father S.M. Trelawney-Ross C.R., giving evidence to the Native Riots Commission, said that "the mere sight of a policeman in Newclare today is like a stick in a bees' nest". Trevor Huddleston testified to the lack of recreational and other facilities, and said he considered it was the frustration of educated young Africans that was the immediate cause of the riots.[111] Quintin Whyte considered that to attribute the causes of the Newclare and other riots to a few "agitators" or to "lawless elements" ignored "a grave social situation". He pointed out that the "most important of the immediate causes of friction is the attitude of the police towards Africans".[112] Bishop Reeves held an urgent conference with Anglican clergy there, and also drew up a statement for the Native Riots Commission. It is interesting that he told Dr. Visser 'tHooft in Geneva

> We are trying constantly to do what we can in various ways to bring the influence of the Church to bear constructively on this situation. 113

109. Ibid.
110. HUDDLESTON, T., Naught for your Comfort, op. cit., p. 77.
111. The Star, 27.2.1950, "Anglican priest gives evidence on causes of Newclare riots".
112. Jewish Affairs, March 1950, "Behind the riots" by Quintin Whyte.
113. CPSA Archive AB 388, Reeves papers, letter Reeves to Visser 'tHooft, 23.2.1950.

Further rioting erupted in Newclare in 1952, and it is significant to study what Trevor Huddleston did. Newclare was situated adjacent to Sophiatown, and separated from it by the main road from Johannesburg to Roodepoort and Krugersdorp, along which white commuters drove daily into the city. Newclare North was separated from Newclare South by a railway line and linked by a footbridge. The "Non-Europeans" side was always busy and congested. The "Europeans only" pathway was hardly used at all.

A Basuto gang calling itself "The Russians" terrorized the people in Newclare South.

> If you refused to be protected you were threatened: if you refused to yield to threats, you were attacked: attacked coming home in the twilight from work. 114

To protect themselves the people of Newclare North formed a "civil guard" who patrolled north of the bridge and achieved a measure of safety for the people there. At the week-ends "The Russians" were out in force and made deliberate raids over the bridge into Newclare North, which resulted in bloody clashes.

In March 1952 there was a flare-up of violence one evening in which eleven were killed and 95 injured.[115] To defuse the situation the Civil Guard was declared illegal and the police were given instructions to disarm them. Within a short time conditions in Newclare South were so bad under a new reign of terror established by "The Russians" that people began to move out. They built shacks and shelters on a vacant plot of ground the size of a football field, known as Reno Square. These shacks soon overflowed on to a large piece of open space known as Charles Phillips Square, which had a public lavatory in one corner. On 2nd July 1952 the City Council and the police conferred, and decided to evict the squatters to Hammanskraal, fifty miles north of Pretoria.[116] Father Huddleston intervened, and explained the situation to the Mayor, who in turn asked him to see what he could do to persuade the people to return to their homes, whilst the Native Affairs Department attempted to persuade the Basutoland Government to deport "The Russians". Instead Huddleston went

114. HUDDLESTON, op. cit., p. 78.
115. Ibid., pp. 77-78. 116. Ibid., p. 79.

to Pretoria and spoke to the Chief Secretary in the Basutoland High Commissioner's Office, who told him of the request that had been made, and his reply.

> We told them, nothing doing. If they want to deal with criminals on their own territory it is for them to make the first move and not us. 117

The City Council then applied to the Magistrate for an eviction order under the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act. The squatters' leader, Dhlamini, had instructed an attorney, whom Huddleston hurriedly contacted. A six months' postponment of the eviction order was granted, in order to allow the local authority and the Government to deal with "The Russians", so that law and order could be restored in Newclare South and the people could return to their houses. Huddleston described the situation:

> The authorities took no action. Newclare, in effect became organized into two armed camps, with a bridge in between which was the scene of fighting over the week-ends. The Civil Guard operated round the square where the squatters were. The Russians stayed (occupying the houses vacated by the squatters). 118

Bishop Ambrose Reeves, Dr. J.B. Webb and the Chief Rabbi, L.I. Rabinowitz, issued a joint statement on 5th September, saying they were "gravely disturbed" and "gravely shocked" at the "failure to restore law and order in this area".[119] Bishop Reeves tried, but failed to persuade Ds. C.B. Brink and the Roman Catholic Bishop to sign the same telegram to the Minister of Native Affairs. The Star saw the problem in Newclare as "a clear-cut challenge to law and order and the elementary principles of good government" and rebuked Dr. Verwoerd for speaking "of a vague and grandiose scheme .... which cannot be implemented quickly enough to offer any solution of the present difficulties at Newclare".[120] In the same leading article, entitled "Govern or Resign", Dr. Verwoerd was roundly criticized for having

> .... enunciated the extraordinary principle that no purpose

117. Ibid., p. 80. 118. Ibid., pp. 81-2.

119. CPSA Archive, AB 388, Reeves papers, African Housing. Telegram sent to Minister of Justice and Minister of Native Affairs, 5.10.1952, by Right Revd. R.A. Reeves Bishop of Johannesburg, Dr. J.B. Webb Chairman of Transvaal and Southern District Methodist Church and Professor L.I. Rabinowitz, Chief Rabbi United Hebrew Congregation.

120. The Star, 10.9.1952, Editorial, "Govern or Resign".

> would be served by removing the ringleaders or by meting out punishment to anyone .... Dr. Verwoerd refers to long-range solutions moulded to the Government's ideological patterns in a situation that calls for nothing more revolutionary than the discharge of the ordinary functions of government. 121

Whilst these legal battles dragged on Huddleston concentrated on providing comfort and shelter for the children, in the hall of the Nursery School run by the Community of the Resurrection in Newclare North. White volunteers prepared meals, and the African caretaker and his wife cared for the children. Trevor Huddleston visited them each evening at bed-time.

> I used to spend my evenings bathing the small ones and wrapping them up in their warm blankets. It was a wonderful experience - the gradual unfolding of confidence and trust which it produced: the sense of being expected each evening at bed-time: the grubby hands thrust into mine, and the noisy chatter and laughter. 122

Truly he became a Father to these children, providing a vivid expression of his theology of identification in action.

At the end of the six-month period, however, the Newclare squatters were evicted and taken to Moroka. There they were allocated plots twenty feet square. They joined sixty thousand others from previous squatting movements at Orlando and Tobruk, who had been living there for over five years, and who resented the intrusion of these newcomers. Trevor Huddleston had selflessly identified himself with the plight of the people of Newclare, caring for the children and representing their need for housing to the authorities. The episode illustrates Huddleston's practical compassion as a champion for the poor and the oppressed. Here he was carrying out the injunction of Bishop Frank Weston of Zanzibar, whom he so admired, to "go out and find the poor .... and identify Christ in the person of his brethren".[123]

These events in Newclare during 1952 caused considerable consternation in the adjacent white suburbs and among the people of Krugersdorp and Roodepoort, who travelled through the Western

121. Ibid.
122. HUDDLESTON, op. cit., p. 83.
123. HUDDLESTON, The Right Revd. Trevor, Interview, Stepney, 25.6.1975. See above, pp. 689-690.

Areas townships along the main road, or whose trains passed through Newclare on their way to the city. A petition signed by 7000 European inhabitants of Westdene and Newlands after rioting broke out in Newclare in March 1952 provided proof incontrovertible to Dr. Verwoerd that the Western Areas removal scheme was not only desirable but also an urgent necessity.[124]

J.D. Rheinallt Jones told a friend in England about that crucial debate in the Johannesburg City Council in October 1952:

> I returned to a very grim country .... We have just had a full-dress debate in our City Council in which some of my friends made a very able exposure of their colleagues' failure to adopt any housing scheme at all worth mentioning during the last few years. I went with a large number of others to the public gallery to express support for those councillors who are striving to get something done. The complacency of White people in Africa frightens me for I do not know if many realise how near we are coming to the point where the White man's presence in Africa is in danger.[125]

It was thus this further incidence of rioting at Newclare which precipitated the final decision to proceed with the Western Areas removal scheme. As we have seen, it was during 1952 that the ad hoc committee of Johannesburg City Councillors, led by Mr G.B. Gordon, negotiated with Dr. Verwoerd and a deal was struck. Johannesburg would get money for its housing schemes in return for the land at Meadowlands where the people from the Western Areas would be re-housed.

THE ALTERNATIVE TO EXPROPRIATION.

It could have been otherwise had the Government invoked the Slums Act. Instead they devised the Natives' Resettlement Bill to effect the total and compulsory removal of everyone in Sophiatown, Meadowlands and Newclare, and then portrayed this as a beneficent act of slum clearance.[126] Trevor Huddleston conceded that "strictly in terms of the Slums Act" Sophiatown

124. House of Assembly Debates 2526/54, 23.3.1954, Minister of Native Affairs.
125. Wits. Archive, Rheinallt Jones papers, letter Rheinallt Jones to T.H. Clayton, 31.10.1952.
126. STEWARD, Alexander, You are wrong, Father Huddleston, Cape Town: Howard Timmins 1956, photographs facing p. 5.

was a slum. "The density of the population is about twice what it should be, 70,000 instead of 30,000".[127] What official spokesmen were unwilling to acknowledge, however, was that the overcrowding in Sophiatown was due not to unscrupulous landlords, but to the desperate shortage of housing.[128] In 1953 Mr A.J. Cutten calculated that the townships of Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare could properly accommodate 33 000 people or 6 600 families.[129] The survey in 1950 had classified £ 152 750 worth of buildings as major slums which ought to be demolished. £ 331 506 worth were in order, or needed only minor repairs. Of the remaining £ 975 450 worth, half could be put in order at no great expense. Besides houses there were 97 stands with buildings worth £99 570 used by Missions, Schools and Churches, and 454 stands of shops worth £ 612 023.[130] Mr Cutten's argument was that Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare, if dealt with under the Slums Act, could reduce by half the number of new houses that would be needed, and retain £ 1,25 million worth of houses that would otherwise have to be demolished.[131] The scheme to remove and demolish would reduce the number of existing houses and increase the number required to wipe out the enormous backlog. Mr Cutten's scheme, however, aimed to "draw off" overcrowding by offering alternative accommodation to the inhabitants of condemned properties, thereby reducing the density of population to that "consistent with good town planning principles".[132] This, he argued, would eliminate the objections of Europeans in the neighbouring suburbs, and keep faith with black bond and title holders "so that racial feeling is improved and not worsened".[133]

The South African Government was not alone in believing that the most efficient method of effecting slum clearance was to demolish rather than to renovate. Local authorities of British cities at the time were also busy razing whole inner city areas to the ground and replacing them with mass housing. Only later did they begin to discover that the price of destroying whole

127. HUDDLESTON, Naught for your Comfort, op. cit., p. 92.
128. Wits. Archive, Ballinger Papers A 410, Speech by Trevor Huddleston for Western Areas Protest Meeting, undated but accompanied by a letter Huddleston to Mrs Ballinger 19.8.1953, handwritten, p. 3.
129. SAIRR, The Western Areas Removal Scheme: Facts and Viewpoints, op. cit., p. 18, "Practical and Financial aspects, and a proposed alternative" by A.J. Cutten.
130. Ibid., p. 7, "Facts and Figures relating to Sophiatown Martindale and Newclare".
131. Ibid., Cutten article op. cit., p. 22.
132. Ibid., p. 18.
133. Ibid., p. 22.

communities in the name of slum clearance had to be paid for in the high incidence of social problems on the new housing estates. There was therefore even in 1952 a growing body of opinion among professional planners who pointed to the demerits of the bulldozer as a means of slum clearance. In June 1952 a reporter from The Star toured the Western Areas with Father Trevor Huddleston, who was quoted as saying,

> This is not just a dormitory where people come home to sleep. It is a community, badly frayed at the edges, it is true, but nevertheless a living, vital organism expressive at its core of healthy urban life in South Africa. Scores of voices have been raised to say that wholesale removal is not necessary. 134

Huddleston then cited Sir Patrick Geddes, whom he described as "the greatest town planner of our generation" who in speaking of the slums of India had said, "clear away the rubble but leave the people and do not on any account disturb their traditional social pattern".[135]

Town planning and social considerations apart, the factor which gave to the Western Areas removal scheme such explosive dimensions was its racial connotation. What offended the moral sense of men like Trevor Huddleston most was the manner in which white voters selfishly employed white privilege and white authority to expropriate the homes of black freeholders, who had no vote. It was the failure of white authority to provide adequate housing for Africans and the encroachment of white suburbs upon areas which over many years had been occupied by black people that was manifestly responsible for the situation of overcrowding that had developed in Sophiatown. It was therefore morally unjust that it should be the selfish interests of newly arrived white ratepayers at Westdene and Newlands that should prevail over the long established rights of African landowners in Sophiatown. Trevor Huddleston expressed these feelings with great clarity when he wrote in Naught for your Comfort in 1955

> .... white Johannesburg had encroached on black Johannesburg, and so, naturally, black Johannesburg must move on .... the story of Naboth's Vineyard rings no bell. Arguments soundly based on economics, or town-planning and on history have no meaning whatsoever. If a black township stands

134-135. The Star, 13.6.1952.

where a white suburb wants to stand, the township must go.[136]

Official attempts to disguise the removal scheme as a beneficent act of slum clearance were also dealt with by Dr. A.B. Xuma, himself a resident of Sophiatown, at the South African Institute of Race Relations Conference in August 1953.

> We deny that this is a slum clearance scheme, because to eliminate slum conditions you do not have to shift a whole community, nearly 60 000 people, you do not have to condemn the good with the bad, you do not have to divest people of their property rights. When you have an immense problem of homelessness to solve, you do not deliberately magnify that problem by compelling people to move out of good decent homes. 137

> .... I must ask you to remember Pimville, and the tanks that were put down in 1904 as a temporary measure. Even today, some of these tanks still stand. And the breeze block shelters in Orlando, erected in 1946 to offer "temporary" shelter to squatters. Today Orlando's Shantytown with its population of 20 000 people housed in municipal breeze-block shelters, is a slum, at least as bad and probably worse than any. Its sanitary conditions are a public scandal. And Moroka, established as an Emergency Squatters' Camp in 1947 for a period of five years. Over 50 000 Africans still live there on "emergency" sites twenty foot square. 138

From London Michael Scott added his voice to the growing protests by observing that

> .... the African people have been treated and are still being treated as the camp followers of our civilization who can be utilized where they are needed but relegated to shacks and shanties for the purpose of their residence with no proper provision for health, sanitation, education and normal urban facilities. 139

FROM CO-OPERATION TO RESISTANCE.

The story of the Anglican response to the problem of African housing in general, and the Western Areas removal scheme in particular, between 1944 and 1955, coincided almost exactly with the period of Trevor Huddleston's ministry in South Africa. It is of interest for the way in which it illustrates both the fluctuating

136. HUDDLESTON, op. cit., p. 138.
137. SAIRR, The Western Areas Removal Scheme: Facts and Viewpoints, op. cit., "African Reactions" by Dr. A.B. Xuma, p. 25.
138. Ibid., p. 27.
139. CPSA Archive AB 702, Africa Bureau papers 1952-56, Memo on Native Resettlement Bill, p. 4.

relations between the Diocese and the Municipality of Johannesburg, and the growing confrontation between the C.P.S.A. and the South African Government. Michael Scott's unique protest on behalf of the squatters at Tobruk, which resulted in the erection of the emergency camp at Moroka in 1947, has already been described.[140] Growing official recalcitrance led Trevor Huddleston and Bishop Reeves to adopt more drastic counter-measures on an escalating scale in proportion to the degree of implacability shown by the authorities. Every imaginable method was employed ranging from polite persuasion and the promotion of owner-builder housing schemes by Bishop Reeves, to stronger forms of protest, until finally as a last resort a campaign to resist the removals by all possible means was planned in close co-operation with the African National Congress. The issue escalated from the point where the Diocese and the Municipality of Johannesburg expressed politely and in a spirit of co-operation, a difference of opinion in 1944, until by 1955 a situation of total confrontation had developed between the church and the state.

Thus in 1944, a well-motivated resolution to the Johannesburg Diocesan Synod proposed by Trevor Huddleston, together with the attendant publicity given to the proceedings of synod in the press, proved sufficient to deal with the initial threat.[141] The City Council took no action to implement their resolution arising from Councillor S.G. Tighy's plan for the removal of the Western Areas. When in 1946 Geoffrey Clayton led a deputation to the Non-European Affairs Department of the City Council, after Trevor Huddleston had again raised the matter of African housing in the Church and Nation Committee, the interview took place in an atmosphere of mutual respect and co-operation.[142] This meeting proved to be the prelude to a significant mobilization of the city's African housing programme, as well as an imaginative if temporary solution to squatting problems at Orlando. On the other hand, in 1948 when the Secretary of the Social and Industrial Council of the Johannesburg

140. See above, Chapter One, pp. 51 ff.
141. CPSA Archive AB 397, Commission on the Church and the Nation, Continuation Committee Minutes.
142. Ibid., Deputation of the Bishop and Clergy Anglican Church, 17.4.1946.

Diocese, Archdeacon R.P.Y. Rouse, wrote to the Manager of the Non-European Affairs Department of the City Council pointing out the distress caused by the removal of the alleged "surplus population" of Sophiatown, the minutes tersely record that "the Council was not successful in this appeal".[143] In 1951 when the Johannesburg Diocesan Synod again asked its Bishop to lead a deputation, this time to the Mayor, they met with only mixed success. Where Bishop Reeves, through the painstaking work of the Johannesburg Citizens' Native Housing Committee, had won his case for the owner-builder housing scheme at Dube, he made no tangible progress to halt the Western Areas removal plan.[144]

By 1951 a note of asperity had entered the representations made by Trevor Huddleston to the authorities. On 9th October Huddleston challenged Councillor G.B. Gordon, Chairman of the city's Finance Committee, to a public debate on the proposed removal of so-called "black spots" in the Western Areas of Johannesburg. He posed ten questions.

1) Are we to assume that on any question affecting civic affairs the City Council will always carry out the Government's bidding ?
2) What is going to happen about the 50 000 families already on a waiting list for houses ?
3) Why should the City Council be entrusted with such a scheme when it has already failed lamentably to provide houses for Natives ? What about the shortage of building materials ?
4) If the object is residential segregation why should the Western Native Township remain ?
5) What guarantee is there that in a few years' time a new model village will not be removed for precisely the same reason ?
6) On what moral principle can 60 000 be removed without consulting them ?
7) Will such a scheme improve race relations ?
8) Where is the new township to be ?
9) What transport facilities will be provided ?
10) How long will the scheme take to implement ? 145

When Bishop Reeves' deputation saw the Mayor on 28th November 1951, Trevor Huddleston was also reported to have made an eloquent plea to the city's General Purposes Committee to drop their plan.

143. Ibid., Report of the Diocesan Social and Industrial Council to Synod 1948, Agendum No. 12, p. 30.
144. CPSA Archive AB 388, Reeves Papers"Native Housing", Synod Deputation Oct 1951, see above, p. 696, reference 65.
145. The Star, 9.10.1951, "Challenge to Mr Gordon renewed".

"In the last eight years three separate attempts have been made to implement this scheme" he said,

> Not once has there been prior consultation with the people most directly concerned. To say this has worsened race relations would be to put it mildly. The sense of insecurity, of frustration and bitterness the scheme has engendered has done almost irreparable harm. 146

To Bishop Reeves' deputation it was bewildering that the two bodies principally responsible for the welfare of the African people, the Department of Native Administration and the Non-European Affairs Department of the Johannesburg City Council, could have contemplated the implementation of a scheme involving the destruction of homes for 60 000 people at a time when there was such a large housing backlog. "To propose to break down houses when there is such a crying need to build them leaves us bewildered", said the deputation.[147]

During 1952 the Anglican response to the problems of African housing turned from courteous representations to more strongly worded protests. In his charge to the Synod of his diocese in November 1952 Bishop Reeves condemned housing conditions for Africans as "appalling", expressing his regret that his representations about the Newclare squatters had been "so sadly misunderstood" and "unavailing". Quite apart from "the serious moral issue raised by the proposed deprivation of freehold rights of African property owners" he reiterated that the housing problem was going to be aggravated by the Western Areas removal scheme.[148] A month earlier he had linked the escalating crime statistics in African townships with the shortage of housing.[149] Two months before synod met in 1952 Huddleston had written to Patrick Duncan giving his assessment of the Government's intentions.

> The squatter situation is pretty grim and it is now obvious that the Government is simply using it as a political weapon to force the City Council's hand over the Western Areas Scheme .... I should not be in the least surprised if the Council agrees to Verwoerd's scheme. 150

146. The Star, 28.11.1951, "Father Huddleston pleads with Council to drop plan to move Natives".
147. CPSA Archive AB 388, Reeves Papers, African Housing, Memorandum on "Native Housing", mimeo 4 pp., 28.11.1951.
148. The Watchman, November 1952, p. 2.
149. The Watchman, October 1952.
150. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan Papers DU 5.45.8, letter Huddleston to Duncan 18.9.1952.

By the time Synod met in November 1952 the crucial decision had already been taken by the Johannesburg City Council. Two resolutions were passed by the Johannesburg Diocesan Synod dealing with African housing. The first, proposed by Fr. Trevor Huddleston, attacked the Western Areas removal scheme as being "neither necessary practicable or moral". He was reported as saying

> If the City Council really wanted to clear the slums, it should deal with them in order of priority. The worst slum was the Orlando shelters, the second the Moroka emergency camp and the third the Pimville "tanks". The real reason for the scheme was the desire to expropriate the Africans and to deprive them of their freehold rights. 151

A second resolution proposed by Archdeacon R.P.Y. Rouse urged "European" members of Synod to press local authorities to provide adequate housing for Africans, and called on all Parochial Councils to make representations to their City Councillor to press for such houses to be built.[152]

It has already been noted how Trevor Huddleston radically changed his stance on the church's opposition to apartheid between February and June 1953. The turning point for him came with the United Party's support for the "Swart Bills" in January 1953, and the arrest of Yusuf Cachalia at the opening meeting of the A.N.C.'s Western Areas campaign on 28th June 1953.[153] It is significant that by then Huddleston had employed every normal means of persuasion and protest to prevail upon the Johannesburg City Council not to implement its removal scheme for the Western Areas. Another turning point was thus reached when the City Council decided finally in October 1952 to proceed with the plan, and the sale of land at Meadowlands to the Department of Native Affairs was confirmed early in 1953.

With Helen Navid, he initiated the Western Areas Protest Committee early in 1953, identifying himself totally with the A.N.C.'s Resist Apartheid Campaign.[154] Trevor Huddleston was one of the principal speakers at the opening meeting of the Western Areas Campaign which took place at the Odin Cinema Sophiatown on Sunday 28th June 1953. Although still in hospital recovering

151-152. Church News, 9.11.1952, p. 163, "Nearly 100 000 houses short".
153. See above, Chapter Nine, p. 480.
154. HUDDLESTON, Naught for your Comfort, op. cit., p. 140.

from the operation to his knee, Patrick Duncan asked Trevor Huddleston to announce his intention of dropping his appeal and going to gaol.[155] He also read out a message to the meeting in which Duncan expressed "all possible solidarity" with the African National Congress and stated that "this evil scheme to unhouse 90 000 people is without parallel in history".[156] He told The Observer, "a farmer would not treat his animals so".[157] Church News reported that Huddleston "was said to be in danger of arrest himself", as he protested at the provocative way so many heavily armed police had entered the cinema.[158] In a letter to Patrick Duncan he described the meeting as

> .... at the same time most encouraging and very unpleasant. It had been extremely well organized and was very representative. The police behaved as they did when arresting Solly Sachs. 159

In his book Naught for your Comfort Huddleston recalled how he was "really frightened" as 1200 delegates rose to their feet in anger as Cachalia was led out of the hall. "Lest that anger should find expression in violence", he wrote, "I followed the police and their prisoner".

> .... I had seen and felt in those moments, the terrifying spectre of the police state. It was all too much like Nazi Germany at its beginning. There was the fierce breath of totalitarianism and tyranny in every attitude, every movement of the police .... that Sunday morning at Sophiatown brought home to me, as nothing else had done, how very far along the road we had already travelled. Against this, Synod resolutions and episcopal utterances simply would not do. 160

From that moment Trevor Huddleston turned from protest to resistance, as he committed himself unreservedly to the African National Congress's Western Areas Campaign. For him, protest became now a part of resistance, as he gave himself to the task of orchestrating a nation-wide campaign in South Africa, and one

155. DRIVER, Patrick Duncan, op. cit., pp. 98-99: cf. above, Chapter Nine, p. 486.
156. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan Papers DU 5.45.15, letter Duncan to Huddleston 23.6.1953, telegram attached. See above Chapter Nine pp. 485-488.
157. The Observer, 28.6.1953.
158. Church News, 19.8.1953, p. 115, "Mirfield priest threatened with arrest", and HUDDLESTON, op. cit., p. 57.
159. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan papers DU 5.45.17, letter Huddleston to Duncan 4.7.1953.
160. HUDDLESTON, op. cit., pp. 56-7, and KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol III, op. cit., p. 10, and FEIT, op. cit., p. 99. See also above, Chapter Eight, p. 432, and Chapter Nine, p. 481.

overseas, as Chairman of the Western Areas Protest Committee. When he wrote Naught for your Comfort, two years later, Huddleston had to admit that protest meetings had only a limited efficacy.

> All that one can hope to do by public protest is to clear one's own conscience and to try at least to stir the consciences of others. 161

What characterized the Western Areas Campaign was that protest meetings, though employed extensively both by the Western Areas Protest Committee and by the African National Congress, were also linked to a wide-ranging campaign that involved many other elements too.

Meanwhile, during the same period, the Christian Council, acting on a resolution of its Executive Committee, asked Archbishop Clayton as its President to approach the Federal Council of the Dutch Reformed Churches with a view to common action on the issue of African housing. It was agreed that

> .... a united approach should be made to whoever is Prime Minister after the General Election urging him to call a conference of all parties with a view to securing if possible an agreed national housing policy for the whole Union. 162

On 23rd July 1953 Archbishop Clayton reported to the Christian Council's Action Committee in Cape Town that he had received a letter from the Secretary of Die Federale Raad van N.G. Kerke indicating that Die Raad van Kerke had appointed a committee of five to serve with a committee appointed by the Christian Council, which was to consist of the Archbishop, Messrs. A.J. Cutten and F.B. Allen, the Revd. E.W. Grant and H.M. Agnew with the Revd. B.H.M. Brown as Convenor.[163] This initiative however seems to have failed, since there is no further reference to its activities in the minutes of the C.C.S.A.'s Action Committee. A later chapter deals with the efforts made by the member churches of the Christian Council to persuade the Afrikaans churches to oppose apartheid. The general division of opinion about apartheid at the Pretoria Conference convened by Die Federale Raad van N.G. Kerke in November 1953, however, was such that it prevented any expression of opinion

161. HUDDLESTON, op. cit., p. 109.
162. Wits. Archive, CCSA Papers, AC 623, Executive Minutes 880, 16.1.1953.
163. Ibid., Action Committee Minutes, 23.7.1953, Housing.

on so controversial an issue as the Western Areas removal scheme.[164] At the Multi-Racial Johannesburg Conference of Church Leaders a year later it was again impossible to find agreement for a resolution condemning the proposed removals.[165]

TREVOR HUDDLESTON AND THE A.N.C.'S WESTERN AREAS CAMPAIGN.

Trevor Huddleston and Helen Navid formed the Western Areas Protest Committee with the object of mobilizing opinion both inside and outside South Africa regarding the true implications of the removal scheme. They also aimed to work in the closest cooperation with the African and Indian Congresses who would organize the people in the non-European areas.[166] We have seen already how the emphasis of Bishop Reeves' Johannesburg Citizens' Native Housing Committee changed early in 1953 and had concentrated on campaigning against the removal scheme. With the object of making people in the white suburbs of the city aware of the issue, Protest Committees were established in each suburb. Following Archdeacon Rouse's resolution to the 1952 synod these committees sought and obtained the support of parish churches in promoting the protests and lobbying City Councillors. By the time Mr A.J. Cutten presented his resolution to the Johannesburg City Council calling for all previous resolutions relating to the removal of natives from Martindale Sophiatown and Newclare to be rescinded, on 19th November 1953, the death of Councillor G.B. Gordon and the election of three members of the Johannesburg Citizens' Native Housing Committee as City Councillors (Jack Lewsen, Richard Harvey and Mr Cutten himself) meant that the balance of power had begun to shift away from those who supported the removals.[167] It has also been noted above how Archbishop Clayton made the attempt

164. South African Outlook, 1.12.1953, pp. 180 ff, "Conference of Church Leaders - Pretoria 17.11.1953". cf. below, Chapter Seventeen.
165. VAN WYK (ed), God's Kingdom in Multi-Racial South Africa, a report on the Inter-Racial Conference of Church Leaders, Johannesburg 7-10 December 1954, Johannesburg: Voortrekker Pers 1955.
166. HUDDLESTON, op. cit., p. 140.
167. CPSA Archive AB 388, Reeves papers, African Housing, Agenda of the 812th Ordinary Meeting of the Johannesburg City Council, 19.11.1953, Notice of Motion, Councillor A.J. Cutten. cf. Rand Daily Mail, 27.10.1953, Editorial "The Voice of Conscience". See above, p. 704.

during 1953 to initiate a joint approach to the Government on the question of African housing by the Christian Council and Die Raad van Kerke. A full account will also be given in the next chapter of the campaign launched by Trevor Huddleston to mobilize world opinion against the removals and other injustices of the apartheid system in newspapers overseas.

When Mr S.G. Tighy was chosen as the United Party's candidate for Florida in the 1953 general election, both the United Party in Parliament and the United Party caucus in the Johannesburg City Council still supported the policy of co-operation with the Government on African housing advocated by the ad hoc committee consisting of Councillors Gordon, Hurd, Page and van Vuuren. An important factor in determining the timing of the campaign against the Western Areas removals was the desire to avoid embarrassing the United Party in the general election of April 1953. Trevor Huddleston, who saw that matters were moving to a conclusion in the Johannesburg City Council during 1952, had wanted to begin as soon as possible. Patrick Duncan, however, wrote to Trevor Huddleston the day after the Defiance Campaign was launched, advising him,

> As to the Western Areas, I feel that if resistance can be deferred till after the election it might help the U.P. on the Rand, and I hope it can be so deferred. 168

It was thus necessary first to persuade the United Party to change its stance. In this the Western Areas Protest Committee succeeded, for by March 1954, when the Natives' Resettlement Bill was debated in Parliament, both the United Party in Parliament and the United Party in the Johannesburg City Council had declared their opposition to the Western Areas removal scheme on the grounds that Dr Verwoerd had refused to grant

168. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan Papers DU 5, letter Patrick Duncan to Trevor Huddleston, 27.6.1952.

freehold rights in the new areas to be occupied.[169]

However, the need to concentrate their efforts on converting the United Party controlled City Council to opposing the scheme forced Huddleston's Western Areas Protest Committee into two strategic errors. Firstly, the postponement of the campaign until June 1953 meant that they were too late to prevent the transfer of the land at Meadowlands from the City Council to the Department of Native Affairs in February 1953. The tactics of the Protest Committees rested on the assumption that a refusal by the Johannesburg City Council to co-operate with the Government would preempt the removal scheme.[170] However, it has already been noted how the transfer of the land at Meadowlands to the Department of Native Affairs in February 1953, and the enactment of the Natives' Resettlement Bill in 1954, effectively removed the issue from the jurisdiction of the Johannesburg City Council. Their eventual refusal to co-operate with the Government in 1954 thus only had a limited protest value. Dr. Verwoerd had already made sure that his will could not be thwarted even by the non-co-operation

169. Church News, 17.3.1954, "There was undeniably a sense of relief experienced when the Leader of the Opposition unequivocally announced that his party was committed to a policy of 'integration' against the Government's policy of 'apartheid' ...." cf. House of Assembly Debates, 2540/54, 23.3.1954, Dr. Gluckman, who said, "We are called on to legalize by law the deprivation of property rights of people". The United Party's amendment opposing the Natives' Resettlement Bill (2541/54, Dr. Gluckman) read as follows:-
"This House, whilst in favour of social and residential separation of the races, and recognizing slum clearance and the provision of adequate housing as one of the most urgent national problems, declines to pass the second reading of the Natives' Resettlement Bill because, inter alia:-
a) it usurps the statutory powers and rights of local authorities and is undemocratic and dictatorial.
b) it deprives persons to be removed of their existing right to freehold title without providing any opportunity of gaining new freehold title in areas to which they are removed.
c) it compels the removal of persons legally residing in an area without any attempt to gain their co-operation.
d) it empowers the Minister to remove persons without placing any corresponding obligation on him to provide proper alternative accomodation for all those who are removed; and
e) the plan of removal envisaged in this measure will prove subversive of security and stability which are basic to harmonious inter-race relations and to the welfare of South Africa."

170. CPSA Archive AB 388, Reeves papers, Bishop Reeves' hand-written notes for the deputation to Mr Thornburn re Natives' Resettlement Bill. "Grateful to you as leader of majority group in City Council for having consented to see us - we were anxious to let you know personally how much we welcome decision taken at causus meeting last week even though we regret fact that U.P. is still committed to principle of total removal of inhabitants of the Western Areas .... if City Council refuses to be a party to implementation of scheme then responsibility for whatever may happen will rest directly on those who invented this piece of legislation."

of the City Council.[171] Secondly, the need to convert the United Party first compelled the Western Areas Protest Committee to concentrate their efforts in those areas where the United Party was strongest. This meant that the Western Areas Protest Committees were most active in Johannesburg's northern suburbs, whereas it was in the areas of largely artisan housing in the southern suburbs nearest to Sophiatown that the greater effort had to be made. Difficult as this might have been, the failure to win any support in Westdene and Newlands where the petition for the implementation of the removal scheme had orginated, made it too easy for Dr. Verwoerd to dismiss the protests as emanating from those who lived in wealth and comfort far from the scene of the problem. A sermon on Naboth's Vineyard in Westdene might have had some unexpected results.

Against Dr. Verwoerd's coercive powers, Trevor Huddleston could pit only his powers of persuasion. "The weapons I have used have been the only ones that lie at my disposal:" Huddleston wrote, "my mind, my tongue and my pen".[172] In August 1953 Trevor Huddleston shared the platform at a protest meeting in the Darragh Hall with Senator Walter Ballinger, and the text of his address has been preserved amongst the Ballinger papers. This reveals how he had the ability to marshal his arguments cogently and effectively and put across his case in short pithy sentences, employing memorable phrases, question and answer and much direct speech. He employed the style of a good journalist and was a most persuasive speaker. He was, however, criticized for being insensitive to the sensibilities of the Afrikaner, for whom his English origins, Anglo-Catholic churchmanship and, although he had become a South African citizen, his image as a foreign missionary, evoked deep and bitter resentment from his political opponents. His speech therefore is worth studying in some detail.

Huddleston began by observing that Dr. Verwoerd had complained that his motives were being misrepresented, and that the Western Areas scheme was "a beneficent slum-clearance measure long overdue". What was the truth, he asked.

Sophiatown even at its worst is not as bad as the Orlando

171. See above, p. 686.
172. HUDDLESTON, op. cit., p. 172.

> Shelters (30 000): as parts of Moroka Emergency Camp, Pimville and the squatter camps on our borders. To make this an excuse for the wholesale expropriation of an entire area is quite dishonest. 173

"Why all this fuss about freehold tenure ?" Huddleston asked. "Dr. Verwoerd says only 2% of the population of the Western Areas own the land and the houses in which they live. Actually," Huddleston pointed out, "500 families live in their own homes on their own land". Freehold tenure should mean security and the guarantee of a permanent stable citizenship.

> The Western Areas scheme was conceived and has been planned on a basis of racialism. A Native residential area, in occupation for nearly 50 years and having freehold rights cannot be allowed to continue - not because it is a slum, but because it is non-European. That is the plain truth. (Naboth's Vineyard) ....
>
> Today it is the Western Areas that must go. Why ? Because they have been surrounded by European suburbs and are therefore automatically European areas. Tomorrow what is to prevent Meadowlands becoming a European area ? 174

The Government had adopted an attitude of "implacability" in matters of Native Affairs. Although the people to be moved were ratepayers,

> No attempt has been made to consult them on their future. Three attempts at expropriation in ten years. Each time, the first intimation has been through the Press. 175

The Minister had complained of misrepresentation, in that it was said that people were to be moved on to the bare veld. Huddleston countered:

> Any such misrepresentation is the Minister's own fault .... I remember his attitude to the Newclare squatters .... 2000 were in fact then evicted to the open veld. 176

He quoted Councillor L.V. Hurd's statements, "Natives prefer mud-huts", and "even if all the resources are mobilized it will take years".

(i) The existing situation. 50 000 homes needed. Waiting

173. Wits. Archive, Ballinger papers A 410, an undated address in Trevor Huddleston's handwriting, on the back of C.R. letterhead. A letter dated 19.8.1953 from Huddleston to Margaret Ballinger refers to Huddleston and William Ballinger speaking on the same platform, and asks him to return the speech ! cf. above, p. 711.

174-176. Ibid.

> list of at least 15 000 .... Temporary schemes still in existence ....
> (iii) It is inconceivable that the Western Areas Plan can be carried through without affecting the housing program itself.
> (iv) It is sheer madness to embark on what is fundamentally a racial and ideological nonsense at this stage of housing shortage. 177

Dr. Verwoerd had threatened that he would go ahead with the scheme whether or not the City Council co-operated. "This," said Huddleston, "is the plain language of a bully". What was the point or purpose of it ?

> It is a scheme designed to show the people of this country that racialism is the dominant motive behind every action of its government. This is an idea which should be, and I am convinced is, abhorrent to every right thinking person. 178

Despite all the eloquence at Huddleston's command, and the racial motives that lay behind the Government's plan, the struggle that was being waged was an unequal one. As Huddleston later observed,

> When a Government ruthlessly uses its power and its propaganda not only to rally its own supporters but to terrify or to cajole its opponents, it is bound to meet with a large measure of success. 179

What, then, could be done to resist the planned removals ? There were two possible courses of non-violent action: firstly a campaign to influence public opinion, and secondly a refusal on the part of those threatened with removal, to be moved.

The African National Congress campaign against the Western Areas removal scheme opened on Sunday 28th June 1953 with the conference organized by the executive of the A.N.C. (Transvaal) and the Transvaal Indian Congress, at the Odin Cinema in Sophiatown. It was at this meeting that Yusuf Cachalia, the Secretary of the South African Indian Congress, was arrested by a contingent of some 100 heavily-armed police.[180] He was later released without any charges being laid.[181] The Sophiatown meeting was followed

177-178. Ibid.
179. HUDDLESTON, Naught for your Comfort, op. cit., p. 181.
180. HUDDLESTON, op. cit., p. 56; KARIS CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 10; FEIT, op. cit., p. 99; see above pp. 717-718, and Chapter Nine, p. 480.
181. KARIS CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 10.

by further mass meetings; at Kliptown on 30th August for the West Rand, and in Benoni on 6th September for the East Rand.[182] There were also regular protest meetings on Sunday mornings in Sophiatown. Bloke Modisane has described how "we cheered the speakers at protest meetings and adopted long-winded resolutions".

> Every Sunday morning we assembled at Freedom Square, Morris and Victoria Road, to be stampeded into orgiastic reverberations of resounding slogans by thumb-raising politicians trading on mob passions .... it usually left us exhausted and limp at the end of the meeting. 183

Chief Albert Luthuli was quoted in a pamphlet as calling upon the people to make the campaign the "waterloo of apartheid". Karis, Carter and Gerhart have however criticized these meetings as being "characterized by flamboyant, fiery and sometimes bloody rhetoric".[184] Edward Feit has observed that they attracted large numbers, but "had the effect of dissipating rather than harnessing energy".[185] Resolutions on every conceivable grievance were introduced, and speakers did not concentrate on the one issue of the Western Areas. In April 1954 the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress decided to take over the running of the campaign from the Transvaal Executive, where divisions at branch level between the Africanists and the Congress Alliance were beginning to impede progress.[186]

The A.N.C.'s National Executive Committee announced that 1954 was to be "a period for an advanced form of organization to prepare for advanced forms of struggle".[187] Despite the growing list of banned leaders, the campaign was to be waged by widening the "anti-fascist front".[188] On 8th May 1954 the National Executives of the A.N.C., S.A.I.C., S.A.C.O.D. and S.A.C.P.O. met, and fixed the weekend of 26th-27th June 1954 as the "Western Areas Day for Campaign and Solidarity". Chief Luthuli made an appeal

182. FEIT, op. cit., p. 100.
183. MODISANE, Bloke, Blame me on History, London: Thames & Hudson 1963, p. 106.
184. KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 27, citing a Treason Trial Defence Memorandum.
185. FEIT, op. cit., p. 100.
186. Ibid., pp. 102, 106 and 109.
187. KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 144, Document 7b, Report of the National Executive Committee to ANC Annual Conference 16-19 December 1954.
188. Ibid., p. 145.

for 50 000 "Freedom Volunteers", both for the Western Areas and for the Congress of the People.[189] His planned visit to Sophiatown on 11th July, when 10 000 people had assembled to hear him, was impeded by a banning order on his arrival at Jan Smuts Airport the day before.[190]

> The meeting in Freedom Square Sophiatown which I was unable to attend, was the climax of a great deal of preparation and organization .... The meeting went ahead, but all the people could do to acknowledge my existence was to process in thousands past the gate of the house where I was staying. In an informal way, I returned their greeting. [191]

Trevor Huddleston's participation in the Western Areas campaign attracted considerable publicity in the press as well as close police surveillance. For example, on 1st April 1954 Huddleston was a member of a deputation from the "Citizens' Joint Action Committee" who presented a petition to the Mayor of Johannesburg, Councillor Patmore M.P.C., asking him to call a public meeting to protest against the Natives' Resettlement Bill. A spokesman for the Mayor's office however was reported as saying,

> It should be realised that the Mayor must avoid politics during his year of office and the proposed meeting is of a highly political nature involving the City Council. [192]

Other members of the deputation were Mr J.D. Wilson (Chairman), Mr C.L. Tugman, Dr. Agnes Hoernlé and Mr Justice F.A.W. Lucas. Huddleston also opened the meeting in Sophiatown on 27th June 1954, timed to coincide with the second anniversary of the launching of the Defiance Campaign. Police raided the meeting, and in their presence Huddleston said, "I identify myself wholly with the non-European people of South Africa in their struggle against unjust and discriminatory laws".[193] Commenting on the action of the police Huddleston said later in an interview,

> Their presence caused tension .... When police come in on perfectly legitimate meetings they immediately increase the risk of incidents. Sunday's meeting was not just a meeting of agitators: it was a legitimate meeting of responsible people. Apart from that the people of the Western Areas have no other way to put their case if they cannot speak freely at meetings like this. It is essential that they should be protected when they meet lawfully. And

189. Ibid., p. 152. 190. Ibid., p. 154.
191. LUTHULI, Let my People Go, op. cit., p. 124.
192. The Star, 1.4.1954, "Mayor declines to call meetings - says he must avoid politics".
193. Rand Daily Mail, 28.6.1954.

> surely the police could investigate a case of high treason some other way ? 194

At a meeting in Durban on 13th August 1954 attended by 250 people "mostly non-Europeans" with Mr I. Meer of the Natal Indian Congress as Chairman, the C.I.D. took the names and addresses of all present after Trevor Huddleston and other speakers had addressed them. Huddleston was quoted as saying,

> .... a shadow of fear is spreading across the country - so rapidly that even to address a public meeting caused many people anxiety .... I believe that it may be the duty of those of us who are still free to speak to use every opportunity that comes our way. 195

Three days later Huddleston was reported to have written to the Minister of Justice Mr C.R. Swart, asking the reason for the "constant police surveillance of my movements".[196]

The Congress plan to resist the Western Areas removals seemed simple. Firstly, the residents would be persuaded to refuse to move, and secondly this would be accompanied by a stay-at-home.[197] A leaflet said that anyone who moved willingly would be helping the Government to enslave the African people. Such a person was a traitor. The call to action was as follows:

> Don't fill in the forms, don't get into the lorry to Meadowlands, be ready to obey Congress' call, join the A.N.C., enroll as a volunteer, resist apartheid, we are not going to move. 198

Notices were issued on 27th and 28th December 1954 under the Natives' Resettlement Act, warning that removals would be carried out between 7th-12th February 1955.[199] Freedom Volunteers visited the people, and promised that they would stand alongside them on the day. It was somehow assumed that removals would take place on 12th February. Thus, when the Government served 24-hour notices on 8th February, Robert Resha's volunteers were taken by surprise. Overnight they did manage to move some fifty

194. Rand Daily Mail, 30.6.1954, "Police cause tension at meeting - Father Huddleston".
195. The Star, 14.8.1954.
196. Rand Daily Mail, 17.8.1954.
197. Treason Trial Record 16412-13, Robert Resha, cf. FEIT, op. cit., p. 117.
198. KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 86, reference 72, citing Treason Trial Defence Memorandum on Western Areas Campaign.
199. FEIT, op. cit., p. 124.

families out, in advance of the removals.[200] Despite the ban on meetings, some 3000 to 5000 congregated at the customary meeting place, Freedom Square. The police tried vainly to disperse them. Robert Resha was asked to assist. Fearing that serious violence might erupt, he did so.[201]

Unfortunately, many of Resha's volunteers dispersed with the crowd, so that they were caught outside the area which had been cordoned off for removal. The Freedom Volunteers thus achieved very little on the first day of the removal. Their tactic, to stage a removal of their own in order to thwart the removal planned by the Government, demonstrated at least that as many as one third of the affected families were prepared to resist. However, according to Bantu World on 19th February, some of these families later asked the Resettlement Board for housing in Meadowlands.[202] In the circumstances, faced with an overwhelming show of force, only token resistance was offered. Government propaganda thus stated that a majority of families moved willingly and happily to Meadowlands.[203]

CRITICISM OF THE A.N.C.'S RESISTANCE TO THE WESTERN AREAS REMOVALS.

Patrick Duncan's interest in resisting the Western Areas removals had been stimulated from the time of his first visit to Trevor Huddleston in 1952. In September 1954 he wrote to Huddleston saying "I am still convinced that the Western Areas calls for satyagraha i.e. sitting-down in the street in front of threatened houses".[204] Huddleston replied that he expected it to be a "mass removal" which would "make a demonstration such as we have in mind possible".[205] Early in January Duncan told Huddleston "I am now prepared to volunteer" provided that no-one

200. FEIT, op. cit., citing Executive Report to the 12th Conference of the ANC Youth League, 29.5.1955, p. 130.
201. Ibid., p. 129.
202. Bantu World, 19.2.1955.
203. STEWARD, Alexander, You are Wrong, Father Huddleston, op. cit., p. 5.
204. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan papers, DU 5.45.36, letter Duncan to Huddleston, 24.9.1954.
205. Ibid., DU 5.45.38, letter Huddleston to Duncan, 8.10.1954.

pleaded not guilty, no lawyer was briefed and that no fines were paid.[206]

On Monday 7th February Patrick Duncan and Alan Paton spoke at the opening of an exhibition in Johannesburg arranged by Huddleston's Western Areas Protest Committee at which Duncan announced that he would stand "shoulder to shoulder" with any Native householder who had decided not to move.[207] In a letter to his friend Jack Grant, Principal of Adams College, Duncan confided,

> What I have in mind is offering myself as an individual to stand by any householder who asks and leave other people to make their own decisions. 208

The day before the removals began he wrote to Oliver Tambo confirming his offer to volunteer.

> It is now quite clear to me that I have a duty to stand by your people in the Western Areas if I am asked. What I offer to do is to stand with a householder at his front door if: he has decided not to go before he is compelled; he is prepared to avoid violence; he would like me to do this. 209

He asked that Tambo should inform Father Huddleston urgently, who would send for him by telegram, and then returned home to Riverside Farm. Initial reports on the failure of resistance to the first removals on 9th February disillusioned Duncan. On 12th February in a letter to Jordan Ngubane his disappointment was already apparent.

> On the A.N.C. in the Western Areas .... a sorry figure. On Monday I helped Alan Paton open an exhibition of photographs of the Western Areas. There was present a representative of the A.N.C. He told me that the A.N.C. had 100% support of the population in its determination to resist passively and not to move. On Wednesday the move took place, and not one person followed the A.N.C. line. How we need Gandhi's realism and humility and truth 210

Manilal Gandhi was present for the second removal on 17th February and reported that there had been no real attempt at resistance and "less military display this time".[211] A few days

206. Ibid., DU 5.45.40, letter Duncan to Huddleston, undated. (Huddleston's reply was dated 21.1.1955).
207. Rand Daily Mail 8.2.1955, cited by Dr. Verwoerd in Parliament: House of Assembly Debates 882/55, 9.2.1955, Minister of Native Affairs.
208. Duncan Papers loc. cit., DU 5,36.11, letter Duncan to G.C. Grant 6.2.1955.
209. Ibid., DU 6, letter Duncan to Oliver Tambo 8.2.1955.
210. Ibid., DU 5 Jordan Ngubane 4, letter Duncan to Ngubane 12.2.1955.
211. Ibid., DU 5.2.55, letter Manilal Gandhi to Duncan, 18.2.1955.

later Duncan still seemed willing to sustain his offer to volunteer. In answer to an enquiry by the Revd. John Skomolo, who asked, "how is the removal scheme to be resisted ? Everything was unclear when I was there", Duncan replied,

> You ask about the removal scheme. I am quite clear what ought to be done. Those who wish to resist ought to accept that there are large numbers of tenants and sub-tenants who want to go - there can be no question of trying to make them resist. They ought to go with the silent blessing of the others. Then, a list of householder volunteers ought to be drawn up of those who have decided to stay, at whatever the cost. These ought to be given small groups of people of all races who will stand in their stoeps and front doors, and insist on the police removing them out of the way before they take the furniture and persons of the occupiers. THERE CAN BE NO QUESTION OF PHYSICALLY STOPPING THE GOVERNMENT. That must be realised. At the same time those who wish to resist ought not to go willingly. They should put the onus on the Government of moving their bodies and furniture by force, but when that force is shown they ought to go quietly. And they should be supported by small groups of disciplined sympathisers of all races. I am prepared to be one of those groups. But the request must come from the occupier. There should be no question of any organization trying to push any occupier into resistance. The groups must be prepared to be shot at or to serve five years in prison. 212

In the event an invitation did not come, and Duncan remained at Riverside Farm. The A.N.C.'s call for mass resistance to the removals had wilted before the massive threat of force. Their highly effective organization and leadership for the Defiance Campaign in 1952 had by 1955 been decimated by banning orders. On 20th February Duncan told George Houser, Secretary to the International Missionary Council in New York,

> Nothing is happening about the Western Areas removal, except that Government presses on quietly, succeeding, and completely discrediting many who spoke big about stopping them .... The A.N.C. lost an immense amount of prestige in taking the line it did. 213

Duncan thus considered that the Western Areas removal scheme had resulted in a considerable victory for the Government and a great defeat for the A.N.C., about whom he was to become increasingly critical. In a further letter to George Houser a month later he said of the A.N.C. that

212. Ibid., DU 5.90.28 and 5.90.29, letters John Skomolo (A.N.C. Chaplain General) to Duncan 19.2.1955, and Duncan to Skomolo 24.2.1955.
213. Ibid., DU 5 George Houser 21, letter Duncan to Houser 20.2.1955.

> .... its stock stands lower in the land today than ever before. It is almost certainly so discredited that the much-heralded Congress of the People will come to nothing.[214]

It had been clear to him for some time that "mass satyagraha would not be possible.... [for] Gandhi's requirement of unanimity was not met".

> Suddenly, after I had done some praying, I saw clearly that it could not be right to try for a mass demonstration but that the correct action was for satyagraha to be offered in individual houses where the owner had already made up his mind not to go unless force was used .... So far my suggestion has not been taken up. 215

Were Patrick Duncan and Edward Feit right in concluding that the A.N.C.'s campaign had failed ? There can be no denying the outcome. The people were moved, and Sophiatown no longer exists. To that extent the Government succeeded in its purpose. Its tactics were shrewd and effective. Resistance was made unattractive, by offering improved facilities at Meadowlands for those who accepted removal, whilst denying housing to those who refused to move.[216] The tactical switch of dates from 12th to 9th February threw Congress plans into some confusion. The Government played upon the different interests of landlords and tenants. J.B. Marks afterwards recognized this:

> Insufficient importance was attached to the deep-seated need of many of the worse off slum dwellers for a decent home. Many saw in Meadowlands the only chance they would ever have to occupy their own home. 217

Edward Feit severely criticized the A.N.C. for its organizational weakness and failures of communication.[218] The Congress Secretariat's own self-criticism of its Western Areas Campaign blamed the lack of clear directives by their leaders for action on the day of removal.[219] Jordan Ngubane's criticism, that Chief Luthuli was not fully informed as President General, may be accurate, but his contention that the A.N.C. was being dictated to by the Congress of Democrats, "who did the planning and made the policy decisions", however seems exaggerated.[220] Co-operation between

214. Ibid., DU 5 George Houser 16, letter Duncan to Houser 17.3.1955.
215. Ibid.
216. FEIT, op. cit., p. 141.
217. Fighting Talk, April 1955, p. 11.
218. FEIT, op. cit., p. 138.
219. KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 26, The Report of the Secretariat on the Western Areas (undated).
220. NGUBANE, Jordan, An African Explains Apartheid, New York: Praeger 1963, p. 164.

the A.N.C. and Dr. Xuma's Anti-Expropriation Committee and Ratepayers' Association was inadequate.[221] Patrick Duncan's argument was that it was their plan of mass resistance that was at fault.

Valid as many of these criticisms may be, they give only a partial evaluation of the campaign. Edward Feit's critique of the A.N.C.'s organizational weaknesses appears unrealistic. The A.N.C. as a voluntary organization was not to be compared with a disciplined army or an industrial corporation in which there could be more clearly demarcated channels of communication, and rigid heirarchies of leadership and power. He took no account of the difficulties imposed by the extensive banning of the A.N.C.'s leaders.[222] To have expected Chief Luthuli, for instance, to exercise executive control of the campaign in Johannesburg from Groutville in Natal, was unrealistic.

Recognition must be given to the Congress' achievement against overwhelming odds. Certainly mistakes were made, and Patrick Duncan's critique was a most valid one. Yet the fact that the authorities elected to use 2000 police to effect the removals was an indication of the extent to which the Congress campaign had succeeded. It seriously reduced the credibility of the claim by Government propagandists that the removals had been accepted by the people, notwithstanding the smiling faces they depicted on the way to Meadowlands. The A.N.C. also spoilt its achievement by making some unfounded claims of victory for their campaign. For instance, J.B. Marks suggested that the A.N.C. had forced the Government to make considerable improvements to their original site and service scheme at Meadowlands. Two months after the first removals he wrote that the Government had made

221. cf. KARIS, CARTER & GERHART Vol III, op. cit., p. 26.

222. Ibid., p. 134, Walter Sisulu's statement on being ordered to resign from the A.N.C. and as Secretary General, 20.8.1954, list some of those banned: Moses Kotane, J.B. Marks, Mandela, Tloome, Njongwe, Mji, Molema, Bopape, Matji, Tshume, Matthews, Ngwevela, Mhlaba, Motshabi; Ngwentshe and Lengisi (in exile); Dr. Dadoo, Cachalia and Nana Sita (Indian Congress); Fischer, Williams, Kahn, Bernstein, Watts, Bunting, Hodgson (Congress of Democrats); James Phillips (Coloured People's Organization), Ray Alexander, Kunene, Reddy, Du Toit, Moumakoe and Weinberg (Trade Union Movement).

> .... major concessions in order to bribe the people .... [Meadowlands thus] has brick houses, is one of the few African townships to have water-borne sewerage and individual water-taps to the houses, and boasts of a fine new school. 223

Another exaggerated claim was the statement by Walter Sisulu in a letter to Canon Collins that "Congress agitation so shocked the government that it had to change its plans".[224]

In spite of such criticisms of the A.N.C.'s campaign to resist the Western Areas Removal Scheme, it was in their efforts to influence public opinion in South Africa and world opinion overseas that the A.N.C. and Trevor Huddleston's Western Areas Protest Committee in particular were to achieve their most conspicuous success. The indelible impression made upon world opinion and a significant number of people of all races in South Africa was that the compulsory removals from the Western Areas were, as Alan Paton put it, "something which is done by people who have power to those who have not".[225] That this was so is due in large measure to the work of Father Trevor Huddleston.

For two years he had spoken out fearlessly on the injustices of the planned removals. Like Michael Scott and Bethal, Trevor Huddleston's name was now linked with Sophiatown, as was that of Bishop Reeves with resistance to Bantu Education. What Huddleston said about South Africa was news, not only in South Africa but overseas. On the day the removals began, even though they were advanced by three days, the South African and International Press Corps were there to give vivid eye-witness reports on the Government's massive use of force to effect the removals. Whilst journalists recorded what Huddleston said at the numerous protest meetings he addressed in that two-year period, police informers also noted what he and others were saying. The way in which Dr. H.F. Verwoerd was to exclaim in frustration of those like Huddleston "who express themselves so cleverly that they cannot be brought before a court" shows how the latter's arguments were finding their mark.[226]

223. Fighting Talk, April 1955, pp. 3 and 11.
224. FEIT, op. cit., p. 140.
225. Rand Daily Mail 8.2.1955, cited by Dr. Verwoerd in Parliament: House of Assembly Debates 883/1955, 9.2.1955, Minister of Native Affairs.
226. House of Assembly Debates 889/55, 9.2.1955, Minister of Native Affairs.

His allusion to Naboth's vineyard ascribed moral blame. He countered the claim that the scheme was merely slum clearance by saying Dr. Verwoerd was dishonest, because it was racialism that was the real motive. In asserting that the Government would press on with the scheme even if the Johannesburg City Council refused its co-operation, Huddleston told Dr. Verwoerd, this was the action of a bully. The suggestion that the smiling African faces on the lorries to Meadowlands, lavishly depicted in official photographs of the removals, in fact belied their true feelings, and thus reduced the credibility of the propaganda purveyed by the Department of Native Affairs. People might sing and smile at gunpoint when faced with the massive fire power of 2000 armed police, but did this really mean that they had moved willingly ? Where Dr. Verwoerd blamed incitement by agitators, Huddleston countered this by the logic of his argument and his intimate acquaintance with the facts. What angered the Government most was Huddleston's series of letters and articles published in the Church Times and the Observer between July 1953 and 1955. The next chapter will recount the enormous impact that these articles were to have in Britain and the attitude of Archbishop Clayton and the Archbishop of Canterbury towards such a course of action. Clayton was justifiably cautious about this tactic, since it quickly attracted the hostility of those who considered it disloyal to criticize South Africa overseas. The next chapter also deals with the controversy surrounding Canon Collins' visit to South Africa in 1954. Whilst the part played by Trevor Huddleston and Bishop Reeves in resisting the Western Areas removal scheme was courageous, it is also important to realise the extreme reactions they aroused in Parliament.

Reference has already been made to the remarks made by Mr J.F. Schoonbee (Nationalist, Pretoria District) during the debate on the Bantu Education Amendment Bill in April 1956.[227] An indication that their arguments were beginning to trouble the conscience of the Government was the manner in which a sustained attack was unleashed by Nationalist M.P.'s upon Bishop Reeves and Father Huddleston during the second reading debate on the

227. See above, Chapter Twelve, p. 647.

Natives' Resettlement Bill in March 1954. Mr F.R. Mentz (Nationalist, Westdene) described Bishop Reeves as "one of those spiritual leaders who poison the soul of the Native against the white man".[228] Mr P.J. Coetzee (Nationalist, Langlaagte) said that "The only interest the [Anglican] Church has there [Sophiatown] at the moment is that it owns property which it lets to the Natives at enormous profit".[229] He continued,

> I want to ask the Hon. Minister to introduce legislation in the future allowing no clergyman to live in Native locations. I am convinced they do more harm than good. 230

Mr D.J. Potgieter (Nationalist, Vryheid) devoted his whole speech to proving the thesis that

> .... this agitation, which is not only being carried out in this country but overseas against this legislation and against the policy of this Government, has been caused by the liberalists on the other side [of the House] and that they have received their information from the clergy in Johannesburg. 231

Mr Potgieter then gave information about various publications in which Reeves and Huddleston had been quoted. Firstly there was Saamtrek, which Mr Potgieter described as "a leftist publication" for which Bishop Reeves had appealed for funds overseas.[232] There was also an article by Bishop Campbell in the Baltimore Sun and the magazine Look, owned by Mr and Mrs Cowles in the United States. "They", charged Mr Potgieter, "went to get their information from the Revd. Mr Huddleston".

> We all know who he is. The Revd. Mr Huddleston is the source of all that slandering propaganda in the English church publications and in certain English newspapers overseas. But what is worse, these two clergymen did not only find accomplices in the persons of Bishop Campbell and the Cowles, but they also found a spokesman in this house. Yesterday, the hon. member for Yeoville [Dr. H. Gluckman] said here that this Government was responsible for the racial struggle that has flared up in South Africa. 233

The debate ended with Dr. Verwoerd pouring scorn on the

228. House of Assembly Debates, 2577/54, 23.3.1954, Mr Mentz.
229. Ibid., 2599/54, 23.3.1954, Mr Coetzee.
230. Ibid., 2661/54, 23.3.1954, Mr Coetzee.
231. Ibid., 2710/54, 24.3.1954, Mr D.J. Potgieter.
232. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan papers DU 6, exchange of letters Duncan to Collins 12.9.1953 and Collins to Duncan 29.9.1953. Canon Collins made discreet enquiries about Saamtrek from Patrick Duncan. The paper had been started by Solly Sachs of whom Collins wrote "I have felt that Solly Sachs is a good man and I am glad to know that the paper he recommends is probably one that we can safely support."
233. House of Assembly Debates, 2710/54, 24.3.1954, Mr D.J. Potgieter.

petition that had been signed by numerous people in Johannesburg at the invitation of the Western Areas Protest Committees. The name of Bishop Reeves was at the top of the list. Dr. Verwoerd said that he lived in Westcliff, and went on to enumerate where the other signatories lived. They were almost all from the other northern suburbs, some from Rosettenville, whereas there were few from the other areas of artisan housing in the southern suburbs, and none at all from Westdene and Newlands. Dr. Verwoerd concluded,

> This is where these committee members who are responsible for this protest live .... It is very easy for such people to protest .... the people who are protesting in this case are living far from the areas in which the troubles occur.[234]

These comments during the parliamentary debate on the second reading of the Natives' Resettlement Bill illustrate the deep sense of resentment aroused by Huddleston's Western Areas Campaign. The church was probably fortunate that Bishop Reeves and Trevor Huddlston received no more attention than they did. This was because much of the interest in the debate was diverted by speculation whether there would be any more United Party conservatives, in particular Mr S.J. Tighy, now the M.P. for Florida, who would join the party's former Transvaal leader, Mr P. Bailey Bekker, on the cross-benches with the Independent United Party.[235]

When Dr Gluckman (United Party, Yeoville) announced that his party would be opposing the Bill, he had to acknowledge that the United Party had changed its policy.

> In view of the Minister's attitude as embodied in the Bill, and as explained in his speech, the United Party in Parliament and the United Party in the Johannesburg City Council cannot be held bound by any action or by any statement which they may have previously made in good faith and in the light of the circumstances then obtaining. 236

Others maintained that there had been no change. For instance, Mr R.B. Durrant (United Party, Turffontein) in an interjection insisted "We still stand for removals".[237] Mr Bailey Bekker

234. Ibid., 2879/54, 26.3.1954, Minister of Native Affairs.
235. See above, Chapter Nine, p. 491.
236. House of Assembly Debates, 2554/54, 23.3.1954, Dr. Gluckman.
237. Ibid., 2576/54, 23.3.1954, Mr R.B. Durrant.

later demanded to know "from my friends in the U.P. who kicked us out"

> .... why they have allowed the liberal clique to take over and reverse our policy ? .... Yes, we will vote for the Government on the same policy that my hon. friend [Dr. Gluckman] was voted in on during the last election .... This is a United Party Bill as much as a Government Bill in order to do away with the black spots. 238

All eyes were therefore on Mr Tighy (United Party, Florida) who as a City Councillor had initiated the original proposal for the removal of the Western Areas. Dr. H.G. Luttig (Nationalist, Mayfair), vividly described Mr Tighy's performance in the debate as an "egg-dance", and to the latter's discomfort pointed out, "he cannot vote for the amendment and still say he is in favour of the principle of this Bill".[239] In the division on the second reading of the Natives' Resettlement Bill Dr. A.H. Jonker (Cape Town Gardens),Mr Frank Waring (Orange Grove), Mr Blaar Coetzee (North Rand) and Mr Bailey Bekker (Johannesburg North) were joined only by Mr Arthur Barlow (Hospital) in voting for the Government. Mr Tighy abstained.[240] Dr. Luttig (Nationalist, Mayfair), pointed out that it was Councillor Jack Cutten's resolution of 19th November 1953 which had been the turning point "when the liberals won the day and Mr Strauss chose Mr Cutten's liberal policy rather than Councillor Gordon's conservative policy".[241]

Before this debate took place in Parliament, Bishop Reeves had written a letter for the April issue of The Watchman, which contained a severe indictment of the Natives' Resettlement Bill. He saw the creation of the Resettlement Board as interfering "drastically" with the traditional relationship between central government and the local authorities. It was a body

> .... set up by central authority [which] can carry out all its functions .... without securing the consent of the constitutionally elected citizens of Johannesburg, and at the same time make the city responsible for carrying out their policy and compel the City Council to meet the expense. 242

A month later Reeves responded to the attacks made upon him and Huddleston in Parliament. Anglicans in Johannesburg should not

238. Ibid., 2743, 2744 and 2751/54, 25.3.1954, Mr P.B. Bekker.
239. Ibid., 2675/54, 24.3.1954, Dr. H.G. Luttig.
240. Ibid., 2889-90/54, 26.3.1954.
241. Ibid., 2682/54, 24.3.1954, Dr. Luttig.
242. The Watchman, April 1954, p. 4.

"be surprised that the church comes under fire when this type of legislation is being considered".

> .... if we kept silent in the face of legislation (of which the Native Resettlement Bill is only one example of much recent legislation) which is offensive to the human conscience and which deals unjustly with those who will be affected by it, we should deserve to be discredited as a church .... The church has the right to speak out boldly, whatever may be the consequences, whenever basic human rights are threatened. This is not interfering in politics. 243

Archbishop Clayton devoted most of his newsletter to the Diocese of Cape Town on 18th April to the subject of the church's "investments" in Sophiatown.

> .... I want to tell you what these "investments" are. I do so because I have met people who supposed that the Church had owned slum property in the Western Areas.
>
> The so-called "investments" are a large and magnificent church holding some two thousand people, a mission house where the priests live who serve the church, a house where some sisters live who do missionary work in the area, and a school to which some generous lay churchman added a swimming bath for the use of the African scholars. Most of these buildings were erected through the enthusiasm of the Community of the Resurrection, and there is nothing of which I am personally more proud of than that it was I who asked the Community to undertake the spiritual charge of that district and appointed Father Raynes, the present Superior of the Community of the Resurrection, to be Priest-in-Charge.
>
> "Investments" usually produce dividends. Certainly the money and the devotion spent on Sophiatown have produced handsome dividends, but the dividends have not been financial. The Church does not make money out of Sophiatown. She has been only too glad to know that the dividends have been the souls of men. 244

Had the removal scheme anything to do with the church ? "Of course it has" said Clayton. "If you are concerned with a man's soul you must be concerned with his body ...."

> When I, like every other Anglican bishop, was consecrated to be a bishop, these words were said to me: "Hold up the weak, heal the sick, bind up the broken, bring again the outcasts, seek the lost". That gives every bishop a special responsibility for the poor. How can he dare to be silent when he believes that a wrong is being done to them. 245

243. The Watchman, May 1954, pp. 3-4.
244. Good Hope, May 1954, Archbishop's Letter.
245. Ibid., p. 2.

At the end of April Dr. Verwoerd, again under the protection of parliamentary privilege, referred to "agitators" like "Revd. Trevor Huddleston". Huddleston replied that he was quite prepared to accept the title of "agitator", adding,

> History shows that most of the reforms which have taken place in society have been the result of agitation, and I would dare to say all the Old Testament prophets were agitators. There is nothing dishonourable in being an agitator for the right things. 246

On 16th December 1954 the Community of the Resurrection held its usual day of prayer and fasting. A pro-government journal South Africa commented,

> Nothing could be more flagrant than the action of a small band of zealots in choosing the Day of the Covenant (so sacred to Afrikaner history) as a "Day of Prayer" for the oppressed masses of South Africa. 247

This incident illustrates again the intensity of feeling that Huddleston's vigorous participation in the Western Areas resistance campaign aroused. It was perceived by Huddleston's critics as another symptom of the C.R.'s insensitivity towards the Afrikaner.

On 19th April 1955 Mr Mentz (Nationalist, Westdene) returned to the attack, demanding that municipalities on the Rand should forbid priests "such as the Revd. Trevor Huddleston from entering and working in Native locations". He also suggested that leases for all church sites in Native locations should include clauses rendering the leases cancelled "if priests engaged in any activities other than spiritual".[248] Archbishop Clayton's earlier representations on this issue when he saw Dr. Verwoerd in 1954 will be remembered, and the Prime Minister, Mr J.G. Strijdom, accordingly replied that if people were guilty of breaches of the law, whether priests or not, they would not be allowed into those locations.[249]

Nothing, however, could equal the malevolence of the calumnies

246. Rand Daily Mail, 29.4.1954, "Father Huddleston replies: I'm quite happy to accept the title agitator".
247. S.P.G. Reports, 1954, p. 30.
248. The Star, 20.4.1955, "Nationalist M.P. wants some priests banned from locations".
249. Ibid., cf. above, Chapter Eleven, pp. 584 and 586.

heaped upon Trevor Huddleston than the remarks made under the protection of parliamentary privilege by the Minister of Justice, Mr C.R. Swart and the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, in the special debate which took place on the evening the removals began on Wednesday 9th February 1955. The Leader of the Opposition, Mr J.G.N. Strauss, had at 2.20 that afternoon moved the "adjournment of the house on a definite matter of urgent public importance", calling upon the Minister of Justice to give his reasons for imposing a ban on all public meetings in the Magisterial Districts of Johannesburg and Roodepoort for a period of twenty days.[250] Mr C.R. Swart's allegations about a planned armed uprising in Sophiatown, and Dr. H.F. Verwoerd's accusations of incitement to break the law, were such that Patrick Duncan wrote to Trevor Huddleston whose arrest now seemed imminent.

> I am writing to say how deeply I have been thinking of you ever since I read Swart's and Verwoerd's cowardly and contemptible attacks on you in the House. I feel ashamed to think that such men are our government. How anyone could so brazenly preface such attacks with the information that he does not know how true they are - and then proceed to make them - I do not understand. It is technique that the world has not seen outside the USSR and Hitler's Germany. [251]

Mr Swart told the house that on returning from overseas a few days earlier, he had been met by the police chiefs of Johannesburg and Pretoria who had told him of the serious situation that had arisen "not as a result of resistance from the people to be moved, but resistance as the result of incitement by a number of agitators".

> I was told that the greatest threat of danger came from a group of idle, lawless tsotsis who, unfortunately, were incited by certain people who pretend to be responsible persons, among others I am sorry to say, certain clergy and among them, Father Huddleston. [252]

Mr Swart then referred to what had happened in Kimberley, Port Elizabeth and East London three years before, "when blood flowed and horrible atrocities were committed, directly as a result of incitement and agitation by certain people." He described how

250. House of Assembly Debates, 802/55, 9.2.1955, 2.20 p.m., Mr J.G.N. Strauss.
251. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan papers DU 5.45.43, letter Duncan to Huddleston, 14.2.1955.
252. House of Assembly Debates, 862/55, 9.2.1955, Minister of Justice.

"the Security Service in Johannesburg" had attended meetings and noted what was said.

Among the many speeches recorded by the police, Mr Swart cited one by "a person known as Rev. Huddleston" in which he called for a united stand to "fight against Bantu Education and removal from the Western Areas".

> Africans, you must choose between two things - freedom or slavery. The time is past that we Africans must go crawling under the laws of the new Government. 253

Although Robert Resha had maintained that volunteers would not use violence and would offer non-violent resistance to the removals, Mr Swart claimed that "the police have reliable information that the Natives in Sophiatown have in their possession a number of machine-guns, revolvers, pistols, hand grenades, home-made rifles and home-made dynamite bombs."[254] He referred to the pamphlet published by the Resist Apartheid committee already cited above, and alleged that the police had information that "volunteers are going to employ the following methods to thwart removal:"

> .... the use of firearms and the throwing of stones; setting fire to Government transport and property; assaulting persons willing to move; the use of explosives loaded in old tyres and rolled towards the police so as to explode; the use of old vehicles loaded with explosives to be crashed into the lorries; the holding of meetings in the neighbourhood to encourage people not to move; feigned uprisings elsewhere in the neighbourhood to distract the attention of the Police and then concerted attacks on the lorries removing the things; possible chaos as the result of the attachment by the African National Congress of removal orders; possible attacks on neighbouring territory as well as damaging municipal transport and private vehicles; possible resistance by persons upon whom notices of removal had been served; masses of persons living in places like Orlando will be urged to take possession of the new dwellings at Meadowlands before the rightful owners can get in. I have mentioned a few things only to show what information was placed before me at the time. Whether all these things are true or whether they would have occurred is difficult for me to say, but our experience in other places has taught us to be careful. 255

Mr Swart then ascribed the success of the authorities firstly to surprise in advancing the first removals by three days, and secondly to the ban on meetings. He concluded with a specific

253. Ibid., 864/55, 9.2.1955, Minister of Justice.
254-255. Ibid., 866/55, 9.2.1955, Minister of Justice (my italics).

warning to Trevor Huddleston:

> I mention Rev. Huddleston's name. We should warn him and the Native leaders that the Government will be forced to take drastic action if they continue in that way. 256

Testimony during the Treason Trial centred at some length upon the evidence of Robert Resha as Volunteer-in-Chief for the Western Areas Campaign, and the eventual verdict turned on the issue of violence. At one point under the hostile questioning by Counsel for the Prosecution Mr Trengrove, Robert Resha replied,

> If the Minister of Justice says that in sending 2000 police to the Western Areas, fully armed, to go and look for arms which were never seen by any policemen, to intimidate and frighten the people of the Western Areas -if that is acting with restraint 257

The Treason Trial verdict effectively denied that the African National Congress had adopted a policy to overthrow the state by violence. Nor had the prosecution succeeded in proving "a case of contingent retaliation".[258] Replying to Mr Swart's allegations, Mr Alex Hepple, Leader of the Labour Party (Rosettenville) exclaimed in surprise,

> The first time I heard that there was any intention to use force or to violate the law of the land was when the Minister made these allegations tonight. 259

He pointed out that it had not been "secret subversive groups protesting against the removal" but "a public organization operating in the open holding meetings openly and openly declaring what its aims are".[260]

The fact that even Mr C.R. Swart expressed doubts about the truth of the reports made to him by his "security services", and nevertheless chose to make known these allegations under the protection of parliamentary privilege, illustrates the lengths to which both the police and the Government were prepared to go in making propaganda to suit their own purposes. The most immediate

256. Ibid.
257. KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol III, op. cit., p. 604 and pp. 579-626, "Does the ANC advocate violence ?" Treason Trial testimony, March-October 1960, Document 55, Testimony by Dr. Wilson, Z. Conco, Chief A.J. Luthuli, Nelson R. Mandela, Robert Resha, Gert Sibande, M.B. Yengwe, Professor Z.K. Matthews (extracts).
258. Ibid., p. 348.
259. House of Assembly Debates, 871/55, 9.2.1955, Mr Hepple.
260. Ibid.

significance of these statements in Parliament was their intimidatory effect upon those who had declared their intention to resist the removals, and the threat to those who had been named. Even if the allegations of armed violence were known to be absurd, the further remarks made by the Minister of Native Affairs Dr. H.F. Verwoerd were more dangerous, since his allegations about incitement to break a law carried the severe penalties laid down by the Criminal Laws Amendment Act of 1953.[261]

The organizers of a campaign to incite people to disobey the compulsory removal orders applied in terms of the Natives' Resettlement Act could well have been accused of incitement to break a law. Referring to the report in the Rand Daily Mail quoting what Alan Paton, Patrick Duncan and Trevor Huddleston had said at the opening of the exhibition of photographs on the Western Areas, Dr. Verwoerd asked, "Is that not a meeting held to incite to break the law ?"[262] Evidently Dr. Verwoerd was not himself sure that such a charge would be upheld in court, for later in the same speech he referred to "the Huddlestons of this country, the Reshas, the Vundhlas and the Patons who always express themselves so cleverly that they cannot be brought before court".[263] Like Mr Swart, Dr. Verwoerd singled out Trevor Huddleston for special mention, and his speech underlined the imminent danger of his position.

> I will not allow a Native family to suffer because of the foolish action of a churchman who is as much a stranger in this country as the Scotts or the Collinses. I will not wreak vengeance on the Natives because of this person .... But if the Native families directly oppose us, in other words, if they are imbued with the same spirit as the Rev. Huddleston, they should not expect any further consideration from this Government. They have forfeited their chance ....
>
> .... The man who says: I accuse the Minister of not having sufficient reasons for taking these steps .... is only encouraging the Huddlestons of this country .... if we cannot get that peace and quiet, if we are to have continuous interference and incitement, I shall have to approach the Minister of Justice continually for such assistance as he has already given me. 264

261. See above, Chapter Nine, p. 459.
262. House of Assembly Debates, 883/55, 9.2.1955, Minister of Native Affairs.
263. Ibid., 889/55, 9.2.1955, Minister of Native Affairs.
264. Ibid., 888 and 889/55, 9.2.1955, Minister of Native Affairs.

Why, then, did Trevor Huddlesteon evoke such deep antipathy from his political opponents ? It was not merely because he refuted the false claims of Afrikanerdom's leading politicians so effectively and fearlessly. The innuendo implicit in these attacks made on him by Nationalist Members of Parliament shows that Huddleston offended three important conventions of South African life. Firstly, there was the idea that a clergyman should take no part in politics and that concern for social and political justice for black people was no part of pastoral care. Although Huddleston had become a South African citizen by domicile he was nevertheless still regarded as a foreign missionary. As such he aroused in Afrikaners that historic antipathy towards those who, since Dr. John Philip of the London Missionary Society, had embarrassed them by raising the question of political rights for the "Natives" of South Africa. Secondly, Huddleston repeated his arguments about such injustices outside South Africa, in a deliberate attempt to discredit his adopted country in the eyes of the world, and this was deemed to be disloyal. Thirdly, he also repeated his arguments in the presence of "non-Europeans", which made him in the eyes of white South Africans an irresponsible agitator. Those who did such things were bound to antagonize the Government. However, what made Huddleston such a frustrating antagonist was that all could see how obviously his social and political concerns derived directly from his devotion to the pastoral care of his parishioners. For Dr. H.F. Verwoerd in particular, who in his parliamentary speeches set much store by the logical deployment of facts, Trevor Huddleston had shown himself to be at least his equal in arguing against the Western areas removal scheme.

NABOTH'S VINEYARD.

When electricity first came to Sophiatown in 1930, Dorothy Maud exclaimed happily that a "black spot" had been removed from Johannesburg.[265] In 1955 the removal of a "black spot" had come to mean not the electrification of the Western Areas, but their

265. CPSA Archive, AB 396f, Report of Ekutuleni to Synod, November 1930. See above, p. 688.

compulsory removal and total destruction. Destroyed with them were Ekutuleni and St. Cyprian's School, Mr Smith's swimming pool and the Princess Alice Hospital, a nursery school for 400 children and a magnificent church, and the priory of Christ the King. Christian work which had been sacrificially and lovingly built up over twenty years was destroyed for the sake of an ideology which Trevor Huddleston declared to be blasphemous. The loss of these buildings was not the point at issue for Trevor Huddleston, grievous as the loss was to his Community. He said he was prepared to be patient, forgiving and charitable, towards those who directed their actions against him. But what he was not prepared to do was to be patient and charitable "at the expense of injustice and cruelty to someone else".[266]

The C.R. said little about the loss of their buildings, nor claimed that they should receive large sums of compensation. Trevor Huddleston concentrated his prophetic attack upon the injustice that was being perpetrated upon the people of Sophiatown who were in his pastoral care. He knew they had not moved willingly.

> They are happy in Meadowlands. All right, all right, let us admit it. But one day Sophiatown will be a white suburb: or perhaps a white industrial zone, with factories and workshops standing where the rubble now lies. Its life as an African township will be forgotten. Perhaps only the names of Tobiansky's children at the street corners will remind men of the past. But it will be stolen property. And nothing that man can do will alter that. Nor, I believe will the African people ever forget it: however happy they may be at Meadowlands, however long the years since that February morning when an army came to Sophiatown and destroyed it for ever. 267

Trevor Huddleston's most conspicuous success in spite of all the criticisms that could be made about the A.N.C.'s Western Areas campaign, was the indelible impression made upon world opinion. The Western Areas removal scheme was the first in a long and painful experience of compulsory removals from so-called "black spots" in white areas.[268] The abiding memory for black people of white injustice is forever enshrined in the choice of the name "Triomf"

266. HUDDLESTON, op. cit., p. 173.
267. Ibid., p. 144, (my italics).
268. The Natal Witness, 12.2.1983, "Era of mass removals is over: says Govt.", and NASH, M., Black uprooting from "White" South Africa, Johannesburg: SACC 1980.

for the white suburb built where Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare once stood. The title of Trevor Huddleston's book, Naught for your comfort, like that of Alan's Paton's Cry the Beloved Country, has become a part of the vocabulary of South Africa, and Huddleston's quotation from the poem by G.K. Chesterton returns to haunt the conscience of white South Africa as compulsory removals have continued.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

TREVOR HUDDLESTON: HIS THEORY AND PRACTICE OF RESISTANCE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

On 9th January 1955 Trevor Huddleston wrote, in another of his articles for The Observer,

> As we face the fateful year that lies ahead of us .... I believe that the year 1955 may well mark a point of no return. I believe that what occurs in it may be of absolute and final significance in the development of race-relations in South Africa; and I believe that this development may profoundly affect the whole continent and the whole Commonwealth. [1]

He warned that the implementation of the Bantu Education Act on 1st April, the expropriation of the Western Areas and the Congress of the People "must" each "emphasize the underlying tensions" and "could" be "the beginning of a conflagration" in the "fateful" year that lay ahead.[2] For Trevor Huddleston himself 1955 marked a point of no return. His unrelenting and outspoken warnings about the threat to civil liberty, the dangers of Bantu Education and the Western Areas removals, had placed him on a collision course with the Government. The purpose of this chapter is to analyse Huddleston's theory and practice of Christian resistance to apartheid and to take note of the consequences. The practice of Christian resistance to the South African Government bestowed its special rewards but also exacted its own price. At the Congress of the People on 25th June 1955 Huddleston received the Isitwalandwe award, "the highest distinction of the liberatory struggle".[3]

1. The Observer, 9.1.1955, "Point of no Return" by Father Trevor Huddleston C.R.
2. Ibid.
3. KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol III, op. cit., p. 186, Document 10, Police Record of the Congress of the People, Kliptown, Johannesburg, June 25-6 1955. From the Treason Trial Record, pp. 6486-6526.

Five months later he was to learn the devastating news that Father Raymond Raynes had decided to recall him to Mirfield where he was to take up the position of Novice Master.[4] A year later his book about his ministry in South Africa Naught for your Comfort became a best-seller as he undertook with Raynes a lecture tour of the United States and Britain, during which audiences in their thousands turned out to hear him.[5] Only twelve months after his recall to Mirfield he was to suffer renewed agonies of frustration and the trauma of exile when 156 men and women who had been associated with him in the struggle to resist apartheid, and among whom he numbered many of his closest friends, were arrested on charges of High Treason in December 1956.[6]

Also dealt with in this chapter are the arresting series of articles he wrote for church newspapers and The Observer between 1953 and 1955 in order to mobilize world opinion against the policies of the South African Government and to awaken the conscience of Christians in Britain towards the injustices of the policy of apartheid. This campaign to mobilize opinion in Britain had its counterpart in the reaction to the visit of Canon John Collins to South Africa in 1954, and the interesting responses that Collins and Huddleston each aroused in Archbishop Clayton and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Fisher. First, however, it is necessary to examine Trevor Huddleston's theory of Christian resistance.

TREVOR HUDDLESTON'S THEORY OF CHRISTIAN RESISTANCE.

Trevor Huddleston's theory of Christian resistance developed from his early and most deeply held convictions about the church's ministry learned from Bishop Frank Weston of Zanzibar, who had said "go out and find the poor and identify Christ in them".[7] As Huddleston set about his work in Sophiatown he discovered that this principle called for a whole-hearted identification with the

4. Wits. Archive AD 1169, Paton papers A 1-8, letters Huddleston to Paton 29.12.1955 and 4.2.1956.
5. HUDDLESTON, Trevor, Naught for your Comfort, Collins/Fontana 1956 and 1957, Eighth impression June 1968, p. 191.
6. See below, pp. 808-810.
7. See above, Chapter Thirteen, pp. 689-90.

oppressed "non-European" peoples of South Africa. This was to become a constant theme in his sermons and addresses from the beginning of 1953.[8] The manner of his intervention on behalf of the people of Newclare has already been noted, and illustrates that Huddleston's talk of identification was no mere flight of platform oratory.[9]

Soon after the Nationalists came to power he had foreseen the looming crisis between church and state. In an article published in The Star in February 1949, Huddleston pointed to the clauses in the National Party's manifesto which claimed apartheid was "based on Christian principles of justice and reasonableness". He continued,

> .... precisely because again and again, the Government has claimed to act on Christian principles it is the duty of the church to challenge this claim. Not to do so would be to allow this claim to go by default .... This is precisely what happened in the early days of the Nazi movement in Germany, and only when it was too late did the churches realise what had happened and protest against it. By that time the State had already achieved its purpose ....

Commenting on the Prime Minister's refusal to receive a delegation of the Christian Council in 1949 Huddleston had added,

> .... It is but one stage from this attitude to the view that the churches have no right to criticize the State at all: that if they do so they are guilty of treason. 10

Many believed that Huddleston would have been among the defendants at the Treason Trial had Father Raynes not withdrawn him from South Africa.[11] As it was, the indictment on charges of High Treason of two Anglican priests, James Calata and W.S. Gawe, along with numbers of devoted Christians like Chief Luthuli, Oliver Tambo and Z.K. Matthews among leaders of the A.N.C., gives to Huddleston's remarks in 1949 a prophetic ring. His most trenchant criticisms of apartheid made on theological grounds, were made all the more cogent by his intimate knowledge and vivid portrayal of the evil consequences of this policy upon the lives of his parishioners in Sophiatown.

8. See above, Chapter Thirteen, p. 727, and Chapter Eight p. 431.
9. See above, Chapter Thirteen, pp. 705 ff.
10. The Star, 26.2.1949.
11. HOOPER, The Revd. Canon Charles, Interview, Manzini, 15.12.1980.

The most striking feature of Trevor Huddleston's theory and practice of resistance to apartheid was that his methods remained within the law normally prescribed in a liberal democratic society for freedom of speech, movement and of association. Like the Congress movement, who remained loyal to Gandhian principles of non-violent resistance, Trevor Huddleston eschewed any thought of using violence to achieve his ends. The picture of Father Huddleston portrayed by Mr C.R. Swart in Parliament on 9th February 1955 was thus strangely out of character.[12] With Robert Resha, it was intimated that Huddleston was the agitator of a mob of tsotsis in Sophiatown who would loot and burn buildings, and shoot and bomb the police. It was implied that the 50 000 freedom volunteers who were awaiting the signal to converge on Sophiatown from every part of the Union as the bulldozers moved in to evict the first families would then be issued with weapons that the "Natives of Sophiatown" had amassed for what was likely to be a bloody battle with the police. Both the Minister of Justice and the Police must have believed this far-fetched scenario, because the prosecution's case in the Treason Trial sought to prove that the Congress Movement had formed a conspiracy to overthrow the Government by armed rebellion. The most frightening thing of all was that this opinion, held by the senior police officers of the cities of Johannesburg and Pretoria, was based upon the cumulative reports of police informers over the preceding two years. The prediction made five years before by Dr. Bernard Friedman during the second reading debate of the Suppression of Communism Bill had come to pass. The Government in its insecurity now saw a threat in every criticism and treason in every protest. Because the police could not be everywhere they had enlisted the services of paid informers. The spirit of insurrection and resistance had grown. Mr C.R. Swart, if the prognosis of his own police chiefs was to be believed, was as Dr. Friedman had predicted forging the weapons of his Government's own eventual destruction.[13]

Reference has already been made to Huddleston's assertion, "The weapons I have used have been the only ones that lie at my disposal: my mind, my tongue and my pen".[14] Trevor Huddleston's

12. See above Chapter Thirteen, p. 742 ff.

13. See above, Chapter Six, p. 268.

14. See above, Chapter Thirteen, p. 723, citing Naught for your Comfort, op. cit., p. 172.

most effective "weapon", and one which he employed to great effect, was the English language press. The files of both Johannesburg English language newspapers, the Rand Daily Mail and The Star, are replete with articles and reports under his name. He made particular use of the evening newspaper The Star, where he recalled how Olga Price, "a marvellous woman reporter" could "take a story straight down onto the typewriter".[15] Canon Charles Hooper spoke of how "newsmen liked Huddleston: he had great charm".

> He was a deeply prayerful person who didn't look like an activist. He never fumbled. He never had to retract. Trevor would have made a good Archbishop. [16]

The reason why Trevor Huddleston embarked on a campaign to mobilize world opinion against South Africa's policies overseas, was that he could see how the editors of South African newspapers were "already extremely nervous" of publishing reports about the Defiance Campaign. Moreover this tendency towards self-censorship was likely to become more pronounced once the Criminal Laws Amendment Bill became law, prescribing as it did such heavy penalties for incitement. Therefore Huddleston concluded in his letter to Canon Collins in February 1953, "we have reached the point in South Africa where we must depend on outside help to the fullest extent, particularly the Press".[17]

Huddleston nevertheless continued to make effective use of statements and interviews to South African newspapers, and these reports served to give a more balanced perspective to public perceptions of the issues connected with the A.N.C.'s resistance to Bantu Education and the Western Areas removals. For instance, Huddleston's response to Dr. H.F. Verwoerd's threats against those teachers and children who supported the A.N.C.'s schools' boycott in April 1955 was more credible than the image of the A.N.C. that had been portrayed in Parliament by the Minister of Justice, Mr C.R. Swart, and the Minister of Native Affairs on 9th February. They depicted the A.N.C. as a dangerous, clandestine and subversive

15. HUDDLESTON, The Right Revd. Trevor, Interview, Stepney 25.6.1975, and letter to the author from Mauritius, 20.10.1981.
16. HOOPER, The Revd. Canon Charles, Interview, Manzini, 15.12.1980.
17. CPSA Archive AB 1095, Archbishop's Correspondence with Archbishop of Canterbury 1950-1961, copy of letter Huddleston to Canon Collins, 20.2.1953.

organization who had formed a conspiracy to overthrow the South African Government by violent revolution. Trevor Huddleston told the Rand Daily Mail in an interview on 21st April 1955 that

> .... by threatening to remove subsidies and deprive both children and teachers, Dr. Verwoerd is using the methods of a bully. Over and over again, parents have used the method of boycott if conditions were unsatisfactory. In the case of a European school no Minister would dare to suggest the withdrawal of subsidies and the closing of the schools. By bringing in large numbers of police an attempt is being made to discredit the resistance movement as something subversive. It is nothing of the sort. It is a straight forward protest on moral grounds against what are believed to be, and what I believe to be real evils. 18

Only a month later Helen Navid was banned in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act. She had served as secretary to Huddleston's Western Areas Protest Committee, so Huddleston could speak with real knowledge of the love and esteem in which she was held by the people of Alexandra Township. But for Huddleston's interview published in The Star, and the moving description of the protest meeting which took place in Alexandra Township in Huddleston's book Naught for your Comfort, her banning might have gone unnoticed like that of Oliver Tambo a year before. Helen Navid made the difficult decision to leave South Africa for Israel before the new Passport Regulation Act of 1955 was gazetted. This made it a punishable offence for anyone to have assisted her to cross any of South Africa's boundaries by land sea or air.[19] Huddleston told The Star,

> I was shocked to hear, on my return from Rhodesia last week, that Miss Helen Navid, head of the Entokozweni Family Welfare Centre in Alexandra Township had been visited by two members of the C.I.D. who served a banning order on her.
>
> .... I wish to record the strongest possible protest against this action because it is to deprive the community of a valuable social worker. I know that the people of Alexandra Township feel strongly about the matter and it is going to increase and deepen tensions. 20

Trevor Huddleston's view on the question of the church's involvement in politics is worth noting and was stated in Naught

18. Rand Daily Mail, 21.4.1955.
19. HUDDLESTON, Trevor, Naught for your Comfort, op. cit., pp. 109-112.
20. The Star, 21.5.1955, "Protest at Banning of Social Worker".

for your Comfort,

> Whilst I would defend in any company the right of the Church to take part in the political life of the country, I would deny as categorically its right to align itself with any one party. 21

It might be argued that Huddleston's identification with the African National Congress constituted an alignment with one political party. It might also be suggested that by accepting the Freedom Charter he was also aligning himself with the manifesto of a particular political group. Like his friends in the Congress movement, Huddleston saw this participation rather as taking part in the political life of the country, and not as aligning himself with one political party. The Congress movement, which drew up the Freedom Charter, did not consist of any one party, but embraced people of all parties and creeds. Nor was there anything in the Charter which Huddleston could not subscribe to as a Christian. His prophetic words, in his Cathedral sermon on the occasion of the Jubilee of the City of Johannesburg in 1946, made it plain that a re-distribution of the riches and wealth of the country was a necessity. He could thus subscribe to the Freedom Charter as a Christian, without being a Marxist. There was no political party in existence at that time, except the Liberal Party, in which he would have felt at home. Like Archbishop Clayton, he did not join the Liberal Party. His friendship with Alan Paton was personal. He teased Paton for allowing his "politicking" for the Liberal Party to submerge his work as an author.[22]

By the time he left South Africa Trevor Huddleston was convinced that apartheid was a "blasphemy".[23] He had experienced at first hand the practical effects of the implementation of this policy upon his parishioners. When he wrote that "racialism in any form is an attack on the nature of Man", he spoke of what he knew of the practice of apartheid.[24] This was no lofty theological statement. When he concluded that racialism was an attack on the nature of God Himself, he did so to prove that apartheid was a blasphemy.[25] What made the ideology of apartheid even

21. HUDDLESTON, op. cit., p. 184.
22. Wits. Archive, AD 1169, Paton Papers, letter Huddleston to Paton, 19.10,1956.
23. HUDDLESTON, op. cit., p. 180.
24. MORGAN, Dewi, The Undying Fire, London: Mowbray 1959, p. 84.
25. Ibid.

more repugnant to him was that to enforce it required the apparatus of a police state. Thus it was that on 28th June 1953 he came to regard the Government of South Africa as a tyranny. He had already begun to think this at the time when he gave the opening speech at the mass provincial conference organized by the A.N.C. (Transvaal) and the Transvaal Indian Congress on 15th February in the Free Trades Hall. They met to protest against the Criminal Laws Amendment Act and the Public Safety Act. Huddleston began by telling his audience that he identified himself entirely with their struggle. By proposing these measures, said Huddleston, the Government had "taken a very long step towards tyranny".[26] He reminded his hearers that down the ages it had been the teaching of the church that, when "government descends into tyranny its laws cease to be binding upon its subjects".[27] In Naught for your Comfort he identified the teaching as that of Thomas Aquinas.[28]

It is thus illuminating to see how Thomas Aquinas dealt with the question of sedition in relation to a tyrannical government. In his Summa Theologica Thomas asked whether sedition was a mortal sin. The conclusion he reached was that it was, except when a government was tyrannical. He even asserted that "it is praiseworthy to deliver a multitude from a tyrannical rule", but warned,

> Yet this cannot easily be done without some dissention in the multitude, if one part of the multitude seeks to retain the tyrant whilst the rest try to dethrone him. [29]

The experience of the African National Congress in its campaigns against the South African Government in the fifties thus found an echo in Thomist teaching about the Christian's response to tyrannical rule, which asserts that

> A tyrannical government is not just, because it is directed not to the common good, but to the private good of the ruler, as the Philosopher states. Consequently there is no sedition in disturbing a government of this kind, unless indeed the tyrant's rule be disturbed so inordinately that his subjects suffer greater harm from the consequent

26-27. SAIRR, Jan Hofmeyr Library, Box 43 Passive Resistance, AFRIKA Bulletin No. 2, issued by the ANC (Transvaal) and Transvaal Indian Congress, mimeo 2 pp. "Mass conference call for militant struggle against Swart Bills". cf. also The Observer 22.2.1953 and 15.4.1956, "Profile of Trevor Huddleston", and Chapter Eight p. 431 above.

28. HUDDLESTON, op. cit., p. 173.

29. AQUINAS, Thomas, The Summa of St. Thomas Aquinas, translation by the Fathers of the English Dominican Province, London: Burns Oates and Washbourne 1916, Vol. 9, pp. 517-8. Part II-II, Question 42, Article 2 "Of Sedition" Whether Sedition is always a mortal sin ?" Obj. 3, p. 517, Reply Obj. 3, p. 518. "The Philosopher" is Aristotle: Politics iii 5 and Ethics viii.10. Also published New York: Benziger 1947-8, Vol. II, pp. 1365-6.

> disturbance than from the tyrant's government. Indeed it is the tyrant rather that is guilty of sedition, since he encourages discord and sedition among his subjects that he may lord over them more securely; for this is tyranny, being conducive to the private good of the ruler and to the injury of the multitude. 30

The manner of Yusuf Cachalia's arrest in the Odin Cinema in Sophiatown on 28th June 1953 demonstrated to Trevor Huddleston that the Nationalist Government was indeed a tyranny which had to be resisted by every means.[31] It could not be said of Huddleston that he had reached this conclusion lightly. By then he had been "on the receiving end" of the ideology of apartheid for almost ten years. He knew what it meant for African people to be arrested under the pass laws, to feel the constant pressure of police harassment and to witness the intimidating threat of overwhelming force. Then he saw the normal democratic means of trying to curb such practices, and to change unjust laws, being systematically denied by Nationalist legislation and police action. In 1953 the parallels with Nazi Germany were too close for comfort, and could not be ignored. The spectre of the police state was becoming all too real for those who lived in Sophiatown and were active in the Congress movement. Huddleston saw people he knew intimately being arrested and banned, their movements under continual police surveillance. The majority of white Anglicans lived far from such unseemly experiences.

MOBILIZING WORLD OPINION.

Reference has already been made to the letter Trevor Huddleston wrote to Canon John Collins a week after he had addressed the mass conference called by the A.N.C. (Transvaal) and the Transvaal Indian Congress in the Free Trades Hall, Johannesburg on 15th February 1953, when he had declared his support for the

30. Ibid. In a letter to the author, 20.10.1981, Archbishop Huddleston wrote: "I regret I cannot remember where I found the basis in Thomas Aquinas for my assertion about 'when a Government descends to a tyranny its laws cease to be binding on its subjects'. I have no way of finding the relevant passage now, but I am sure I would not have quoted Aquinas without authority".
31. HUDDLESTON, op. cit., p. 57, and KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 10.

Defiance Campaign.[32] In this letter to Collins, Huddleston had concluded

> .... that the only thing which may shake our Government is determined hostility from the rest of the world, and so I urge with all the strength in my power that you go all-out for publicity. 33

It was the arrest of Yusuf Cachalia on 28th June 1953 at the meeting in the Odin Cinema, Sophiatown, which marked the beginning of the A.N.C.'s Western Areas Campaign that led Trevor Huddleston to implement his earlier decision. He then employed his considerable skills as a journalist in writing a succession of letters and articles for newspapers in England, designed to arouse the conscience of Christians there against South Africa's racial policies.

The experience of seeing Cachalia led out of that meeting by a heavily armed contingent of one hundred police with automatic weapons at the ready brought home to Huddleston as never before "the terrifying spectre of the police state".[34] The "totalitarianism and tyranny" of that incident persuaded him that the only way to meet this threat to civil liberty was "to arouse the Christian conscience throughout the world".[35] However, he recognised that

> .... in appealing to the Christian conscience overseas through the press one immediately laid oneself open to attack as disloyal to South Africa. 36

One object of the Western Areas Protest Committee was to arouse the awareness of those living in the European suburbs of Johannesburg. Trevor Huddleston, as its Chairman, also clearly saw that the campaign could not be confined to Johannesburg, and ought to be extended not only nationwide, but also overseas.

Early in July a strong letter from Father Huddleston was published in the Church Times, designed to rouse the conscience of Anglicans in England to oppose South Africa's racial policies.[37] This was followed at the end of August by a letter to the Observer, headed "For God's sake wake up".[38] Huddleston's attack focussed

32. See above, Chapter Nine pp. 480-5, and p. 755.
33. See above, Chapter Nine, p. 481, citing letter Huddleston to Collins 20.2.1953.
34. HUDDLESTON, op. cit., p. 57.
35, 36. Ibid.
37. CPSA Archive AB 1289, Archbishop of Cape Town's SPG File, 1953. Letter from Bishop Roberts to Archbishop Clayton 15.7.1953, referring to Huddleston's letter in the Church Times "last week", i.e. probably 10.7.1953.
38. The Observer, 30.8.1953, letter from South Africa "For God's sake wake up" by Fr. Trevor Huddleston.

on "the viciousness of [recent] legislation", and drew attention to the way in which Mr C.R. Swart, the Minister of Justice, had been photographed holding a "villainous-looking 'cat-o-nine-tails' to illustrate his determination to make whipping compulsory for certain cases". What was the Christian to do in the face of such legislation as the Suppression of Communism Act, the Group Areas Act, the Criminal Laws Amendment Act, the Public Safety Act and a new bill whose object was to "control Native labour and make illegal any attempt at Native trade unionism" for such were the instruments of a police state. Christians could do as Patrick Duncan had done and make "some courageous act of defiance". Huddleston then made an important statement of his own position:

> In my opinion the only possible choice for Christians is identification with the African people: a sharing in their sufferings so far as this is possible - and a determination to do all in one's power to make known what is unjust and to strive against it. 39

He acknowledged that

> .... until recently, Christian bodies working in South Africa told England that they preferred to fight their own battle and that any protest from Christians elsewhere would only increase their difficulties. 40

That, however, was when there was some hope of influencing the Government from within South Africa. Since the general election of April 1953, Huddleston saw the Government's "implacability" increase, and its "determination to pursue their Native policy without let or hindrance". He concluded,

> Within South Africa, in spite of every effort that can be made, there is, humanly speaking, no hope of influencing the present Government .... we, in South Africa, cannot now fight this evil alone. We need the support of Christendom. We need the support of everyone who believes in the dignity of man. We need the support of every honest and sane person ....
>
> .... In Germany the Churches believed too long in the possibility of compromise with nationalism and racialism. And Christians in England were too late in realising their own responsibility. Let us not make the same mistake .... Let us show the Government of the Union of South Africa that at least in the sight of Christians its policy is a matter of deep and profound concern and of present condemnation. I cannot say it too strongly. Time is very short 41

Mary Benson told Patrick Duncan, "Father Huddleston has

39-41. Ibid.

made some splendid appeals recently and we have just had one today which goes very far indeed .... we wonder whether he realises that it might mean his being deported".[42]

From the pulpit of St. Paul's Cathedral, Canon John Collins asked, "Dare we, in the face of this appeal, remain apathetic ?"

> Can we any longer believe that it is safe to leave matters to the Church in South Africa ? We have already the cry for help from such great Christians as Father Huddleston and Patrick Duncan. 43

Canon Collins considered that there were three things which could be done by Christians in England. First they should write to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and ask the Bishops of the Church of England to proclaim their support for Trevor Huddleston, Patrick Duncan and Alan Paton. Secondly, the Bishops of the church in South Africa "should appoint at least one church in each diocese where no colour bar of any sort whatever operates". Thirdly, Christians in England should make good any loss of revenue which the church in South Africa might suffer by so doing. The Star called this "unhelpful advice" and suggested that

> Father Huddleston might well reflect whether he and his friends here would not after all be better off without this kind of support from "abroad". 44

On being asked by the Editor of The Observer to tell readers in England what he thought Christians in England should do, Huddleston suggested four possible courses of action:

> .... first and foremost the Christian conscience all over the world should become vocal .... secondly .... the British Government should be pressed to make its views on racial discrimination known to the South African Government. .... thirdly .... be sure of your facts. There are several organizations in Britain, such as the Africa Bureau, Christian Action etc. which will certainly supply such information and which need support.
>
> .... Finally be quite sure the African in your midst is loved and cared for 45

Reference has already been made to The Observer's commendation

42. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan Papers DU 5.9.15, letter Mary Benson to Patrick Duncan, 30.9.1953.
43. Rand Daily Mail, 7.9.1953, "Anglican Church has failed in politics - Canon of St. Paul's".
44. The Star, 7.9.1953, Editorial, "Unhelpful Advice".
45. The Observer, 13.9.1953, "Reply from Africa".

of the South African Episcopal Synod's statement in October 1953, which referred to "Brave Bishops".[46] The Director of the South African Church Institute, C.T. Wood, hastened to correct the "misleading suggestion that hitherto they have been intimidated and silent", saying in a letter to The Observer,

> It was Fr. Huddleston himself who wrote of the glaring false impression that the Anglican church has failed to give a lead in racial matters, and added; "This is patently untrue and most unfair to our Church leaders in this country who again and again have spoken clearly and decisively on racial issues. [47]

In another letter to the Church Times, Wood accused Canon Collins of attacking the wrong church. "We are a multiracial church", he claimed.[48] Meanwhile, Canon Hudson of St. Alban's on behalf of the Church of England in South Africa referred to Collins' and Huddleston's "irresponsible outbursts".[49] In South Africa, Alan Paton pleaded that whilst "these outside critics may not always help us .... we must not let them anger us".[50] He cited two eminent visitors to South Africa who had not reached the same conclusion as Wood had done. Dean Liston Pope of Yale University had observed that the differences of theory between the Dutch Reformed and English-speaking churches did not lead to any noticeable differences in practice. Dr. Visser 'tHooft, Secretary of the World Council of Churches, had noted that there was a discrepancy between the principle and the practice of the English-speaking churches.[51] Collins' statement in the same sermon that the Church of England should supply no money to any missionary society which was not committed in action as well as in word to the abolition of the colour bar, provoked considerable debate in the S.P.G.'s Africa Committee.[52] Canon E.H. Roseveare, who had worked as

46. The Observer, 1.11.1953, Comment, "Brave Bishops". See above, Chapter Eleven, p. 576.
47. CPSA Archive AB 707, SACI Papers, letter from the Director of SACI to the Editor, The Observer, 3.11.1953.
48. CPSA Archive AB 707 loc. cit., letter from the Director of SACI (C.T. Wood) to the Editor, Church Times, 15.9.1953.
49. CPSA Archive AB 707 loc. cit., letter C.T. Wood to Bishop of Chichester (George Bell), September 1953.
50. The Forum, October 1953, p. 17, "The English speaking Churches and the Colour Bar", by Alan Paton.
51. Ibid., see also The Ecumenical Review, January 1953, No 2, "A visit to the South African Churches in April and May 1952 as reported to the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches at Lucknow 31.12.1952-9.1.1953", pp. 174 ff, especially pp. 191 and 192.
52. CPSA Archive AB 707 loc. cit., letter Director of the SACI (C.T. Wood) to the Secretary, SPG (Bishop Basil Roberts), 17.9.1953.

an S.P.G. missionary in the C.P.S.A. for twenty-five years, went to see Canon Collins to express his distress and concern about "the way his public utterances were tending to hinder and undermine the C.P.S.A.'s work in South Africa, in particular,

1) Casting false and unworthy doubts on the Church's witness, which is actually very brave, faithful and insistent.
2) Discouraging people who would support mission work in South Africa by suggesting that it is not on the right lines.
3) Calling for money in support of those engaged in the Passive Resistance Movement, which is political action, though some Christians conscientiously take part in it. 53

Roseveare considered that Collins had thus justifiably laid himself open to the charge of "irresponsible mischief-making". Though he found Collins "very affable", Roseveare did not however think that he had "made the slightest impression on him".[54]

Thus Huddleston's articles and Collins' sermons together made a considerable impact in Britain. There was anxious consultation between the Lambeth Palace, S.P.G. House in Westminster, and Cape Town. It was known that Archbishop Clayton had always discouraged the church from making protests in England, a view that had been endorsed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Responding to the "rather acrid conversation" he had with Canon Collins, and the letter Collins had received from Huddleston referred to above, Dr. Fisher described their agreed policy on statements in England about South Africa.

> As you know the policy I agreed with you was that we should not throw our weight about here concerning political questions in South Africa, but that we should back up all that the Bishops of the Province themselves say. To that policy I have always adhered: I have done my best to keep Collins along that line but have completely failed. 55

Clayton replied that he "warmly appreciated" and was "very grateful" for the line that Canterbury had taken. "We never supposed that you would be able to keep all the wild men within the Church of England quiet".[56] Clayton also consulted Bishop Reeves, saying that he disagreed with Father Huddleston,

53. CPSA Archive AB 707 loc. cit.,"An informal memorandum of our conversation between Canon E.H. Roseveare and Canon L.H. Collins [sic] at mid-day on Tuesday 22.9.1953".
54. Ibid.
55. CPSA Archive AB 1095, Archbishop's Correspondence with Archbishop of Canterbury 1950-1961, letter Canterbury to Cape Town 3.3.1953. See also above: Chapter Nine, pp. 482-5; Chapter Eleven p. 614 and Chapter Thirteen, p. 705.
56. CPSA Archive AB 1095 loc. cit., letter Cape Town to Canterbury 9.3.1953.

> In the past you and others have agreed with me in deprecating agitation in England. I should like to know whether you are still of the same opinion or whether you think the situation has been changed by recent legislation. 57

Unfortunately Reeves' reply is not in the archive. His actions, however, were to speak louder than words, for, as described in the previous chapter, both Reeves and Huddleston came under strong attack in the House of Assembly for their agitation against the Western Areas removal scheme overseas.[58]

S.P.G., too, had been very careful hitherto to avoid making any pronouncements that might jeopardise the entry of missionaries into South Africa, or embarrass church leaders within South Africa. Bishop Basil Roberts, the Secretary of S.P.G., quickly wrote to Archbishop Clayton asking whether conditions had so altered that "intelligent and responsible protest from this side would now be welcomed".[59] Clayton's reply left no doubt that he had not changed his mind. He did not think "that the Union Government is at all likely to change its attitude because of criticism in England".

> I believe that the attitude disclosed in Father Huddleston's letter is likely to unite practically all Europeans in South Africa behind the Government, and that if his advice were followed on a large scale it would merely have the result of causing South Africa to clear out of the Commonwealth.
>
> If people in England think themselves bound to make protests against racial discrimination, either because of their moral indignation or because they think it will help them to keep on good terms with Africans throughout the Continent, let them do so; only do not let them suppose that they will be helping us .... If this is to be done in the name of religion let them try to be scrupulously fair. It is not easy to combine moral indignation with fairness. But I should not have thought that it was the business of the S.P.G. to take part in the suggested propaganda. 60

Clayton felt very keenly about this, since none of the Anglican Bishops in South Africa at the time were South Africans by birth or training.

We tend therefore to be regarded as exotic foreign missionaries

57. CPSA Archive AB 1095 loc. cit., letter Clayton to Reeves, 16.3.1953.
58. See above, Chapter Thirteen, pp. 735-6.
59. CPSA Archive AB 1289, Archbishop of Cape Town's SPG File. Letter Roberts to Clayton, 15.7.1953. See also above, Chapter Nine, p. 484.
60. CPSA Archive AB 1289 loc. cit., letter Clayton to Roberts, 1.8.1953.

> rather than an indigenous Church. Appeals to England made by us seem to substantiate that idea. That is a further reason why we ought to hesitate .... I can only say that for my part I do not agree with Father Huddleston. 61

In London, 1953 saw a rapid growth of interest in South Africa. The ground had been well prepared by the combined efforts of Michael Scott at the Africa Bureau and Canon Collins from the pulpit at St. Paul's Cathedral. Their statements were given a new impetus by the string of draconian measures enacted or being contemplated by the South African Government. Trevor Huddleston's letters to the Church Times in July 1953 and to The Observer in August were well-timed. They struck an immediate chord in the hearts of the British public. Canon Collins had told people to write to the Archbishop of Canterbury, urging upon him and the bishops in England the need to condemn apartheid. Dr. Fisher, however, still very much at variance with John Collins, was reluctant to do so.[62] Finally he surrendered to the pressure, and included a statement about South Africa in his address to the Convocation of Canterbury on 14th October 1953.

> I am constantly being told that the Church should make some declaration or take some action against the general policy of the Government of the Union of South Africa and against various particular applications of it. It is suggested that otherwise we shall be betraying Christian principles or betraying the African population of South Africa. 63

Archbishop Fisher thought it "important" that there should be "full knowledge .... of all the facts and full discussion of them" in Britain. He reiterated the Lambeth Conference's resolution of 1948 which had said that "discrimination between men on grounds of race alone is inconsistent with the principles of Christ's religion" and took note of the recent deterioration in the situation in South Africa. He wanted the facts known and "faithfully evaluated here", and was prepared to say that "it is part of our duty to God and to our neighbour to let our judgement be known", because the policy in South Africa had repercussions for the whole continent of Africa and for the Commonwealth, and because "it is always a Christian duty to judge the world by the mind of our Lord". He

61. Ibid.
62. COLLINS, Canon John L., Faith Under Fire, London: Leslie Frewen 1966, pp. 176, 187-190, 214-5.
63. CPSA Archive AB 1095, Archbishop's Correspondence with Archbishop of Canterbury, 1950-1961. Archbishop of Canterbury's Address to Convocation, 14.10.1953.

repeated that he still thought it was the business of the Church of the Province of South Africa, and not of the Church of England, "to defend the application of Christian principles to political and social life there."

> It is not the duty of the Church here to interfere in any other way with affairs in South Africa; and attempts to do so are likely to injure the very cause which we have at heart .... Ill-judged intervention from this country very greatly embarrasses South African Church leaders and injures their cause by speeding up Government action and so diminishing the time in which Christian witness can be heard. 64

On 19th October 1954, as the C.P.S.A. was preparing to make its crucial decision about its mission schools, and many questions were being asked as to what if anything the churches in Britain should do in the circumstances, Dr. Geoffrey Fisher again spoke about South Africa in his address to Convocation, as did Dr. Cyril Foster Garbett, Archbishop of York. The Archbishop of Canterbury pointed out that

> .... the Bishops in South Africa had again and again protested with power and charity. We in this country have supported them whole-heartedly, adding from time to time our own clear judgement. 65

Yet he was still cautious, and emphasized that "it was not proper" for him to do more than that. He concluded more strongly:

> Deterioration, it is to be observed, can in the Government's view only be caused by others and never by the action of the Government itself. That is totalitarianism and differs not at all from the suppression of civic freedom and Church life in the Communist countries. It is strange that the South African Government does not begin to suspect its own wisdom when it finds itself imitating the methods of Communist Government and control. 66

It was this statement which Bishop Reeves told Dr. Fisher he had found so "helpful" at the time of the Umtata Synod. Die Transvaaler, however, called this

> *.... die oningeligte napratery van Suid-Afrikaanse propaganda teen apartheid waaraan ook die Aartsbiskoppe van Kantelburg en York vandeesweek in hul moderatorsprake voor die hoogste vergaderings van hul kerk weer skuldig gemaak het. .... Dit verbaas 'n mens werklik dat persone van hoë status, waardigheid en intelligensie sulke eensydige en onjuiste voorstellings vir soetkoek opeet.* 67

64. Ibid., p. 2.
65. CPSA Archive AB 1095 loc. cit., Extract from the Primate's Presidential Address to the Convocation of Canterbury, 19.10.1954.
66. Ibid.
67. Die Transvaaler, 22.10.1954, "Biskoppe en Skaapkoppe".

Although Archbishop Clayton had not modified his view on the question of criticizing South Africa overseas, in February 1954 he gave qualified approval to the S.P.G.'s Africa Sub-Committee including a statement of the Society's policy in Overseas News.[68] Bishop Basil Roberts had again stressed that S.P.G. wanted to "say nothing which would be likely to make your difficult task more embarrassing".[69] Whilst recognizing "the value of [Huddleston's] vigorous and forthright assessment", and after consultation with the Archbishops of Canterbury and Cape Town, S.P.G.'s policy was to make the church in South Africa "strong, vigorous and fully-manned". Therefore it was "offers of service and sacrificial giving .... [that were] of greater value than moral indignation, however righteous".[70]

The effect upon Trevor Huddleston of being pilloried in the House of Assembly during the debate on the Natives' Resettlement Bill was to make him even more determined to make his voice heard overseas. On 2nd May 1954 The Observer published another hard-hitting article by him about the Western Areas removal scheme, under the title "Naboth's Vineyard". In it he explained the purpose of the Natives' Resettlement Act, and why it was necessary to disabuse those in South Africa and in Britain "who do not understand why such a fuss is being made".[71] Believing that his Archbishop was adopting an unduly conservative stance, both with regard to the Bantu Education Act, and in the matter of "irresponsible" criticism overseas, Huddleston, angered by the banning of Oliver Tambo, returned to the attack in October 1954 with another article for The Observer, "The Church Sleeps On?".[72] He described the recent circular issued by the Department of Native Affairs, which threatened to terminate the leases of churches in African areas if the church, through its representatives, dared to criticize the Government. "Christians with a conscience should be prepared to resist its laws and take the consequences". Concerned by the ban recently imposed on "one of my African friends, a devout

68. CPSA Archive AB 1289, Archbishop of Cape Town's SPG File 1953-1954, letter Clayton to Roberts 23.2.1954.
69. CPSA Archive AB 1289 loc. cit., letter Roberts to Clayton 16.2.1954.
70. CPSA Archive AB 1289 loc. cit., "Race Relations in Africa", 12.1.1954, mimeo 3 pp., p. 2.
71. The Observer, 2.5.1954, "Naboth's Vineyard", by Father Trevor Huddleston C.R.
72. The Observer, 10.10.1954, "The Church Sleeps on", cf. COLLINS, op. cit., p. 203.

Christian [Oliver Tambo]" and the silence that had greeted "such totalitarian methods", Trevor Huddleston reserved his most astringent criticism for his own church, which he said had uttered no word of protest when this happened.[73]

> The Church sleeps on. It sleeps on while 60 000 people are moved from their homes in the interests of a fantastic racial theory: it sleeps on while plans are made (and implemented) to transform the education of Africans into a thing called "Native Education" - which will erect a permanent barrier against Western culture reaching the African at all: it sleeps on while a dictatorship is swiftly being created over all Native Affairs in the Union, so that speech and movement and association are no longer free.
>
> The Church sleeps on - though it occasionally talks in its sleep and expects (or does it ?) the Government to listen. 74

Did this mean, then, that the Father Provincial of the Community of the Resurrection thought that his Archbishop was talking in his sleep ? Geoffrey Clayton was furious, and Alan Paton, his biographer, has rightly highlighted the breach that this article precipitated between the two men. Huddleston told Paton that Clayton had written to Raymond Raynes at Mirfield, saying that he no longer wished to be Visitor to the Community of the Resurrection while Huddleston was Provincial. Huddleston's reaction was to drive to the airport to meet Clayton when the Archbishop was on his way to London on 13th April 1955 for the S.P.G.'s Annual General Meeting and Rally, in order to persuade him to withdraw his threat.[75] This he did, and the crisis passed. Huddleston's explanation served at least to confront his Archbishop again with the arguments for resistance, and to lead him towards an understanding of what Huddleston meant by "identification" with the poor. It was not that Huddleston thought that Archbishop Clayton was himself unaware of these issues. Rather that the church in general, amongst a majority of its members and its clergy, was insufficiently concerned about priorities which he saw to be desperately urgent. In defending the Community of the Resurrection against so-called "investments" in Sophiatown at the time of the debate on the Natives' Resettlement Bill in 1954, it will be re-

73. HUDDLESTON, Naught for your Comfort, op. cit., p. 107.
74. The Observer, 10.10.1954, loc. cit.
75. PATON, Alan, Apartheid and the Archbishop, op. cit., p. 247 and p. 302 Chapter 28 reference (3), quoting a letter from Huddleston to Paton 26.6.1967.

membered how Clayton had stressed the charge made to every bishop at his consecration regarding his particular responsibility for the poor.[76]

Was Huddleston exaggerating ? How far was the church in South Africa aware of the dangers to which he referred ? When Dr. Norman Goodall visited South Africa in November 1953 to attend the Pretoria Conference of Church Leaders on behalf of the International Missionary Council in London, black and white perceptions about Huddleston differed markedly. He found almost all Africans he spoke to welcomed unreservedly Trevor Huddleston's appeal to world opinion in The Observer, whilst he found few Europeans who could endorse it. Dr. Goodall concluded,

> There are certain prophetic voices which must find utterance whatever the immediate effect of their words on our local situation. Nevertheless, we cannot ourselves say that statements from outside, even when voiced by church bodies, really help to make our own witness more effective.[77]

The attitude which Trevor Huddleston confronted in certain circles in the C.P.S.A. could not have been more vividly demonstrated than by the Editor of Church News. In September 1954, as the controversy over Canon Collins' visit to South Africa was still raging, the A.N.C.'s Resist Apartheid Campaign was gaining momentum, and the Anglican Bishops were preparing for their meeting of episcopal synod at Umtata when they would have to make some crucial choices about their church schools, and Huddleston's informative articles were arousing considerable interest in England, an editorial appeared in this publication, the official magazine of the C.P.S.A. It asserted that "there has never perhaps been a time in South African history when there was greater need for moderate thinking and moderate action .... the Anglican is by temperament .... middle of the road .... "[78] The Revd. Horace Gaylard, however, was quick to protest that the church's policy was to be neither moderate nor immoderate, but rather to do God's will.[79]

76. See above, Chapter Thirteen, p. 739, citing Good Hope, May 1954.
77. Wits. Archive, CCSA papers AC 623, "Some reflections on the racial situation in South Africa including a note on the Pretoria Conference of November"by Norman Goodall, December 1953, pp. 13-14.
78. Church News, 15.9.1954, "Anglicans of the world unite - The middle of the road".
79. Church News, 20.10.1954, Correspondence. Letter headed "Middle of the Road" from Horace Gaylard, a priest in the CPSA.

Huddleston's fourth article in The Observer appeared on 9th January 1955, and was headed "The point of no return". This contained a warning that the implementation of the Bantu Education Act on 1st April, together with the forthcoming expropriation of the Western Areas and the Congress of the People, both to take place in 1955, "may well mark a point of no return".[80] He saw the Congress of the People as providing a rallying point "for resistance to an encroaching tyranny". He advised Christians in Britain firstly to keep up the pressure, secondly to demand that British policies in the Protectorates be "vitally strengthened", and thirdly to offer service in Africa,

> .... with the deliberate intention of making a personal and real contribution to the destruction of racial prejudice and the bitter consequences of its present triumph for the Church. 81

Huddleston's series of articles in The Observer and his other letters to newspapers in England between 1953 and 1955 thus played a considerable part in stimulating a quickening of interest and awareness about South Africa overseas. The extent to which the British public were exercising a serious, well-informed and earnest concern over developments in South Africa during this period may be judged from this letter published by The Times from three South African students at Cambridge University in May 1956, which began,

> It is very striking, and very heartening to us as a group of young South Africans studying at Cambridge to see the affairs of our country being so seriously thought about here .... the worst possible thing for White South Africans is to have this evil spread or placated by the sympathetic remonstrances of well-intentioned Englishmen. 82

Another factor in bringing South Africa to the attention of the British public was the controversy surrounding the visit of Canon John Collins to South Africa in June and July 1954. Collins' visit received extensive publicity both in South Africa and in Britain, which had the effect of increasing the appetite

80. The Observer, 9.1.1955, "The point of no return", article by Fr. Huddleston, cf. above, p. 748.
81. Ibid.
82. The Times, 9.5.1956, letter by Michael Nuttall, Alasdair Macaulay and Michael Cassidy, also published by The Watchman, August 1956, p. 8, "We deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us".

of the British public for more authentic information about conditions in South Africa, which in turn placed increasing pressure upon the Archbishop of Canterbury to repeat the Church of England's opposition to apartheid.

THE COLLINS CONTROVERSY.

Canon Collins' sermons from the pulpit of St. Paul's Cathedral in September 1952, and again in September 1953, together with the meeting he arranged at the Central Hall Westminster in February 1953 at which the speech of Nontando Jabavu aroused controversy, have been described already.[83] However, on every occasion that Canon Collins raised his voice in Britain about injustice in South Africa, he was acting in contradiction to the policy agreed by the Archbishops of Cape Town and Canterbury about agitation against South Africa in Britain. Nor did Collins' frequent tilts at "the establishment" endear him to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and there developed what Dr. Fisher described as an "acrid" relationship between them. As Canon Collins himself put it in his autobiography, "Christian Action's support for the Defiance Campaign .... put the tin hat on the already strained relationship betwen Archbishop Fisher and myself".[84] By giving prominence to the views of Nontando Jabavu he also antagonized established missionary circles in London, just as his support for the Defiance Campaign had offended "Establishment-minded people" in England.[85] It will be remembered how Lord Halifax, a former Viceroy of India, resigned from the Board of Christian Action because of Collins' support for Passive Resistance.[86]

Collins' difficulties with the Archbishop of Canterbury went back to the time when Christian Action had arranged a meeting for Michael Scott at the Central Hall, Westminster, in April 1950. Collins' desire that the Archbishop of Canterbury should give a stronger lead with regard to South Africa's racial problems then had evoked a response which showed obvious irritation from Dr.

83. See above, Chapter Nine, pp. 475-80, and also above p. 759.
84. COLLINS, Faith Under Fire, op. cit., p. 189, cf. above, Chapter Nine p. 475.
85-86. Ibid.

Fisher's brother Leonard, Bishop of Natal. In his diocesan magazine in February 1950 Bishop Fisher had referred to

> .... the ill-informed statement by Canon Collins of St. Paul's Cathedral, London in which he gives fictitious reasons why the Archbishop of Canterbury cannot take a stronger lead with regard to our racial problems in South Africa. 87

At the same time the Director of the South African Church Institute in London, Canon G.C. Streatfield, reflecting the irritation felt in the same missionary circles that were later offended by Miss Jabavu's speech, told Archbishop Clayton that "the meeting arranged for Michael Scott makes me far from happy and I know others who feel the same".[88]

Canon Collins' interest in South Africa stemmed from his efforts to effect a reconciliation between Tshekedi and Seretse Khama of Bechuanaland Protectorate over the latter's marriage to an English secretary, Ruth Williams, in 1949. Collins was introduced to Michael Scott by the writer and publisher Victor Gollancz, and he had for a time entertained hopes that Scott would join Christian Action. Scott's dismay over the complications caused by Collins' intervention in the issue of Seretse Khama's marriage caused a breach in their relationship and he instead founded the Africa Bureau as an independent organization.[89] Collins also first met Alan Paton in 1950, when he had collaborated in arranging a lecture tour for Paton which included a sermon at St. Paul's Cathedral.[90]

Canon Collins, however, had never been to South Africa, which put him at a considerable disadvantage. Thus in March 1954 when Bishop Reeves asked Christian Action to raise £5000 in England for a weekly newspaper Saamtrek, published by the Trades and Labour Council of South Africa, he was implicated in yet another controversy. Die Transvaaler described Bishop Reeves' action

87. The Vineyard, February 1950, The Bishop's Letter.
88. CPSA Archive, AB 707, SACI Papers, letter Streatfield to Clayton, 5.5.1950.
89. COLLINS, Faith Under Fire, op. cit., p. 181. Also PATON, Alan, Interview, Botha's Hill, 9.2.1977, who told me that "Collins and Michael Scott can't stand each other .... when I wrote in my Clayton about this 'diffident saint', Collins was very angry."
90. HENDERSON, Ian, ed., Man of Christian Action, London: Lutterworth 1976, p. 47, "The Birth of a Struggle" by Trevor Huddleston.

as "a declaration of war on South African workers". The Manchester Guardian, on the other hand, commented,

> No one who feels like contributing to "Saamtrek" need think that he is "declaring war" on anyone. At the same time there is no good reason why readers of "Die Transvaaler" should not give their help, if they wish to do so, to any British paper advocating the principles of apartheid - except that they will be throwing their money away. 91

Canon A.W. Eaton, editor of The Watchman at the time of the Church and Nation Report, and then the Vicar of St. Peter's Leicester, confided to C.T. Wood that

> .... so far as I'm concerned Saamtrek could die tomorrow - they are fighting for their life in the T.U. but why should the Church want to save that group of "nigger drivers" I can't imagine. Reeves must be very naïve to have been caught by them ! 92

The controversy over Saamtrek once again illustrated the difficulties of involvement in South Africa without intimate knowledge of the situation there. Soon afterwards it was announced that Canon Collins would be visiting South Africa in June and July. In an article for the Leicester Evening News under the headline "Save us from our Friends !" Canon Eaton began,

> Canon John Collins, of St. Paul's Cathedral, is a young man who has never worked outside the security of that Cathedral, and from it has taken up the cudgels on behalf of the non-European in South Africa .... I can only hope that Canon Collins, when he goes on his holiday trip to South Africa in June, will be sufficiently humble enough to take the old African advice, so often given but seldom heeded, to "hamba garshlie". 93

The repercussions of Canon Collins' pronouncements about South Africa were as nothing compared with the extreme irritation which they engendered in church circles and generally among whites in South Africa itself. During the Defiance Campaign the Bishop of Grahamstown, Archibald Cullen, put this mildly when he told C.T. Wood at the S.A.C.I. that whilst the African laity

> .... with less knowledge and experience look upon Michael Scott and John Collins .... as their ardent defenders .... we are really not being helped by what we read in the South African press of orations in England. Of course Canon

91. The Guardian, 17.3.1954, "S. African Bishop attacked: Helping Trade Union Paper", citing Die Transvaaler, 16.3.1954.
92. CPSA Archive AB 707, SACI Papers, letter A.W. Eaton to C.T. Wood, undated, probably March 1954. See also above, Introduction p. xxxi and Chapter One, p. 6.
93. Leicester Evening Mail 27.3.1954, "Save us from our Friends !"

> Collins is worth hundreds of votes to the party now in power. 94

Cullen then referred to Collins' sermon in September 1952, in which Dr. Malan in particular had been described as "this poor wretched man, hag-ridden with fear", and the Nationalists were depicted as incorrigible racialists. Collins said,

> Let us sympathise with Dr. Malan. Let us be charitable to him - this poor wretched man, hag-ridden with fear. We know that only love can cast out fear; but as well expect a man with delirium tremens to descover in his heart the love to destroy his illusion of pink elephants, as to hope that the Nationalists, whose hearts are full of fear, can rid themselves of the illusion of white superiority. 95

Collins, however, could not see why the Archbishop of Canterbury should regard this sermon as irresponsible. It has been noted above how Collins' sermon in September 1953 in support of Trevor Huddleston, asking English Christians to write to the Archbishop of Canterbury about the failure of the C.P.S.A. to live by its profession as a multi-racial church aroused renewed irritation and concern at the S.A.C.I., S.P.G. and the Lambeth Palace.[96] The Editor of Church News in Durban also responded with predictable hostility towards Canon Collins.

> Canon Collins - again.
> ....notwithstanding that on several occasions in the recent past has the Church in the most positive and authoritative way protested against the embarrassment caused by these outbursts, and notwithstanding the fact that these critics have been told that matters are made very much worse by such interference, they still continue, if anything with increasing violence and irresponsibility, amounting to downright impertinence. .... The suggestion that the Church does nothing and that the Government is concerned only with cruelty and oppression is a gross misrepresentation of the true facts. 97

The view that Canon Collins' criticisms were ill-informed thus grew both in church circles and amongst white South Africans generally. For instance, the publication in 1953 by the S.A.C.I. of a booklet edited by C.T. Wood, Racialism in South Africa: the Voice of the Church, which gave a selection of resolutions and statements from Provincial, Diocesan and Episcopal Synods of the C.P.S.A., and some episcopal Charges between 1930 and 1953, was

94. CPSA Archive AB 707, SACI papers, letter Bishop Cullen to C.T. Wood, 19.11.1952.
95. COLLINS, Faith Under Fire, op. cit., p. 187.
96. See above, p. 759.
97. Church News, 16.9.1953, pp. 129-30, "Canon Collins - again".

compiled as a reply to Collins. This gave the Editor of Church News his opportunity to refute Canon Collins by saying, "it has given expression to the fact and has proved it by deed, that the Church of the Province of South Africa is a multi-racial church".[98] From similar motives, wishing to prove Canon Collins wrong, a prominent Durban businessman and faithful Methodist churchman, Mr G.C. Shave, made the generous offer of an all-expenses-paid visit to South Africa for Canon Collins in June and July 1954. Collins spent the first month as the guest of Mr Shave in Durban, who organized his programme and spared no effort to ensure that he met those he ought to meet and saw what he ought to see. For the second month his programme was arranged by Bishop Reeves who did the same.[99] At the end of this visit Collins had to disappoint his host Mr Shave. "Everything that is human in me would have liked to have given him the satisfaction of hearing that I had changed my mind", he recorded in his autobiography, "but that was impossible."[100] Like other intelligent visitors to South Africa, Collins proved himself to be a perceptive observer, though he was perhaps not as tactful as others. He concluded that

> South Africa is a beautiful mad-house, a home of irrationality, a place in which personal relationships between the white and the non-white are bedevilled by fear and rooted in unreality and ignorance. The idea that a white man who lives inside this asylum is more likely to know what an African is like, what are his thoughts, his aspirations, his feelings and his potentialities, than somebody from outside is quite false. The average white South African knows next to nothing about the real African .... [101]

Collins also remained unconvinced about the G.P.S.A.'s claim to be a multiracial church, telling Patrick Duncan on his return to London,

> One of the most depressing things to me throughout the tour, was the failure of the Churches to recognise that a bit of courage on their part would probably save the whole situation.[102]

Although he did not meet Collins during his visit, Archbishop Clayton in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury summed up his impression of the visit by writing,

98. WOOD, C.T., ed., Racialism in South Africa: The Voice of the Church, London: SACI 1953, and Church News 17.2.1954, "The Voice of the Church".
99. COLLINS, Faith Under Fire, op. cit., Chapter 8, pp. 179-208.
100. Ibid., p. 192. 101. Ibid., pp. 198-9.
102. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan Papers DU 6, letter Collins to Duncan 27.7.1954.

> .... from what I hear .... he was rather rude to people who didn't agree with him, and that he only took seriously people who said what he wanted to hear. His visit and utterances irritated some of our European laity not a little. But of course he was very warmly welcomed and approved by the left-wing Natives who circle round Father Huddleston. 103

Collins' visit took place immediately prior to the departure of both Bishop Reeves and Ds. C.B. Brink Moderator of the N.G.K. (Transvaal) for the World Council's Second Assembly at Evanston. On his return from the United States Ds. Brink made a public statement that if the Anglican Church was committed to what Canon Collins had said, there was no point in holding the Inter-Racial Conference of Church Leaders which he was planning for December in Johannesburg. Accordingly Archbishop Clayton was moved to issue a disclaimer, saying that Collins had not come as a representative of the Church of England, nor at the invitation of the Church of the Province, and that

> .... his views had no more and no less importance than those of any other intelligent visitor to the country; and that Anglican delegates to the Conference would go to it entirely uncommitted either to agreement or disagreement with what he had said. 104

On the other hand, Patrick Duncan told Collins,

> On the face of it your visit has stirred up intensified opposition among the whites. This is only on the surface. Deep down it has had a great effect in making them less sure they are right, less ready to flout the world, more ready to re-think it all. 105

Indeed such was Duncan's enthusiasm after their brief meeting that he wrote to Collins tipping him for a South African bishopric ![106] He told Cyprian Thorpe, "I am very impressed with him - and my impression from his reported sermons was wrong".[107] He told Arthur Blaxall, "Having Collins here was a great joy. I found him extremely alive, intelligent, and with a charm that did much to disarm even those that had been hostile."[108] Blaxall replied

103. CPSA Archive AB 1095, Archbishop's Correspondence with the Archbishop of Canterbury 1950-1961, letter Clayton to Fisher 27.10.1954.
104. CPSA Archive AB 1095 loc. cit., letter Clayton to Fisher ibid.
105. Borthwick Institute York, Duncan papers DU 6, letter Duncan to Collins undated, but in reply to Collins' letter of 27.7.1954.
106. Duncan papers loc. cit., letter Duncan to Collins 10.7.1954.
107. Duncan papers loc. cit., letter Duncan to Thorpe 12.7.1954.
108. Duncan papers loc. cit., letter Duncan to Blaxall 12.7.1954.

by telling how their two hours together with Christopher Gell had provided "much entertainment".[109] For his part, Christopher Gell in a thoughtful article for an English political and literary journal summed up the achievement of the "Canon Collins Controversy" by writing,

> Canon Collins has done both the church and the European a great service; he has convinced Africans that there are at least some people overseas who care, and care deeply, about racial issues and their spiritual consequences. Against all the frenzy of White South African hostility and the uncomfortable equivocations of leading politicians and prelates, let there be weighed in the balance the gain in non-European goodwill, both in South Africa and in many other lands. Non-Whites everywhere will hope that Canon Collins does not speak alone and that eventually world opinion will contribute to their struggle something more than the crumb of comfort he has tried to offer now. 110

John Skomolo contributed an article to Church News, in which he confirmed the existence of racialism within his church.

> To deny racial discrimination as non-existent in our church is to bury our heads like ostriches before the storm .... Racial discrimination in the Church is economic and administrative. This is more painful and frustrating to an African Christian or priest than mere superficial colour prejudice. 111

Manilal Gandhi considered that

> .... all this irritation over Collins is a reflection of the peoples' guilty conscience. Nobody seems to refute the truth of what he has said. They only rebuke him for having said it. 112

On the other hand, Arthur Blaxall told Collins in November that whilst he thanked God for

> .... people like yourself, Michael, George Houser and a very few others, who appear to see right into the heart of our situation .... I trust you will not misunderstand me when I say that I am perturbed of late at the re-action it is producing in certain quarters, even causing some people to refuse any further conversation when they realise that one believes there is a good deal more right than wrong in your assertions. 113

109. Duncan Papers loc. cit., letter Blaxall to Duncan 28.6.1954.
110. The Fortnightly, December 1954, "The Canon Collins Controversy II: The South African Church", by Christopher Gell.
111. Church News 15.12.1954, p. 192, "Racialism in the Church" by the Revd. J.J. Skomolo.
112. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan Papers DU 5, letter Manilal Gandhi to Duncan 13.8.1954.
113. CPSA Archive, AC 623 CCSA Papers, letter Blaxall to Collins 8.11.1954.

The intensity of the hostility that Canon Collins' visit had aroused in South Africa may be illustrated by three less memorable episodes which attracted much attention. Firstly, there was a heated debate at the Methodist Conference meeting in Bloemfontein when the Revd. C.E. Wilkinson received considerable support for his contention that Collins had done much harm to race relations in South Africa by his utterances. In order to disclaim any Anglican responsibility for the consequences of Collins' statements, the Editor of Church News was quick to say, "We must point out that it was a 'prominent Methodist layman' who invited him !"[114] Secondly, the Archdeacon of Grahamstown challenged Collins to leave the security of a canonry at St. Paul's and offer himself to S.P.G. for missionary service in South Africa, and suggested that if he lacked the courage to do that he should keep quiet. However, as Collins told Patrick Duncan, "he does not attempt to challenge what I say: if what I say is correct it makes no difference even if I am the worst possible person."[115] Thirdly, the Johannesburg City Councillor Leslie Hurd made much ado over Collins' alleged "missed appointment" with him. Hurd had wanted to show Collins the Western Areas of Johannesburg himself, whereas Bishop Reeves had already scheduled that he see these areas as the guest of the Community of the Resurrection. Collins said he was willing to go with Hurd provided the Bishop agreed to put off another engagement, which Reeves refused to do. Collins assured Duncan "to the best of my knowledge the Bishop's Secretary informed Hurd's office". When Councillor Hurd arrived to collect Collins for their tour of the Western Areas he had already left. Hurd then publicly denounced Collins for his lack of courtesy.[116]

Another symptom of the hostile passions aroused by the "Collins controversy" in South Africa was the manner in which The Star, a newspaper normally sympathetic to Huddleston, reported his letter to The Times supporting Collins, under the headline "Huddleston attacks S.A."[117] The letter was perceived as an "attack" on

114. Church News 18.8.1954, p. 114, "Canon Collins".
115. Borthwick Institute York, Duncan Papers DU6, letter Collins to Duncan 11.8.1954.
116. Ibid.
117. The Star, 28.8.1954, "Huddleston attacks S.A. in London Newspaper 'Everything Collins says is true'".

South Africa because Huddleston said that Collins had "exaggerated nothing" and the "extreme sensitiveness of white South Africa to criticism" was an "indication of guilt". The full text of Huddleston's letter to The Times read:

> Sir,
>
> From the correspondence in your columns concerning Canon Collins' visit to this country which I have seen, it is very obvious that the European South Africans who are so indignant claim an authority to speak which should not pass unchallenged. I have lived in the closest possible contact with African leaders in Johannesburg for the past 11 years. Three things I can state categorically as being true:-
>
> First, the African people as a whole have welcomed and have been greatly encouraged by Canon Collins' visit as an indication of the concern felt in England at the disasterous racial policy now prevailing in South Africa.
>
> Secondly, African Christians - and particularly Anglicans - have been thankful for the outspoken yet entirely charitable criticisms of this policy from a leading Churchman oversea.
>
> Thirdly, those who have been most vocal in criticizing Canon Collins have hardly ever asked themselves whether what he says is true. In fact Canon Collins has exaggerated nothing; his statements have been entirely accurate, and anyone who really knows what the African people presently suffer could add to them very considerably.
>
> The extreme sensitiveness of White South Africa to criticism of any kind is an indication of its sense of guilt, and the attempt to justify this attitude by arguments such as have appeared in your columns is typical, but not for that reason justifiable. South Africa today is a very sick country.
>
> Yours etc.
> TREVOR HUDDLESTON, C.R.
> The Priory, Rosettenville, Johannesburg.[118]

The compact struck between Huddleston and Collins in February 1953 to "go all-out for publicity" had succeeded beyond measure, largely through the unwitting help of Mr Shave, who had hoped to persuade Canon Collins to reverse his opinion about racialism in South Africa. The experience merely deepened Collins' already strongly held convictions, and provided him with some invaluable personal contacts for persevering in his life-long

118. The Times 28.8.1954, cf. also COLLINS, Faith under Fire op. cit., p. 212, and Borthwick Institute York, Duncan Papers DU 5.45.33, letter Duncan to Huddleston 31.8.1954, in which Duncan suggests such a letter be written.

devotion to the struggle for justice in South Africa. Collins himself reported at a press conference on his return to London with some delight "there is a wholesome ferment going on in the Union".[119] A year later, to keep the ferment going, Canon Collins had yet another tilt at the Archbishop of Canterbury from the pulpit of St. Paul's Cathedral. On 11th September 1955 he criticized Dr. Fisher for some remark he had made during a visit to the Central African Federation in June 1955. The Archbishop had distinguished between equality of men in God's sight, and their equality in God's love, in order to justify the opinion that all men were not born equal in the sight of God, and thus by implication need not be accorded equal political rights.[120] The sermon produced another vigorous controversy in the columns of The Times, giving Collins and others the opportunity once again to draw attention to the church's complicity with racialism in South Africa and the Rhodesias. It is interesting how Collins regularly chose the month of September in which to preach a sermon in St. Paul's Cathedral which irritated Archbishop Fisher.

THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE AND THE FREEDOM CHARTER.

Nothing illustrates better both the value and the dangers of Huddleston's theology of identification, as well as the rewards and the risks of his theory of resistance, than his participation in the Congress of the People at Kliptown on 26th and 27th June 1955, and the whole-hearted support he gave to the Freedom Charter. In spite of the refusal of the Liberal Party to be there, except as observers, and the suspicion, widespread among Huddleston's friends, that the Committee responsible for the planning of the Congress and drafting of the Charter was being unduly influenced by communists of the Congress of Democrats, Huddleston willingly took his place on the platform as an honoured guest. There he received the Isitwalandwe award, and in his speech of acceptance

119. Highway, August 1954, "Canon Collins reports".
120. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan papers DU 6, letter Collins to Duncan 23.9.1955 enclosing a copy of the sermon he preached in St. Paul's Cathedral at 10.30 a.m. on 11.9.1955.

unreservedly identified himself with the purpose of the Congress.[121]

White and African uniformed police and others from the Special Branch in plain clothes were present from the beginning. They photographed all whites entering the enclosure and took notes on everything that was said. Then, when two sections of the Charter remained to be discussed at 3.30 p.m. on the second day, Sunday 27th June, a large force of armed police arrived. Escorted by a group of police with sten guns, fifteen Special Branch detectives mounted the platform. Every document was removed, cameras and rolls of film confiscated. It was announced that the names and addresses of every delegate were to be taken because treason was suspected. As each delegate left the conference site he was interrogated and searched. All documents were retained in an envelope. The questioning and search went on until about 8.00 p.m.[122] Among those present as an observer was the Secretary of the Christian Council, Dr. Arthur Blaxall, who wrote to Archbishop Clayton three days later to report on a meeting of the Christian Council's General Purposes Committee.

> I could not read your letter to them because while I was "observing" the meeting of the Congress of the People the police arrived and removed all papers from the whole 2800 people there present. Even in such affairs they practised Apartheid and sent the hundred odd Europeans to one table, so we got through quickly, but as your letter was in my brief case, they took it away and I know not if I will ever see it again. Fortunately I had shown the letter to Rouse the day before so that between us we were able to tell the meeting something of your wishes in connection with the Executive and Biennial meetings. 123

Three months later, in the early hours of Tuesday 27th September 1955, over one thousand police, in what Patrick Duncan described as "a fishing expedition", searched the homes and offices of some five hundred people.[124] Among them was Trevor Huddleston, whose office at the Priory at Rosettenville was ransacked and

121. KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., pp. 186-7, Document 10, Police Record of the Congress of the People, Kliptown, Johannesburg, June 25-26 1955. From the Treason Trial record, pp. 6486-6526.
122. New Age 30.6.1955, cf. also KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol III op. cit., pp. 52-62.
123. Wits. Archive, CCSA Papers AC 623, letter Blaxall to Clayton 30.6.1955.
124. The Star, 27.9.1955; KARIS, CARTER & GERHART Vol III, op. cit., p. 67; and Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan papers DU6, letter Duncan to Canon Collins 4.11.1955.

papers confiscated.[125] Patrick Duncan was one of those to be visited, though Arthur Blaxall, Alan Paton and Bishop Reeves were not.[126] The raids were directed at the entire leadership of the Congress movement. When on 5th December 1956 the police, in country-wide dawn raids, arrested 156 people and charged them with High Treason, it was significant, as Patrick Duncan was to observe in a letter to George Houser, "what they have in common is attendance at the Kliptown Congress of the People".[127] But for his withdrawal by the Superior of his Order, Father Raymond Raynes, to become Novice Master at Mirfield, many (including Trevor Huddleston himself) believed that he too would have been among them.[128] Among those who were arrested were two Anglican priests, James Calata of Cradock and W.S. Gawe of Queenstown. Although Sidney Shall and A. Hutchinson, who marched with Patrick Duncan into Germiston Location during the Defiance Campaign,were among those to be charged with High Treason, neither Alan Paton the National Chairman of the Liberal Party, nor Patrick Duncan who in September 1956 had accepted the job of National Organizer of the Liberal Party, was among those arrested.[129] In December 1955 Professor Z.K. Matthews had been asked by the Council of the University College of Fort Hare to assume full responsibility as Acting Principal after his predecessor, C.P. Dent, had closed the College after student unrest earlier that year. Having restored peace to this troubled situation during 1956, it was ironical that Z.K. Matthews, who did not attend the Congress of the People due to his University commitments, was among those arrested on charges of High Treason in December 1956.[130]

What, then, was the Congress of the People which adopted the Freedom Charter ? How was it organized and what did it say ? Both Huddleston's part in the Kliptown Congress and the fact that

125. KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 68, and MOSLEY, Nicholas, The Life of Raymond Raynes, London: Faith Press 1961, p. 250.
126. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan papers DU5, letter Blaxall to Duncan 8.10.1955.
127. Ibid., letter Duncan to Houser, 21.12.1956.
128. HOOPER, The Revd. Charles, Interview, Manzini, 15.12.1980, and CPSA Archive, AB 191 Clayton Papers, letter Huddleston to Clayton, 17.12.1956.
129. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan papers DU5, letter Duncan to Houser 21.12.1956, and DRIVER, C.J., Patrick Duncan, op. cit., p. 137.
130. WILSON, M. (ed), Freedom for my People, the Autobiography of Z.K. Matthews, London & Cape Town: Rex Collings & David Philip 1981, p. 192.

it led to the arrest of 156 people on charges of High Treason make it an event of considerable importance not only for the history of South Africa, but also for this study of resistance to apartheid. The full text of the Freedom Charter has therefore been included in the Appendix.[131] When so respected a person as the Principal of a University is arrested on charges of High Treason there ought to be some compelling reasons behind such an action. In the case of Professor Z.K. Matthews, the Congress of the People was his brainchild, even if it was not he who organized it. Nor did he attend the meeting at Kliptown, due to the problems that had arisen at Fort Hare at the end of Professor Dent's time as Principal. These had resulted in the appointment by the College Council of Dr. Edgar Brookes as Chairman of a Commission to enquire into the situation, just as the Congress of the People was planned to take place.[132]

When Professor Z.K. Matthews returned from the United States in May 1953, he found the Congress movement looking for an alternative strategy in the aftermath of the Defiance Campaign. In the course of his presidential address to the A.N.C. (Cape) on 15th August 1953, Matthews made the suggestion that was to give Congress a new sense of direction.

> I wonder whether the time has not come for the African National Congress to consider the question of convening a National Convention, A CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE, representing all the people of this country irrespective of race or colour to draw up a FREEDOM CHARTER for the DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA OF THE FUTURE. 133

"Little did I realise", said Matthews in his autobiography, "when I uttered those words that I was laying the foundation of a charge of treason to be laid later against those who associated themselves with the innocent idea of the Congress of the People".[134] Professor Matthews' idea found expression in a resolution of the A.N.C.'s Annual Conference in December 1953, which urged the National Executive to call a meeting of the National Executives of the S.A.I.C., C.P.O., and S.A.C.O.D.,

131. See Appendix "F", pp 1129-1131.
132. WILSON, ed., op. cit., p. 181.
133. KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 105, Document 1, Presidential Address by Professor Z.K. Matthews to the A.N.C. (Cape), 15.8.1953, cf. WILSON (ed), op. cit., p. 173.
134. WILSON (ed), op. cit., p. 175.

> .... for the purpose of placing before them the plan of Congress and obtain their co-operation in creating a truly representative "CONVENTION" of the peoples of South Africa.[135]

A conference took place at Tongaat in Natal on 21st March 1954, which established a National Action Council to organize the Congress of the People. This consisted of eight people from each sponsoring organization, with Mr T.E. Tshunungwa as National Organizer.[136] Meanwhile, the A.N.C.'s Working Committee persuaded their National Executive, at its meeting on 17th-18th April 1954 at Cleremont in Natal, to undertake responsibility for the Western Areas campaign.[137] The National Executives of the A.N.C., S.A.I.C., C.P.O. and S.A.C.O.D. then met on 8th May. For this meeting Professor Matthews prepared a memorandum at Chief Luthuli's request to define the purpose of the Congress. It was this memorandum, and the paragraph cited below which was singled out by the Prosecution in the Treason Trial to substantiate the charges of High Treason. It was Professor Matthews' reply, under cross-examination about this memorandum, which finally destroyed the State's case that the A.N.C. had planned to overthrow the South African government by "violent action of a military nature directed against the safety and independence of the state". The offending paragraph read as follows:-

> The main task of the Congress will be to draw up a "Freedom Charter" for all peoples and groups in South Africa. From such a Congress ought to come a Declaration which will inspire all the peoples of South Africa with fresh hope for the future, which will turn the minds of the people away from the sterile and negative struggles of the past and the present to a positive programme of freedom in our lifetime. Such a Charter properly conceived as a mirror of the future South African Society can galvanize the people of South Africa into action and make them go over into the offensive against reactionary forces at work in this country, instead of being perpetually on the defensive fighting rearguard actions all the time. 138

The references to "action" and "going over to the offensive" and "fighting rearguard actions all the time" were interpreted as

135. KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit, p. 126, Document 3b, Resolutions (2).
136. Ibid., p. 151, Document 7b, Report of the National Executive Committee to ANC Annual Conference 16-19 December 1954, Part Three.
137. Ibid., pp. 151-2.
138. WILSON, (ed.), op.cit., p. 176.

proof of the A.N.C.'s intentions to take over the government of the country by violent means. As Matthews explained in his autobiography, and made clear in his evidence in chief as the concluding witness for the defence in October 1960, it was this comment more than any other that destroyed the Prosecution's case.

> The only explanation I can find for this alarm over such innocent metaphorical expression is that, owing to our bilingualism in South Africa, we are becoming less and less able to follow idiomatic English usage. 139

The meeting on 8th May, in addition to the decision made about the Congress of the People, also approved the "Resist Apartheid Campaign", whose purpose was to resist the Bantu Education Act and the Western Areas removals.[140] In June 1954 a manifesto was issued entitled "We call the people of South Africa - Black and White. Let us speak together of Freedom".[141] At the same time Chief Luthuli made his call for 50 000 "Freedom Volunteers" for both the Congress of the People and the Western Areas campaign.[142]

The National Action Council set forth its grand design for this Congress of the People, which was to be a "mass assembly of delegates elected by the people of all races in every town, village, farm, factory, mine and kraal".[143] Congress of the People Committees were to be set up "on a provincial basis, and on a town, suburb, factory or street basis". They would arrange for the election of delegates. These would not be delegates from local committees, "but from the people in the areas where the local committee organizes the work".[144] The corps of Freedom Volunteers would organize local gatherings, at which demands would be formulated by 30th October 1954, and these would be collected for consideration by the National Action Council for inclusion in the Freedom Charter.[145] The delegates to the Congress would then vote on these proposals.

139. Ibid.
140. KARIS CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 152, Document 7b, Report of the National Executive Committee to ANC Annual Conference 16-19 Dec. 1954, part three.
141. Wits. Archive, CCSA Papers AC 623/c. Manifesto issued by the African National Congress and other organizations published in Fighting Talk in June 1954, mimeo 2 pp. Attached as an appendix to a report by Dr. George Carpenter, "Report on South Africa", September 1954.
142. KARIS CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 152 Document 7b loc. cit.
143. Ibid., p. 162, Document 7c, Annexure A to the Report of the National Executive Committee.
144. Ibid., p. 164. 145. Ibid., p. 162.

By decision of the National Executives of the sponsoring bodies, the Congress was to be held "as soon as possible, and in any case, not later than June 1955".[146]

The resolutions of the 1954 Annual Conference gave pride of place to the Congress of the People, which seems to have enjoyed a greater priority than either the Bantu Education or the Western Areas campaigns.[147] The Western Areas removals began on 9th February, the boycott of Bantu Education schools was scheduled to begin on 1st April, and the Congress of the People was planned for the week-end 25-26th June at Kliptown. When Robert Resha gave the report of the Credentials Committee to the Congress on 26th June, there were said to be "2186 African delegates, 320 Indian delegates, 230 Coloured delegates, 112 European delegates, of whom there were 721 women".[148] They were from "every town in the Union", said Resha, "Even Meadowlands is represented here.... The Charter will have a greater support than any other document that has been drawn up".[149]

The National Action Council, which prepared the draft of the Freedom Charter, took into account the grievances and demands which had been sent in. The draft was then revised by the A.N.C.'s Working Committee on 22nd June, and by the A.N.C.'s Executive on the eve of the meeting. By this time, however, copies of the draft form of the Charter had already been duplicated.[150] At the Congress itself the procedure allowed for discussion of the Charter section by section, with the crowd adopting each section by acclamation. Thus the Charter was passed very much in the form in which it had been drafted. Later it was adopted, without any further revision, by a special A.N.C. Conference on 31st March-1st April 1956.[151]

The Freedom Charter encountered criticism from both Africanists in the A.N.C. and the Liberal Party.[152] The former criticized

146. Ibid.
147. Ibid., pp. 186-7, Document 10, Police record of the Congress of the People, Kliptown, Johannesburg, 25-26 June 1955, extracts from the Treason Trial Record pp. 6486-6526.
148-149. Ibid., p. 204. 150. Ibid., p. 60. 151. Ibid., pp. 62, 63.
152. MODISANE, Bloke, Blame me on History, London: Thames & Hudson 1963, pp. 236-240; KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 61.

the Charter because of its "multiracial" premises, and the latter because of its socialist emphasis. Both were suspicious, because they felt the Congress of Democrats was exercising undue influence in the Congress Alliance, and seemed to be dictating policy.[153] The prosecution in the Treason Trial did its best to show that the Freedom Charter was a subversive and revolutionary document whose aims, namely the abolition of racial discrimination and the granting of equal rights to all, were unrealizable without violence.[154] Patrick Duncan, disappointed by the A.N.C.'s "great defeat" over the Western Areas removals, was sceptical about the Congress of the People, and told George Houser in a letter of March 1955,

> It [the A.N.C.] is almost certainly so discredited that the much-heralded Congress of the People will come to nothing.[155]

The journalist Jordan Ngubane had been a consistent critic of communist influence in the African National Congress, ever since Dr. Moroka had declared his support for the May Day demonstrations in 1950.[156] "The A.N.C.", said Ngubane, "was demoted to the status of a minority organization inside the Congress movement".[157] He was angered by the fact that Luthuli himself had not known who drafted the Charter, and that neither he nor Professor Matthews had seen it in draft form until after its adoption at Kliptown. Ngubane saw the withholding of vital information from Luthuli, not merely as a practical difficulty caused by his restriction to Groutville or by his illness, but as "part of a plan to destroy, whenever necessary any African leader who was not completely in control of the Communists".[158] He claimed that

> .... the bosses of the underground Communist Party did the planning and made the policy decisions. They approached men like Luthuli and other non-Communist leaders merely, in actual practice, to acquaint them with what had already been decided. [159]

Ngubane was not alone in being apprehensive about the role

153. NGUBANE, Jordan K., An African Explains Apartheid, London: Pall Mall 1963, p. 164.
154. KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 64.
155. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan Papers DU 5.16, letter Duncan to Houser, 7.3.1955.
156. KARIS & CARTER, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 441, Document 76, "Post-Mortem on a tragedy", editorial on the events of May 1 by Jordan Ngubane in Inkundla yaBantu, 20.5.1950. This African-owned and founded paper ceased publication for financial reasons in 1951.
157. NGUBANE, J.K., An African Explains Apartheid, op. cit., p. 100.
158. Ibid., pp. 164, 165. 159. Ibid., p. 164.

of "disguised" communists in the Congress of Democrats.[160] He spent a week-end with Alan Paton at Kloof which helped him to resolve the tension between his vehement anti-communism and his loyalty to the A.N.C. and Luthuli.[161] He did so by joining the Liberal Party, which had declined the A.N.C.'s invitation to co-sponsor the Congress of the People. The Liberal and Labour parties did, however, attend the Congress as observers. and Karis Carter and Gerhart have commented on how they

> .... saw signs of Communist predominance in the role of the C.O.D., the presence of a "Peace Pavilion", left-wing banners and leaflets, and messages from Chou-en-Lai and other Communist leaders. 162

Arthur Blaxall also shared similar misgivings. Six weeks before the Congress he asked P.Q. Vundla, a member of the A.N.C.'s National Executive Committee, who was among those arrested as a co-conspirator in 1956, "Seeing that the committee elected at the public meeting is never convened who is really doing the organization which is clearly going on ?" To this Vundla had replied, "Do you realise that is the sort of question the police ask ?" A few days later Vundla was physically assaulted by A.N.C. loyalists, and later expelled from the A.N.C. for joining a deputation which sought the readmission of expelled children to school.[163] Manilal Gandhi, too, was sceptical, saying, "I don't know whether it is not just a stunt to rouse the emotional feelings of the people. There is no constructive work being done".[164] For his part, Duncan told Gandhi that the Congress of the People had no attraction for him. "We need action without trumpets at the moment. It also seems certain to me that the CP is running it".[165] John Skomolo, too was also most critical, telling Matthews and Luthuli that they had "thrown our movement right into the hands of the C.O.D."[166] The last straw for Ngubane was when Dr. Wilson

160. MUNGER, E.S., African Field Reports 1952-1961, Cape Town: Struik 1961, p. 652, a letter dated 8.6.1958, "Communist Activity in South Africa".
161. Wits. Archive, AD 1169, Paton papers, exchange of letters between Ngubane and Paton, 1956.
162. KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 61.
163. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan Papers DU5, letter Blaxall to Duncan 14.5.1955 from Durban, and KARIS CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., pp. 35 and 81.
164. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan Papers DU 5, letter M. Gandhi to Duncan 28.10.1954.
165. Ibid., DU5, letter Duncan to M. Gandhi 21.12.1954.
166. Ibid., DU5.90.34, letter John Skomolo to Duncan 25.8.1955.

Conco, who presided at Kliptown as Luthuli's deputy, said on his return that "he had seen the document for the first time at the conference".[167] The A.N.C.'s Working Committee met to discuss the draft on 22nd June, and the A.N.C.'s National Executive Committee only saw the draft on the day the conference began, 25th June, by which time thousands of copies of the Charter had been reproduced.[168]

On examination, the text of the Freedom Charter can not in any sense be regarded as a Marxist manifesto.[169] It consists of a declaration against racial discrimination, and the promise of equality before the law and political rights for all. It was the fourth and fifth sections, dealing with economic policy, which aroused misgivings amongst Liberal observers. For instance, Patrick Duncan, who had been most scathing in his criticism of the Congress of the People before it took place, afterwards told Canon Collins that whilst he had not gone to the Congress because he thought it "too far to the left for my taste" considered the Freedom Charter to be "unexceptionable" and "well done", "except where it speaks of the ownership of the means of production by the people".[170] In a memorandum he prepared for George Houser in the United States, Duncan described how the Freedom Charter

> .... laid down at some length the requirements for a new South Africa, and was unexceptionable, save that it spoke of nationalization. But it was the creation of communist-minded people, not of the African National Congress .... Among Africans there is a strong undercurrent of feeling that the A.N.C. is falling into the control of non-Africans.[171]

On the other hand, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston told me that he "accepted without reservation the Freedom Charter especially the sections 'The people share in the country's wealth' and 'The land shall be shared among those who work it'".[172]

167. NGUBANE, An African Explains Apartheid, op. cit., p. 164.
168. KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 60.
169. JOSEPH, Helen, If this be Treason, London: André Deutsh 1962, Appendix B pp.188-192. See below, Appendix F.
170. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan papers DU 6, letter Duncan to Canon Collins, 4.11.1955.
171. Ibid., DU 5 George Houser, pamphlet "What is happening in South Africa", 7 pp. mimeo, undated, no author. Probably written by Patrick Duncan between March and June 1956.
172. HUDDLESTON, The Most Revd. T., letter to the author, 20.10.1981.

The two sections referred to by Trevor Huddleston do no more than require the dismantling of monopolies and the nationalization of some key industries, and went no further than the policy of the post-war Labour Party in Britain. Thus it was that a political conservative in the A.N.C. like Luthuli could say that he drew inspiration from the Charter, and was glad that the A.N.C. should adopt it, at the special conference called for this purpose on 31st March and 1st April 1956.[173] Nelson Mandela's explanation of these two sections of the Freedom Charter for the journal Liberation is instructive.[174] Mandela shows that a mildly socialist, and not a marxist, interpretation of these sections was clearly meant by those who adopted the Charter at Kliptown. It could therefore be argued that Huddleston's presence at the Kliptown Congress ensured that a more moderate view was taken. Meanwhile, it is worth citing Nelson Mandela's explanation of these two aspects of the Freedom Charter in order to verify the stand that Huddleston had identified himself with.

> Whilst the Charter proclaims democratic changes of a far-reaching nature it is by no means a blue-print for a socialist state but a programme for the unification of various classes and groupings amongst the people on a democratic basis. Under socialism the workers hold state power. They and the peasants own the means of production, the land, the factories and the mills. All production is for use and not for profit. The Charter does not contemplate such profound economic and political changes. Its declaration "The People shall govern !" visualises the transfer of power not to any single social class but to all the people of this country be they workers, peasants, professional men or petty-bourgeoisie.
>
> It is true that in demanding the nationalisation of the banks, the gold mines and the land the Charter strikes a fatal blow at the financial and gold-mining monopolies and farming interests that have for centuries plundered the country and condemned its people to servitude. But such a step is absolutely imperative and necessary because the realisation of the Charter is inconceivable, in fact impossible, unless and until these monopolies are first smashed up and the national wealth of the country turned over to the people. The breaking up and democratisation of these monopolies will open up fresh fields for the development of a prosperous Non-European bourgeois class. For the first time in the

173. KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., pp. 69-71, and p. 214, Document 13a, Special Presidential Message to Annual Conference of the ANC, 17-18 December 1955.
174. Ibid., pp. 245-250, Document 14, article "In our Lifetime" by Nelson R. Mandela, reprinted from Liberation, June 1956.

> history of the country the Non-European bourgeoisie will have the opportunity to own in their own name and might mills and factories, and trade and private enterprise will boom and flourish as never before .... It is precisely because the Charter offers immense opportunities for an overall improvement in the material conditions of all classes and groups that it attracts such wide support. 175

Anthony Sampson vividly described the setting for the Congress on an athletic field at Kliptown, fifteen miles to the south-west of Johannesburg, and those who were there:

> .... large African grandmothers, wearing Congress skirts, Congress blouses or Congress doeks on their heads, traipsing around with ..... suitcases; young Indian wives, with glistening saris and shawls embroidered with Congress colours; grey old African men, with walking sticks and Congress armbands; young city workers from Johannesburg, with broad hats, bright American ties and narrow trousers; smooth Indian lawyers and businessmen, moving confidently among the crowd in well-cut suits; and a backcloth of anonymous African faces, listening impassively to the hours of speeches that are the staple of every Congress meeting. 176

Mary Benson described the great "freedom wheel" behind the platform, its four spokes symbolizing each race represented there, and the A.N.C.'S African elephant, the S.A.I.C.'s Indian fox, the S.A.C.P.O.'s coloured horse and the C.O.D.'s European owl.[177] Of whites present there were only the Congress of Democrats, S.A.C.T.U., observers from the Labour and Liberal parties, who did not stay for the whole Congress, and, as Mary Benson described them,

> .... a few independent Christians, Father Trevor Huddleston, Revd. Arthur Blaxall and the Revd. D. Thomson a Methodist. 178

Early in the proceedings, with Piet Byleveld of the C.O.D. acting as Chairman, Chief Albert Luthuli, Dr. Yusuf Dadoo and Father Trevor Huddleston were honoured with the presentation of the Isitwalandwe award. "This is an honour which was given in African society to a great man .... who has distinguished himself either in national service or in war", it was explained by the chairman.

> It is the highest distinction of the liberatory struggle ....

175. Ibid., p. 247, "For all Classes".
176. SAMPSON, Anthony, The Treason Cage, The Opposition on Trial in South Africa, London: Heinemann 1958, p. 106.
177. BENSON, Mary, The Struggle for a Birthright, London: Penguin 1966, p. 175.
178. Ibid.

> in recognition of his many years of honourable and selfless service in the cause of the nation .... he has given us without fear, his courage and services. He has refused to compromise whether in the field of education or freedom of speech. 179

In his reply Huddleston identified himself unreservedly with the purpose of the Congress.

> I cannot help feeling sad that of the three people to whom this honour is given, I am the only one present to receive it, and I don't know whether it is to be blamed on the part of our friends, the police or not, but the fact is I am here.
>
> .... The Minister of Justice is very well represented here in the background and I hope they have a happy afternoon to see if they can spot some of their friends in this large gathering ....
>
> Here in Kliptown this afternoon we have only one answer to the Government in this country. The Government in this country wants to deprive people of their rights, the Government in this country uses unconstitutional methods, methods which are used to deprive majorities of their rights. Here this afternoon .... we meet openly. We want to discuss freedom. We meet to plan a Charter which will be the basis of action for the coming years. Those are the principles we hold so dear, of justice and of peace in our time, and so I thank you from my heart and I wish this Congress of the People every blessing in the years to come. Thank you very much. 180

Twenty years later Trevor Huddleston recounted to me the events of that day with obvious pride. It had obviously meant a great deal to him, particularly the presentation of the award, and he remembered it vividly.

> The last big political demonstration that I was involved in was the Kliptown meeting which passed the Freedom Charter. The Freedom Charter was an absolute landmark. It was that which led up to Sharpeville in the end, I'm sure. This was a mass rally at Kliptown which was absolutely ringed by police and trains were stopped bringing delegates to it .... I was given my award - you know there are only three of us who ever got the Xhosa medal, as it were, for being "freedom fighters". One was Dr. Dadoo, the Indian Communist leader, and the other was Luthuli himself - a black man, a white man and an Asian. I was the only one who was able to get it because the other two were proscribed and couldn't come. 181

179. KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 186, Document 10, Police Record of the Congress of the People, Kliptown, Johannesburg, June 25-26 1955, from the Treason Trial Record, pp. 6486-6526.

180. Ibid., pp. 186-7.

181. HUDDLESTON, The Right Revd. Trevor, Interview, Stepney, 25.6.1975.

Trevor Huddleston's role had been one of immense importance for the Congress movement. His open identification with their struggle to resist apartheid and his outspoken support for non-violent action to motivate political change meant as much to his friends in the African and Indian Congresses as the legitimation of apartheid by the Afrikaans Churches did to Afrikaner nationalist politicians. Huddleston's reward was the loving trust accorded him by black people. Yet his support for the resistance movement exacted its own price. Against the rewards of experiencing the love and regard of the dispossessed and the politically oppressed, Trevor Huddleston had to experience also the agonizing consequences of that commitment.

Trevor Huddleston described 1955 as being a year in which South Africa would reach a point of no return.[182] For the new Prime Minister, Mr Strijdom, there was to be no turning back. 1955 was the year of the Western Areas removals, beginning on 9th February, and of the take-over of mission schools on 1st April. It was also the year in which the Senate Act was passed, for the purpose of appointing additional Nationalist Senators to ensure the two-thirds majority necessary to remove the Coloured voters from the common roll. For the Government, therefore, 1955 was a year in which apartheid was applied more rigorously. For the Anglican Church it was a year in which relations with the Government reached the point of confrontation.

NATION-WIDE POLICE RAIDS, 27th SEPTEMBER 1955.

1955 was, more than anything else, a year in which Trevor Huddleston himself reached the point of no return. It was during this year that he wrote Naught for your Comfort. The publication of this book in 1956 issued in a hectic lecture tour of the United States and Britain with Father Raynes, to promote the book and to compel world attention for what was happening in South Africa.[183] It was also in 1955, in the early hours of 27th September, that the police, in what has been described by one writer as a "vacuum-

182. The Observer, 9.1.1955, "Point of no Return" by Fr. Trevor Huddleston, C.R.
183. HUDDLESTON, The Right Revd. Trevor, Interview, Stepney, 25.6.1975.

cleaner operation", raided and searched the offices of fifty organizations and the homes of 500 people.[184] Among those to be so visited was Trevor Huddleston, whose office at the Priory at Rosettenville was ransacked, and papers confiscated.[185] Another to be searched was Patrick Duncan, who told his friends that "they took nothing of any importance to me except my report on Madagascar".

> The three of them were most friendly, and the meeting ended with over an hour's friendly political discussion. As they left they said "We'd better be going now, otherwise you will be converting us !" 186

Duncan described the raids as a "general fishing expedition plus an attempt at intimidation".[187] The Star, however, described the true nature of the raids by reporting the same afternoon how the search warrant authorised the police to search for papers which would afford evidence "as to the commission of the offence of treason or sedition".[188] Arthur Blaxall, who was not searched, was offended that the police had omitted to call on him, telling Duncan,

> You have indeed my sympathy, at the same time I am puzzled as to why I was spared. After all you have been pretty outspoken about the COP, & refused to go to Kliptown whereas I was there to the end. I can only think it is because those in authority have enough grey matter to distinguish between those who are important in the struggle, and those who are only idle spectators from the back of the gallery, even if one may venture occasionally to the stage door to flirt with some of the actors. 189

A month later in the hall of St. Luke's, Orchards, Johannesburg, Bishop Reeves was Chairman at a public meeting called to discuss "recent activities of the police and civil liberties in South Africa." Huddleston was among the speakers. He told his audience that police raids were "becoming an ordinary part of life for everybody in South Africa .... if you attack one person's freedom you will attack everybody".[190] The Labour M.P., Mr Leo Lovell, observed how Huddleston was a "champion of the underdog.

184. KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 67.
185. Ibid., p. 68, and MOSLEY, Nicholas, The Life of Raymond Raynes, op. cit., p. 250.
186. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan papers DU 5 Manilal Gandhi, letter P. Duncan to Christopher Gell, Manilal Gandhi and Julius Lewin, 8.10.1955.
187. Ibid., and letter Duncan to Canon Collins, 4.11.1955.
188. The Star, 27.9.1955.
189. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan Papers DU 5, letter Blaxall to Duncan 8.10.1955.
190. The Star, 27.10.1955, "Police raids part of S.A. life now".

Now he is the victim - who will champion the victim ?" he asked. During the meeting ten cars parked near the hall where the meeting was held had their tyres slashed.[191] The warnings issued by Dr. Bernard Friedman and by Mr John Christie the leader of the Labour Party five years before, during the debates on the Suppression of Communism and Population Registration Bills in 1950 had now become a frightening reality.[192] As Mr Lovell observed at the same meeting, one month after these police raids of 27th September 1955,

> If you talk of the brotherhood of man you are guilty of treason. If you say apartheid is a good thing you are a good citizen. It means that the vast majority of the population, both Black and White, is justly, in the eyes of the police committing treason. A policeman is a monster of justice dressed in uniform. 193

THE IMPACT OF TREVOR HUDDLESTON'S RECALL.

Meanwhile, Father Raymond Raynes had been watching developments in South Africa with increasing anxiety and concern. Much of his Community's work in Johannesburg had been destroyed due to the Western Areas removals and the closure of mission schools following the implementation of the Bantu Education Act. Ominous threats by Government spokesmen being levelled against Trevor Huddleston, underlined by the police raids of 27th September, led Raynes to visit South Africa in November and December 1955.

Raynes told The Star that "the official and genuine reason" why he was in South Africa was

> .... because of the confusion in which the Community of the Resurrection now found itself with the closure of its schools and with the possibility of its mission house being turned out from Orlando. 194

The announcement of Raynes' decision at the beginning of November to recall Huddleston to Mirfield had aroused considerable dismay among his friends. Patrick Duncan wrote immediately to Trevor Huddleston asking "would you object if I wrote to Raynes and said

191. Ibid.
192. See above, Chapter Six, pp. 255, 268.
193. The Star, 27.10.1955, "Police raids part of S.A. life now".
194. The Star, 19.11.1955.

what a loss this move will involve us all in ?"[195] He told Manilal Gandhi that it must have been "wangled by the Archbishop of Canterbury".[196] There was widespread speculation in the British press as well as in South Africa that Raynes' decision was due to pressure from the South African Government and the Archbishop of Canterbury. According to Alan Paton, Trevor Huddleston himself thought that Archbishop Clayton had advised Raynes to recall him.[197] In a sermon preached in St. Mary's Cathedral, Johannesburg, on 4th December 1955, Raynes however denied emphatically that he had received any direct requests for Huddleston's withdrawal from either government or ecclesiastical authority in South Africa or Britain.[198]

Edward Feit, without citing his sources, has asserted that it was the South African Government which "requested his church" to recall Huddleston.[199] It is certainly true that in October 1954 a resolution appeared on the agenda of the Cape National Party Congress asking the Government either to send Bishop Ambrose Reeves and Trevor Huddleston out of the country, or else to urge the Anglican Church authorities to recall them.[200] Professor Feit's view seems untrue in the light of what Huddleston's successor as Provincial Superior of the Community of the Resurrection in South Africa, Father George Sidebotham, told me:

> It wasn't an ad hoc decision through the pressure of the moment. It was a considered possibility for, I would have said, eighteen months to two years. When he was withdrawn, Raynes came to South Africa and preached in the Cathedral, saying he took full responsibility, and giving the reasons why he thought it was the right thing. 201

In that sermon Raynes specifically denied any pressure from anyone.

> It has been continually and persistently suggested that pressure has been brought to bear that he should be removed; the source of the pressure being either Church authorities, big business or the Governments of South Africa or the United

195. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan Papers DU 5.45.51, letter Duncan to Huddleston, 3.11.1955.
196. Ibid., letter Duncan to Manilal Gandhi, 1.11.1955.
197. PATON, Alan, Apartheid and the Archbishop, op. cit., p. 260, citing an interview with Huddleston 30.9.1970.
198. C.R. Review, Lady Day 1956, a sermon preached in St. Mary's Cathedral Johannesburg on December 4th 1955 by the Revd. Fr. Raymond Raynes C.R.; cf. MOSLEY, op. cit., p. 256.
199. FEIT, Edward, African Opposition in South Africa, op. cit., p. 131.
200. Rand Daily Mail, 4.10.1954.
201. SIDEBOTHAM, The Revd. George, C.R., Interview, Stepney, 27.8.1975.

> Kingdom. There has been no pressure from any of these sources. People must either believe me or not. On that I can say no more, save that, had there been such pressure, I should not have been much influenced by it. 202

In the absence of any letter from Archbishop Clayton to Father Raynes requesting Trevor Huddleston's withdrawal, and there is presently no way of knowing whether such a letter exists or not since Father Raynes' papers are missing from the archive at Mirfield, the last word on the question of the motive for Trevor Huddleston's withdrawal must rest with what he himself told me in 1981.[203]

> I am sure that Fr. Raynes was clearly honest in his sermon about my recall though I personally have forgotten his words. However, I was referring to correspondence between Archbishop Clayton and Fr. Raynes that he [Clayton] could not continue as Visitor if I continued as Provincial and in fact resigned that office. I feel morally certain that this letter must have influenced Fr. Raynes and that the decision to recall me possibly dated from that incident. However of course I may be wrong. 204

This would accord with Fr. Sidebotham's reminiscence that the matter had been under discussion for eighteen months, and therefore seems to date from the time when Huddleston's article "The Church sleeps on" appeared in The Observer on 10th October 1954.[205] Raynes' true reasons for withdrawing Huddleston are therefore contained in the sermon he preached at St. Mary's Cathedral Johannesburg on 4th December 1955, as follows:-

> Twelve years ago it was my duty as Superior of the Community to send one of its members to take charge of the Mission of Sophiatown, and I sent Father Huddleston. I have no need to say much of what Father Huddleston has done since - save this - that I personally and the whole Community thank God for giving us such a Brother, and we thank God that he has so continuously and so courageously, yet with persistent patience and charity, witnessed, by his life, his words and his actions, to those fundamental principles which are held and shared by all his brethren .... It is the duty of the Superior to safeguard the life of the Community in all its aspects and, further, to seek its increase, growth and development, and this, not for its own comfort and security, but that it may serve God and the Church more strongly .... In all this, strategy and long-term policy must not be overlooked, and to move a leader from one part of the field to another, which may appear to be less important, is often required. The decision to do so is no easy one, and no

202. C.R. Review, Lady Day 1956, op. cit., p. 3.
203. HARRISON, The Revd. Crispin, C.R., letter to the author, 29.12.1981.
204. HUDDLESTON, The Most Revd. Trevor, letter to the author, 20.10.1981.
205. The Observer, 10.10.1954, see above, pp. 765-6.

> one is infallible. I must accept the fact that I may be mistaken. I can only say that I am seeking to do what I believe to be right, and to God I must answer for it. He is a merciful Judge, who knows the secrets of our hearts. 206

There was, however, also "very strong pressure" on Fr. Raynes to reconsider Father Huddleston's recall.

> I have been deeply moved by the representations made to me by people and groups of all races and all creeds .... but I am still convinced that he should return. 207

When the news of his withdrawal broke Huddleston received many letters of encouragement "from all sorts of unexpected quarters".[208] But from Geoffrey Clayton he heard nothing, and he felt this keenly. He wrote to Alan Paton,

> I think I feel most the fact that the Arch. has written nothing. Although I saw him at St. John's College Speech Day and said goodbye and all was quite friendly, it would have been a comfort to have had a line. 209

Huddleston did not want to go, and he confided his feelings of dismay in the same letter to his friend Alan Paton:

> I still feel that the decision to recall me for that job is a mistake, though I can honestly say I accept it ex animo in the faith that all is in God's hands and He knows what He is about. But I am under no illusions. I dread leaving my home in this country. I dread England. I dread the prospect of the kind of work that confronts me. And I do not know how on earth you can really do a job when you are eating your heart out 210

Having handed over to Father Sidebotham at Rosettenville after Christmas, Huddleston visited Sekukuniland and Penhalonga in February, and then left to commence a strenuous lecture tour in the United States at the beginning of March. Before he left he wrote again from Rosettenville to Alan Paton, and explained why he "dreaded" England.

> It seems to me a country that provides no stimulus, which is too crowded, which is too smug and comfortable. I have the feeling I am going to be buried alive. 211

He "dreaded" his new job as Novice Master at Mirfield. "I can feel not the slightest stirring of interest in it or of response

206. C.R. Review, Lady Day 1956, loc. cit., and MOSLEY, op. cit., p. 256.
207. Ibid.
208. Wits. Archive, AD 1169, Paton papers A 1-8, letter Huddleston to Paton, 29.12.1955.
209. Ibid. 210. Ibid.
211. Wits. Archive, loc. cit., letter Huddleston to Paton 4.2.1956.

in myself". But for his vow of obedience he would never have gone.

> My obedience ? I do give it wholeheartedly. But it is a completely stark and unlit obedience. I can find no joy in it anywhere. 212

Whilst suffering shock at the prospect of his enforced removal from South Africa, Huddleston somehow had to face an exacting programme of speaking engagements in a widely publicised round of farewell visits. As the decision about his return to Mirfield was made public, Huddleston announced the subject of a sermon to be broadcast on 30th October 1955. He said his text would be from James 5;1-6, which, he explained,

> .... gives me the basis for the theme of my sermon that it is the definite and specific duty of all Christian Churches to condemn, and not explain away, social evils and injustice. I will speak more generally on the prophetic function of the church. 213

Mr H.H. Biermann, a civil servant with the Department of External Affairs who later became the Director of Information at South Africa House in London, took it upon himself to write to Huddleston criticizing him for dealing with a political issue in a broadcast sermon which he had also sent to the press. On 20th January Dr. D.L. Smit (U.P., East London City) made the matter the subject of a question in Parliament to the Minister of External Affairs. Mr Eric Louw was asked whether he was going to take any disciplinary action against Mr Biermann who, as a public servant, had taken part in politics. Mr Louw's reply, that he was going to take no action against Mr Biermann, and that he agreed with his sentiments, led Mr Hepple to ask "Is it the policy of the government to encourage civil servants to make such attacks on members of the public ?" To this Mr Louw replied, "There is no public attack. It was a personal letter to the Rev. Huddleston which he saw fit to send

212. Ibid.

213. Sunday Express, 30.10.1955. James 5;1-6 reads:- "Come now, you rich, weep and howl for the miseries that are coming upon you. Your riches have rotted and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver have rusted, and their rust will be evidence against you and will eat your flesh like fire. You have laid up treasure for the last days. Behold, the wages of the labourers who mowed your fields, which you kept back by fraud, cry out; and the cries of the harvesters have reached the ears of the Lord of hosts. You have lived on earth in luxury and in pleasure; you have fattened your hearts in a day of slaughter. You have condemned, you have killed the righteous man; he does not resist you". (R.S.V.)

to the Press".[214]

Ten days later at a farewell reception in Durban arranged by the A.N.C., the Natal Indian Congress and the C.O.D., Huddleston forecast that

> .... non-Europeans were about to undergo one of the most trying periods in the Union but as a result of recent events he was becoming increasingly optimistic about the future. [215]

The next day he told the American Luncheon Club in Johannesburg that South Africa was facing the same question that confronted Lewis Carroll's Alice in Through the Looking Glass: "Which way out of the wood ?"

> It is a dangerous question to ask for those who did ask it found themselves banned, deported, named or prosecuted by the Department of the Interior. ....One of the most fearful results of nationalism, white or black, is the narrowly exclusive view of the country to which one belongs either by birth or adoption. Responsible Ministers of State today regarded racialism as patriotism and to be critical of the ideology was to be critical of the country. And to be critical of South Africa is a criminal offence - or as near to one as makes no difference. When a government has become as hypersensitive as that it is perilously near to being a one-party state. That is tyranny - not government. Apartheid involves persistent injustice, total limitation on freedom and daily, almost hourly opportunity to express itself in insult, contempt and hatred. Although apartheid could not endure because it is a fraud and a sham it will leave racial wounds which may never be healed in future. .... the lesson of my 12 years in South Africa has been that only in knowing and loving the African as a person can you create a valid relationship upon which Christian society can be built. If that is too hard a lesson for South Africa to learn then let us recognise at once that she has no place and can have no place in the world of tomorrow.[216]

Die Transvaaler, it was reported by The Star the next day, had criticized the American Luncheon Club for allowing the speech to be televised in the United States, since this "gave offence and cast a reflection on American behaviour and manners" ![217]

On the eve of his departure Huddleston told the Progressive Association in Johannesburg, "I am morally certain that the greatest weakness in European South African society is the failure of those

214. The Star, 20.1.1956, "Louw taking no action against Biermann: agrees with his sentiments".
215. Rand Daily Mail, 30.1.1956.
216. Rand Daily Mail, 1.2.1956.
217. The Star, 2.2.1956.

who know the right to bear witness to what they know". There were three things essential to a "healthy society" - freedom of association, of opinion and of speech. "All of them could vanish from any society which forgot that the 'price of liberty is eternal vigilance'".[218] Perhaps the most moving farewell gathering involved some 140 old men and women at St. Mary's Orlando, where Huddleston handed each a gift of a blanket provided by a group of white women known as the "Blanket Girls". He told his audience,

> The winter will soon begin. But where I am going I shall probably be much colder than you are. I want to ask you to do something for me. When you pull your blankets a little closer around your shoulders please say a prayer for me.

The Star reporter commented, "There was a soft murmur from the Natives which swelled into a long drawn out 'Aaagh'. It was as if they were already feeling the chill of his departure."[219]

As he left the Priory at Rosettenville for the last time Huddleston told The Star,

> I believe there is a spiritual and moral revolt in high places which will become increasingly effective and obvious .... in the past two years I have received more support secretly for the various causes with which I am associated than I have ever before received. Various people in Government would be surprised if they knew some of the sources from which this support has come - one of the most appallingly wasteful aspects of apartheid is the banning and restriction of responsible African leadership. 220

To the Rand Daily Mail he said,

> It is because I love South Africa so dearly, that I have done my best to fight against this pernicious unChristian doctrine. I believe there is every evidence of a stirring of conscience in many quarters. 221

Huddleston's work lived on after him. A small example of this was the Friends of Father Huddleston Fund, started by Mrs d'Arcy Ussher "to help young Natives complete their education".[222] There were articles in the press about Huddleston almost daily as he bade farewell to his friends in Johannesburg, who paid him

218. Rand Daily Mail, 28.2.1956.
219. The Star, 27.2.1956, "A Godly Man".
220. The Star, 29.2.1956, "Signs that people who matter most are waking up - Father Huddleston."
221. Rand Daily Mail, 29.2.1956, "White supremacy policy will lead to disaster".
222. The Star, 28.2.1956.

the warmest of tributes. One anonymous gift of a three shilling postal order was accompanied by a small photograph of a sweet-faced old lady with "Father Huddleston, God bless him" written on a slip of paper in "rather wavery writing".[223] Mrs d'Arcy Ussher was quoted as saying,

> Whether or not Father Huddleston is a South African citizen by birth or circumstance he is for me one of the greatest South Africans. 224

HUDDLESTON'S LECTURE TOUR OF THE UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN WITH FATHER RAYNES.

Huddleston then joined Father Raynes in the United States for a concentrated lecture tour which attracted considerable attention and did much to promote the sales of his book Naught for your Comfort. Whilst he was in the United States, the University of Aberdeen announced that they had decided to make the award of an Honorary D.D.[225] By the time Huddleston reached England in April 1956, the sales of his book were booming. It had been published by Collins in hardback early in 1956, and immediately sold 100 000 copies. This was followed by a Fontana paperback edition in 1957 which became a "best-seller", receiving its eighth impression by 1968. Alan Paton's Cry the Beloved Country and Huddleston's Naught for your Comfort became the two books which gave a world-wide readership their first and most important perception of South Africa. Huddleston's campaign to mobilize world opinion had succeeded better than he could have imagined, for on his return to England he was immediately involved in countless press interviews, broadcasts on television and radio, and lectures up and down the country to thousands. His name quickly became a household word in England and throughout the world.[226]

Huddleston's first engagement in England was to address an audience of over 7000 S.P.G. supporters in the Albert Hall in April. The Star's London correspondent reported how he received

223. The Star, 22.2.1956.
224. The Star, 16.2.1956.
225. The Star, 15.3.1956.
226. HUDDLESTON, Trevor, Naught for your Comfort, op. cit., p. 191.

"prolonged applause" for his half-hour address, and the announcement that the S.P.G. and the C.R. were to share the royalties of Naught for your Comfort.[227] He tried to assure his audience that although he had been recalled to England "to leave work which was certainly very dear to me in South Africa", this did not mean that "my recall is resented or mistaken".

> If one takes vows of obedience it is fantastic and ungrateful to complain because God takes one at one's word. It is the Community's duty to use me where it thinks fit. 228

He emphasized the importance of church unity in witnessing to the truth in the field of race relations, and roundly condemned South Africa's policy of "white supremacy".

> The doctrine of White supremacy is a denial of two great truths upon which our Holy Catholic faith rests. It is a denial of the truth that man is made in the image and likeness of God, that God Himself has come down to this world to take human nature upon himself, and that he has given it a dignity it had never possessed before. To deny this is a vile blasphemy. The doctrine also means not only "Thou shalt not love thy neighbour" but something infinitely more - "Thou shalt have no neighbour to love". 229

Three weeks later Huddleston preached in St. Paul's Cathedral in a series in which Fr. Raymond Raynes and the Revd. Robert Jeffery also took part. Huddleston was also the preacher at the Annual Festival of the South African Church Institute at St. Stephen's Rochester Row, when the Revd. George Reindorp was the celebrant, on Friday 11th May, a service attended by an unusually large congregation of 250. In his sermon Huddleston stressed that "the church in South Africa had to bear witness to the Sovereignty of God in all sorts of different ways" and pleaded for Africans training for the priesthood on whose shoulders this responsibility rested.[230] At St. Paul's Cathednal on the preceding Sunday Huddleston's text was from Matthew 22;21, which he regarded as "the text for our day and generation". "This is an age of conflict between Church and State" he explained, and emphasized that Christians had to choose "between the things that are Caesar's and the things that are God's".

227. The Star, 18.4.1956.
228. George Diocesan Magazine, July 1956, p. 6, "Dauntless Defence; extract from Fr. Trevor Huddleston's first big speech in England made to over 7000 SPG supporters in the Albert Hall".
229. Ibid.
230. Cape to the Zambezi, Vol. XXIII, No. 3, August 1956, p. 77, "South African Church Institute Festival".

He spoke of the "power and pervasiveness of the State supremacy" and recalled the special emphasis of Bishop Charles Gore, the founder of his Community, who had stressed that

> .... the community must always try to claim for Christian law the ultimate authority .... and to present Christ in practical life as the living Master and King.

Huddleston also observed that whilst "it is true that South Africa is not the only country in the world where racial prejudice exists, and is tolerated", it was, however, "the only country in the world wherein a form of totalitarianism is combined with an insistence upon racialism."

> This doctrine upon which all legislation, and all activity in the Union of South Africa is based, this doctrine of White supremacy for all time .... says more clearly than anything else could do: "Render unto Caesar the things that are God's" For it says quite clearly and unmistakably in word and deed, "There can be but one ruling community in this land, a sovereign white government, and this must endure for all time, and all that conflicts with this conception of the State is ipso facto wrong, illegal and cannot be allowed to exist." 231

The consequence for the African of this policy was to make him "a displaced person in his own country".[232]

> He is never a citizen in his own beloved country, nor is it the intention of white South Africa that he should be. "There is no room", says the Minister of Native Affairs, "for the natives in European society above the level of certain forms of labour". And "European society" means South Africa. 233

Huddleston was in addition asked to speak again in London at another meeting arranged by Christian Action and the Africa Bureau at the Central Hall Westminster on Monday 23rd April. The handbill advertising the event said that Father Trevor Huddleston C.R. would make "a bold statement on South Africa", and that Father Raymond Raynes C.R., Superior of the Community of the Resurrection, would be the chairman.[234]

Within a period of three weeks in London alone Huddleston had addressed no less than four major meetings, and there were many

231. Ibid., pp. 68-71, Extracts from Sermons preached in St. Paul's Cathedral by Fr. Tr.Huddleston C.R., Fr. R. Raynes C.R. and the Revd. R.M. Jeffery.
232. Rand Daily Mail, 7.5.1956.
233. Cape to the Zambezi, Aug. 1956 op. cit., p. 70, Sermon preached by Huddleston in St. Paul's Cathedral on 6.5.1956.
234. Borthwick Institute York, Duncan Papers DU 5.9.37, handbill enclosed with letter Mary Benson to Patrick Duncan, undated.

others in the provinces. He was exhausted. In June he wrote again to Alan Paton,

> There are times, honestly, when I feel near to breaking point .... and what makes it worse is that every mail, every blessed meeting, every person almost - means talking or writing or thinking about South Africa. It really is a kind of Hell because they're all so out of reach. 235

He told Patrick Duncan, "I long for Africa more and more every moment. Don't know how I shall EVER get used to this, but GOD does, I suppose !"[236] By October his mail was "so collosal", 100 or 120 letters a week, that even with secretarial help he said "I cannot cope". After a self-imposed silence of three months he accepted invitations to preach and speak again. In October he wrote that he found

> .... the interest in racial affairs here still staggers me and is very frightening to deal with e.g. at Sheffield I had over 3000 and at Wells Cathedral 2000 - and in a tiny Somerset village 3-400. 237

He regarded this as a sign of "a deeper spiritual void here that needs filling".[238] In April 1957, fully a year after he had embarked on this exacting programme of public speaking about South Africa, Huddleston spoke at a public meeting attended by over 2000 people in Bradford. "It is astonishing how many people in this country still will come to hear about Africa" he wrote in a letter to Patrick Duncan.

> I have nearly reached the end of the possibility of speaking. I am really over-tired with it, and I feel it would not be right to go on what I have been doing for the past twelve months indefinitely. 239

VARIOUS REACTIONS TO HUDDLESTON'S SPEECHES AND NAUGHT FOR YOUR COMFORT.

Whatever explanation there may be in the mood and temper of British Christians at the time for their unprecedented interest

235. Wits. Archive AD 1169, Paton papers A1-8, letter Huddleston to Paton, 18.6.1956.
236. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan papers DU 5.45.55, letter Huddleston to Duncan, 6.6.1956.
237. Wits. Archive AD 1169, Paton papers A 1-8, letter Huddleston to Paton, 19.10.1956.
238. Ibid.
239. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan papers DU 5.45.63, letter Huddleston to Duncan, 2.4.1957.

in South Africa, besides the personal popularity of Trevor Huddleston as a writer and speaker, a significant feature of the phenomenon was the reaction of cabinet ministers in South Africa. There was, too, the remarkable achievement of Mr Alexander Steward, an Information Officer at South Africa House, who within six months of the publication of Naught for your Comfort had published a reply.[240] The Star's London correspondent reported that Mr Steward's book, You are wrong, Father Huddleston, had not received as much attention in London as the work he had set out to answer. "Many newspapers and journals have ignored it completely and the few reviews that have appeared have little to say in its favour".[241]

In South Africa the Prime Minister himself, Mr J.G. Strijdom, led the Nationalists' attack on Trevor Huddleston. At a political meeting at Klerksdorp on Saturday 7th April 1956 he described Michael Scott and Trevor Huddleston as

> .... competing with the notorious Dr. Phillips and Dr. van der Kemp of the London Missionary Society of the previous century in their attempts to slander the White man in South Africa, and to incite not only the outside world against South Africa, but also the non-whites in South Africa. 242

At Beaufort West Mr Eric Louw called Huddleston a "traducer" and "dealer in gloom". "He sees white South Africa only in terms of Sophiatown".[243] Dr. Dönges at Vredenberg said that South Africa had become accustomed to attempts at interference in her domestic affairs by the enemies of South Africa.[244] The fortnightly digest of South African affairs published by the State Information Office in Pretoria was especially virulent in its attack on Huddleston:

> While in the Union he repeatedly called in the aid of overseas journalists and cameramen to give world-wide publicity to his vicious assaults on the policies and integrity of South Africa: he left finally on instructions from his religious superiors in England and flew to the United States to continue his attacks on South Africa in a series of 40 lectures: and then he returned to England, bathed in the odour of sanctity to tell Britain that she could expel South Africa from the Commonwealth and to ask the world to enforce an economic and social boycott against the country whose

240. STEWARD, Alexander, You are wrong, Father Huddleston, Cape Town: Howard Timmins 1956.
241. The Star, 25.8.1956.
242. The Star, 9.4.1956, "Strijdom says Huddleston a fanatic bent on misrepresentation".
243. The Star, 16.4.1956.
244. Ibid.

citizenship he claims.[245]

After Huddleston's Albert Hall speech Mr Strijdom returned to the attack, in a speech to a political meeting at Upington on 19th April. The Prime Minister called Huddleston "the biggest troublemaker" and commented "it is interesting that of the ring-leaders in the campaign of slander against South Africa are two foreign missionaries".[246] Mr Eric Louw, in denying that he had "pressed" Father Raynes to "remove this turbulent priest from South Africa" added,

> What I did say was that I believed Revd. Huddleston's superiors had decided to recall him because of the trouble he was causing in South Africa. That is still my belief. 247

Mr Louw also charged that "misrepresentation seems to be a weakness of the Community of the Resurrection". Dr. Dönges said he would introduce a new Immigration Bill that provided for wider powers of deportation. "Solly Sachs, Michael Scott, Trevor Huddleston and Alan Paton", said Dr. Dönges, "are examples of the type of person whose action in inviting external agencies to interfere in South African domestic affairs [I] deprecate most strongly as a crime against South Africa".[248]

Huddleston's call for South Africa's expulsion from the Commonwealth was described by Marshal of the Royal Air Force Sir Arthur Harris as "irresponsible".[249] Even the President of the Methodist Conference, the Revd. S.B. Sudbury, described Huddleston as an "extremist", saying,

> While standing four-square with Father Huddleston against injustice .... one feels however, that the effect of his written words has been nullified by his prejudiced speeches. There are extremists who seem to work on the principle that Black is right and White is wrong 250

The Editor of the C.P.S.A.'s official magazine, Church News, was similarly critical, saying that Huddleston had "overplayed his hand and embarrassed many of his friends".[251] On the other hand,

245. The Star, 17.4.1956, "Official publication attacks Huddleston".
246. The Star, 21.4.1956, "Strijdom says Huddleston biggest trouble maker".
247. The Star, 17.4.1956, "Louw replies to Huddleston".
248. The Star, 17.4.1956, "Dönges proposes wider powers of deportation".
249. The Star, 30.4.1956, "Bomber Harris calls Father Huddleston 'irresponsible'".
250. The Star, 7.8.1956, "Progress due to whites, Methodist chief accuses Huddleston and others of prejudice".
251. The Star, 24.5.1956.

Patrick Duncan was overjoyed with the "wonderful present" he received of a copy of Naught for your Comfort inscribed by Trevor Huddleston. He told Huddleston how Sir Patrick Ashley Cooper, his father-in-law, who was "no starry-eyed left wing idealist" had commented,

> This is a terrible book. It is absolutely unanswerable. If I could I would make every white South African read a chapter each evening before going to bed. 252

Trevor Huddleston, deeply moved by this unsolicited tribute, replied that "it is letters like yours which really encourage one to believe that it has done some good".[253]

Amongst the plethora of reactions to Trevor Huddleston's book and his lecture tour in the United States and Britain, the feature that all these responses had in common was the way in which each criticism or compliment revealed the particular prejudice of the respondent. Conservative churchmen and government spokesmen in South Africa found much to criticize Huddleston for, since his denunciations of their country overseas were resented because such criticism was deemed to be unpatriotic. Others who saw the validity of Huddleston's prophetic condemnation of apartheid recognized the significance of the overwhelming international acclaim that had been accorded to Huddleston and his book.

For example, The Torch, magazine of the Non-European Unity Movement, criticized Huddleston for compromising himself in the eyes of Africans by co-operating with Advisory Boards, and by pleading for slum-clearance schemes based on the location system. "There is not enough clear thinking on the real roots of Herrenvolk oppression in South Africa." Lionel Forman, Editor of New Age, the successor to Advance and Clarion since the banning of the S.A.C.P., was hostile for a different reason. Father Huddleston had not understood the real truth about South Africa, said Forman, because he was not after all a "political animal", an opinion that would have surprised Huddleston's critics in the House of Assembly who urged deportation for missionaries who meddled in politics. On the other hand, South Africa, a journal published in London by the

252. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan papers DU 5.45:54, letter Duncan to Huddleston, 14.5.1956.
253. Ibid., DU 5.45.55, letter Huddleston to Duncan 6.6.1956.

Director of Information at South Africa House, took particular exception to Huddleston's remark that "within South Africa it is now impossible to mobilize a sufficiently powerful offensive".[254] Another critical review to be published in London, for the journal Truth, came from the pen of Joost de Blank, Bishop of Stepney since 1952, and in April 1957 to be elected Archbishop of Cape Town. De Blank complained of "prejudices and omissions" in the book. For example Huddleston had not mentioned "the success of the Roman Catholics in preserving their schools outside the control of the Bantu Education Act". "We humbly salute this great Christian warrior", said de Blank, "but it is just possible in war time for him to come home".[255]

On the other hand, with more understanding of South African conditions than de Blank, the reviewer for the Cape Argus drew attention to the ideology that was at the root of the situation, observing,

> If it be true that man makes God in his own image, then the majority in South Africa have made for themselves a God in the image of John Calvin, and the others, led by Fr. Huddleston, a God in the image of the ideal man of democratic twentieth century Europe. 256

On these grounds, the Cape Argus predicted that the book would be well-received in Britain, America and on the Continent "because it is entirely in harmony with the accepted thought in those areas". The Cape Times suggested that the author was not in step with the heirarchy of his church, but thought that the publication of Naught for your Comfort could open a new phase in attitudes to South Africa abroad, and concluded, "If his arguments are invalid they will fall away. But I doubt if his evidence will easily be forgotten."[257]

The unprecedented interest motivated by Trevor Huddleston's campaign to mobilize public opinion in Britain against apartheid, culminating in his lecture tour and the publication of Naught for your Comfort in 1956, laid important foundations for the development

254. Cape to the Zambezi, XXIII August 1956, pp. 82-3, "Some reactions to 'Naught for your Comfort'".
255. The Star, 24.5.1956.
256-7. Cape to the Zambezi, loc. cit.

of the Boycott South Africa movement in 1959, and the constitution of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in April 1960.[258] A unique and moving tribute to the way that Trevor Huddleston and his book captured the imagination of the British people was the formation of a society at Cambridge University named after one of Huddleston's parishioners in Sophiatown. Among its members was John Reeves, the eldest son of Bishop Ambrose Reeves who was tragically drowned in a holiday accident on the Wild Coast in December 1959. Three others were Michael Nuttall, Alasdair Macaulay and Michael Cassidy, whose letter to The Times, cited earlier, aroused considerable interest amongst other undergraduates at Cambridge and in Britain generally. Huddleston's account of "faithful old blind Margaret, tapping her way along the street", who was always in church prostrate in prayer half an hour before the early Mass inspired South African undergraduates at Cambridge to found a society named after her. The Margaret Tlhotleng Society met regularly for Holy Communion and provided an informed and prayerful focus upon the church's witness against apartheid in South Africa.[259]

THE TREASON ARRESTS ON 5th DECEMBER 1956.

Then, at the moment when Trevor Huddleston's stamina for public speaking was being severely tested, and the interest of the British public in apartheid could have begun to wane, an event of startling significance took place in South Africa. In country-wide dawn raids on 5th December 1956, over 140 people were arrested on charges of high treason. Later arrests brought the total to 156 and included others who were charged with being co-conspirators in a supposed plot to overthrow the South African government by violence.[260] From all over the Union leaders of the African National Congress and its allied organizations were taken to the Johannesburg Fort to await the Preparatory Examination, which was to begin on 19th December. In a letter to George Houser, Patrick Duncan noted the names of some of those arrested.

258. The Offices of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, 69 Charlotte Street, London W.1, "Fifteen Years of Anti-Apartheid" (1974), typescript, 3 pp.

259. NUTTALL, The Right Revd. Michael, conversation, Durban, 22.3.1983, cf. HUDDLESTON, Naught for Your Comfort, op. cit., p. 98, and The Times, 9.5.1956, ref. 56 above, and AB 1289, letter John Reeves to Archbishop Clayton 24.1.1957, and Clayton's reply of 30.1.1957 stating: "I wish the society all success. I do not myself believe that it is possible for people who are not actually living and working in South Africa to do very much in the way of influencing South African policy either in Church or State .... [however] the widest possible publicity should be given to facts ...."

260. KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., pp. 80-82.

> Apart from those you mention there were: Nelson Mandela, and Oliver Tambo, attorneys of Johannesburg; A. Hutchinson who defied with me and went to Bucharest; Lilian Ngoyi and Helen Joseph the very alive leaders of the S.A. Women's Federation; Pieter Beyleveld Chairman of the SACOD; Sid Shall who defied with me, Leslie Massina leader of the SACTU (non-Colour Bar Trade Unions); Robert Resha of the ANC Executive; E.P. Moretsele Tvl Chairman of the ANC; Luthuli, President General of the ANC; M.B. Yengwa Natal Secy. ANC; J.G. Matthews, attorney, and son of Z.K.; Fred Carneson, of NEW AGE; Lionel Forman, Editor, NEW AGE; Rev James Calata of the Anglican Church, Cradock, and an old fighter in the ANC; Rev R. Gawe [sic] of Queenstown Anglican Church, Chaplain General of ANC and present Cape Leader; and many others. What they seem to have in common is attendance at the Kliptown Congress of the People. The Public Prosecutor opened his address yesterday, and all that has come through to me yet is a statement that the Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter were an attempt to set up an alternative government for the Union. 261

As Karis, Carter and Gerhart have commented,

> .... the anomalies in the list of accused and co-conspirators were explained partly by legal considerations of evidence and partly by white ignorance, or imprecise knowledge, regarding the leadership of the extraparliamentary opposition. 262

A notable absentee from the list was Trevor Huddleston. The Johannesburg Sunday Express telephoned him at Mirfield and asked "Do you think you might still be arrested in connection with the treason swoop ?" He replied, "Quite conceivably. The police have a fat file on me. They still have all the documents they took in the raid on the Priory at Rosettenville last year". He also indicated that he was ready to return to stand trial "if I were asked, but I have no money .... "[263]

Among the 70 accused and 86 co-conspirators were those who had been expelled from the A.N.C., like T.E. Tshunungwa the National Organizer of the Resist Apartheid campaign, who had become secretary to Chief Kaiser Matanzima, and P.Q. Vundla who had been beaten up by A.N.C. loyalists for negotiating with Dr. Verwoerd's department over the schools' boycott. Of the twenty or more white people arrested many had been members of the Communist Party, like Joe

261. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan Papers DU 5, letter Patrick Duncan to George Houser 21.12.1956.
262. KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 81. (Rev R. Gawe should read Revd W.S. Gawe).
263. Sunday Express, 16.12.1956.

Slovo, Ruth First and Lionel Bernstein, or were active in the Congress of Democrats or the newspaper New Age. On the other hand, J.B. Marks was listed only as a co-conspirator, and Yusuf Dadoo, David Bopape, Michael Harmel and Sam Kahn were neither arrested nor listed in the indictment. Even the moderate Dr. A.B. Xuma was among the "co-conspirators", though not the more radical Dr. James Moroka.[264] Members of the Liberal Party had escaped the drag-net, notably Patrick Duncan. When he addressed an emasculated Annual Conference of the A.N.C. at Queenstown over the weekend of 15th-16th December, Duncan was arrested for being illegally present in an African location. He told Arthur Blaxall, "I delivered my message, and then the police collaborated with the ANC and me by arresting me in circumstances that gave the message maximum impact".

> I said goodbye to the Conference on the Monday (17th) in a joyful atmosphere. All our thoughts were in the Fort, but we felt that freedom for the whole country would come out of these trials. 265

As Duncan spent the week-end in police cells in Queenstown, at the Fort in Johannesburg the two Anglican priests who were among those arrested, James Calata and W.S. Gawe, assumed their role as Chaplains. In his autobiography Albert Luthuli wrote appreciatively of the devotions led by Calata on that last Sunday in cells before the Preparatory Examination began on 19th December.

> It was a most moving service, a real spiritual preparation for what lay ahead, which made its mark even on the non-Christians and atheists among us. Afterwards we all stood round in a circle and sang some of our freedom songs. I led the prisoners in our pledging ourselves to solidarity in the cause of liberation - it proved a touching little impromptu ceremony about which were both formality and dedication. There was no doubt about it, we had not languished in gaol, our morale was very high. 266

Cyprian Thorpe wrote to Calata sending fraternal messages to them all and asking his consent to propose him for a vacant canonry in the diocese of Grahamstown. Thorpe told Duncan,

> I had decided some time ago that I would propose him for the next vacancy and I do not see why I should change my

264. KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 81.
265. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan Papers DU 5, letter Duncan to Blaxall 21.12.1956.
266. LUTHULI, Let my People go, op. cit., p. 149.

> mind now, but I expect it will be the first time since the Elizabethan purge or the Marian persecutions that a man awaiting trial for high treason has been proposed for high office in the Anglican church. 267

Thorpe's proposal, however, did not immediately find favour, and it was not until 1959 that Calata was elected an Honorary Canon of the Diocese of Grahamstown on Bishop Cullen's retirement.[268] Arthur Blaxall might have joined Duncan in the police cells in Queenstown but for the fact that he decided, on Luthuli's advice, not to attend the A.N.C. Annual Conference there. On Tuesday 11th December, the first visiting day after the mass arrests, Blaxall went to the Fort and spoke to Luthuli and Gawe and the others. He found the experience "heart-rending" and told Duncan,

> .... more so I think to those of us on this side of the grill than the smiling, high-spirited people on the other side 269

On 21st December the defendants emerged from the Johannesburg Drill Hall into the street, after the adjournment of the proceedings until 9th January. The waiting people surged forward to greet their leaders and began to cheer. The police, fearing a disturbance, baton-charged the crowd, driving them towards Plein Street, and five Africans were injured.[270] Bishop Reeves and Alex Hepple M.P. interposed themselves between the police and the by now angry crowd, as the police appeared to be preparing to open fire.[271] Writing from Cape Town, the political columnist of Die Burger, "Dawie", commenting on the incident as reported in the "English" press, said disparagingly, "And who brings light over such happenings .... Bishop Reeves and Mr Alex Hepple ! They always know everything."[272]

267. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan papers DU 5.45.35, letter Cyprian Thorpe to Duncan, 13.12.1956.
268. See above, Chapter Seven, p. 352, and Wits. Archive A 410 Ballinger Papers, letter Mr Cindi of Cradock to Mrs Ballinger, 20.3.1959.
269. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan papers DU 5, letter Arthur Blaxall to Duncan dated "January 19th 1956", which should read "December 19th 1956" since Blaxall says "Tuesday of last week, the first visiting day after the mass arrests I was in a crowded room talking to a few of them ...." and concluded with "May you all know the joy of Christmas".
270. The Times, 22.12.1956, "Basis of Treason Charges in South Africa Trial".
271. REEVES, The Right Revd. Ambrose, South Africa Yesterday and Tomorrow, London: Gollancz 1962, p. 107.
272. Die Burger, 22.12.1956, "Dawie". (My translation).

Already, on the afternoon the arrests took place, Alex Hepple had called on Bishop Reeves, to persuade him to head a Board of Trustees to run a Treason Trial Defence Fund.[273] In Cape Town Archbishop Clayton agreed to serve on the Treason Trial Committee there, and he was shortly to become the Patron of the Fund.[274] By July 1957 Canon Collins had succeeded in raising £ 20 000 in England, and he was embarking on raising the next £ 20 000.[275] Many contributed to this Fund in South Africa, Britain and in the United States. Many thousands of pounds were needed, for the proceedings dragged on for four and a half years.

The preliminary examination of the 156 arrested lasted from 19th December 1956 until January 1958. On 1st August 1958 the trial opened, with ninety-nine of the original 156 in the dock. On 19th January 1959 only thirty appeared, on a shorter indictment of High Treason. From 30th March to 31st August 1960 the accused were detained under the State of Emergency proclaimed after the shooting at Sharpeville on 21st March 1960. Finally, on 29th March 1961, the remaining thirty accused were acquitted.[276] Throughout these long months the Treason Trial Defence Fund assisted the accused and their dependants. The total cost of the trial was estimated at over half a million pounds.[277]

Meanwhile, Trevor Huddleston was far from the scene when the news of the arrests rang round the world. He began to suffer agonies of conscience because he was not there to stand trial with his friends. On 14th December Huddleston read in The Times that Archbishop Clayton and Bishop Reeves, with others, were sponsoring a defence fund. He himself had been approached by Christian Action to write to The Observer in support of the fund being launched by Canon Collins in England. He wrote to Archbishop Clayton seeking his opinion, and at the same time told the Archbishop he wished that he were free to return.[278] He wrote again the

273. REEVES, op. cit., p. 106.
274. CPSA Archive AB 707, SACI papers, letter Clayton to Jeffery 18.12.1956, and AB 701 De Blank Papers, manuscript memoir "My brother Joost" by Bartha de Blank, p. 226.
275. Wits. Archive, AD 1169 Paton papers, 37, letter Collins to Paton 9.7.1957.
276. JOSEPH, Helen, If this be Treason, London: André Deutsch 1962, pp. 19-20.
277. Ibid., p. 144.
278. CPSA Archive AB 191, Clayton papers, letter Huddleston to Clayton 16.12.1956.

next day, saying that he had written in support of the Christian Action fund, on hearing that it would be put at the disposal of the joint fund in South Africa. He asked Clayton's advice about his own dilemma.

> I know that I would almost certainly have been arrested had I been in South Africa. I have obviously contributed very substantially to the kind of activities for which many of my friends are now to suffer. Whilst I am not in the least sorry for what I have said or done (I would do the same again) I am deeply concerned that I should not be there to bear my witness at this crucial time.
>
> It seems to me very possible that my evidence may be needed and that if it goes by default others may suffer unnecessarily. 279

He told Clayton again that he wished he had not been recalled.

Clayton's reply concentrated on the question of the appeal, and ended,

> Personally, I am very glad that you aren't here at the moment, though I can understand your feelings. No one supposes that you have run away through cowardice, and even if they did suppose it, as it isn't true it doesn't really matter. 280

The Archbishop replied more fully to Huddleston's second letter on 26th December, to remind him that "people ought not to seek Martyrdom". That was the judgement of the church even in the days of the martyrs. He told the exiled monk of the spiritual dangers of desiring to be in the limelight, or of thinking himself to be indispensable. He added,

> .... if it is really true that the liberty of others may depend on evidence which you could give, that might alter the position. I cannot think what such evidence could possibly be, and I wonder whether you are not exaggerating its probable value to those others. 281

It was a frank exchange. Clayton said that he would be a false friend if he did not say what was on his mind, and ended by reminding Huddleston that in the past when he had done so he knew that he had resented it. It seemed now that they were resolving their differences over those articles in The Observer in 1954. Regarding his resentment of what Clayton had said to him in the past, Huddleston replied:

279. Ibid., letter Huddleston to Clayton 17.12.1956.
280. Ibid., letter Clayton to Huddleston 19.12.1956.
281. Ibid., letter Clayton to Huddleston 26.12.1956.

> I think I have always respected your judgement more than that of anybody: even if, as you say, I have sometimes resented the expression of it. 282

With regard to giving evidence, Huddleston said that he thought it would be shameful, if in the opinion of defence counsel his evidence was weighty enough, for him to refuse to give it. But he also admitted that his evidence might even harm his friends. He humbly accepted Clayton's strictures about seeking the limelight: "I know myself only too well by now". The exchange was, however, not entirely one-sided, with the penitent priest submitting to his Archbishop. Huddleston also knew that he had to stand up to Clayton, and so he told him,

> I still believe (and cannot say otherwise),that the Church is not facing this issue [of race relations] as courageously as she should. Where I have resented your criticisms and attitudes towards me (and I beg you to believe that I know I've often resented them wrongly too) it has been because it has seemed to me that you wished me silent and submissive where I could not be. At least I have always tried to be frank with you too. But I could often and much more easily have been a "yes-man". I do need your prayers because I am simply, physically and spiritually and mentally dead tired: and at times I just feel I cannot go on. But not always ! 283

By 2nd January the issue had resolved itself in Huddleston's mind, for he wrote again to Clayton to say that he had warned the Chapter at Mirfield that his evidence "may be necessary .... but in the meantime I shall keep entirely quiet. In any case nothing much is likely to happen for some months".[284] He could not think that he had uttered so despairing a cri de coeur as to make Clayton think that he was packing his bags for South Africa.

Huddleston also asked Alan Paton's advice on the question of his returning to South Africa to give evidence. Paton replied that he did not feel able to consider this letter by himself, so he had consulted Ambrose Reeves, who thought that this should be left to defence counsel to decide whether his evidence was necessary. Huddleston also asked Paton "to get some legal opinion on .... what steps are usually taken to get a "criminal" who is a South African citizen back to South Africa".[285]

282-283. Ibid., letter Huddleston to Clayton 31.12.1956.
284. Ibid., letter Huddleston to Clayton 2.1.1957.
285. Wits. Archive AD 1169 Paton papers 29/56, letter Huddleston to Paton 16.12.1956.

Paton was very much against Huddleston returning, and like Clayton seems to have gained the impression that Huddleston might disregard the Community of the Resurrection and return to South Africa under his own auspices.

> I think if you came here without the authority of the C.R. and if, as a consequence the C.R. disown you, and if, after the trials, the S.A. Government deport you, then your consequent position in England might be more frustrating than it seemed to be six or nine months ago. 286

Regarding the question about repatriation, Paton seems to have thought that Huddleston was intending to court arrest.

> I am not quite sure of the point of your question in regard to repatriation. Do you mean what steps are necessary for you to take in England so that the South African Police would ask the British police to arrest you and send you back to South Africa ? It seems to me that this is not a question for a lawyer. It all depends on whether the S.A. Police want you back. My own guess is that they do not. 287

This exchange of letters between Huddleston and his two trusted friends and advisers illustrates the extent to which he lived up to his principle of "identification". The intensity of Trevor Huddleston's commitment to the African people was such that it could not just be turned off like a tap. Michael Scott had felt similarly frustrated when his attempts to return to South Africa had come up against the obvious reluctance of Clayton to contemplate the return of someone whom the Government would have been certain to deport.[288] Huddleston, too, had now passed the same point of no return. Unlike Michael Scott, Huddleston possessed the discipline and fellowship of a religious order, to enable him to chart a new course. Bishop Reeves was to experience similar "withdrawal symptoms" after his departure and subsequent deportation in 1960.[289]

Was Raynes right to withdraw Huddleston from South Africa when he did ? The anguish of an exile cut off from all that

286-7. Ibid., letter Paton to Huddleston, 29.12.1956.

288. CPSA Archive, AB 707, SACI papers, letters Streatfield to Reeves 17.8.1950, Scott to Streatfield 14.10.1950 and Scott to Reeves 7.5.1950.

289. Wits. Archive AD 1169 Paton Papers, letter Archbishop of Canterbury to Paton 13.2.1961 expressing regret that Bishop Reeves had not accepted a good job that had been offered to him. Paton had written to say how worried he was about Reeves.

has hitherto given his life meaning and purpose was part of the cost of Huddleston's discipleship. The remorse that he felt at not being in South Africa to stand trial when his friends and associates were arrested and charged with High Treason only nine months after his departure can been seen in his anxious letters to Archbishop Clayton and Alan Paton. The alternative if he had stayed would have been four and a half wasted years in "the treason cage".[290] Instead he spent four years at Mirfield as Novice Master before being chosen as Bishop of Masasi in 1960, where he was to play an important role in the formative stages of Julius Nyerere's newly independent Tanzania. He returned to London as Bishop of Stepney, and by the time he retired on reaching the age of seventy in 1983, he was the Archbishop of the new Anglican Province of the Indian Ocean and Bishop of Mauritius. His Superior's timely intervention meant that Trevor Huddleston was set free to serve his church as a bishop for fully twenty-three years. The Abbot of Nashdom, in a review of Nicholas Mosley's The Life of Raymond Raynes, described Raynes' decision to withdraw Huddleston as "the most controversial act of his life" and suggested that the decision was made trusting "God to bring the results to good for all concerned".[291] Trevor Huddleston's subsequent ministry in Tanzania, London and Mauritius suggests that Raynes' trust and Huddleston's obedience need no vindication now.

Once Huddleston had decided that resistance was the only strategy left, he steered a collision course with the Government. For the same conviction Camilo Torres and Dietrich Bonhoeffer had given their lives, and it must have been clear to Raynes that Huddleston was prepared to do the same.[292] However painful the decision to recall Huddleston, it is clear that Raynes' action pre-empted punitive measures which the South African Government must sooner or later have taken against him.

290. SAMPSON, Anthony, The Treason Cage; The Opposition on Trial in South Africa, London: Heinemann 1958.

291. C.R. Quarterly Review, No 232, 1961, pp. 26-29, Book Reviews: Book of the Year, The Life of Raymond Raynes by Nicholas Mosley, a Review by the Abbot of Nashdom.

292. GERASI, John, ed., Camilo Torres, Revolutionary Priest, London: Penguin 1973, and BETHGE, Eberhard, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, London: Collins 1970.

During 1957 Trevor Huddleston continued to correspond with Alan Paton at frequent intervals, and it is possible to discern his confidence returning. One sign of this was the series of highly original and amusing fictitious senders's names and addresses on the back of his airmail letters. When one arrived from "The Rev. O. Lution D.D., S. Marx Rectory, Leftish Corner, Redditch, Warwickshire, England", Alan Paton remonstrated,[293]

> What a great pleasure to receive again one of your raging letters. By now the Post Office has made a list of the fictitious sender's names and addresses, which you employ, and while separately they look quite harmless, when put together they are very incriminating. I am surprised at your trying to make things more difficult. 294

Undeterred, Huddleston sent the next letter from "The Rev. D. Flated" ![295] In September there was some mild banter between Paton, whose novel Cry the Beloved Country was, as he said, soon to be "Penguinised", and Huddleston who boasted that Naught for your Comfort was to be "Fontana-ed". Paton quipped,

> In the first place there is nothing to be proud of in being Fontana-ed so soon after publication, and in the second place we Penguins think there is nothing to be proud of in being Fontana-ed at all. 296

Trevor Huddleston had recovered.

TREVOR HUDDLESTON: AN EVALUATION OF HIS SOUTH AFRICAN MINISTRY AND STRATEGY OF RESISTANCE TO APARTHEID.

Of the qualities which Trevor Huddleston brought to his ministry in South Africa, the foremost was his dedication to prayer.[297] The daily Eucharist in the Church of Christ the King, Sophiatown, or in the Chapel at Rosettenville, provided the focus for each varied day's service, so that his daily work then became a sacrament of that prayer. Readers of Naught for your Comfort will notice how often he wrote, "after Mass that morning I went to ...."[298] Whilst it could be true to say of him, as Archbishop Clayton did,

293. Wits. Archive AD 1169, Paton papers, letter Huddleston to Paton 24.5.1957.
294. Ibid., letter Paton to Huddleston 3.6.1957.
295. Ibid., letter Huddleston to Paton 13.7.1957.
296. Ibid., letter Paton to Huddleston 4.9.1957.
297. HOOPER, The Revd. Canon Charles, Interview, Manzini, 15.12.1980.
298. HUDDLESTON, Naught for your Comfort, op. cit., p. 133, and MORGAN, Dewi, The Undying Fire, London: Mowbray 1959, p. 84.

that he desired the limelight, even if he readily admitted the failing, Huddleston sought publicity, not for his own sake but for the plight of others. Dewi Morgan therefore has described him more accurately as a "man of prayer and gentleness .... fundamentally animated by love".[299] Accurate, too, was the anonymous author of The Observer's profile upon his return to England in 1956, who said that it was "his humility that has raised him to his eminence".[300]

Secondly, the causes he espoused were not his own. They arose from the pastoral care of his parishioners. When Bishop Desmond Tutu was a schoolboy at Western High he spent twenty months at various hospitals recovering from a bad spell of tuberculosis. Trevor Huddleston visited him every week throughout those twenty months. "He never missed a [week]", said Tutu. "I think he was one of the important influences in my life .... his compassion, caring, love, gentleness and deep spirituality".[301] These qualities were evident in his care of the Newclare squatter children in 1952. Archbishop Walter Makhudu told me that he owed his call to the priesthood to the inspiration of Trevor Huddleston in this same period.[302] Another example of Huddleston's devotion as a pastor was evidenced in his care over the education of two African boys, David and Stephen, whom he supported from his discretionary fund so that they could continue their studies at Mariannhill in Natal.[303] Amidst all the turmoil of his return to Mirfield, Huddleston arranged for them to visit Alan Paton, and kept in touch with the boys' headmaster after one of them had undergone shock treatment for a psychiatric problem. Huddleston's credibility as a prophet therefore rested ultimately on his faithfulness as a pastor and a priest.

299. MORGAN, op. cit., p. 13.
300. The Observer, 15.4.1956, "Fr. Huddleston".
301. Sunday Times (Johannesburg) 26.4.1981, "The Faith that moves Tutu" by Marion Sparg. The report read "never missed a day", but Bishop Tutu corrected this to "a week" on checking this with him in Pietermaritzburg, 23.11.1981.
302. MAKHUDU, The Revd. Walter, Interview, Geneva 21.7.1975. He has since been elected Bishop of Botswana and Archbishop of the Province of Central Africa.
303. Wits. Archive, AD 1169, Paton Papers, letter Huddleston to Paton, 18.6.1956 and 14.8.1956.

Thirdly, Huddleston was to be accused of insensitivity to the Afrikaner. He might also for this reason have not foreseen the intensity of the hostile reactions he was to arouse amongst Government supporters. This led even a sympathetic observer like Claude de Mestral, who had close contacts in South Africa through the International Committee for Christian Literature, to comment that Huddleston was "unaware that he should have a share in some common guilt towards them [the Afrikaners]".[304] Those, however, who criticized Huddleston for his so-called insensitivity towards the Afrikaner could not have understood the absolute contradiction for him between an ideology which had been given theological legitimation by the Dutch Reformed Churches and his conception of the Christian doctrine of man. To Huddleston, as he was to write in Naught for your Comfort, the Calvinism of the Afrikaner "like all heresies and deviations from Catholic truth .... is sub-Christian".[305] When I interviewed Bishop Huddleston at Stepney in 1975 he readily conceded that he had little contact with Afrikaners. Nor had he made a close study of Calvinism upon which to base such a harsh judgement.[306] However, Huddleston's experience as the Priest-in-Charge of Sophiatown had given him an intimate perception of apartheid in practice. It had taken nine years of witnessing at first hand the evil effects of this ideology upon the lives of his African parishioners before, as he frankly admitted, he had "crossed the line from being a parish priest to being an activist in the political sense".[307] Huddleston had come to regard racialism in any form as "a blasphemy" against the nature of God who had created man in his own image".[308] He reached this conclusion fully twenty-five years before the C.P.S.A.'s Provincial Synod in November 1982, following similar resolutions by the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, the N.G. Sendingkerk, and the Methodist Conference, declared apartheid to be a heresy.[309] In

304. Wits. Archive AC 623c, CCSA Papers, Reports on a trip to Africa August-October 1956 by Claude de Mestral on behalf of the International Committee for Christian Literature and the Conference of British Missionary Societies; an observation made by Claude de Mestral after a visit to South Africa in August 1956, when Ds. Brink and Dr. Arthur Blaxall were his hosts.
305. HUDDLESTON, Naught for your Comfort, op. cit., p. 50.
306. Ibid., p. 49, and HUDDLESTON, The Right Revd. T., Interview, Stepney, 25.6.1975.
307. Ibid.
308. HUDDLESTON, Naught for your Comfort, op. cit., p. 180.
309. Ecunews, December 1982, "Church Synods", pp. 6, 8, 11. cf. also DE GRUCHY, John, and VILLA-VICENCIO, Charles (ed.), Apartheid is a Heresy, Cape Town: David Philip 1983.

his sermon at St. Mary's Cathedral, Johannesburg, in December 1955, Raymond Raynes called it a deeply ingrained "lie in the soul" of South Africa.[310]

As his Superior, Raynes probably knew Huddleston better than any other living person. Charles Hooper told me "they were very close", and Raynes of course knew Sophiatown intimately.[311] When he told the congregation at St. Mary's Cathedral Johannesburg that it was the exposure of this lie that had "drawn many to Fr. Huddleston", he spoke of what he knew.

> Listening, as I have listened, to many persons and deputations representing the reasons why Fr. Huddleston should remain in South Africa, I have been struck by one significant fact - that men and women, young and old, of every race, of varying creeds, of none, of different standards of education, have seen and found in him an expression of what is in the depths of their own hearts. 312

Raymond Raynes did not speak of those whose hostility Huddleston had aroused, nor did he observe that those who expose such a lie in the soul of a nation inevitably evoke a guilty reaction from those who perceive that it is they who are responsible for the status quo. The attacks made upon Trevor Huddleston by Nationalist Cabinet Ministers and politicians both inside and outside Parliament have been described above. His bitterest critics showed no apparent signs of guilt at all. For his part Huddleston emphasized that he could genuinely forgive the perpetrators of such attacks against himself, and whilst it was certainly not an anti-Afrikaner sentiment that moved him to say such harsh things about the Afrikaner's religion, what he could not do was "to be patient and forgiving when all his viciousness is directed against others".

> It seems to me to be too easy to be patient and charitable - ninety per cent of White South Africa can be just that - at the expense of injustice and cruelty to someone else. 313

His bitterest critics never understood this difference. It helps to explain the combination in one person of such apparently opposite qualities as humility and authority, gentleness and severity, innate con-

310. C.R. Review, No. 213, Lady Day 1956, p. 4. Sermon by Fr. Raynes in St. Mary's Cathedral Johannesburg, 4.12.1955.
311. HOOPER, The Revd. Canon Charles, Interview, Manzini, 15.12.1980.
312. C.R. Review, Lady Day 1956, loc. cit.
313. HUDDLESTON, Naught for your Comfort, op. cit., p. 173.

viviality and seriousness of purpose. Huddleston's keen sensitivity towards the feelings of the weak and the powerless, and his severest judgement of the privileged and the powerful, meant that their feelings became an irrelevance in the face of repeated injustices and suffering perpetrated in the name of apartheid.

It has already been noted how Huddleston, having experienced at first hand the practical effects of the implementation of this policy on his parishioners in Sophiatown, became convinced that apartheid was a blasphemy.[314] In 1953 he declared the policy to be a tyranny, and decided that he must resist apartheid by every means at his disposal.[315] With such fundamental issues at stake it is hardly surprising that sensitivity for the supposed feelings of the perpetrators of blasphemy and tyranny should receive little consideration when what was needed was unambiguous prophetic denunciation. As Huddleston stated in the first chapter of Naught for your Comfort,

> .... there is no room for compromise or fence-sitting over a question such as racial ideology when it so dominates the thought of a whole country. 316

Fourthly, like Michael Scott, Trevor Huddleston was one of the few whites of whom it could be said he was accepted as an "honorary black" by the black people of South Africa. There are and have been others, some of whom are mentioned in this study. None, however, had been so completely accepted as he, as was demonstrated by the choice of Huddleston for the Isitwalandwe award. The kind of acceptance which Trevor Huddleston won from black people met with a concomitant rejection by the majority of white people, who regarded him as an interfering cleric and a political priest. The majority of white South Africans, whilst they may not have agreed fully with the Nationalist Cabinet Minister who said of him "in the middle ages people like Huddleston would have been burned at the stake", certainly would have had some sympathy with the view expressed by a representative of the South African Information Office in London. He wrote to Huddleston saying that he "deserved to be drummed out of the country as a

314. See above, p. 819, reference 308.
315. See above, Chapter Eight, p. 431.
316. HUDDLESTON, Naught for your Comfort, op. cit., p. 17.

renegade".[317] The South African paradox is that the same person could be regarded as a renegade by many whites and a hero by most blacks. This was true of Trevor Huddleston in 1955, and it was not long before Bishop Reeves was accorded the same compliment.

Fifthly, unlike Michael Scott, Huddleston, though at times critical of the leadership of his church, had the whole-hearted support of his diocesan bishop, Ambrose Reeves. Where Scott never reconciled the breach between himself and Clayton, Huddleston, by personal contact, ensured that there was no lasting rift between him and either Archbishop Clayton or Archbishop Fisher, even if there had been a time when their views had diverged sharply. Huddleston, unlike Scott, operated from within the discipline of a religious order, and as Father Superior of his Community in South Africa enjoyed a respect and standing in the diocese of Johannesburg. Where Scott appeared untidy and eccentric, Huddleston was never so. Where Scott's protests often had the appearance of being ill-judged, undisciplined and even foolhardy, not even Archbishop Clayton, although he disagreed with Huddleston over mobilizing opinion against South Africa overseas, would have ever said of Huddleston "his judgement is not to be trusted".[318] Instead Clayton wrote to his bishop, to ask whether he thought the situation had so changed that Huddleston's view was justified. Unlike Michael Scott, Trevor Huddleston was not a prophet without honour in his own church. The ten years between 1946 and 1956 had seen a considerable development in the Government's racial policies, and a significant change in Anglican attitudes towards resistance.

Sixthly, the importance of Trevor Huddleston's ministry in South Africa and the source of his true greatness lay in the loyalty he evoked from his friends and the profound influence he had upon his associates. This disregards the influence he had upon a future generation of priests of the C.P.S.A. at St. Peter's Rosettenville, some of whom later rose to positions of eminence and leadership in the church: Bishop Desmond Tutu, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches since 1977, and Archbishop Walter

317. HUDDLESTON, op. cit., Publisher's Note, pp. 190-1.
318. See above, Chapter One, pp. 66-7.

Makhudu, Archbishop of Botswana since 1980, are but two who could be mentioned. Oliver Tambo is another, who has been de facto President-in-exile of the African National Congress ever since Nelson Mandela was imprisoned in 1963. Huddleston's influence upon his own contemporaries in South Africa at the time may be illustrated by mentioning only two people, Patrick Duncan and Bishop Ambrose Reeves. A discussion of Huddleston's influence upon Archbishop Clayton is reserved for the concluding chapter.

It was significant that the friendship between Trevor Huddleston and Patrick Duncan flowered in the period when Huddleston moved from a stance of protest to resistance in 1953, and that both men shared a growing impatience with the attitude of the institutional church during 1954. Duncan became interested in the Western Areas as early as May 1952, when he stayed at the priory at Sophiatown.[319] In 1953 he was invited to be the speaker at one of Huddleston's "shoe parties" at Rosettenville.[320] Huddleston admired Duncan's courage in becoming a satyagrahi. Duncan was attracted to Huddleston at a time when he found himself being shunned by his embarrassed friends in Maseru for his part in the Defiance Campaign.

The arrest of Yusuf Cachalia in June 1953 prompted Huddleston's change of stance to resistance. Then, in October 1954 it was the church's silence when Oliver Tambo was banned, that moved him to write "The Church Sleeps on" for The Observer, in which it was the church rather than the state that was the primary target for his attack.[321] In the same month he wrote to The Star chastising the churches for failing to unite in resisting Bantu Education.[322] Patrick Duncan's sense of disillusionment with the institutional church seems to have coincided with Huddleston's. Both Huddleston and Duncan were committed irrevocably to resistance, and believed that the church had to be persuaded to do likewise.

Bishop Reeves' relationship with Huddleston, too, was an

319. DRIVER, C.J., Patrick Duncan, op. cit., p. 125.
320. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan papers DU 5.
321. The Observer, 10.10.1954, see above, p. 765.
322. The Star, 25.10.1954, see above, Chapter Eleven, p. 599 reference 89.

interesting one. Reeves' theological college was Mirfield, so he had an intimate affinity with Huddleston's Community. Fr. Hooper told me that Bishop Reeves used to feel that he could "talk to me and some of the C.R. Fathers. He felt he could 'unbosom' himself without having to explain".[323] Huddleston, of course, had been in South Africa longer than Reeves, so the latter looked particularly to Huddleston, and to Archdeacon Rouse, for advice. It is significant that Fr. Hooper should have remarked that "Ambrose was very much in the wings so long as Trevor Huddleston was around".[324] That this was so was due also in part to Huddleston's outstandingly good press relations. However, when Huddleston left, Reeves' stand on Bantu Education, his initiative in starting the Treason Trial Fund and his mediation in the Alexandra Bus Boycott in 1957 meant that the Bishop became heir to Huddleston's place in the affections of the Congress movement.

For both Huddleston and Reeves, the principle of identification, rooted in a theology of incarnation, was backed by the best of Anglo-Catholic social teaching and that of the Christendom Group. This principle provides the key to understanding their mutual commitment. They came from the same ecclesiastical "stable", and found themselves thrown together in the same milieu, in which it was becoming apparent that protest alone was not enough. Only a comprehensive strategy of resistance was going to be adequate to meet the challenge of the Government's implacable determination to implement its apartheid ideology in every sphere of the nation's life. In Johannesburg, and because they both moved in Congress circles, Huddleston, and by proxy Reeves, were alive to these issues ahead of many other Anglicans who had perhaps lived in South Africa all their lives. Father Hooper said of Bishop Reeves, and it was certainly true of Trevor Huddleston also:

> The other Bishops .... he was rather unpopular with them because he was three steps ahead and they didn't like to have a man around who made them look more pudding-headed than they naturally were ! [325]

Finally, Huddleston's strategy of resistance to apartheid rested on the twin principles of a theology of identification with

323. HOOPER, The Revd. Canon Charles, Interview, Manzini, 15.12.1980.
324-5. Ibid.

the victims of apartheid, and his perception that the application of this ideology by the Nationalist Government had become a tyranny. The principle of identification meant that Huddleston laid himself open to the accusation of prejudice, as evidenced in the charge made by the President of the Methodist Conference, the Revd. S.B. Sudbury, that "there are extremists who seem to work on the principle that black is right and white is wrong".[326] At the same time Huddleston's uninhibited identification with the cause of the Congress movement strengthened the hand of its more moderate leaders like Z.K. Matthews and Albert Luthuli, and could have played a part in ensuring that the Congress of the People adopted no overtly marxist clauses in the Freedom Charter. Huddleston's theory of resistance, derived from Thomist teaching about the morality of resisting a tyrannical government, could have opened the door to arguments which supported the use of violence. In practice, Huddleston was to employ methods of resistance that remained within the law even in South Africa, and like his friends in the Congress movement he adhered strictly to principles of non-violent action. He employed to the full and proclaimed his right to freedom of association, freedom of opinion and freedom of speech. His strongest reactions were reserved for the denial of civil liberty and equality before the law, and it was in upholding these rights for the victims of apartheid that he made his prophetic witness in South Africa most cogent.

It was, however, when he denounced the South African Government overseas for its denial of human rights and declared that apartheid was a blasphemous heresy which derived from the Calvinism of the Afrikaner, that Huddleston aroused the most intensely hostile reactions. His strategy of resistance to apartheid rested on "internationalising the issue", and in this he succeeded at the cost of being unable to return.[327] The enduring quality of Huddleston's prophetic witness against apartheid is indicated by the comment of Canon Charles Hooper, that he needed to "retract nothing".[328] The reviewer of Naught for your Comfort for the

326. The Star, 7.8.1956, see above, p. 805.
327. The Observer, "The West must heed this warning" by Bishop Trevor Huddleston; an undated newspaper cutting of a "recent" article enclosed by Archbishop Huddleston in his letter to the author, 20.10.1981.
328. HOOPER, The Revd. Canon Charles, Interview, Manzini, 15.12.1980.

Cape Times correctly perceived how Huddleston's most important contribution was to open a new attitude to South Africa abroad.[329] The evidence of Huddleston's book cannot easily be forgotten. The phenomenon of its success itself contributed significantly to the liberation movement, and in its light the African National Congress and the Anglican Church in South Africa both grew in stature.

329. Cape to the Zambezi XXIII, August 1956, pp. 82-3, loc. cit., see above p. 807.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN.

RESISTING THE ASSAULT ON CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY; I: CIVIL LIBERTY.

The purpose of the next two chapters is to compare and contrast the C.P.S.A.'s efforts to resist the further erosion of civil liberty which took place in South Africa after Mr J.G. Strijdom became Prime Minister in 1955, with the manner in which the church sprang to the defence of religious liberty in 1957, when every Anglican Bishop solemnly declared that he would not obey the provisions of Clause 29 (c) of the Native Laws Amendment Act. This chapter, having noted the assurances given by Dr. D.F. Malan to Parliament at the time of the Universal Declarations of Human Rights and Religious Liberty in 1948, and the proceedings of the Christian Council's committee on Religious Liberty in 1954, goes on to describe the further erosion of civil liberty which marked the change from the administration of Dr. D.F. Malan to that of Mr J.G. Strijdom between 1955 and 1957. Besides the issues already dealt with in the preceding chapters on Bantu Education, the implementation of the Western Areas removal scheme, and the Treason Trial arrests in December 1956, Mr Strijdom's government enacted the Senate and Quorum Acts of 1955 and the Separate Representation of Voters Act of 1956, together designed to remove the Coloured voters from the common electoral roll. Further steps were taken during 1955 and 1956 affecting academic freedom, freedom of association and freedom of movement. The tabling of the Tomlinson Commission Report in 1956 coincided with the reinforcement of influx control and the declaration of the Western Cape as a Coloured labour preference area. The period 1955 to 1957 also saw a considerable strengthening of the Government's powers of censorship and a marked increase in police surveillance and harassment. Having noted expressions of concern over the

further erosion of civil liberty by Anglican leaders, in particular Trevor Huddleston, Archbishop Clayton, Bishop Reeves, Alan Paton and Edgar Brookes, the chapter concludes with a description of Bishop Reeves' role as mediator in the bus boycott in 1957, a consideration of police measures to break the boycott and their implications for civil liberty, an assessment of Anglican attempts to defend civil liberty between 1955 and 1957, and an evaluation of Bishop Reeves' theology and practice of Christian resistance.

The lack of a coherent Anglican strategy for resisting the considerable erosion of civil liberty which took place in this period when Mr Strijdom was Prime Minister contrasts with the unanimity and determination shown by Archbishop Clayton and the bishops of the C.P.S.A. in 1957, in resisting the "Church Clause" of the Native Laws Amendment Bill. The contrast between the methods employed by the churches to oppose the further erosion of civil liberty between 1955 and 1957, and its unequivocal stand on religious liberty in 1957, provides a highly significant case-study in the theory and practice of Christian resistance, and will be evaluated at the end of the next chapter.

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATIONS ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND HUMAN RIGHTS (1948).

The inaugural Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam made an important Declaration on Religious Liberty in 1948.[1] This stated that

> The nature and destiny of man by virtue of his creation, redemption and calling, and man's activities in family, state and culture establish limits beyond which the government cannot with impunity go. [2]

1) Every person has the right to determine his own faith and creed.

2) Every person has the right to express his religious beliefs in worship, teaching and practice, and to proclaim the implications of his beliefs for relationships in a social or political community.

1. VISSER 'tHOOFT, W.A., The First Assembly of the World Council of Churches, London: SCM 1949, pp. 97-99.
2. Ibid., p. 97.

3) Every person has the right to associate with others and to organise them for religious purposes.

4) Every religious organisation, formed or maintained by action in accordance with the rights of individual persons, has the right to determine its policies and practices for the accomplishment of its chosen purposes. 3

It was further explained that the right of religious expression included:

> .... freedom of worship, both public and private; freedom to place information at the disposal of others by processes of teaching, preaching and persuasion; and freedom to pursue such activities as are dictated by conscience. 4

Moreover, the rights of religious organizations, besides the right "to determine its faith and creed", the right to "teach, educate, preach and persuade" and the freedom to "engage in religious worship", also required the freedom "to express implications of belief for society and government".[5] Furthermore, certain "corporate rights", derived from individual rights, meant that

> In order that these rights may be realised in social experience, the state must grant to religious organisations and their members the same rights which it grants to other organisations, including the right of self-government, of public meeting, of speech, of Press and publication, of holding property, of collecting funds, of travel, of ingress and egress, and generally of administering their own affairs. 6

In December 1948 the United Nations made its Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which included as Article 18 "the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion".[7] Early in 1949 a conference in Cape Town convened jointly by the Christian Council and the South African Institute of Race Relations gave its support to the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, and concluded that

> .... this Declaration would provide the Union with a definitive test for every measure affecting the fundamental human rights of all sections of the population. 8

They declared that certain of the fundamental human rights contained

3. Ibid., pp. 97 (1), 98 (2) and (3), and 99 (4).
4. Ibid., p. 98. 5. Ibid., p. 99. 6. Ibid.
7. UNITED NATIONS, Apartheid in Practice, U.N. Office of Public Information: 1971. Prepared by Mr Leslie Rubin at the request of the U.N. Secretariat on Apartheid. p. 37.
8. Christian Council Quarterly, April 1949, p. 7., and SAIRR Jan Hofmeyr Library, Ref. R.R. 24/49, Conference on Human Rights by the S.A. Institute of Race Relations (inc) and the Christian Council of South Africa, held in the Haddingh Hall, Cape Town, on the 17th and 18th January 1949. p. 1, Findings 1.

in the Declaration of the United Nations had not been extended to the African, Coloured and Asiatic peoples of South Africa. The South African Government, however, has never been a signatory to either of these declarations.

It will be remembered that Dr. D.F. Malan did give certain assurances to Parliament about human rights and religious liberty, only three months after becoming Prime Minister in 1948.[9] On 24th August 1948 the Leader of the Labour Party, Mr John Christie, moved a resolution calling upon the Government to

> .... give an undertaking that it will in no way infringe such democratic rights and freedoms as are at present enjoyed by the people of South Africa, more especially the freedom of ministers of religion to teach whatever their consciences may dictate. [10]

Mr Christie also asked for assurances concerning "the freedom of workers to organize and control their own organizations", the freedom of the press and the "freedom of educational institutions from political influences". Addressing his remarks specifically to the Prime Minister, Mr Christie said,

> If the churches or any of the churches take the line that apartheid is wrong, if they take the line that many of them do, that the remedy proposed in this apartheid policy is worse than the disease, and that they and the church fear the remedy worse than the disease, they have a perfect right to say so. They have a perfect right to place their opinions before the people of South Africa. [11]

Dr. D.F. Malan's reply was an extremely interesting one, for it revealed his own acceptance in principle of much that was enshrined in the declarations by the United Nations on human rights and by the World Council of Churches on religious liberty. It will be evident from the ensuing survey of the further erosion of civil liberty which took place after Mr J.G. Strijdom became Prime Minister in 1955, that the Cabinet lost an influential advocate of restraint on the retirement of Dr. D.F. Malan at the end of 1954. However, as Mrs Margaret Ballinger has observed, and as was noted in an earlier chapter,

> .... the human rights to which Dr. Malan and his party sub-

9. See above, Chapter 3, p. 146.
10. House of Assembly Debates, 758/48, 24.8.1948, Mr John Christie (Labour, Johannesburg City).
11. Ibid.

> scribed (besides obviously not applying to people of colour) did not include the right of people "who undermine the principle of apartheid, who preach equality, and who propagate foreign ideologies in South Africa". 12

Mrs Ballinger's contention is clearly reflected in the following account of Dr. Malan's reply to Mr Christie's question, which the Prime Minister took to imply "an indirect accusation" and a means of "insulting the Government and his party". Dr. Malan's desire to defend his Government from the insult that his party's policy would involve the abrogation of civil and religious liberty was such that he made a strong statement in defence of the rights and freedom of the individual.

> The Western conception [of democracy] is that in the first instance we must bear in mind the rights and freedom of the individual. The individual has human rights and nothing should be allowed to infringe upon his human rights .... The individual has the right to live, he has the physical right of movement, of action, he has the right of freedom of thought, he has the right of exercising a free conscience, he has the right of freedom of religion, he has the right to express himself and his opinions. He can do so in public life where he can take part in the politics of his country. He can do so through the Press, he can do so by taking part in the political struggle, he can call into being political parties .... The only restriction which is placed on that freedom - a restriction which is necessary to avoid licence - is that the freedom enjoyed by one individual should not encroach upon the freedom enjoyed by another individual, and it is the task of the State to see that that does not happen. 13

However, when Dr. Malan went on to deal with his Party's manifesto, criticized by the Rand Daily Mail for saying that "Churches and Societies who undermine the policy of apartheid and who propagate foreign ideologies will be opposed (teengegaan)", it became clear that these assurances did not apply to churches or groups who opposed apartheid. Dr. Malan complained that "teengegaan" had been translated "checked", but continued,

> I say that we shall check them, and who are we going to check ? Those who undermine the principles of apartheid, those who preach equality and who propagate foreign ideologies in South Africa, are the Communists and the communistically-minded people .... The Party will not tolerate interference from outside and destructive propaganda to the world outside with regard to the colour problem in South Africa. 14

12. BALLINGER, Margaret, From Union to Apartheid, Cape Town: Juta 1969, pp. 246-7, and see above, Chapter Three, p. 146, reference 114.
13. House of Assembly Debates, 774-5/48, 24.8.1948, The Prime Minister.
14. Ibid., 776/48, 24.8.1948, The Prime Minister.

He complained that his party was accused of being "undemocratic" for wanting to "combat communism" and to "oppose outside interference in our domestic affairs".[15] Thus his Government was not prepared

> .... to tolerate the Basners* and the Michael Scotts, who went outside South Africa in an endeavour to incite the whole world against South Africa notwithstanding the fact that these were domestic affairs. 16

THE CHRISTIAN COUNCIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, 1953-4.

Those who, in the Government's view, undermined their policy of apartheid therefore received warning that their liberty would not receive the protection of Dr. D.F. Malan's Government. The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 fulfilled the threat implicit in Dr. Malan's statement to Parliament in August 1948 described above.[17] It was not, however, until after the enactment of the Public Safety and Criminal Laws Amendment Bills of January 1953, and other incidents like the arrest of a man during a church service at the Methodist Church in New Brighton during the Defiance Campaign, and the refusal of entry permits for two bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, that the Christian Council decided that the time had come to appoint a permanent committee on Religious Liberty.[18]

In March 1953, Mr Richard Feetham, a retired judge of the Transvaal bench who, since 1938, had been Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand, was invited to be Chairman.[19] Arthur Blaxall told Patrick Duncan that

> I itched to suggest you as a member of that committee but refrained because .... all you your time and mental energy will have to go into your senatorial campaign. 20

15. Ibid., 777/48, The Prime Minister. 16. Ibid., 776/48, The Prime Minister.
17. See above, Chapter Six.
18. Wits. Archive, AC 623, CCSA papers, Minutes, General Purposes Committee, 9.2.1953; and Report of the Religious Liberty Committee presented to the Biennial Meeting of the Christian Council of South Africa, 18-20 May 1954.
19. Ibid., and Minutes of the Religious Liberty Committee, February, March & April 1954. cf. ROSENTHAL, Eric, Southern African Dictionary of National Biography, London: Frederick Warne 1966, p. 121. Richard Feetham (1874-1965) educated at Malborough and Oxford, came to South Africa as a member of Milner's kindergarten to be Town Clerk of Johannesburg from 1902-5. He was appointed a Judge in 1923 after experience as a member of the Transvaal Legislative Assembly and a Member of Parliament in Sir Patrick Duncan's Unionist Party.

* Senator H.M. Basner was Natives' Representative in the Senate for the Transvaal and O.F.S. from 1943-1948.

The minutes of the first three meetings of the Christian Council's Religious Liberty Committee, in February, March and April 1954, together with its report to the biennial meeting of the Christian Council in Bloemfontein from 18th-20th May 1954, are amongst the Christian Council papers. There is, however, no record of further meetings after 1954, although the issue of religious liberty continued to find a place in the minutes of the General Purposes Committee in Johannesburg and of the Action Committee in Cape Town. In 1955 a replacement was being sought for Mr Justice Feetham as Chairman, and nothing further is heard of this committee thereafter.[21]

In the event this Johannesburg-based committee on Religious Liberty was prevented from being much more than a theoretical study-group. It presented some valuable study papers and a report to the C.C.S.A.'s Biennial Meeting in May 1954. The actual task of arranging interviews with Government Ministers continued to be done by the Action Committee, convened by the Congregational leader, the Revd. Basil Brown, in Cape Town.[22] Since 1953, when Archbishop Clayton became President of the Council and Chairman of the Action Committee, and by virtue of the fact that so many of issues involving both civil and religious liberty were connected with current legislation in Parliament, the location of the Action Committee in Cape Town proved to be a most effective arrangement which superceded the need for another committee. The appointment of this committee on Religious Liberty, however short-lived its effective life, nevertheless serves to indicate some measure of the anxiety felt at the time for the erosion of civil and religious liberty as a result of government legislation and administrative action.

It is perhaps indicative of the impotence of the Christian Council's committee on Religious Liberty that in all practical matters concerning infractions of religious liberty, it was Archbishop

21. Wits. Archive, AC 623, CCSA Papers, Minutes of the Religious Liberty Committee, February, March and April 1954; Report of the Religious Liberty Committee presented to the biennial meeting of the Council in Bloemfontein 18-20 May 1954; General Purposes Committee Minutes 1955.
22. The Revd. Basil Brown succeeded Dr. Blaxall as Secretary of the Christian Council in 1963. After the latter's arrest and trial in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act, he was found guilty and sentenced to an effective six months in prison, before being immediately paroled. BLAXALL, Arthur, Suspended Sentence, London: Hodder and Stoughton 1965, pp. 111 ff.

Clayton, in his capacity as President of the Christian Council, who would make representations to the appropriate Minister. This was generally done at the request of the Action Committee in Cape Town, and sometimes at the suggestion of the General Purposes Committee in Johannesburg. For instance, on 19th February 1953 Archbishop Clayton, as President of the Christian Council, wrote to the Minister of Justice, Mr C.R. Swart, after reports that people banned by the Minister from attending public gatherings, were also being barred from public worship.[23] In spite of Mr Swart's letter to the Archbishop in 1953 that "persons may attend ordinary bona fide religious services on Sundays", by 1954 other banned persons were still being told that their banning orders precluded attendance at church unless they had obtained specific exemption for that purpose.[24] A further enquiry from the Archbishop merely elicited an equivocal reply from Mr Swart's private secretary saying that it was

> .... not the intention that persons upon whom orders under the Suppression of Communism Act have been served should be debarred from attending bona fide religious services .... Those who have received notices should obtain such exemption by applying to the Secretary for Justice. [25]

Reference has already been made to Archbishop Clayton's private meeting at Groote Schuur with the Prime Minister in December 1952, when he had asked about the restrictions imposed on the Revd. James Calata.[26] When, however, the Archbishop tried to meet Dr. Malan again in May 1954 to discuss restrictions being placed on banned people attending religious services and other matters, including "certain aspects of the implementation of the Bantu Education Act", the Prime Minister politely referred him to the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H.F. Verwoerd.[27] Archbishop Clayton and Dr. Verwoerd did meet for two hours on 17th June, as has been des-

23. Wits. Archive AC 623, CCSA Papers, Report of the Religious Liberty Committee, Annexure 2, 1953-4.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., Letter No C 19, dated 20.10.1954, Minister of Justice to Archbishop of Cape Town, cited by the above report.
26. CPSA Archive, AB 707, SACI papers, letter Archbishop Clayton to C.T. Wood 2.1.1953.
27. See above, Chapter Eleven, pp. 584-8, and CPSA Archive AB 191, Clayton papers, letter Clayton to Malan 26.5.1954; Wits. Archive, AC 623 CCSA Papers, Minutes of the General Purposes Committee 23.6.1954, Action Committee Minutes 31.8.1954, and Notes on the Interview with Minister of Native Affairs by Archbishop of Cape Town and the Revd. E.W. Grant, 17.6.1954.

cribed in an earlier chapter on the Bantu Education Act. Thereafter repeated efforts were made to arrange another meeting between Dr. D.F. Malan and Archbishop Clayton by Dr. Blaxall, in order to express the Christian Council's "grave concern at the trend towards infringement of personal and religious liberties in this country".[28] This issued in further correspondence between Dr. Malan and Dr. Blaxall in September and October 1954. Dr. D.F. Malan, however, resigned as Prime Minister on 30th November 1954 before such a meeting between Archbishop Clayton and the Prime Minister could take place.[29]

On the latter's death in 1959 Dr. Blaxall wrote a generous tribute to Dr. Malan as "a Christian Statesman of rare type and quality - a man who commanded the respect of friend and opponent alike".[30] Blaxall also recalled the hour he spent alone with Dr. Malan in his office at the Union Buildings in Pretoria in 1952 when arranging for Archbishop Clayton's "fire-side chat" at Groote Schuur. Blaxall wrote that "his manner of conversation" on that occasion "convinced me that he [Malan] was seeking in his mind for a Christian answer to many of the things which divided us".[31] Dr. Blaxall's eagerness to arrange another meeting between Archbishop Clayton and Dr. D.F. Malan in 1954 is an indication of the perception in the Christian Council that Dr. Malan was likely to be more sympathetic and less unyielding than his cabinet colleagues under whose portfolios such matters as Justice and Native Affairs, Immigration and the Interior fell. Dr. Malan's avoidance of such a meeting shows that he knew he could have little to offer in the closing months of his tenure of office as Prime Minister, when any undertakings made would have depended on the will of his successor.

Another reason for Dr. Malan's avoidance of a meeting with Archbishop Clayton in 1954 may perhaps be found in the record of the proceedings of the Christian Council's Biennial Meeting at Bloemfontein in May 1954. The agenda of issues which the Christian Council wanted to discuss with the Government was a long one. At

28. Wits. Archive, AC 623, CCSA papers, General Purposes Committee Minutes 25.8.1954.
29. Ibid., General Purposes Committee Minutes 19.10.1954.
30. Christian Council Quarterly, April 1959, p. 2, "Dr. D.F. Malan".
31. Ibid.

the same time it does seem that the Government for its part wanted to avoid giving the impression that it would not even listen to the English-speaking churches, as was the case in 1949, when Dr. Malan had refused to see a deputation from the Christian Council. A feature of the general discussion at the Biennial Meeting in 1954 had been a lurid debate about the "deplorable treatment" of prisoners and prison conditions.[32] Deep resentment was expressed at the way in which "for the first time in its twenty years of existence one of its members [Albert Luthuli, representing the Natal Missionary Association] was prevented by the Government from attending the meetings".[33] Also, the most trenchant criticisms came from Archbishop Clayton himself in his presidential address for the idea, being propagated by certain cabinet ministers, that it was no business of the church to strive for a just and Christian social order in South Africa.[34] The meeting occurred only two months after Trevor Huddleston and Bishop Reeves had been subjected to bitter attacks in Parliament during the debate on the Natives Resettlement Bill and as the campaign against the Western Areas removals and Bantu Education was gaining momentum.[35]

Archbishop Clayton declared that it was the "duty of Christians in South Africa to state boldly what they believed to be the truth".

> We are always being told we are too political. I would remind you that it is one of the functions of the Council to promote the study and investigation of the problem of evangelising and establishing a Christian social order. It has always been one of the functions of the Christian Church to do this, and if it were possible to be united we would obviously have great influence when we pressed for it. In the meantime it would be treachery to wait until everyone agrees with us. 36

In a thinly disguised reference to the erastian relationship between the National Party Government of Dr. D.F. Malan and the Dutch Reformed Churches, Archbishop Clayton further asserted that

32. The Friend, 20.5.1954, "Deplorable treatment of prisoners condemned by Council".
33. Christian Council Quarterly, June 1954, p. 3, "The Biennial Meeting".
34. Ibid.
35. See above, Chapter Eleven, p. 580 and Chapter Thirteen pp. 736 ff.
36. Christian Council Quarterly, June 1954, p. 3, "Presidential Address".

> .... we should be guilty of being too political if we tied ourselves to the apron strings of any political party: or refused to consider sympathetically or impartially any proposals put forward by any party, or if we fell into the error of trying to create a Christian party in South Africa.[37]

He quickly went on to express his appreciation to the Federal Mission Council of the Dutch Reformed Churches for arranging the Pretoria Conference at the end of 1953, and for the further conference being planned for 1954 in Johannesburg at which all races would be invited.[38] Clayton then concluded his presidential address by stressing that fear was a dangerous guide to policy, and urged the church to "guard against thinking that what we wished as Christian people was necessarily the will of God".[39]

Archbishop Clayton's address, whilst firmly stating the duty of the church to speak the truth boldly in matters concerning a just social order for South Africa, was notable also for its sensitivity towards the Afrikaner. Speaking in Bloemfontein, in the heartland of Afrikanerdom, he was generous in his encouragement of efforts being made at the time by the Afrikaans churches to reconsider their stance towards apartheid. Also, at the end of a heated debate in which the ill-treatment of African prisoners by warders who were generally Afrikaners had been highlighted, Archbishop Clayton urged the meeting not to condemn the whole prison system as there were some "very excellent people" in the prison service who were doing their best under very trying circumstances.[40]

A review of the efforts to promote dialogue between the English and Afrikaans churches between 1950 and 1957 is undertaken in Chapter Seventeen below. At this point it is necessary not only to note the growing concern of the Christian Council in 1953 and 1954 for infractions of civil and religious liberty, but also to see how Archbishop Clayton was also mindful of the importance of keeping open the door to dialogue with the Afrikaans churches. The role of ecclesiastical diplomacy within the repertoire of methods for resisting apartheid is dealt with in Chapter Seventeen.

37. Ibid.
38. See below, Chapter Seventeen.
39. Christian Council Quarterly, June 1954, "Presidential Address".
40. The Friend, 20.5.1954, "Deplorable treatment of prisoners condemned by Council".

THE CHANGE FROM MALAN TO STRIJDOM.

When Mr N.C. Havenga followed Dr. D.F. Malan into retirement on 30th November 1954, and Mr J.G. Strijdom became Prime Minister, the Government lost two advocates of restraint.[41] The emphasis changed from the pursuit of the "moral" policy of apartheid, designed to give the "Natives" separate but equal facilities, to unashamed "baasskap" in the interests of preserving "Christian civilization" and guaranteeing security for the white man. Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd, his victories over Bantu Education and the Western areas removals assured, became the new arbiter of Nationalist orthodoxy. Dr. T.E. Dönges, his reputation tarnished by the failure of his High Court of Parliament Bill, had to be content with the leadership of the National Party in the Cape. The succession of Mr J.G. Strijdom, and the removal of the Cape Coloured voters from the common roll, represented an important victory for the north. He may not have fully won the struggle for the soul of Afrikanerdom, as his chief ally and eventual successor, Dr. Verwoerd was to do during his premiership, but Mr Strijdom decisively won the leadership of his party, with the support of Dr. Verwoerd and Dr. Albert Hertzog. He remained in office until he died in harness on 24th August 1958.[42] Transvaal Republicanism had triumphed over the more tolerant face of Cape Nationalism.

By the beginning of 1955, the important legislative foundations for apartheid had been laid. Although part of the facade was in place, the building was still incomplete, for there were still areas of the nation's life where mixing continued unabated. Although the cleavages of South African society ran deep, and the habits of mind and behaviour nurtured over many years by the colour bar had an all-pervading effect upon the South African way of life, there were still a few exceptions where black and white met each other on terms of friendship and equality. According to Government spokesmen, the preservation of white civilization demanded that such exceptions be eliminated, since they would lead inevitably to the unthinkable: integration. For Afrikanerdom's ruling elite

41. DAVENPORT, T.R.H., South Africa, A Modern History, Johannesburg, MacMillan 1977, p. 273.
42. Ibid., p. 281.

every kind of mixing (vermenging) or miscegenation (verbastering) was considered to be a dangerous and irreversible condition. On the other hand the liberal argument was that the problem had been diagnosed too late for apartheid to be even a palliative, still less a cure. As Bishop Reeves observed, "the day has gone in South Africa when White people can painstakingly devise some pattern for social life in South Africa, and expect that the Non-White people will be prepared to acquiesce in their plans."[43] Apartheid offered no practicable alternative. Since partition was impossible, the only other options, Patrick Duncan wrote in 1956, were domination or democracy.[44] Even if Dr. Malan, fearful of the effect of the propagation of a more rigorous application of apartheid on an anxious electorate in 1950, had said soothingly that total separation was not the goal of his policy, those who now held the reins of political power in the National Party under Mr J.G. Strijdom believed that there needed to be more separation still.[45] It was no use legislating for apartheid without implementing the policy systematically and thoroughly.

There must therefore be no mixed trade unions. Not only that, but also Africans, as sojourners in the "European" cities, must be allowed no trade union rights at all. Nor must they, or for that matter any non-Europeans, provide unfair competition for white workers in white areas. Certain trades and occupations must be reserved for whites, to ensure that never again would the Afrikaner be a bywoner in the cities. Employers who preferred to employ Coloured or Asian artisans for less than their white counterparts, or who found it both cheaper and better to take on a more able non-European semi-skilled operative than the most unintelligent of whites, would be compelled to employ the poor whites. It was argued that this was only fair, since in their own homelands it was promised that all jobs would be reserved for the black man. It was here that the logic of apartheid theory broke down, for it was plain that no Coloured or Asian homeland was envisaged. Whilst everything would be done to ensure that there were no poor whites,

43. REEVES, R.A., South Africa - Yesterday and Tomorrow, the Challenge to Christians, London: Gollancz 1962, p. 159.
44. See below, p.
45. See above, Chapter Four, p. 170.

not as much thought was given to the infinitely greater numbers of poor Africans, Coloured and Indian people who were to be excluded from such reserved employment. It is not surprising therefore that Trevor Huddleston had concluded that apartheid in practice meant a reversal of Gospel values, and questioned how looking after ons eie could become the means of securing "Christian civilization". It seemed to him to be a contradiction of the dominical injunction to love your neighbour, and to have compassion and love for the poor and dispossessed.[46]

To Mr Strijdom's Government it was a matter of urgent concern that "liberalistic" clubs and multi-racial societies and associations continued to meet without impediment, thereby, by both precept and example, encouraging the dreaded outcome of verbastering. For their own sake, and for the future of all South Africa's children, something had to be done about the "open" universities, the English churches, the International Clubs and such bodies as the South African Institute of Race Relations, the Liberal Party and the "communistic" Congress of Democrats.

Anglican church leaders might have supposed that after the acrimonious clashes in Parliament over Sophiatown, and the joint sitting of Parliament which disenfranchised the Coloured voters, all deserved a rest. However, any slackening of vigilance at that juncture would have ignored the as yet unwritten agenda for the unfolding of the Government's master plan of groot apartheid. As we have seen, the Nationalist programme of parliamentary legislation had tackled first the more superficial aspects of bus, train and post office apartheid, which Leo Kuper described as the "stigmata of domination", and which are commonly called "petty apartheid".[47] Thereafter their legislation had dealt systematically with residential apartheid:- the Group Areas Act (1950) and Natives Resettlement Act (1954); demographic apartheid:- the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949), the Immorality Amendment Act (1950) and the Population Registration Act (1950); political apartheid:- the abolition of the Natives Representative Council and the Asiatic Representation Act (1946), the Bantu Authorities Act (1951) and the

46. See above, Chapter Fourteen, p. 801.
47. KUPER, L., Passive Resistance in South Africa, op. cit., p. 77.

Separate Representation of Voters Act (1956); and educational apartheid:- the Bantu Education Act (1953). It might have been foreseen that according to the logic of the ideology of apartheid, there had to be further legislation to place social, cultural and industrial separation on a sounder basis. Government spokesmen had often said that before any "positive" aspects of apartheid could be enjoyed, such "negative" measures, to achieve a necessary and desirable separation of the races, were inevitable. They did not actually say that the goal of apartheid was so desirable that such an end justified any means of attaining it; but compulsory populations removals, influx control and the strictest controls over migrant labour were to be employed to attain the goal of separation, at the cost of African family life, African job opportunities in the cities and African housing in the townships. Once the positive fruits of apartheid were there to be enjoyed, people would see that all the pain and all the sacrifice had been worth it. The arguments which flowed so logically from the lips of Dr. Verwoerd about the equality of it all, somehow lost their logic when married to Mr Strijdom's theme of white baasskap.

An African perception of the impending situation that faced South Africa at the end of 1954, written only a few days before the announcement of Mr J.G. Strijdom's election as Prime Minister, came in a letter to Patrick Duncan from Oliver Tambo, inviting him to attend the A.N.C.'s 42nd Annual Conference in Durban. Having mentioned plans for the Congress of the People that would draw up a Freedom Charter, Tambo continued,

> We are inviting messages of goodwill and support for the struggle we are conducting in defence of fundamental human rights and against the increasing oppression and racial discrimination of the Nationalist rulers of this country.
>
> The Annual Conference assembles at a most critical time when, solely in pursuance of the policy of Apartheid, 85,000 non-European people are being threatened with forcible removal from their established homes and with the loss of their freehold rights; when many critics of the Nationalist policy and leaders of our people have been deprived of their freedom of speech and association; when progressive newspapers have been banned; when the undisputed right and function of the Church to proclaim the truth is being threatened; and when the African is being forced to accept a type of education the purpose of which is to make him an inferior and incomplete

human being. 48

When Patrick Duncan decided to join the Liberal Party in April 1955, having the year before withdrawn from the election for the Senate seat in the O.F.S. and Transvaal held by Walter Ballinger, Duncan told Walter Stanford M.P., the Natives Representative for Cape Western, that he had found a recent experience of sitting in the visitors' gallery in Parliament to hear Dr. Verwoerd's speech on the Group Areas Amendment Act to be "neither pleasant nor inspiring". Duncan summed up the spirit which now pervaded the new administration of Mr Strijdom in the most uncompromising terms:

> You certainly have a tough assignment this session. Strijdom's administration, with the regularity and persistence of the Hound of Heaven, but with no other resemblances, brings us nearer each day to the Police State in which the Germans, Russians, and our own non-Whites are already living. The powers given to the Police, the Appeal Court Bill, the crack of the master's whip at the Johannesburg Bar, are the culmination of the process so far .... it seems as if Friedman was suppressed for saying that the Nats wanted judges who would be puppets. If that is so there ought to be a national outcry. In place of such an outcry there is silence. 49

Patrick Duncan provides an even more vivid account of the Strijdom era in an article he wrote for George Houser early in 1956. Duncan thought "that the main thing that is happening today in South Africa is a clearing of the mists away from the central issues",

> It has been done mainly by the Prime Minister, Mr Strijdom. He recently said, in Parliament, that apartheid (meaning partition) was not the policy of his Government. He also said that his policy was one of baasskap (boss-ship, or domination) by white over black .... I think you can take it that partition is out, and that South Africa will continue along the road that it has trodden for so long - a road of domination by White of Black. As the position of the Whites becomes more insecure, so we may expect to see ever more totalitarian government measures in an attempt to build an artificial security. 50

Duncan saw the publication in 1956 of the book by Professor B.B.

48. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan Papers DU 6 Tambo 14, letter Oliver Tambo to Patrick Duncan 25.11.1954.
49. Ibid., DU 6.26.52, letter Patrick Duncan to Walter Stanford M.P., 29.4.1955.
50. Ibid., DU 6 Correspondence with George Houser. Article "What is happening in South Africa" mimeo 7 pp.

Keet of Stellenbosch Suid Afrika Waarheen ? as "an uncompromising attack on the doctrine of racial superiority and apartheid and baasskap" and described its effects as "a bomb in the citadel of Afrikaner unity". Duncan predicted that many "decent Afrikaners" would break away from the governing party and "perhaps" join the Liberal Party. Duncan thus viewed the change positively, since

> .... the lifting of the mists will help all sorts of people to make up their minds. Up to now they have been able to cloud the issue by the use of words that meant anything. Now that the issues are starker - domination or democracy, they must make up their minds. And I am not pessimistic about the issue. 51

The Strijdom years from 1955 to 1958 thus saw an acceleration in the pace of implementing apartheid. Mr Strijdom's administration seems to have been chiefly concerned with the unfinished business of Dr. Malan's era, and was characterized by a more uncompromising and harsher style. The start of the Western Areas removal scheme, the take-over of Bantu Education, the closure of Christ the King School, Sophiatown are already the subject of earlier chapters. These and the Quorum and Senate Acts of 1955 and the Separate Representation of Voters Act of 1956 which will be described below, all occurred after Mr Strijdom became Prime Minister. The country's dependence on migrant labour was reinforced by the Government's white paper on the Tomlinson Commission Report in 1956. The nationwide police raids on 27th September 1955 coincided with a noticable intensification and extension of police surveillance. All these developments occurred once Mr Strijdom became Prime Minister.

Mr Strijdom won a reputation for making "tough" decisions about which others previously had merely been content to talk. For instance, early in 1957 he simply announced that Die Stem van Suid Afrika would be the only national anthem, and that God Save the Queen would be dropped. The pace at which Group Areas determinations were made suddenly increased in 1955, particularly in the Transvaal.[53] Nor should it be forgotten that the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1957, besides the unsuccessful attempt to impose

51. Ibid., pp. 5,6,7. See also below, Chapter Seventeen.
52. DAVENPORT, op. cit., p. 273.
53. Ibid., pp. 274-5.

racial separation on the church, systematically proscribed or made more difficult all other forms of social and cultural mixing. According to Die Transvaaler, mouthpiece of those who now held the reins of power in the National Party, the only practical policy to be pursued was "total apartheid".[54]

We must now describe some of the measures placed on the statute book by Mr Strijdom's Government between 1955 and 1957, which received more or less attention from Anglican church leaders, but which in some way diminished individual freedom and civil liberty.

THE COLOURED FRANCHISE.

Nothing illustrates better the Nationalists' disregard for human rights than the lengths to which they were prepared to go to remove Coloured voters from the common electoral roll. An earlier chapter has described the efforts made by Dr. D.F. Malan's administration to place the Separate Representation of Voters Act on the statute book in 1951, and the subsequent decision of the Appeal Court, which in March 1952 declared the legislation invalid. In August 1952 the Nationalists used their majority in Parliament to pass the High Court of Parliament Act, and in terms of this Act declared the Separate Representation of Voters Act of 1951 valid. Two days later the Cape Division of the Supreme Court declared invalid the High Court of Parliament Act of 1952, a decision which was confirmed by the Appeal Court three months later.[55]

Fortified by his victory in the general election of April 1953, Dr. D.F. Malan called a second joint sitting of Parliament in July 1953 to discuss the Separate Representation of Voters Act again, knowing that certain United Party conservatives led by Mr Bailey Bekker their Transvaal leader were uneasy over the opposition's stand against separate representation for the Coloured people. The Government were rewarded by the votes of four United Party M.P.'s: Mr Blaar Coetzee, Dr. A.H. Jonker, Mr Bailey Bekker and Mr Frank Waring, who then formed the Independent United Party,

54. Church News, 16.11.1955, "What total apartheid would mean".
55. See above, Chapter Seven, pp. 320-3.

later renamed the Conservative Party.[56] When the debate on the Natives Resettlement Bill in March 1954 revealed further signs of dissent in the United Party's ranks, the Government pressed on with its strategy for seeking the required two-thirds majority to remove the Coloured voters from the common roll without abrogating the constitution.[57] Accordingly on 17th May 1954 Parliament embarked on its third joint sitting, to attempt to pass the Separate Representation of Voters Validation and Amendment Bill (1954).[58] However, even with the votes of the Independent United Party to add to his majority of thirty-three gained at the 1953 general election, when the votes of the Senate were also counted, Dr. Malan was still nine short of the required number.[59]

The speech from the throne at the beginning of the 1955 session of Parliament announced that the Government would ask for a reconsideration of the separate representation of voters, and the question of the sovereignty of Parliament "at the appropriate time".[60] On the eve of the Easter recess the Minister of Justice, Mr C.R. Swart, announced the appointment of five additional judges to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, and his intention to introduce a Bill to provide a special quorum for the consideration of constitutional cases. The Appellate Division Quorum Act was accordingly passed, which established a quorum of eleven judges in constitutional cases which might be brought before the courts.[61]

Having "packed" the Appellate Division, the Government now moved to "pack" the Senate. Hitherto eight Senators had been elected by each province, on a basis of proportional representation. Although this gave what might seem an unfair advantage to the smaller provinces, it was seen as providing some safeguard for them at the time of Union. In future the number of Senators for the Orange Free State and Natal was to remain at eight each. The Transvaal's representation was increased to twenty-seven, and

56. See above, Chapter Nine, p. 491. The Conservative Party was eliminated in the general election of 1958. Messrs. Coetzee and Waring, who later joined the National Party, were rewarded by cabinet posts in Mr B.J. Vorster's administration.
57. See above, Chapter Thirteen, pp. 737-8.
58. BALLINGER, Margaret, From Union to Apartheid, Cape Town: Juta 1969, p. 296.
59. Ibid., p. 303.
60-61. Ibid.

that of the Cape to twenty-two. By itself that change would have left the balance of the parties in the Senate much the same. However, the Nationalists, knowing that they possessed a small majority in the Cape and the Transvaal, decreed that henceforth the election of Senators would be on the basis of a simple majority. Thus they assured for themselves all fifty-seven seats in the Senate for the Cape, the Transvaal and the Free State, against the eight Natal Senators who would be chosen by the United Party.[62] In the debate the Minister of the Interior, Dr. T.E. Dönges, and the Prime Minister Mr J.G. Strijdom, blamed the United Party for forcing the Government to resort to this method, by employing delaying tactics in the courts.[63] At the end of December 1955 the old Senate was dissolved. On 17th February 1956 a joint sitting of the reconstituted Senate and the House of Assembly met, and passed by 174 to 68 another Separate Representation of Voters Act.[64] The Conservative Party, who by then had been joined by Mr A.G. Barlow and Colonel V.L. Shearer, split. Messrs. Barlow, Coetzee and Jonker voted with the Government, whilst Mr Bailey Bekker, Mr Frank Waring and Colonel Shearer voted against.[65] Thus was the common roll Coloured franchise abolished.

Five years later, in 1960, having demonstrated the futility of its existence, the "packed" Senate was reconstituted on a basis of proportional representation.[66] Also in 1960 Dr. H.F. Verwoerd's administration abolished Natives' Representatives in Parliament.[67] On the grounds that Coloured Representatives in Parliament might theoretically hold the balance between two equally strong white political parties, even this limited form of separate representation for the Coloured people was itself abolished in 1968 by the Political Interference Act. The brainchild of Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, this Act, which started its journey through Parliament as the Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill in August 1966, did so after the Nationalists had won an unprecedented majority of 86 seats in the general election of May 1966, winning 126 seats against the 39 of the United Party and one of the Progressive Party. On 6th September 1966 Dr. Verwoerd however was killed by an assassin's knife as he was about to make a major policy speech in the House of Assembly.[68]

62. Ibid., p. 305. 63. Ibid., p. 308. 64. Ibid., p. 309.
65. See above, Chapter Nine, p. 491.
66. BALLINGER, op. cit., p. 309. 67. Ibid., Preface, p. 13.
68. Ibid., p. 472, and DAVENPORT, op. cit., pp. 303 and 294.

In spite of the reaction which greeted the Quorum and Senate Bills in 1955, designed to give the Government an artificial two-thirds majority at a joint sitting of both houses of Parliament and to pre-empt the possibility of the invalidation of such legislation by the courts, the issue of separate representation continued to cause tension in the ranks of the United Party, whilst serving only to strengthen the position of the Government. In June 1955 Dr. Jan Steytler (U.P. Queenstown) raised the question in the United Party caucus of Mr J.G.N. Strauss' failure to give an unequivocal commitment that the official opposition, if returned to office, would restore the Coloured people's common roll franchise. Mr Strauss responded by appointing a committee, comprising Mr Douglas Mitchell the United Party's Natal Leader, Sir de Villiers Graaf, Leader in the Cape, and Dr. Bernard Friedman the unofficial leader of the liberal group within the United Party caucus, who were given leave to interview members in order to assess their feelings on the question of whether such an assurance should be given. This committee discovered that the majority of United Party M.P.'s, excluding only a small group of Dr. Friedman's supporters, believed that the Coloureds had been a political football of the whites for too long, and once they were removed from the common roll there should be no consideration of their re-enfranchisement. Dr. Friedman accordingly resigned from the United Party as well as his parliamentary seat of Hillbrow. In the ensuing by-election on 14th September 1955 he was narrowly defeated by only 641 votes by the "official" United Party candidate Dr. Louis Steenkamp. Mr Strauss' vacillation was blamed for the loss of so able a parliamentarian as Dr. Friedman, so that a year later it was no surprise when on 21st November 1956 the caucus of the United Party elected Sir de Villiers Graaf leader of the opposition, whilst Mr Strauss was convalescing in Europe after a severe bout of jaundice.[69]

Patrick Duncan, always a well-informed and often an acute observer of the South African political scene, described the Nationalist Government's action as "a fairly ruthless thing to do", and spoke of the "rumpus" that this had caused among white South Africans. In spite of the unfortunate tensions generated within the United

69. STRANGWAYS-BOOTH, Joanna, A Cricket in a Thorn Tree: Helen Suzman and the Progressive Party, Johannesburg: Hutchison 1976, pp. 99-107.

Party, Duncan however saw the political effect of the removal of the Coloured people from the common electoral roll as being of immense help to those "groups that oppose the colour bar uncompromisingly".

> The only concrete result that the Prime Minister will get is that some of the Coloured (mixed) voters will now have to vote for four separate white members of parliament. Instead of being able to vote on the common roll with white voters. As only about 40,000 Coloured people were allowed to register and as they had very little say anyway, he has received very little for the expenditure of a vast amount of the fund of legitimacy that his government inherited from its predecessors. I count it all gain. The Coloured voters had nothing to hope for anyway from the status quo. This is already having the effect of detaching them from the status quo and joining them with those groups that oppose the colour-bar uncompromisingly with the A.N.C. and the Liberal Party. It is another case of the fogs lifting and the truth being more easily beheld. 70

The reality, however, was different, at least among the white electorate, for any accession of support for the Liberal Party was small by comparison with the relentless consolidation of power by the National Party, who gained a further nine seats in Parliament at the general election of 1958.[71] Apart from the circumstances which led to the resignation of Dr. Bernard Friedman in 1955, the United Party's opposition to the Government's relentless pursuit of its goal to remove Coloured voters from the common electoral roll had been sustained and vigorous.

THE BLACK SASH.

The legislation for separate representation in 1951 had given birth to the Torch Commando.[72] An earlier chapter has described how this organization of ex-servicemen had disbanded after the disappointment of the 1953 election. In 1955 it was the turn of the women of South Africa to take the lead. As a wave of revulsion swept the country, six Johannesburg women met

70. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan papers DU 5 George Houser. Undated article "What is happening in South Africa", mimeo 7 pp., p. 5.
71. WILSON, M., & THOMPSON, L., ed., The Oxford History of South Africa: II, South Africa 1870-1966, Oxford: OUP 1971, p. 423, Summary of Election Results since 1938.
72. See above, Chapter Seven, pp. 307-318.

to take tea together on 19th May 1955.[73] The six telephoned six others, who in turn contacted six more until on 21st May a large public meeting was held in the ex-servicemen's suburb of Sandringham.[74] This was followed three days later by a gathering in the Darragh Hall, and the South African Women's Defence of the Constitution League was founded.[75] On 25th May 2 000 women marched from the Transvaal Scottish War Memorial to the steps of the Johannesburg City Hall, six abreast, to the beat of a muffled tenor drum.[76] When the Mayor of Johannesburg, Mr George Beckett, called on the crowd to approve the resolution "Withdraw the Senate Bill", one writer who was present estimated that 18 000 hands went up.[77] Then a massive petition was organized, which had the effect of quickly establishing branches of the League not only in every major centre of the Union, but in smaller towns and villages as well. When the petition received 100 000 signatures, this provided yet another opportunity for a vivid public protest.[78] On a frosty night in June eighty women from different parts of the country camped out in the grounds of the Union Buildings in Pretoria for 48 hours before presenting the petition demanding the withdrawal of the Senate Act to Mr B.J. Schoeman, the Deputy Prime Minister.[79]

Thereafter the tactics were designed to shame the Government into submission. Wherever Cabinet Ministers came and went on public duty, they found their route lined by silent women wearing a black sash as a symbol of mourning for the Constitution. This form of protest made vivid copy for press photographers and cartoonists. When the caucus of the National Party met to choose their Senators, they ran the gauntlet of two silent lines of the "Black Sash", as the Women's Defence of the Constitution League was nicknamed by the press.[80] The "guard of dishonour", also called a "haunt", provided a symbol of resistance to the Government,[81] who though appearing to be outwardly embarrassed by such attentions, remained unyielding in their determination to persevere in their purpose to remove Coloured voters from the common franchise roll, regardless of safeguards written into the South Africa Act at the

73. ROGERS, Mirabel, The Black Sash, Johannesburg: Rotonews 1956, p. 14.
74. Ibid., p. 15. 75. Ibid. 76. Ibid., pp. 15, 21.
77. Ibid., p. 16. 78-9. Ibid., p. 32 and photograph.
80. Ibid., p. 80, photographs.
81. CORRIGALL, the late Mrs M., from an address at a General Meeting of the Natal Midlands Region of the Black Sash, Pietermaritzburg, 19.2.1981.

time of Union. The publication in the Government Gazette announcing the dissolution of the Senate on 4th November 1955 provided another opportunity for such protests. A highly effective organization sprang into action, and silent vigils took place in all South Africa's major cities, to be followed on Saturday 12th November by a massive national protest in all main centres and many smaller villages alike.[82] From Barkly East in the Northern Cape to Pietermaritzburg, from Benoni in the Transvaal to Cradock in the Eastern Cape, women wearing the black sash and carrying a symbolic book draped in black to represent the Constitution, held vigils, marched and held protest meetings. In Johannesburg thousands again marched to the beat of muffled drums.[83]

The demonstration which excelled all others in its sustained appeal and effectiveness was designed to coincide with the joint sitting of Parliament, at which the Nationalists, with their contrived majority, came to vote on the Separate Representation of Voters Bill (1956). On 9th February 1956 three hundred and twenty-one women set off in eighty-six cars from towns and villages all over South Africa on what came to be called "The Great Black Sash Trek to Cape Town".[84] On Sunday 12th February they all arrived in Stellenbosch, and at 11.15 the following morning 150 cars moved in silent convoy from the Cenotaph on the foreshore in Cape Town, up Adderley Street past the Parliament buildings and then back to the foreshore again. At 12.45 p.m. the first team of sixty began their vigil outside the Parliament buildings, and this vigil was maintained all night and throughout the week, until the fateful vote was taken on 17th February.[85] The Cape Times duly paid tribute to them:-

> ....this demonstration by the women of South Africa is more impressive than that sudden upsurge of feeling, for nothing but the deepest conviction would move hundreds of responsible women, many of them mothers with the cares of homes and growing families, to embark on an arduous journey in convoy ending in no less arduous hours on their feet outside the houses of Parliament. 86

82. ROGERS, M., op. cit., pp. 94, 101.
83. Sunday Times, 13.11.1955, "Nationwide march of Black Sash supporters".
84. Sunday Times, 12.2.1956, "The Story of the Great Sash Trek".
85. Cape Times, 14.2.1956, "Moving scenes as Black Sash drive through city".
86. Cape Times, 14.2.1956, "Wisdom in Women". cf. MICHELMAN, Cherry, The Black Sash of South Africa, Oxford, OUP 1975 (published for the Institute of Race Relations, London, with a foreword by Sir Robert Birley).

ANGLICAN OPPOSITION TO SEPARATE REPRESENTATION FOR THE COLOURED PEOPLE.

An earlier chapter has described the Anglican response to the Government's attempts in 1951 to impose separate representation on the Coloured people. Archbishop Clayton had advised his fellow bishops that the "Church as such acting corporately should not associate itself with the campaign" being mounted at the time by the Civil Rights League to oppose the legislation, whilst seeing "no reason at all why individual Church people, whether they be clerical or lay, should not take part in the campaign".[87] Consequently, Archbishop Clayton and individual diocesan bishops indicated their strong hostility to the principle of removing Coloured voters from the common electoral roll in their diocesan magazines, synod charges and public statements to the press. As Chairman of the C.C.S.A.'s Action Committee, Archbishop Clayton also sent a strongly worded statement to the Prime Minister, urging him "not to take any action which may have the effect of nullifying the entrenched clauses of the South Africa Act".[88] Nor did Bishop Vernon Inman of Natal place any restraints upon the Revd. James Chutter's active participation in the Torch Commando, or himself decline to open the Natal Conference in August 1952, called to resolve differences between the Torch Commando and the United Party in Natal over the issue of that province's secession from the Union in reaction to the High Court of Parliament Bill.[89] Anglican spokesmen had emphasized that the C.P.S.A. was attached to no political party, preferring to make its own independent stand on the issue clear, while avoiding any direct associations either with opposition political parties or with the campaign mounted against the Government by extra-parliamentary organizations like the Torch Commando and the Civil Rights League.

In 1955 the considerable expenditure of time and energy called for from Anglican leaders in handling such issues as Bantu Education and the Western Areas removals did not, however, deflect those bishops whose dioceses possessed large numbers of Coloured

87. See above, Chapter Seven, p. 319, reference 86.
88. See above, Chapter Seven, p. 323, reference 100.
89. See above, Chapter Seven, p. 314, and pp. 315-6.

communicants, like Cape Town, George, and Johannesburg (but surprisingly not Kimberley) from making their views known. The reaction to the Senate Bill of Archibald Cullen, Bishop of Grahamstown, who hitherto had shown himself to be somewhat cautious in addressing such political issues, is of special interest to this study. Indeed Cullen's conservative attitudes towards the church's participation in political resistance to apartheid were shaken by the "totalitarianism" of the Government on the issue of the Coloured franchise. He still, however, said he believed that the church should use only "spiritual weapons" in contending for righteousness and justice.[90] Yet it is possible to discern a significant shift in his attitude in June and July 1955 in reacting to the Senate Bill in his Diocesan newsletter, which partly explains how only two years later, as Dean of the Province after Archbishop Clayton's sudden death in March 1957, Cullen courageously led the C.P.S.A. in resisting the "Church Clause" of the Native Laws Amendment Bill.[91] It is also of interest to see how Archbishop Clayton, in his address at a mass protest meeting at the Cape Town City Hall in June 1955, was also moving towards an endorsement of Trevor Huddleston's emphasis upon a theology of identification with the poor and the oppressed, and an acceptance of the need for resistance.[92] The analysis below of episcopal statements on the issue of the Coloured franchise shows the lack of any coherent Anglican strategy for resistance in 1955. However, the stronger language which the bishops employed indicated the depth of their concern, although their methods of protest still remained only verbal.

The reason for the lack of any co-ordinated opposition from the church in this long-drawn-out struggle through Parliament and the courts, spanning the years 1951 to 1956, was not only because of the line that Archbishop Clayton took in the first instance against the request from the Civil Rights League for the church's support for its campaign in December 1950. The imagination and vigour of the campaigns by the Torch Commando and the Black Sash tended to eclipse all other expressions of opposition. The un-

90. The Newsletter, June and July 1955.
91. See below, Chapter Sixteen.
92. CPSA Archive AB 811, "The Critical Years 1949-1957", Sermons and Addresses of Archbishop Clayton edited by C.T. Wood, pp. 153-164, address in Cape Town City Hall on 10.6.1955.

fortunate circumstances leading up to the resignation of Dr. Bernard Friedman in 1955 apart, and in spite of the defection of a few right-wing United Party M.P.'s, the perception that the United Party had put up a consistent and principled fight to oppose the Government on this issue was generally accepted in church circles. For example, the Editor of Church News did not attract any dissent to the view he expressed in June 1954 that "the Opposition, discounting the so-called 'rebels' are making a commendable stand".[93]

Another feature of this assessment of the Anglican response to the issue of the Coloured franchise is that episcopal statements in diocesan magazines provide the only substantial source to indicate the Anglican view. The views of Coloured leaders are hard to find, and there is in any case evidence of a considerable confusion amongst the Coloured people themselves about the situation. The problem with the existing common roll franchise was that only about 40 000 Coloured people had the vote anyway, and their influence was therefore limited. Since no Coloured person could stand for Parliament, some could see the value of concentrating all Coloured votes into electing four representatives whose sole task would be to represent the views of the Coloured people in Parliament. The significant performance of the Natives' Representatives in Parliament led some to believe that the views of the Coloured people would be more cogently represented by their own M.P.'s, even if they had to be white.

Evidence of the divergent opinions of Coloured church leaders is to be found in a protracted debate which took place in the Christian Council during 1955, before a suggestion to call a conference of Coloured leaders was finally rejected. The 1954 meeting of the Congregational Union of South Africa had proposed that the Christian Council should consider convening such a conference "to discuss the position of the Coloured community with regard to the prevailing social and political situation in the country".[94] When the delegates of member churches were asked whether such a conference was desirable, it is interesting that whilst those who were not closely associated with a ministry to Coloured people were

93. Church News, 16.6.1954, p. 82, "Coloured Voters Bill".
94. Wits. Archive, AC 623, CCSA Papers, Minutes of Action Committee 7.3.1955.

favourable to the idea, the suggestion evoked an emphatic "No" from Erik Sundgren of the Lutheran Church and Archbishop Clayton. After consulting Bishop Lavis, Clayton told Blaxall,

> .... they wouldn't come if attendance was confined to Coloured people [and] if they did come .... they are so divided among themselves that almost certainly the conference would be a failure. 95

After "careful consideration" and "a long discussion" and having taken four months to consult all member churches, the minutes of the Christian Council's Action Committee in July record their decision that "such a conference would serve no useful purpose", and that no further action should be taken.[96]

There is also evidence of strong hostility from Coloured people in the Cape towards the Nationalists in 1951. On 11th March 1951 the Franchise Action Council, an ad hoc co-ordinating body formed to oppose the Separate Representation of Voters Bill, mustered an impressive 15 000 Coloured people who marched through the streets of Cape Town in response to a call for a one-day strike.[97] Coloured veterans also joined in the torch-light processions of the Torch Commando.[98] One significant consequence of this long struggle to impose separate representation on the Coloured people of the Cape was to strengthen the growing political alliance of all the "non-European" peoples of South Africa under the umbrella of the Congress movement. The political alliance of Coloured people with the African and Indian Congresses is reflected in the membership of the African People's Organization, A.P.O., now renamed the South African Coloured People's Organization (S.A.C.P.O.), on the joint committee which planned the Defiance Campaign and the Congress of the People.[99]

The summary below of what Anglican bishops wrote to their dioceses on the issue of the Coloured franchise in 1955 reveals,

95. Wits. Archive AC 623, CCSA Papers, letter Archbishop Clayton to the Revd. Dr. Arthur Blaxall, 25.3.1955.
96. Wits. Archive loc. cit., Action Committee Minutes 26.7.1955.
97. KARIS & CARTER, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 411.
98. See above, Chapter Seven, pp. 309, 311.
99. Ibid., pp. 313 and 327, and Chapter Fourteen p. 782, cf. DAVENPORT, op. cit., pp. 155, 169, 196-7 and 280. Historically, the political organization of the Cape Coloured people, the African People's Organization was so named because of its non-racial origins. In view of the A.P.O.'s predominantly Coloured membership in the Cape, and its leader at the turn of the century, the gifted Cape Malay Dr. A. Abdurahman, the A.P.O. had become the vehicle for expressing Coloured grievances since the foundation of the African National Congress in 1912.

that of all the many issues which they felt called to comment on, it was the Senate Bill in June 1955 which aroused in them the deepest sense of outrage. What seemed most offensive of all was the manner in which Nationalist politicians regarded so lightly the pledged word of the white man to the Coloured people at the time of Union. The strongest objections were also expressed for the Government's disregard for the independence of the Judiciary and the sanctity of the Constitution in seeking to deprive the Coloured people of even the meagre political rights which they still enjoyed.

In a statement, the Action Committee of the Christian Council described the Senate Bill as "an act of political chicanery", one which

> .... nullifies the express purpose which underlay the creation of an Upper House .... to secure adequate representation of political minorities. 100

Archbishop Clayton, writing in Good Hope, said that the most objectionable part of the Bill was not that it diminished the representation of European minorities but that

> .... it is an attempt by Europeans, in whose hands rests political power, to deprive the Coloured people of something which they value very much, and to deprive them of it without the fulfilment of the conditions which had been agreed upon.
>
> .... Our rulers rightly attach great importance to the teaching of the Old Testament. I suggest that they should give some attention to the story of Naboth's Vineyard. 101

He described the Bill as "a dishonourable device", and said that the Government was going to do away with the Constitution,

> .... not because it is a bad Constitution in itself but because it is temporarily inconvenient to those in authority. 102

Archbishop Clayton's earlier attitude that the church as such should not involve itself in a general national campaign against separate representation seems to be borne out by his opening remarks at a meeting held in the Cape Town City Hall on 10th June

100. Wits. Archive AC 623 CCSA Papers, Undated statement which begins "The Action Committee of the Christian Council of South Africa representing the English-speaking churches and meeting in Cape Town, has issued the following statement on the Senate Bill".

101. Good Hope, July 1955, The Archbishop's Letter, and Church News, 20.7.1955, "The Problem of White Supremacy".

102. Ibid.

1955, when he and Dr. Webb, the President of the Methodist Conference, shared the platform. He was careful to point out that the meeting had been arranged "long before any of us had heard of the Senate Bill".

> It has been supposed that this is a meeting of protest against the Senate Bill. That is not so [although] it is [now] clearly relevant to the purpose of this meeting. 103

In a wide-ranging address he dealt with the church's relation to the state.

> Recently it has been suggested that because of the fact that the powers that be are "ordained of God", everything that any government does is divinely inspired and according to God's will. Those who say this cannot have thought it out. When Nero burnt Christians in the Arena at Rome, was he divinely inspired to do so ? Is the Government of Soviet Russia divinely inspired ? Let us come nearer home. Would the supporters of the present Government who claim divine inspiration be prepared to admit that their predecessors, the United Party Government, were divinely inspired ? I have never heard any of them say so. 104

Turning to the Church's role he declared,

> It is the business of the Church to proclaim the principles laid down once and for all by the Head of the Church, our Lord Jesus Christ. We may make mistakes in our attempts to understand these principles and apply them to an existing situation. About that we claim no infallibility; but the principles themselves are eternally right, and it is the Church's business to bear witness to them. And when we think that a policy which is being followed by a government, any government, runs counter to those principles, it is our duty to say so and to suggest a better way. And we must do this whether men will hear or whether they will forbear. It is not our duty to be popular. It is our duty to be faithful and to refuse to be silenced. We must obey God rather than men. So beside our pastoral and missionary task we have a prophetic duty. 105

He then adumbrated what the relationship of Christians should be towards a political party.

> Every Christian, even a bishop, has the right as a citizen to belong to a political party. For myself, I have never exercised this right and never become a member of any party. And the Church as a whole must never allow itself to be

103. CPSA Archive AB 811, "The Critical Years 1949-1957", sermons and addresses of Archbishop Clayton edited by C.T. Wood, pp. 153-164; address in Cape Town City Hall 10.6.1955, p. 153.

104. Ibid., p. 154.

105. Ibid., p. 155.

> tied up with any political party. Whatever party is in power the Church must try to follow its vocation to be the conscience of the nation. And a conscience is always an inconvenient thing. 106

Turning to the role of the state he said,

> It is the business of the State so to govern as to give the fullest opportunity for self-development to the individuals who make up the State. It is the individual that matters. He matters to God and he matters for ever. The State, the Nation, the particular race, won't go on for ever. There will not always be an England; there will not always be a Union of South Africa. But there will always be you and me, for God made us for Himself. So we must stand for the right of a man because he is a man to be treated not as a member of a group but as a man who matters to the State because he matters to God. And especially in a multi-racial population like this we have got to watch out for any kind of racial discrimination which deprives a man of the opportunities which should be his as a man because he belongs to some particular race. 107

He stressed that the church must strive to be the church for the poor and under-privileged.

> Christ in His ministry showed special concern for the outcast with whom respectable people would have nothing to do. His Church must take a special care of the under-privileged and those who are prevented from speaking for themselves. If the Church does not do this she is not true to her Master. Yet that does not mean that she must seek for popularity among the poor. There was a time - it is long passed - when the Anglican Church in England was called the Conservative Party at prayer. That was, of course, utterly wrong. But neither do I conceive it my duty as a minister to be a court chaplain to King Demos. Our Lord certainly was never that. 108

The remainder of Clayton's address is important for the composite picture it gives of his views on all the important issues of the day. He dealt with apartheid, which he described as "separation enforced by law": he discussed migratory labour and its effects upon family life. He pointed out that the Separate Amenities Act of 1953 showed that there was not even the pretence of fairness in the policy of separation. His objection to the Bantu Education Act was not that the church lost its schools, but that

106. Ibid., pp. 155-6. 107. Ibid., p. 156.
108. Ibid., p. 157. "King Demos" refers to "The crowd", from the Greek dēmos = populace, crowd gathered for any purpose.

"the Natives are to be educated for such positions as the government thinks they ought to have". When he spoke about the Senate Bill, he again pointed out that opposition had concentrated upon the loss of representation for European minorities.

> Those who oppose the Bill, don't say much about the Coloured people .... It is still more important that faith should be kept with the Non-Europeans. 109

He also referred to recent instances of "tampering with private correspondence":

> When I was in England I maintained that we are not a police state, but that powers had been taken which could turn us into one within a week. But now I wonder whether we are not one already. The Minister of Native Affairs said to me not long ago, "We are not Nazis, you know". A rose by any other name would smell as sweet. 110

Clayton concluded that the Government's policy was based on fear.

> Fear is an evil thing: it makes a man ruthless and cruel. There can be no union of hearts, there can be no real peace, there can be no mutual confidence, when legislation is based on fear. We are laying up a terrible heritage for the future. Injustice is the fruit of fear. And injustice in the end brings its appropriate reward. 111

However, he ended this outstanding address on a note of hope and trust in God:

> Let there be no fear in the Church. We must bear our witness and do our duty as we see it. After all the future is not in the hands of the Government, nor in our hands either, but in the hands of God. 112

A week after the City Hall meeting Clayton was given a "welcome back" at a meeting of two thousand people of all races in the Drill Hall, at which he was given a cheque for £ 1 165, "to do with as you like". Bishop Lavis described the Archbishop as having "the rhetoric of Churchill the depth of Temple and the eyebrows of George Robey". Tom Savage, the Dean of Cape Town, said of Clayton that he always knew "when to speak and when to keep silent". Clayton responded by telling his audience about the £ 30 000 given by S.P.G., and saying that he was happy to be back with them, "to face together whatever lay ahead".[113]

109-112. Ibid.
113. Good Hope, 22.6.1955, Cape Times, 18.6.1955, Church News, 20.7.1955; cf. PATON, Apartheid and the Archbishop, op. cit., p. 256.

The Cape Times described Clayton's opinions as being "far more weighty" than those of the Prime Minister, Mr Strijdom.[114] On the other hand, Die Kerkbode suggested that what he and Dr. Webb had said was appropriate for agitators but not for the leaders of the Christian churches.[115] The most significant emphasis of this speech in the Cape Town City Hall was the way in which Archbishop Clayton stressed the church's duty to exercise a special concern for the under-privileged and the poor. Though, unlike Trevor Huddleston, he was also careful at the time to avoid any commitment to an uncritical political identification with the liberation movement or any political party, this address gives a clear indication of how far Clayton had moved in the direction of accepting resistance to combat apartheid. In speaking of "the Church's duty" "to refuse to be silenced", and repeating that "we must obey God rather than men" Archbishop Clayton was cautiously moving towards the stance adopted by Trevor Huddleston since 1953.

The Bishop of George, John Hunter, whose diocese had the highest proportion of Coloured communicants in the C.P.S.A., devoted almost his entire Bishop's Charge to the George Diocesan Synod on 19th June 1955 to a systematic rejection of apartheid in general and a condemnation of the way in which the Government was "if not depriving the Coloured people in the Cape Province of the franchise altogether, at least .... limiting its political effectiveness". Bishop Hunter emphasized that the Government's policy was, furthermore, contrary to the will of God.

> A set-up which accentuates racial differences, however else it may seek to justify itself, cannot claim to be in accordance with the will of God as revealed in Scripture. 116

What, then, of the church's witness ? Was it true to this profession ? He noted that whilst no-one was ever excluded on grounds of race from any church of the C.P.S.A., "we find people of different races worshipping in different buildings".[117] He thought this weakened the witness of the church. He stressed

114. Cape Times, 13.6.1955.
115. Die Kerkbode, 22.6.1955.
116. George Diocesan Magazine, July 1955, Charge to George Diocesan Synod 19.6.1955.
117. Ibid.

> We Europeans need to examine ourselves whether our attitude towards those of other races, our manner of addressing them when we have occasion to do so, is in keeping with the belief that they equally with us are people for whom Christ died. There are numbers of thoughtful non-Europeans today who are still convinced Christians and loyal members of the Church, but who are constantly being told by some of their fellows who have discarded Christianity that they are fools to hold on to a religion which preaches one thing and practises another, which says Christians are one in Christ yet many of whose adherents desire to avoid all possible contact, even in the House of God, with Christians of another race. [118]

Bishop Hunter's charge concluded with a call to his people to "turn to Christ", reminding them that the task of bearing the cross of Christ could be difficult. "If in bearing our witness we find ourselves unpopular, if we have to suffer for our convictions, well that is something faithful Christians have experienced all down the ages".[119]

> One thing we must never forget, if we are inclined sometimes to feel despondent about the whole situation, is that the working out of the future is not in our hands nor in the hands of any body or party of men, but in the hands of God.[120]

The Bishop of George thus reflected the very real sense of crisis which the Coloured people of his diocese were experiencing. It provides a superb example of what such statements should be.

By contrast, in the charge of Bishop John Boys to the Diocesan Synod of the Diocese of Kimberley and Kuruman in October 1955, also a diocese in which Coloured communicants considerably outnumbered whites, there is, astonishingly, no direct reference to the issue of the Coloured franchise, nor is it mentioned in that diocese's magazine Highway throughout 1955 nor 1956. The publication of Archbishop Clayton's charge to Provincial Synod in the issue of Highway for December 1955 provides the only contact with contemporary events. Bishop Boys' charge does, however, refer to his refusal and that of his Senate and Diocesan Board of Trustees to sign a lease for a church site in a European area giving "a guarantee that the building will be used for European church purposes only".[121]

Bishop Reeves, who had recently returned from a busy furlough in Britain, described the Senate Act as "a flagrant example of a

118-120. Ibid.
121. Highway, November 1955.

breach of faith towards the Coloured people which stands self-condemned". With his usual perspicacity Reeves saw clearly what the most appropriate response of the church should be in this situation.

> Serious as the implications of the Senate Act are, I believe that the loss of mutual trust and understanding between the various racial groups in our country which will result from this, may well in the long run, be even more serious. .... it is imperative that within the body of Anglican churchpeople we should do everything possible to increase understanding and confidence. There is so much that can be done in every parish and mission to help those of different racial origin and cultural background to understand one another, and to counteract the forces that are trying to divide those in various racial groups more deeply from one another. 122

Bishop Archibald Cullen, whose reluctance to involve himself in political controversy has already been noted, found himself unable to remain silent on this issue. In June and July 1955 he devoted his entire Bishop's Letter to the Senate Act. Previously he had regarded an issue of this nature as "extra ecclesiastical" activity. He had given no encouragement to men like James Calata, and had made no secret about his disapproval of those clergy in his diocese who became involved in politics, by directing them during the Defiance Campaign to concentrate on their pastoral work. However, in his monthly letter to the Diocese of Grahamstown, written on 14th June 1955, we can discern a significant change of emphasis. Cullen began,

> To one who like myself stands apart from all political parties, it seems that the sorriest and most tragic of apparent farces is at the moment being worked out in Parliament as the discussions on the Senate Bill move to their appointed end. 123

He thought it "relevant to ask some questions". His first question was how "this Bill soon to become an Act" could be expected to secure the supremacy of Parliament. He thought that it would achieve rather the subservience of Parliament to the Executive. "It is not the supremacy of Parliament that is being safeguarded" he declared, "but the supremacy of the existing Government". He thought that it was in fact "a step on the road to complete totalitarianism".

122. The Watchman, August 1955, The Bishop's Letter, pp. 3-4.
123. The Newsletter, Vol. XXI, No. 7, June and July 1955.

Secondly, he asked whether he was "to assume that no pronouncement made solemnly by politicians is henceforth to be believed by anybody". He continued,

> Further, am I really to believe that any fortuitous majority in Parliament is entitled to claim that it is where it is by Divine providence ? ....I find it hard to believe that. 124

Bishop Cullen's anger had been aroused, but in recommending action for "Churchmen and Christians" he went no further than urging them "to pray continually that righteousness may be established again within our land", and concluded,

> It seems to me that the tide of anger is rising slowly but inevitably in the country. The weapons of the Church are always spiritual weapons: and I should desire that my people should pray continually that our life may be firmly set on a basis of peace and justice. 125

Bishop Cullen's Letter a month later found him asking if it was right to criticize the state, and whether "we are entirely justified in offering criticism".[126] Government Ministers in the past had met Anglican criticism by citing the text from Matthew 7;3-5 about the mote and the beam. Cullen pointed out that "this question of our Lord's is not meant to forbid criticism altogether". Nor did he believe that Christians must wait until "we are all just men and perfect before we make moral judgements". What he did think was that

> .... we ought to wait until we have a standard of our own in which we believe so profoundly that we have applied it to ourselves. Then if we are told to put our own house in order our withers will be unwrung. 127

Bishop Cullen's sense of outrage over the Senate Act marked an important step in the radicalization of an ecclesiastical and political conservative. His revulsion for the Government's totalitarianism on the issue of the Coloured franchise in 1955 paved the way for Cullen's willing acceptance of resistance as the only

124, 125. Ibid.

126. The Newsletter, Vol. XXI, No. 8., August 1955.

127. Ibid., cf. SHAKESPEARE'S Hamlet, III ii 255, "We that have free souls, it touches touches us not: let the galled jade wince, our withers are unwrung". A figurative use with allusion to the wringing of a horse's withers, (the highest part of the back, lying between the shoulder blades - Shorter Oxford Dictionary).

proper response for the church to take towards Dr. Verwoerd's Native Laws Amendment Bill in 1957.

It is not surprising, with so much public attention being focussed on Bantu Education, the Western Areas removals and the Coloured franchise during 1955 and 1956, that Anglican church leaders, in common with others who disliked the more rigorous trend in Government policy, should have devoted less attention to other legislation introduced by Mr Strijdom's administration in this period. At that time no diocesan bishop other than the Archbishop of Cape Town had the assistance of Bishops Suffragan, nor had the sub-division of larger dioceses yet been contemplated. Diocesan Bishops thus had a considerable work-load to carry, merely to fulfil the normal demands of diocesan administration, confirmations and the pastoral care of their clergy. Grahamstown, for instance, was a diocese of great size, both in terms of its geographical area and the number of parishes, which until the creation of the Diocese of Port Elizabeth in 1970 was too big for one bishop. The implementation of the Group Areas and Bantu Education Acts in 1955 and 1956 placed an extra burden upon the capacity of already over-worked bishops. Since Bishop Reeves had allowed the Diocesan Social and Industrial Council to lapse in the Diocese of Johannesburg in 1952, no diocese in the C.P.S.A. had for instance a Board for Social Responsibility, or other specialist departments or officers with the time and resources to do the research necessary to keep abreast of all these developments. For the most part the public utterances of Bishops on matters relating to the social witness of the church depended upon the particular interests and the capacity of each individual bishop. A bishop could call upon well-informed laymen for information and advice, and there is evidence that Archbishop Clayton was kept informed by Mrs Margaret Ballinger about developments in Parliament, just as Bishop Reeves was similarly in close touch with Mr Alex Hepple the Labour leader, and Mr John Cope (U.P., Parktown). It is therefore understandable that individual bishops should find that there was a practical limit beyond which their involvement in protests about Government legislation could not be taken. Only those bishops who were especially alert to such developments were thus able to discern how far the Government had gone by 1957 in introducing measures which

involved the further denial of civil liberty. It is the purpose of the remainder of this chapter to take note of the extent and the nature of some of these further denials of academic freedom, freedom of association in industry, and freedom of movement and of assembly generally, which were a feature of Mr Strijdom's administration, so as to describe and to assess the strength of the C.P.S.A.'s response to these disturbing events.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM

University apartheid was not achieved until the Extension of University Education Act No. 45 of 1959. In 1953 the Government had appointed the Holloway Commission to "investigate and report on the practicability and financial implications of providing separate training facilities for non-Europeans at universities".[128] When its report was published in February 1955, the suggestion that there should be new universities for black students only was rejected. Despite this recommendation not to establish separate tribal universities, made in 1955 mainly for financial reasons, the Government introduced a Separate University Education Bill in March 1957. This Bill, however, encountered difficulties, and was referred to a Parliamentary Commission, whose majority report provided the basis for the legislation of 1959. Since the campaign against university apartheid reached its climax in 1959, the story of the churches' resistance to the separation of university education and the establishment of tribal universities belongs to a later period, and will not be dealt with here.

FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION IN INDUSTRY.

The application of apartheid to industry in this period resulted in a serious deterioration in the position of African workers. The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924, re-enacted in amended form in 1937, had laid down the basic structure for the establishment of industrial councils, consisting of equal numbers

128. HORRELL, Muriel, Laws Affecting Race Relations in South Africa; Johannesburg : SAIRR 1978, p. 361.

of representatives of employers' organizations and trade unions in any particular industry. With some exceptions, Africans had been excluded from being members of registered trade unions. The Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act No 48 of 1953, amended in 1955, re-defined the term "employee" as used in the Industrial Conciliation Act, to exclude all Africans. No Africans could any longer be members of registered trade unions. To deal with a number of highly effective unregistered unions like the African Mineworkers' Union, already hampered by banning orders served on trade unionists in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act, the Act of 1953 incorporated the provisions of War Measure 145, prohibiting strikes by African workers. In 1955 the maximum penalties for workers contravening these provisions was raised to a fine of £500 or three years, or both.[129]

This Act of 1953 also set up a Central Native Labour Board, consisting of Europeans only, and Regional Native Labour Committees comprising Africans under the chairmanship of a European official. As Brookes and Macaulay have observed:

> Striking has been a criminal offence so far as Africans are concerned, and "pass-bearing Natives", that is, all but a small minority of African workers were excluded from the original Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924. Recent legislation has, therefore, not departed in principle from the pre-1948 situation; but it has eliminated exceptions, tightened up the rules, and made the penalties more harsh. 130

In 1955 the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Amendment Bill was opposed in Parliament only by the Natives Representatives and the Labour Party, and was supported by the official United Party opposition.[131]

Worse was to come, for the Industrial Conciliation Act No. 28 of 1956 made an entirely new provision, which stated that types of work could be reserved by the Minister for persons of specific racial groups. One example described by Muriel Horrell from the metal and engineering industries must suffice to illustrate the consequences of this new principle.

129. Ibid., p. 281.
130. BROOKES, E.H. & MACAULAY, J.B., Civil Liberty in South Africa, Cape Town: OUP 1958, p. 105.
131. House of Assembly Debates, 6726/55 ff., 8072/55 ff.

> Following complaints by a right-wing White trade union that some employers were replacing Whites by Coloured or African men in certain grades of operative work, two job reservation determinations were made. No. 3 of 1957, reserved for Whites various categories of work in the section of the industry that was concerned with the manufacture of door and window metal surrounds, cliscoe windows, and air-tight louvres. No. 7 of 1959 reserved for Whites, a number of types of work in factories manufacturing a wide range of metal furniture and equipment designed for domestic use.
>
> When the latter determination was gazetted many employers asked for exemptions, stating that the effect would be to force more than 2500 Coloured and African workers out of employment. Wages would have to be raised to attract White replacements, and the prices of appliances would have to be increased. The Minister granted a reprieve to most employers.[132]

The United Party, the Labour Party and the Natives' Representatives opposed the measure through all its stages in Parliament, in particular during the long and hard-fought committee stage which dragged on through much of February and March 1956.[133]

Apart from its job reservation provisions, the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956 was designed to impose racial separation upon all registered trade unions. Methods were laid down for the division of the assets of mixed trade unions so that they might become racially separate. Any mixed unions which continued to exist would have to have separate branches and hold separate meetings, but only whites might serve on their executive committees. Mixed meetings of shop stewards and mixed congresses or conferences were prohibited.[134] Dr. Verwoerd had stated in June 1954 that the African would not be allowed in the cities above the level of certain forms of labour.[135] Now there could be no pretence that the selfish interests of whites were not to be placed before those of other people, nor that the Government cared at all about the principle of Freedom of Association.

132. HORRELL, op. cit., p. 266.
133. House of Assembly Debates, 260/56, 23.1.1956; 582/56, 30.1.1956; 735/56, 1.2.1956; 830/56, 2.2.1956; 1019/56, 6.2.1956 (Second Reading); 1178/56, 8.2.1956; 1294/56, 9.2.1956; 1454/56, 13.2.1956; 1611/56, 29.2.1956; 2336/56, 12.3.1956; 2401/56, 13.3.1956; 2524/56, 14.3.1956; 2612/56, 15.3.1956; 3179/56, 26.3.1956; 3234/56, 27.3.1956, 3281/56, 28.3.1956 (Committee Stage).
134. HORRELL, op. cit., p. 282.
135. See above, Chapter Ten, p. 572.

FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT.

Freedom of movement had long been denied to Indians and Africans. Laws which restricted the freedom of movement of Indians had their origin in the immigration laws of the Transvaal Republic and the Orange Free State. Even after forty-seven years of Union, in 1957, Indians who had been indigenous inhabitants of South Africa for several generations were still being treated as immigrants whose movements between provinces were subject to Government control.[136] The movement of Africans into the towns, or from one town to another, was still made subject to the strictest application of influx control regulations. The extent of the disabilities imposed upon all Africans by rigidly enforcing the pass laws meant that every journey from home ran the risk of coming into conflict with one or other of the regulations.[137] By contrast, Europeans could in general travel anywhere without restriction, save that they might not enter an African reserve, township or location without permission.[138] As Dr. Edgar Brookes and J.B. Macaulay have observed,

> .... what our forefathers deemed necessary in this way to protect their existence as a frontier society founded on conquest, we have in great measure preserved. We have gone further and added restrictions which have no place in a country where notions of freedom have any strength. 139

The publication of the Tomlinson Commission Report and the endorsement of its recommendations to limit the African population in the cities by the Government's white paper on the above report in 1956, reinforced existing restrictions upon the freedom of movement for Africans. Before leaving office as Minister of Native Affairs in November 1950 Dr. E.G. Jansen had appointed a commission under the chairmanship of Mr F.R. Tomlinson to enquire into "the socio-economic development of the Native areas of the Union of South Africa".[140] The terms of reference for this commission had been published just as Dr. H.F. Verwoerd took over as Minister of Native Affairs in November 1950.[141] In February 1952 the Churches and

136. BROOKES & MACAULAY, op. cit., p. 52.
137. Ibid., p. 54. 138. Ibid., p. 53. 139. Ibid., p. 54.
140. KENNEY, Henry, Architect of Apartheid - H.F. Verwoerd - An Appraisal, Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball 1980, p. 87.
141. Government Notice No. 2971, 24.11.1950.

others had been called upon to complete a massive questionnaire by the Commission appointed for this purpose under the chairmanship of Mr Tomlinson, which exceeded even that of Dr. Eiselen on Native Education in its thirst for information.[142] The completed fifteen volumes of the report were submitted to the Cabinet in July 1954, but it was not until 25th March 1956 that it was tabled in the House of Assembly, together with the Government's White Paper.[143] The debate surrounding this long-awaited report tended to divert attention from other concerns. Dr. Verwoerd argued for increasing the carrying capacity of the Bantu areas, in order to protect the continued existence of the white man from the expected increase in the Bantu population.

> What will happen to South Africa if within 50 years .... there are 11 to 12 million Natives .... living near our White cities. [144]

"Dawie" told readers of Die Burger the true purpose of the Tomlinson Commission findings:

> It is perhaps necessary to say that the Tomlinson Commission does not stand for total territorial apartheid. Nevertheless it is a plan to eliminate (verwyder) the last native from the white areas. [145]

In 1955 the so-called Eiselen Line was drawn, declaring the Western Cape a Coloured labour preference area. In the early weeks of the 1955 parliamentary session Dr. Verwoerd said that the demands of industry for more labour should not be allowed to serve as an excuse for the migration of African families to the cities.[146] His views were underlined by S.A.B.R.A. at its meeting at Stellenbosch in February.[147] Accordingly, women who had joined their working husbands within the past ten years were to be banned from permanent residence, and ordered to return to their homes in the reserves. At the request of the Action Committee of the

142. CPSA Archive, AB 191 Clayton Papers, letter Clayton to Blaxall 18.2.1952.
143. KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 801, cf. Die Burger 31.3.1956, "Dawie".
144. INFORMATION OFFICE, DEPARTMENT OF NATIVE AFFAIRS, The Tomlinson Debate, May 1956, p. 8.
145. Die Burger, 31.3.1956, "Dawie", my translation. According to KRITZINGER, STEYN, SCHOONEES & CRONJE, Groot Woordeboek, verwyder means "to remove" (of stains), "to clear" (of weeds), or "to eliminate" (of mistakes).
146. Christian Council Quarterly, December 1955, "Migratory Labour", p. 3, and Good Hope, 23.2.1955, Archbishop's Letter, "Family Life and Migratory Labour", cf. HUDDLESTON, Naught for your Comfort, op. cit., p. 42.
147. Ibid.

Christian Council, Archbishop Clayton and Dr. Gordon Mears drew up a statement on migratory labour which severely criticized the Government's policy for having the effect of weakening the ties of family life.[148]

When a Christian Council delegation eventually met Dr. Verwoerd and the Prime Minister in Pretoria on 7th September 1955, Archbishop Clayton could not go as he was confirming in Wynberg. They were led by Bishop E. Sundgren of the Church of Sweden Mission, who was Vice-President of the Council. Dr. Verwoerd argued that because of the prevailing conditions in urban areas the presence of whole families did not strengthen family ties,

> .... but brought wives and children as well as the men under bad influences. Juvenile delinquency, liquor smuggling, prostitution and the general break-up of families was often the result. Actually family life could have been better preserved if the breadwinner had been alone in the urban area and his family left in the native area where the discipline of native custom survives and fulfils its valuable function.[149]

In concluding the meeting Mr Strijdom, the Prime Minister, emphasized that

> .... uncontrolled influx of Bantu people would mean that the white race would be destroyed by absorbtion .... Separate development was the only policy which will enable family development for all, and the transfer of family groups must not be allowed to imperil the future of the European people .... It is the first duty of the South African government to preserve white civilization. 150

Reference has already been made to the Native Administration Act No. 38 of 1927, under which Chief Albert Luthuli was restricted to Groutville.[151] The Native Laws Amendment Act of 1952 strengthened the measure, and provided for summary arrest and removal without trial, and precluded any court from granting an interdict or staying order. The person to be banished could be compelled to remove forthwith, unlike under the Suppression of Communism Act, which allowed seven days before the order was enforced. The

148. Wits. Archive, AC 623, CCSA Papers, Correspondence with Government Departments 1953-9. Statement concerning Migratory Labour prepared by the President, the Most Revd. the Archbishop of Cape Town and Dr. Gordon Mears at the request of the Action Committee for release in May 1955.

149. Christian Council Quarterly, Dec. 1955, pp. 4, 6, in which the full record of the meeting was published after having it corrected by Dr. Verwoerd.

150. Ibid.

151. See above, Chapter Six, p. 282.

Minister, according to an amendment in 1956, was not obliged to furnish reasons.[152] The Natives Resettlement Act of 1954 has been discussed at length in connection with the Western Areas removal scheme.[153] The Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act No. 64 of 1956 took away from the courts the power to hear interdicts in such cases of compulsory removal, and applied to Africans only.[154] The latter measure, opposed at first reading by the Natives' Representatives and Labour Party, was withdrawn, only to be re-introduced in a form which extended the provisions to the whole Union and not just to designated areas as in the legislation that had been withdrawn. In opposing the bill for the United Party, Dr. D.L. Smit pointed out that it by-passed the courts and applied only to "Natives".[155] Yet another measure introduced by Dr. Verwoerd to be strongly opposed by Dr. D.L. Smit for the United Party, and designed to provide for the compulsory removal of Africans, was the Native Administration Amendment Bill 1956. No reasons needed to be given for such removals in terms of this Act, nor as previously was even seven days' notice allowed.[156]

Freedom of movement could be further limited in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act of 1956, which gave the Minister of Justice the authority to restrict a person to a designated magisterial district, and to forbid attendance at any public gathering. The person served with the notice might be removed after seven days by any police officer without a warrant or conviction in a court, for failing to observe the notice.[157] This law extended the powers which the Minister already had under the Suppression of Communism Act to restrict people "named" under that Act who, in the opinion of the Minister of Justice, promoted feelings of hostility between European and Non-European.[158] The Riotous Assemblies Bill of 1956 received the support of the United Party, but was opposed by the Natives Representatives and the Labour Party.[159]

152. BROOKES & MACAULAY, op. cit., pp. 63-5.
153. See above, Chapter Thirteen, pp. 735-745.
154. BROOKES & MACAULAY, op. cit., p. 25.
155. House of Assembly Debates, 5950-1/56, 23.5.1956, Dr. D.L. Smit.
156. Ibid., 4464/56,26.4.1956, Dr. D.L. Smit.
157-8. BROOKES & MACAULAY, op. cit., p. 68.
159. Ibid., and House of Assembly Debates 1089/56 ff., 6.2.1956.

Another means of curtailing freedom of movement was to inhibit the right of entry and exit to and from the Union by the administrative action of withholding or confiscation of a citizen's passport. The Ministerial answer to protests against such apparently arbitrary action was to say that the possession of a passport was a privilege and not a right. But never had the issue of a passport, although in general subject to the discretion of a government, been made a pre-requisite for a citizen's departure from his own country. In 1955 the Departure from the Union Regulation Act (1955) prohibited anyone from leaving the Union without a valid passport or permit, and made it an offence for anyone to assist in any way a person from "illegally" leaving the Union.- The Minister of the Interior explained that this legislation was needed to prevent the repetition of such instances as the recent visit to Iron Curtain countries by Sam Kahn and five others, who went overseas without passports, and the manner in which Walter Sisulu and Duma Nokwe had visited Russia and China in 1953 in a similar way.[160] In opposing the bill Sir de Villiers Graaf for the United Party called the measure a "sledge hammer to crack a nut", whilst Mr Alex Hepple could see no need for the Government to have "arbitrary powers to imprison people in South Africa".[161] When, for instance, Patrick Duncan was refused a passport, and later had his passport confiscated, no reasons were given and none needed to be.[162] The passport proved to be a convenient weapon, by which the Government indicated its disapproval of, and restricted, its opponents.

CENSORSHIP.

Censorship at the discretion of the Minister was another method of exercising political control, and the Customs Act No 35 of 1955 permitted political censorship on the grounds of reading matter being "objectionable".[163] The Customs Act was passed with

160. BROOKES & MACAULAY, op. cit., p. 69, and House of Assembly Debates 3126/55, 23.3.1955, Minister of the Interior.
161. House of Assembly Debates 3133/55, 23.3.1955, Sir de Villiers Graaf, and 3152/55, 23.3.1955, Mr Hepple.
162. BROOKES & MACAULAY, op. cit., p. 69 and DRIVER, Patrick Duncan, op. cit., pp 207-8.
163. BROOKES & MACAULAY, op. cit., p. 75.

United Party support after being referred to a select committee and passing through all its stages in Parliament at one sitting.[164] Already under the Suppression of Communism Act (1950) any publication "calculated to further the achievement of the objects of Communism" could be banned by the prohibition of printing, publication, distribution or possession.

POLICE HARASSMENT.

1955 also saw an increase in the powers given to the police of search and entry. Before the enactment of the Police Amendment Act No 15 (1955) and the Criminal Procedure Act No 56 (1955), the police had to obtain a search warrant from a judge, a magistrate or a justice of the peace, and the privacy of one's home was safeguarded against arbitrary entry by the police. Under Section 44 (2) of the Criminal Procedure Act of 1955 a policeman of any rank was given the authority to enter and search any premises if he believed that there were reasonable grounds for thinking that delay in procuring a warrant would defeat the object of the search. As Brookes and Macaulay have observed,

> .... a penalty of £500 fine or liability to pay damages of up to £100 was set for malicious or unreasonable use of these powers by the police. Against this safeguard is to be set the far weightier penalties prescribed in section 44 (6) of the same act for "hindering" a policeman in the exercise of any power conferred on him by this section. 165

Furthermore, sections 44 (1) and (2) of the same Act could be interpreted as giving to any police officer the power "to compel the termination of a meeting [where] he alone is the judge of what is necessary to preserve security".[166] The problem was vividly illustrated soon afterwards in a case brought by Harold Wolpe and others against the Officer Commanding South African Police in Johannesburg. The police entered a private meeting, and sought to justify this action on the grounds that certain persons would attend the meeting who were banned from attending gatherings. The court, however, held that the police should have done their duty by watching for such people outside the premises.[167]

164. House of Assembly Debates 7191 and 7425/55, 8.6.1955 and 10.6.1955.
165. BROOKES & MACAULAY op. cit., p. 39.
166. Ibid.
167. Ibid., p. 40.

The Suppression of Communism Act (1950) laid the foundation for all the Government's subsequent security legislation. It was by that Act, ostensibly to be applied to "communists" only, that precedents were set which resulted in a progressive diminution of liberty for all South Africans. The policing of apartheid legislation made it necessary to invoke a whole range of other measures designed to give the police and the Government increased powers to proscribe and the prohibit the activities of all opponents of apartheid. Powers of search and arrest, of political censorship, of banning and banishment, the withholding or confiscation of passports, were made universally applicable. All this was predictable, and had been foreseen during the debate on the Suppression of Communism Bill in June 1950. An earlier chapter has cited the eloquent warnings given then.[168] By 1955 the substance of those warnings had become a frightening reality. It is significant that in the same debate on the Suppression of Communism Bill, the opposition had argued that the Government already possessed sufficient powers under existing laws for dealing with treason, to meet any threat of subversion. The fact that the beginning of the period covered by the indictment in the Treason Trial of 1956-1961 was 1st October 1952 suggests that the Government's decision to instruct the police to gather evidence of treason against the leaders of the Congress Movement dates from the time the Defiance Campaign.[169] The advent of Mr J.G. Strijdom as Prime Minister coincided with the extension of police surveillance to a wider circle of government opponents. Until 1955 the police confined their attentions to former members of the Communist Party, the Trade Unions and the Congress Movement, as well as to a few missionaries like Cyprian Thorpe and Trevor Huddleston whose work was amongst Africans and had close links with the A.N.C. After 1955 police surveillance began to include members of the Labour and Liberal parties, and a marginally wider circle of politically active clergy. When police raided a meeting in Sophiatown on 27th June 1954, timed to coincide with the second anniversary of the Defiance Campaign, they gave the investigation of a case of high treason as the reason for their presence.[170] The police again gave gathering evidence of treason as the purpose

168. See above, Chapter Six, p. 268.
169. KARIS & CARTER, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 515.
170. See above, Chapter Thirteen, p. 728.

for their presence at the Congress of the People at Kliptown a year later.[171] The search warrants authorizing the nationwide police searches on 27th September 1955 were also for the same purpose.[172] On 30th April 1956 the Minister of Justice warned that there would be arrests for treason, and the mass arrests actually took place on 5th December 1956.[173]

It could not be said that Anglican church leaders were unaware of this trend towards an intensification of police surveillance. The extent to which Trevor Huddleston was subjected to continual police surveillance was generally known at the time, and has already been noted. Ever since the meeting in June 1953 which opened the A.N.C.'s campaign against the Western Areas removals, the police had been his constant companions at meetings he had addressed. In August 1954 he had protested publicly to the Minister of Justice, complaining of the "constant police surveillance of my movements".[174] He had been among the 2 800 delegates to the Congress of the People in June 1955 who were searched. Huddleston's office at the Priory at Rosettenville was, as we have seen, a particular target when the police searched the homes of some five hundred people in September 1955. It has also been noted that Archbishop Clayton, in his address on the 10th June 1955 at the Cape Town City Hall, said that whereas when he was in England he had maintained that South Africa was not a police state, powers had been taken that could turn it into one within a week.[175] At the same time Trevor Huddleston was busy writing Naught for your Comfort, a book in which above all else it was his urgent concern for the denial of freedom through the noticable increase in political surveillance and harassment by the Special Branch which superceded his every other concern about the injustice of the Government's policies. Having noticed this emphasis in his book, I asked him specifically about the Government's attack on civil liberty, saying that I had not appreciated that "this kind of thing began so early". I asked whether he could see any pattern in the kind of people against whom the police were acting. Trevor

171. See above, Chapter Fourteen, p. 779.
172. See above, Chapter Fourteen, pp. 791-2.
173. KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol III, op. cit., p. 802, and see above Chapter Fourteen, pp. 808-10.
174. See above, Chapter Thirteen, p. 728.
175. See above, p. 858.

Huddleston's reply was that it was those who were nervous of "being politically involved .... who were victimized".[176] He then added,

> The Special Branch was nothing like as efficient and effective as it later became. They were pretty obvious and not really very aggressive whereas today they do know what they are doing. 177

This impression was confirmed for me by Archbishop Denis Hurley, from his experience of attending the Multi-Racial Conference of South Africa at the University of the Witwatersrand in December 1957. This was a gathering which attracted a good deal of interest from the Special Branch. "You could recognize them by their shoes !" he recalled.[178]

The cold reality of what was happening was, however, no joking matter. Writing of this time, Dr. Edgar Brookes and J.B. Macaulay referred to "the sinister aspect of the administrative excess of police power which has come to prominence lately", as they noted that the police were now being employed in a new role as "political police". This had resulted in a situation in which "innocent, lawful and constitutional conduct by reputable citizens calls forth the attentions of the Special Branch of the police".[179]

> The Native Laws Amendment Act of 1957 gives legislative expression, ostensibly in the cause of apartheid, to an administrative practice of the security police which, fundamentally, is based on regarding all forms of communication between European and non-European as potentially likely to endanger the internal security of the Union. That attitude of the Special Branch manifests itself in the attendance of its officers at meetings, lawful and constitutional, where citizens of standing have met to utter their protest and petition against certain laws. By no stretch of the imagination could these gatherings be linked with crime or any threat to the internal security of the realm. Yet the attendance of individuals, often ascertained by noting the registered numbers of their motor vehicles, is observed and noted in the archives of the Security Branch. Of such a piece, too, are the visits of members of the Branch to private homes, and their enquiries, and the attention of police photographers flashing their flashlights as reminders to those who constitutionally meet or lawfully march in procession, and who in reasonable debate discuss and criticise the laws of the State,

176. HUDDLESTON, The Right Revd. T., Interview, Stepney, 25.8.1975.
177. Ibid.
178. HURLEY, the Most Revd. Denis O.M.I., Interview, Durban, 29.9.1981.
179. BROOKES & MACAULAY op. cit., p. 41.

> that even this freedom is purchased at the cost of embarrassing police attention and suspicion. 180

It may not have been the direct experience of Archbishop Clayton to be a speaker at a meeting where surveillance by the Special Branch police was as manifestly obvious and offensive as it had clearly become for Dr. Edgar Brookes. For the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Durban, both ecumenically and from the point of view of police attention, it was an entirely new experience for him in December 1957 to witness what happened at the Multi-Racial Conference of South Africa. This level of awareness was also the experience of most Anglican bishops at that time. They heard of others whose meetings were watched, whose mail was tampered with, and those telephone conversations were tapped. Since such sinister attentions had not as yet been their direct experience, it is possible that, though concerned by the trend things appeared to be taking, a passionate concern for civil liberty had as yet not been invoked in them.

The exceptions were Anglican clergy whose work lay in the African milieu, and who were in closest touch with the Congress movement. Trevor Huddleston led the way in drawing attention to the trend. Others like Fr. Cyprian Thorpe at St. Michael's Mission in the North Eastern Cape, knew that they too were being watched from the same early stage. For example, in January 1954, following a visit to St. Michael's Mission by Patrick Duncan, Fr. Thorpe told Duncan, "My friend Sgt. Brandt visited me 2 days after you had gone & gently enquired if I'd had a visitor over the week-end. Remarkable isn't it ?".[181] In June 1953, in an earlier letter to Patrick Duncan, Thorpe told him,

> We are often visited by the police here with regard to my other assistant John Skomolo. The govt. is now trying a pretty piece of blackmail by writing round to various churches "So and so is a minister of your church and is known to be a supporter of the resistance campaign. Will you please let us know what steps you are taking to prevent this". Understand that the question of government support for our work is involved. The other day I refused point blank when the

180. Ibid.

181. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan papers DU 5.95.19, letter the Revd. H.F.C. Thorpe to Patrick Duncan 9.1.1954.

> local Sergeant asked me to let him know whenever Fr. Skomolo went out of the parish. 182

John Skomolo himself put it more colourfully in a handwritten postscript to a letter he typed to Patrick Duncan early in 1954:

> P.S. The foxes have visited our mission and placed Fr. Thorpe under questioning. They found me out. They are on my track. I hope to meet them some day .... JJS. 183

Although police surveillance of Bishop Reeves' activities was to reach a degree of intensity that could rightly be described by the word "harassment" in 1959 and 1960, by 1955 he too was under the scrutiny of the Special Branch. Reeves' opposition to Bantu Education had attracted the attention of the authorities. Police surveillance of his Church Family Centres provided him with his earliest direct experience of such police activity. For Bishop Reeves, who had travelled extensively in Germany with the W.S.C.F. between 1935 and 1937, and who knew and kept in touch with Pastor Martin Niemoller, the parallels were ominous. From his work among Russian émigrés in Europe Reeves knew intimately how Hitler's Government of the Third Reich had, like the Nationalists in South Africa, begun with the Communists. In Germany it had then been the turn of the Jews, then the Trade Unionists, and then both Catholic and Protestant Christians. However, in South Africa Government action against Christians when they were black did not attract much attention. This was so in the case of Oliver Tambo in June 1954. Early in 1955 Cyprian Thorpe told Patrick Duncan how both John Skomolo and James Calata had been "struck off the roll of marriage officers".[184] The imminence of the danger to those clergy who were active in the Congress movement was, however, not seen to be so serious until the police turned their attention to a white priest. When Trevor Huddleston's office was searched along with some 500 others on 27th September 1955, a protest meeting was then arranged. In this regard Bishop Reeves recalled the important influence which his German experience held for him.

> I had responsibility for the Russians, predominantly Orthodox, in Northern and Eastern Europe, and this meant that I always had to travel to the northern part of my parish through Berlin. I couldn't get to it any other way. This meant

182. Ibid., DU 5.95.16, letter Thorpe to Duncan 23.6.1953.
183. Ibid., DU 5.90.1., letter the Revd. J.J. Skomolo to Duncan 3.2.1954.
184. Ibid., DU 5.95.29, letter Thorpe to Duncan 14.1.1955.

> that from '35 to '37 I was in close touch with the rise of the Nazis. And I think it's interesting, though they're not published in the book, that at the time I wrote this series of letters .... to prominent churchmen in England, warning them of what would happen through the Nazi rise. And of course nobody would listen to me at all. 185

Trevor Huddleston's concern when he wrote his article "The Church Sleeps on" for The Observer was not merely that nobody wanted to listen to protests against arbitrary arrests and bannings, particularly if the skin pigmentation of the victim was not white, but that the C.P.S.A. had uttered no work of protest when a faithful Anglican leader like Oliver Tambo was banned.[186] It is now necessary to assess the extent to which Anglican leaders were aware of and concerned about the erosion of civil liberty between 1955 and 1957, and to describe the manner in which they expressed their protests.

ANGLICAN AWARENESS AND CONCERN OVER THE EROSION OF CIVIL LIBERTY (1955-1957).

Trevor Huddleston's lead in drawing attention to violations of individual liberty has been described already in earlier chapters. It is illuminating, therefore, to see the extent to which a deep concern for civil liberty found expression in the pastoral letters of Anglican bishops between 1955 and 1957. An examination of the pastoral letters of Anglican bishops in diocesan magazines, a good barometer of a bishop's primary concerns, shows how Archbishop Geoffrey Clayton and Bishop Ambrose Reeves stand out for their consistent record in addressing socio-political issues. This is not to suggest that other diocesan bishops said nothing, but merely that Clayton and Reeves stood out as leaders in this regard, and their performance on the issue of civil liberty was no exception. The ensuing sub-section, which describes the growing anxiety about civil liberty expressed in the pastoral letters, sermons, addresses and charges of Archbishop Clayton and Bishop Reeves between 1955

185. REEVES, the Right Revd. R.A., Interview, Shoreham-on-Sea, Sussex, 2.4.1975. "The book" refers to PEART-BINNS' biography, Ambrose Reeves, op. cit.
186. See above, Chapter Fourteen, p. 766.

and 1957 will serve to give a generally representative view of the C.P.S.A.'s response to the derogation of civil rights attributable to Mr J.G. Strijdom's administration.

ARCHBISHOP CLAYTON.

In a sermon preached at the consecration of a new chapel at St. Andrew's School, Bloemfontein, in February 1956, Archbishop Clayton began by alluding to the "great and increasing encroachments on the private life of the individual" made by the State. "The State exists for man, not man for the State", he warned.

> Man seeks after the good life through membership of associations within the State, not created by the State. It is to the life of the family, the life of the Church, the life of the Trades Union, in membership of social and cultural societies that men find happiness and seek after the things which they deem to be [word indecipherable] .... And freedom, if it is to be real freedom for the individual must include freedom of association 187

In a lecture series given some time during 1956, entitled "Quo Vadis", to an unknown audience probably in Cape Town, Clayton dealt at some length with "the principle of freedom of association and freedom of criticism".[188]

> The freedom of criticism is granted to some of us. I have nothing to complain of for myself. And of course if one exercises the right of criticising one must not mind people answering one back, even in abusive terms. I don't think I do. But there are many people in this country today who dare not exercise that right, and have good grounds for their fears. So they bottle up their grievances, nurse them and brood over them. It is an unhealthy position.
>
> And in this connection I am convinced that the giving of dictatorial powers to individual ministers, or even to the executive as a whole so that people can be deprived of their livelihood and of their right to carry on their business and meet with friends, through some secret process, without any right of self-defence, and public self-defence, is a very great evil. It is not the best way to fight Communism to imitate the methods of Communism. And it is not the best way to civilize people to treat them as if they were uncivilized. 189

187. CPSA Archive AB 191, Clayton Papers, Sermons and Addresses. Consecration of St. Andrew's School Chapel, Bloemfontein. Hand-written.
188. Ibid., Sermons and Addresses. Undated handwritten address whilst Archbishop of Cape Town entitled "Quo Vadis". Clayton refers to having been in South Africa for 22 years, which would place it in 1956. cf. PATON, Apartheid and the Archbishop, op. cit., p. 265.
189. Ibid.

Clayton gave another lecture, on "The Citizen and his Associations", on 14th June 1956.[190] In it he focussed attention on the problem of freedom in a totalitarian state. It was towards the end of this address, in which he dealt in very general terms with his subject, that he considered what might be regarded as legitimate or illegitimate associations within any state. This throws more light on his view of the legitimacy of resistance to the state, and the right of the state to outlaw as subversive a legitimate association. The tone of the lecture now may seem abstract and theoretical, for he was trying to enunciate principles, and deliberately avoided making specific judgements about current issues. Yet the address is among the more important of Clayton's political statements, because in it he seems to have been striving to lay the intellectual framework for what he saw to be both the state's and the church's responsibility towards the principle of freedom of association.

> There are, or there might be, certain associations which the State may rightly say are illegitimate and ought not to be allowed to exist. An association which exists for the purpose of binding people to break certain laws would be an illegal association. An association which exists for the purpose of getting certain laws changed would not be illegitimate; and I think that would be the case if the purpose of the association were to alter the constitution of the country, for instance to abolish parliamentary government and to substitute some alternative form of government. If such an association is illegitimate it can only be because it is illegitimate to try to alter the constitution. And if that is so, it seems to me to follow that an association which has for its aim the institution of a Republic or the abolition of the system of Provincial Councils would also be illegitimate. For they have as their object a change in the constitution. I should have thought that the only kind of association which could rightly be outlawed as subversive was an association which binds people together to break the existing laws, not an association which binds people together to get the existing laws or constitution changed. 191

He concluded by arguing for the importance of the state giving associations a wide measure of scope to pursue their objectives in freedom:

> .... if people are to be conscious of freedom they must be free to join such associations, and the associations which

190. CPSA Archive AB 191 Clayton Papers, sermons and addresses. "The Citizen and his Associations", 14.6.1956, typescript.

191. Ibid., pp. 10-11.

> they join must have freedom to pursue their aims. An attempt to suppress associations, the aims of which are uncongenial to the party in power, is a form of tyranny and not only wrong in itself, but it is only on a very short range view that it is even expedient .... no one really believes that a position which is in fact defended by forcible methods is capable of any other form of defence such as reasoned argument. It produces a ready-made fifth column for any time of crisis, and so far as it is successful it prevents the growth of a balanced public opinion by turning what might have been a loyal and reasoned opposition into a subversive agitation. 192

Archbishop Clayton's charge to the Diocese of Cape Town in 1956 illustrated how the tabling of the Tomlinson Commission Report in 1956 had the effect of diverting attention from the issue of individual freedom. The whole of this charge was devoted to arguments about integration and segregation, the Group Areas Act and the state's obsession with apartheid.[193] The year before, in November 1955, Archbishop Clayton gave equal attention to the right of freedom and access to the courts, and he devoted much of his charge to Provincial Synod to the entrenched clauses and to the church's duty to protest. He also expressed his deep concern over the powers conferred upon individual ministers of the Government to interfere with the liberty of individuals arbitrarily. He however made no mention of the activities of police informers, nor of the escalation in the extent of police surveillance at the time.[194] Nevertheless, he spoke explicitly and with authority, not hesitating to make a judicious comparison with Nazi Germany. He was careful to add that he did not think that the victims of the suppression of Communism in South Africa were being treated with the same cruelty as in Germany under Hitler. Compared with his response to the "Church Clause" in 1957, when it was religious liberty that was being threatened, Clayton's reaction in 1955 when dealing with the subject of civil liberty, merely as another paragraph in an episcopal charge, seems in the circumstances to have been an insufficient response to the seriousness of the situation. Nevertheless, what he said to Provincial Synod in

192. Ibid., pp. 14-15.
193. WOOD, C.T. (ed.) Where We Stand, Archbishop Clayton's Charges 1948-1957, Cape Town: OUP 1960, pp. 47-53.
194. Ibid., pp. 44-5. Also published in Highway, December 1955, pp. 2-5, and Church News, 21.12.1955, p. 180.

November 1955 is eminently worth repeating at some length, because it provides proof of his awareness and deep concern for individual liberty at the end of a year which had seen an intensification of police surveillance.

> One of the features of the German system of National Socialism which affronted the moral sense of the world was the great frequency with which individuals were arrested without trial, the immense power put into the hands of the executive to interfere with the life and liberty of people who were supposed, very possibly correctly, to be antagonistic to the existing method of government. The same procedure is commonly supposed to be followed in a Communist state. I do not believe that the best way of fighting against such a system is to imitate it. It is true that in this country those who are said to be suspected of Communist sympathies are not treated with anything approaching the cruelty with which such people were treated in Germany. I am not suggesting anything of that kind. There is too much kindliness and good-will to make that possible and I do not think that we ought to allow ourselves to forget that. But the liberty of individuals is interfered with because the Minister declares himself to be satisfied that they are dangerous to the State and the fact that they have no recourse to the Courts means that the general public have no knowledge of the grounds which have led to the Minister forming that opinion. To put such power into the hands of an individual Minister is very bad for him, for history does prove that irresponsible power is a very dangerous thing for anyone to possess. And it is inevitable that there should be widespread suspicion that injustice is being done. If a country is to be a happy country, justice must not only be done but must be seen to be done. There isn't any way of fighting against an evil system of government except by providing a better system of government. An atmosphere of suspicion and fear is a bad thing to produce in a country and leads to disaster. But that is what is being produced today. 195

However strongly Archbishop Clayton expressed his concern over the denial of civil liberty in his charge to Provincial Synod in November 1955, a summary of the decisions of Episcopal Synod which preceded the meeting of Provincial Synod contained no reference to the issue of civil or religious liberty.[196] An article entitled "Impressions of Provincial Synod" referred to some who said it was a "very dull Synod".[197] The same report referred to the way in which "a number of important resolutions" were "not tabled until late in the proceedings, with the result that when

195. Ibid.
196. Church News, 21.12.1955, p. 182, "Episcopal Synod 1955".
197. Ibid., p. 183, "Impressions of Provincial Synod".

Members of Synod see the end of Session drawing near, they are less inclined to give these matters the close attention they deserve". Amongst such resolutions was one by the Dean of Cape Town condemning the extension of migratory labour, which was adopted unanimously.[198] By contrast the Archbishop's charge contained a forthright denunciation of the threat to liberties cited above.[199]

There is no way of knowing what influence such a statement had on Mr Strijdom's cabinet. That the Government opted for a trial for treason, instead of simply declaring the A.N.C. an unlawful organization as it did in 1960, does suggest that such pronouncements were not without their value.[200]

BISHOP REEVES.

From the time of the enactment of the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950 Bishop Reeves had been both a cogent and a persistent critic of every tendency towards totalitarianism on the part of the Government.[201] In 1955 he wrote for the Africa Bureau a booklet under the title Justice in South Africa, in which he dealt with unjust laws and the administration of justice in South Africa.[202] His charge to his diocesan synod in October 1956 gave an urgent warning over the elimination of individual rights.[203] What is impressive about Reeves' response was that he did not omit to mention detailed pieces of legislation like the Industrial Conciliation Act, the Prohibition of Interdicts Act and the Population Registration Amendment Act, by which he saw "the law being made an instrument of injustice rather than justice".[204] Where

198. Ibid.
199. Ibid., p. 180, Extracts from Archbishop's Charge: "Threat to Liberties".
200. The Unlawful Organizations Act was rushed through all its stages in Parliament between the declaration of a state of emergency on 30th March 1960 in terms of the Public Safety Act (1953) and 8th April 1960 when both the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress were banned in terms of the Unlawful Organizations Act (1960).
201. See above, Chapter Six, pp. 272-4, cf. The Watchman, July 1951, September 1951, November 1951, and ibid. "Bishop's Charge to Synod" October 1951, June 1952 and October 1953, cf. also CPSA Archive AB 388 Reeves papers, Minneapolis File.
202. REEVES, R.A., Justice in South Africa, London: Africa Bureau 1955.
203. The Watchman, November 1956.
204. Ibid., "Bishop's Charge", and June 1956, "Bishop's Letter".

others allowed their attention to be diverted by the Tomlinson Commission Report, Reeves concentrated his attack on the real issue underlying that debate.[205] He focussed attention on the way in which the state was assuming ever greater and more extensive powers over its citizens, and in the context of the church-state relationship called for acceptable limits to be set on such state power. The Tomlinson Commission had suggested that the church and the state should be "team-mates". Reeves challenged that assumption.[206]

Bishop Reeves' view of the church-state relationship, and an evaluation of his ministry, are discussed at the end of this chapter. Here it can be noted that Reeves' vigilance in the defence of personal and civil liberties exceeded that of Archbishop Clayton. Perhaps it was merely because Ambrose Reeves had the advantage of living in Johannesburg, a city that somehow has always been a barometer for political events and trends in South Africa. The sequestered garden of Bishopscourt and a diocese whose black membership was predominantly Coloured, could have the effect of sheltering Anglican Archbishops from the harshness of the dry dusty winds of black political movements, that blow fiercely through the high veld townships which encircle the city of Johannesburg. That Ambrose Reeves exceeded the capacity of his Archbishop and his brother bishops to be in touch with important political developments is also attributable to his personality and his interests. At heart Clayton was a Liberal in his political preferences, where Reeves was a socialist. This meant that the circle of people who kept Geoffrey Clayton in touch with events, besides the clergy and people of his diocese, were liberals like Margaret Ballinger and Edgar Brookes. Besides his friendship with the Labour leader, Alex Hepple, Reeves' contacts extended not only into the ranks of the African National Congress through Oliver Tambo, but also amongst Trade Unionists and radical and liberal people of all races, who were intensely active in polical movements and extra-parliamentary pressure groups which abounded on the Witwatersrand.

It is interesting therefore that it was not to Archbishop

205. The Newsletter, July and August 1956 by Dean J.H. Hodson, Vicar-General.
206. Africa South, Vol. I, No. 1, October-December 1956, p. 5, "Church and State in South Africa" by the Right Revd. R.A. Reeves, Bishop of Johannesburg.

Clayton but to Ambrose Reeves that Ronald Segal turned for an article on Church and State in the first number of his new journal. Segal had left Johannesburg to study in the United States in 1952, and gave up a fellowship and a promising academic career in America to return to South Africa in 1956, to found and edit the radical journal Africa South. This he saw as providing a focus for a "democratic front" which would be "an intellectual megaphone for all those who believe in a sane settlement of the South African dilemma".[207] With Forum, and Patrick Duncan's Contact, Africa South became very much what Reality is today, "a journal of radical and liberal opinion" about South Africa. Ronald Segal went into exile with his journal in 1960.[208]

Segal's editorial in the first number of Africa South, for October-December 1956, was written just before the Treason arrests, and concentrated on freedom against a background of increased police surveillance.

> .... We are being driven along towards the disaster of a total Police State, and while most White South Africans do not even notice it because the whips are as yet being used upon other people's backs, the rest are too afraid of the whips to say anything in protest. It is not easy to cry out your horror aloud when you may lose what you consider the right, and what the Government prefers to call the privilege, of a passport, not easy when you may have your house searched in the middle of the night for evidence of "treason", your movements limited to a particular district by Government order, your association restricted to only those gatherings the Government permits you to attend because you have been banned from meeting with more than two other people at any one time for any common purpose. It is not easy to run the risk of five years in jail for propagating what the Government ludicrously calls Communism, to lose your job, your property and your liberty because you believe in and practise the right to political opposition. 209

It could be said that Ronald Segal's very opportunity to write and publish such an article in such a journal was indicative of a measure of liberty which he did not care to acknowledge. Or it would be even easier to dismiss this as an articulate exaggeration by a young radical. However, the picture Ronald Segal presented has been corroborated, not only by Dr. Edgar Brookes and J.B.

207. Wits. Archive AD 1169 Paton papers, letter Segal to Paton 3.4.1956.
208. SEGAL, Ronald, Into Exile, London: Jonathan Cape 1963, cf. Africa South In Exile, Vol 4, No. 4, July-September 1960.
209. Africa South, Vol. I, No. 1, October-December 1956, p. 1, "In sight of the end".

Macaulay Q.C. in their book Civil Liberty in South Africa, to which frequent reference has already been made. The parliamentary leader of the Labour Party, Alexander Hepple, described the same kind of situation even more explicitly in an article for Forum in February 1957.

> .... Perhaps a much graver threat to this freedom [to express opinions] lies in the indirect and sinister pressures which hide behind direct legislative prohibitions, and emerge in the constant harrying of those who oppose outside the parliamentary field. All the forms of official pressure are brought to bear against any form of joint activity between white and non-white of a political character. Protagonists of a common society are treated as enemies of the security of the State. Their public and private meetings, constitutional and of an open character, are attended by members of the Special Security Branch of the police. Notes are taken of their speeches. Where they meet in private homes, the registration numbers of their cars have been taken by the police. An aura of sinister plotting and crime against the security of the State is made by these attentions to hang over their discussions. Photographs are taken of processions and meetings where white and non-white meet together in common interest. The police visit and question these people. Technical breaches of the law, as in the instance of the meeting of people in the Durban college already referred to, where the Mayor's consent had not been obtained, are visited with the full rigour of prosecution. In Pietermaritzburg a procession of African women headed by a few European women, proceeding to the chief Native Commissioner through the streets of the city in an orderly demonstration against passes for women, resulted in the arrest of 623 women. Longmarket Street was lined at intervals by plain-clothes members of the police force. No untoward incident occurred. Ultimately the charge preferred against the women, one based on a municipal by-law, was withdrawn. In police archives, the photographs taken of these women remain as a record demonstrating their opposition to the government policy of apartheid. No law-abiding citizen will relish the covert threat, and as a result the insidious disease of intimidation and fear works its way deeper into the body politic, to fester there in outraged and wounded feelings. 210

Another startling example of intimidation was cited by Brookes and Macaulay from the same period:

> Recently the Natal Mercury made a public apology to the Speaker of the Assembly for the publication by it of a pungent leader on the Senate Act. The apology followed upon a threat to withdraw privileges in the House from that paper. Had the article infringed the dignity of the House in a manner constituting contempt, legal action might have been taken by the House.

210. Forum, February 1957, "Is it a crime to oppose the Government ?" by Alexander Hepple, M.P.

> As it happened, the threat of administrative action - the withdrawal of press privileges - struck at the news-gathering activities of the paper and produced the apology. 211

In their book Brookes and Macaulay made a cogent case for the way in which the limitation of civil liberty in South Africa was attributable to racially discriminatory laws designed to bring about the subjugation of the non-European races of South Africa. The result of the application of apartheid had been that

> .... restrictions on the freedom of non-whites have inevitably brought in their train great and increasing restrictions on the freedom of whites. 212

Bishop Reeves' most potent argument against apartheid was that, just as it is impossible to unscramble scrambled eggs, apartheid "will be unjust because both fair and absolute segregation is impossible in practice".[213] Not only did apartheid have moral effects upon those who imposed it, but also the liberty of black people was inextricably linked with liberty for all South Africans.[214] For instance, Reeves saw Bantu Education as "a clear example of the state overstepping the legitimate exercise of its powers", and concluded,

> .... in such a situation the churches have a duty to urge upon the leaders of the state the necessity for them to take such action as will safeguard the fundamental rights of personal liberty for all citizens. 215

The question remains whether, in the light of what Archbishop Clayton and Bishop Reeves themselves said about the deteriorating situation over civil liberty in South Africa between 1955 and 1957, their response was a sufficient one in the circumstances. Their concern over the erosion of civil liberty was certainly not an exaggerated one. The book Civil Liberty in South Africa, by Dr. Edgar Brookes, who by the date of its publication in 1959 had succeeded Arthur Keppel-Jones as Professor of History and Political Science at Natal University, and the respected advocate J.B. Macaulay Q.C., was described by Bishop Reeves as "a timely reminder

211. BROOKES & MACAULAY, op. cit., p. 87.
212. Ibid., p. 5.
213. REEVES, R.A., Justice in South Africa, London: Africa Bureau 1955, pp. 4, 5, 8.
214. The Watchman, November 1956, Bishop's Charge.
215. Africa South, Vol. I, No. 1, "Church and State in South Africa" by the Right Revd. R.A. Reeves, pp. 10-11.

of the obligation that is laid upon us all to defend freedom from the encroachments that are now being made upon it by those in authority".[216] The articles by Ronald Segal and Alexander Hepple, as well as similar descriptions of the practice of police harassment by Edgar Brookes cited above, provide corroboration, if this were needed, of the seriousness of the situation. It is difficult to imagine what further steps the bishops of the C.P.S.A. could have taken in defence of civil liberty than the ones they chose. The most effective way to defend freedom of speech is to practise it, thus both Clayton and Reeves may be judged to have been the faithful defenders of freedom. Their refusal to be silent in the face of considerable pressure from the Government advising the churches not to meddle in politics, was itself a powerful witness to principles of freedom of speech and individual lbierty. It cannot, however, be said that the bishops of the C.P.S.A. made any co-ordinated plan for the defence of civil liberty. The creation of a Provincial Department for Justice and Reconciliation was not contemplated until twenty years later. However, a significant contribution to the defence of civil liberty in 1957 was the organization of the Multi-Racial Conference of South Africa at the University of the Witwatersrand in December 1957. Though organized in the name of the Inter-Denominational African Ministers' Federation, it was Bishop Ambrose Reeves who personally played a most significant part in its arrangement. The extent of the threat to civil rights in South Africa as well as the authoritative and relevant manner in which this conference addressed the issue, may be judged from the following extract of the Multi-Racial Conferance's Commission on Civil Rights:

> Since the Act of Union, a variety of restrictive laws have been passed, which limit or withhold civil rights, and which have reached a crescendo in the apartheid laws. Some of these laws have curtailed the personal freedom of the governing group. Their essential purpose has been, however, to apply restraints, prohibitions and racial discriminations to the non-white groups. If these laws are maintained and extended, the moral, material and intellectual decay of our total society will inevitably result. In the subordinate group, arrests for technical offences - which under full civil rights would not be offences at all - are so numerous that imprisonment has tended to lose its stigma. The effect of this is to diminish respect for the law, which is often

216. The Watchman, February 1959, Bishop's Letter.

> seen as the instrument of racial domination; and a resultant instability and insecurity in our society as a whole. 217

In short it was the need to police laws which enforced apartheid that led inevitably to further denials of civil liberty. As Alan Paton said in the course of his address to the Multi-Racial Conference, "Civil Rights and a State Policy of Racial Differentation .... cannot survive together".[218]

A further example of Bishop Reeves' active concern for social justice and the disregard shown by the Government and the police for the civil liberty of the African people in particular arose as a result of a bus boycott on the Witwatersrand during the first four months of 1957. In sharp contrast with the A.N.C.'s resistance campaigns against Bantu Education and the Western Areas removals in 1955, the bus boycott of 1957 provides a valuable case study in satyagraha that succeeded.

THE BUS BOYCOTT.

Towards the end of 1955 the Public Utility Transport Corporation (PUTCO) raised bus fares at weekends and on public holidays by one penny. During December 1956 it was announced that weekday fares would be increased by a similar amount. Protests by Action Committees in Alexandra, Sophiatown, Lady Selborne and Eastwood that the African people were unable to pay the increased fares were met by the Road Transportation Board with the rejoinder that their appeals could not be considered until the next meeting of the Board at the end of January 1957. Accordingly the Africans decided to boycott the PUTCO buses from 7th January.[219] The buses travelled their routes empty, and the people walked to work, starting out as early as 3.00 a.m. so as not to be late. The distances involved were considerable: nine miles from Alexandra. When on 20th January people at Jabavu, Dube and Moroka joined the boycott in sympathy, although their fares had not been raised, for them this meant journeys of fifteen, and in some cases twenty or

217. CPSA Archive AB 964f, Multi-Racial Conference of South Africa, Johannesburg, December 1957, Findings of the Commission on Civil Rights.
218. Ibid., "Civil Rights in a Multi-Racial Society" by Alan Paton.
219. PEART-BINNS, J.S., Ambrose Reeves, op. cit., Chapter 11, pp. 177-8.

more miles.[220] In Pretoria, too, the people walked similar distances from Atteridgeville and Vlakfontein, from Lady Selborne, Eersterus, Eastwood and Mooiplaas. A report by Mr J.R. Brent, Manager of the Non-European Affairs Department of the Pretoria City Council, concluded that the root cause of the boycott was economic. He estimated that 70% of African bus passengers earned no more than £9 per month as unskilled labourers.

> The hardest hit of all the Bantu workers are those of Vlakfontein whose daily return bus fare is 1/8d. This means that most family breadwinners at Vlakfontein have each to pay £2.7.3d for the family dwelling (including all essential services) and £2.4.3d a month for transport - an impossible figure which leaves them on an average only £5 per month to buy food, clothes and other necessities for themselves and their families.
>
> The root of the boycott is economic, although political organizations, as they usually do, made capital out of the situation. 221

The Minister of Transport, Mr Ben Schoeman, however concluded that the boycott was politically inspired and must be broken.[222] This gave the police the excuse they were seeking to harry the boycotters. Those who walked were stopped at checkpoints and their passes examined. Every pretext was used to apply the laws for the licencing of private motor vehicles. Drivers' licences were examined, the road tax and insurance of vehicles were checked, passengers had to show their papers, those who were carrying too many passengers were prosecuted, as were African taxi-drivers and lorry-drivers not in possession of licences to carry passengers. A ban was placed on the operation of taxis outside the Johannesburg municipal area, which meant that passengers had to alight about a mile from Alexandra township. About a hundred Africans were arrested for crossing the road against the red light before 6.00 a.m., when there was little if any traffic. White people who gave lifts, or employers who assisted by transporting workers to their places of employment, were stopped repeatedly on the pretext of possible contraventions of the motor laws.[223]

220. Ibid., p. 179.
221. Wits. Archive A 410 Ballinger Papers, Report on Bus Boycott by a Staff Reporter, Pretoria News, 25.1.1957.
222. LUTHULI, Let my People Go, op. cit., p. 157.
223. HORRELL, Muriel, A Survey of Race Relations 1956/7, Johannesburg: SAIRR 1957, p. 132, and BROOKES & MACAULAY, op. cit., pp. 40-1.

Two incidents in Pretoria during January 1957 give further examples of police tactics which served to exacerbate the problem and harden attitudes.

On Friday 18th January 1957 the police were telephoned by the Eastwood Municipal Office, to say that buses were being stoned and passengers interfered with. On their arrival all was quiet, although there was visible evidence of some superficial damage to buses. The police then charged with batons and canes any people in Middel Street, ordering all pedestrians into their homes. In some cases they even pursued people into their houses, where they assaulted them. Among those injured in their own homes was a man of 81, totally blind. Another was a woman, seven months pregnant, who received a weal three inches long across her back and a severe bruise across her left abdomen.[224] Her affidavit stated:

> I am seven months pregnant. On Friday 18th January 1957 about six o'clock p.m., I was in the kitchen and I heard the children crying on the front stoep. Before I could go to them, police came into the house and without saying what the trouble was, hit me on the back with canes and kicked me in the stomach. They left me lying on the ground and went out of the house. They returned and arrested me and took me to Brooklyn Police Station. 225

She was charged with assault !

On Monday 28th January, Johannes Masekoameng, Secretary/organizer of the A.N.C. in Lady Selborne, had arranged a meeting for 6.00 p.m. The empty plot where some thousand people had gathered was private property, and the meeting was organized with the owner's consent. At 7.00 p.m. police informed the organizers that the meeting was illegal, and must disperse within five minutes. The people obeyed the instructions of the police in an orderly manner, after singing the national anthem. The affidavit of Miss Julia Rahlogo takes up the story, from the time that the speakers asked the meeting to disperse.

> Without any waste of time the meeting dispersed. Most of the people were going up Baron Street. On our way going up people came running from behind. They said the police

224. Wits Archive A 410, Ballinger papers, Bus Boycott. This summary has been compiled from affidavits and an outline of events signed by defence counsel S.C. Mossop dated 3.2.1957.

225. Ibid., affidavit of Grace Mathebula of 148 Fourth Street Eastwood, before A.B.A. Brink and D.J. Savage as witnesses, 3.2.1957.

> were charging. I couldn't believe it, because we were not fighting. When I looked back it was too late. The police were near. When I started to run my foot slipped out of the shoe. When I bent to pick it up the police hit me with a kierie on my back bone. I then tried to put my shoe on. Another policeman came. He also hit me on the back. Then I started running. I went into the yard next to Manley Chan's shop. I waited there until the police passed. 226

Johannes Masekoameng's affidavit corroborated the fact that the police baton charged a dispersing and orderly crowd with needless and unprovoked brutality.[227]

Another police tactic was the employment of pre-dawn raids conducted in Alexandra and other townships and in municipal hostels, where men were sleeping "illegally" during the week to avoid having to walk greater distances to their own homes.[228]

Not only did these police tactics underline the harshness of apartheid laws and the ruthless disregard by the authorities for principles of civil liberty for the African people, but also there was no sufficient word of protest from the churches about the methods being employed to break the boycott. The publication of the Native Laws Amendment Bill, which had its first reading on 19th February 1957, effectively diverted the attention of church leaders, with the exception of Bishop Reeves in whose diocese the boycott occurred, from the defence of civil liberty, to an understandable and over-riding concern for the threat to religious liberty involved in Dr. Verwoerd's new bill.

By 1st March 1957 there appeared to be a complete deadlock. The people's shouts of "azikhwelwa !" ("we shall not ride") had become both a greeting and a rallying cry, and they were more determined than ever to keep walking. The Government seemed still to believe that it could outlast the will of the people to keep on walking. On 28th February PUTCO, who were losing £ 70 000 per month, gave seventy of its white staff and six hundred non-white

226. Ibid., affidavit of Miss Julia Rahlogo, 1278 Maraba Street, Lady Selborne, Pretoria, dated 3.2.1957 before J.G.F. Lang, Commissioner of Oaths, Attorney, Transvaal.
227. Ibid., affidavit of Johannes Masekoameng of 1217 Baron St., Lady Selborne, 3.2.1957 before J.G.F. Lang, Commissioner of Oaths, Attorney, Transvaal.
228. PEART-BINNS, op. cit., p. 179.

employees a week's notice of dismissal, and already they had threatened to sell their buses if the boycott was not over by 1st March. The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, alarmed by the prospect of a complete stoppage, came forward with the offer of £ 25 000 from its members and a scheme by which PUTCO's passengers would be refunded one penny at the end of the journey.[229]

This offer, however, when put to a mass meeting of 5000 in Alexandra Township by the Alexandra People's Transport Action Committee, was given the unanimous reply "azikhwelwa" ("we will not ride". Bishop Reeves, meanwhile, had noticed people wearing lapel badges with the words "We will not ride" when he had been in Alexandra for a confirmation service. He offered to help, and was thus invited to attend a meeting of the boycott committee. He did so, and the venue for its meetings was then moved to the Bishop's House.[230] Reeves' work with the Johannesburg Citizens' Native Housing Committee meant that he had earned the trust of the Chamber of Commerce. Perhaps more important still, his stand on Bantu Education ensured that he was also trusted by the Congress leaders, all of whom were involved in the Treason Trial. As the B.B.C.'s Africa Correspondent, Anthony Sampson, has written,

> The Chamber of Commerce and the liberal Europeans remained desperately anxious to stop the boycott. The Bishop of Johannesburg, one of the few Europeans who was fully trusted by the Africans, was appointed mediator, and eventually went to talk with the only people influential enough to stop the boycott - the Congress leaders in the Drill Hall. 231

The Bishop's biographer and Chief Albert Luthuli have rightly given Ambrose Reeves the credit for reconciling the dispute and bringing the boycott to a just end.[232] The basis of the agreement was the Chamber of Commerce's scheme, whereby coupons were sold at bus termini for fourpence, entitling people to a five-penny ride. By April 15th the boycott was over. Yet it was only a temporary solution. The £ 25 000 from the Chamber of Commerce to finance this scheme was only going to last for an estimated twelve weeks.[233] The position was still delicate, for in May the

229. Ibid., p. 180. 230. Ibid., p. 181.
231. SAMPSON, Anthony, The Treason Cage, London: Heinemann 1958, p. 212, cf. LUTHULI, op. cit., p. 157.
232. PEART-BINNS, op. cit., p. 185, and LUTHULI, op. cit., p. 157.
233. KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 395, Document 22, "Azikhwelwa !", leaflet on bus boycott issued by the Alexandra People's Transport Action Committee (n.d.).

Alexandra People's Transport Committee issued a leaflet which criticized the African National Congress leaders as "the main anti-boycott spokesmen" and stated, "we cannot sell our 14 weeks struggle for a 12 weeks 'settlement'".[234] The settlement was described as "just another swindle", and the same pamphlet pointed out that

> The Government has promised to step in when the boycott is smashed and the Chamber is bankrupt to bring about their permanent settlement. Why drive the Chamber to bankruptcy, why drive the people to distraction ? An authority which behaves in this way is highly suspect. We refuse to settle our economic affairs on the basis of promises - from the enemy 235

In the light of such agitation, which could easily have resulted in the boycott being resumed, due credit must also be given to the Minister of Transport, Mr Ben Schoeman, and the Opposition who supported him, to pilot through all its stages in Parliament the Native Transport Services Act on 4th June 1957. This gave the Minister of Transport, in consultation with the National Transport Commission, the power to subsidize "existing Native services" and "to fix a higher or lesser amount not exceeding one shilling generally or in a specified area six pence".[236]

As Chief Luthuli observed later, "the boycott was an unqualified success".[237] "My people voted with their feet".[238] The Professor of New Testament at Pretoria University, P.V. Pistorius, published a book later in the same year in which he declared that there could be "no further trek" for the Afrikaner from giving Africans political rights. He also observed how the unity of purpose displayed by African people in the bus boycott held an important lesson for the white man in South Africa.

> Perhaps the most alarming feature of the bus-boycott during the first months of this year has been the discipline of the natives themselves. Something has taken shape that previously did not exist, namely unity of purpose and a group spirit that bodes ill for the future. That group spirit has been engendered by fear of the white man. The white man has supplied the Bantu with that common fear. We are the architects of Bantu nationalism and of the growing unity

234-5. Ibid.
236. House of Assembly Debates 7170/57, 4.6.1957, Minister of Transport. PUTCO then reverted to pre-boycott fares.
237. LUTHULI, op. cit., p. 158.
238. PEART-BINNS, op. cit., p. 186.

of the Bantu group and we seem to have done our work very well. 239

Where Congress campaigns over the Western Areas removals and the boycott of Bantu Education schools in 1955 had been vitiated by a lack of unanimity, the bus boycott by contrast had found a measure of unity and discipline amongst Africans unknown since the Defiance Campaign. The bus boycott is perhaps one of the few examples of resistance that succeeded. Bishop Reeves, by his sponsorship of the Treason Trial Defence Fund and his mediation in the bus boycott, had effectively stepped into the place which had been vacated by Trevor Huddleston, for a white church leader to be the confidant and friend of the A.N.C.

His experience as a mediator, learnt in the Liverpool dock strike of 1945, was employed to good effect. He could not have succeeded unless African workers knew that he had their interests at heart. That he was successful depended upon his identification with the general cause of the Africans' resistance to injustice. At the same time, he knew that it was in the interests of all employers to bring the boycott to a peaceful end because it was affecting productivity. Even the Government began to see that the boycott was not going to be broken by strong-arm measures and the tactics of attrition.

The police measures used to harass and break the boycott, however, provided a sinister example of how far principles of civil liberty and the right of peaceful protest by Africans were callously disregarded. Moreover, Government attempts to dismiss the boycott as the work of agitators lacked credibility when the entire leadership of the Congress movement had been in custody since before the fare increases were announced. An important element in the success of the bus boycott as an expression of resistance, besides the spontaneous unanimity with which it happened, was that it did not have the characteristic of a contrived or a planned campaign. Workers demonstrated to employers the paucity of the wages they were receiving, as no strike could ever have done. The bus boycotters actually won the sympathy of their employers,

239. PISTORIUS, P.V., No Further Trek, Pretoria: CNA (SA) 1957, p. 9.

by their persevering efforts to get to work despite all the obstacles being placed in their way. Employers could see, after three long months, that productivity was beginning to suffer because of the exhaustion of their work-force, and were ready to contribute more towards their employees' transport costs. The Government could find an escape in being able to blame employers for not paying their workers enough to afford the increased fares. Using all these factors with insight and skill, Bishop Reeves was able to show that it was in everyone's interests to effect a settlement, when it was clear that the Government's initial response of repression had failed. The bus boycott was in fact a highly effective form of satyagraha. Unlike other campaigns, when the Government's implacability stood in the way of any negotiated solution, the important element of negotiation and mediation was a crucial factor in the eventual outcome. The actual negotiations which broke the deadlock did not directly involve the Government, and were between the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and the Congress leadership, with Bishop Reeves as a go-between.

Another level of negotiation then took place, between the Chamber of Commerce and the other authorities involved. This happened in the context of a "Joint Consultative Transport Committee", consisting of the Johannesburg City Council, Association of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa, the Confederation of Employer Organizations, Die Afrikaanse Handelsinstitut, the South African Federated Chamber of Industries, the South African Road Federation and the Transvaal and Orange Free State Chamber of Mines. This committee met the Minister in Cape Town on 29th April 1957, when Mr Schoeman was asked to raise the Native Services levy and to increase the Government's subsidy to the bus company.[240] Whilst commerce was agreeable, industry was described as being "adamantly" against.[241] The debate on the Native Transport Services Bill on 4th June 1957 showed that Mr Schoeman wisely ignored the objections of organized industry, and, to effect a longer-term solution, decided to increase the state subsidy.[242]

240. Wits. Archive, A 410 Ballinger Papers, letter James Dey to Walter Ballinger, 7.5.1957.
241. Ibid.
242. House of Assembly Debates, 7170/57, 4.6.1957, Minister of Transport.

BISHOP REEVES - AN EVALUATION OF HIS THEORY AND PRACTICE OF RESISTANCE.

Trevor Huddleston, Ambrose Reeves, Geoffrey Clayton, Edgar Brookes and Alan Paton are among those Anglicans whose views on the threat to civil liberty posed by the Strijdom administration between 1955 and 1957 provide a potent commentary upon what was happening in South Africa at the time. An evaluation of Trevor Huddleston's ministry and his theory and practice of Christian resistance was offered at the end of the previous chapter. A similar evaluation of Archbishop Clayton's pilgrimage from a stance of co-operation in church-state relations in 1943, to one of resistance at the time of his death, is reserved for the Conclusion, and can only appropriately be attempted after the discussion of his historic response to resist the Native Laws Amendment Bill in 1957. It is therefore both convenient and appropriate now to append to this chapter on civil liberty an evaluation of Bishop Reeves' ministry in South Africa from 1949 to 1957, and a survey of the theological arguments he employed to support his conversion from a position in which he had refused his support for the Defiance Campaign in 1952, to his stance in 1954 when he accepted resistance as the appropriate response to the Bantu Education Act, and thereafter became the C.P.S.A.'s most outspoken prophet in the defence of civil liberty.

For someone who had lived in South Africa for so short a time, Bishop Reeves was surprisingly well-informed. As Fr. Hooper has recalled, he was always "three steps ahead" of the other bishops, and they resented this.[243] Reeves' realisation on his arrival in South Africa in 1949 that he had to "learn the situation", combined with a talent for keeping in touch with events, was greatly assisted by the diversity of parishes which fell within the boundaries of his far-flung diocese.[244] The Diocese of Johannesburg embraced not only the urban areas of metropolitan Johannesburg and the concentrated conurbation of towns on the Witwatersrand.

There were rural parishes in the west, like Zeerust where

243. See above, Chapter Fourteen, p. 824.
244. See above, Chapter Two, p. 125.

Fr. Hooper encountered certain problems with his white parishioners, to Volksrust on the Natal border.[245] A typical attitude among Anglican parishioners there may be judged from the correspondence columns of The Watchman in 1944, in response to the "Church and Nation" report. "Layman" of Volksrust, described by the Editor of The Watchman as "one of our devoted Church officers", in a covering letter questioning the church's stand for "eventual absolute social equality" had said, "I never wish to see the day on which my children will consort with natives on terms of equality".[246] There were also "platteland" parishes like Standerton, Ermelo and Bethal where Michael Scott had aroused such strong reactions by his exposé of farm labour conditions in 1946. The diocese extended also to such far-flung points on the way to Swaziland as Carolina, Badplaas, Chrissiemeer, Breyten and Piet Retief.

There were also parishes which served areas of high density artisan housing in the southern suburbs and mining towns along the East and West Rand, as well as the most wealthy northern suburbs, where the Bishop's house was situated. Johannesburg also had considerable concentrations of so-called Coloured and Indian people. African "missions" ranged from the Community of the Resurrection's Church of Christ the King in Sophiatown and the rapidly growing townships to the west of the city, to rural communities in both the Eastern and Western Transvaal.

A bishop whose regular round of visits took him to people and parishes of such infinite diversity, who espoused attitudes and perceptions embracing so wide a spectrum of South Africa's peoples, was thus uniquely placed to assess perceptively the growing conflict between Afrikaner and African nationalism. Bishop Reeves' experience was to witness at first hand the most glaring disparities between the black and white members of his diocese, whose perceptions of reality were so utterly contradictory. The only common ground between "Layman" of Volksrust, a retired

245. HOOPER, Charles, Brief Authority, London: Collins 1960.

246. CPSA Archive AB 397, Diocese of Johannesburg, Commission on the Church and the Nation, Records 1941-1950. Letter dated 11.4.1944 from "Layman", P.O. Box 94 Volksrust to the Editor of The Watchman. The Watchman June 1944, "The Church and the Non-European" being correspondence between one of our keen laymen and the Continuation Committee of the Synod Commission.

magistrate, and Oliver Tambo in Sophiatown was that they belonged to the same church.

For a time Bishop Reeves tried to listen to all points of view. The Bantu Education Act, however, convinced him finally that he could do no other than take his stand with Trevor Huddleston, and this in its turn was to put him on a collision course, both with the Government and with those white laymen in his diocese whose susceptibilities such a stand would be certain to offend.

Because of the close association between Trevor Huddleston and his bishop, Ambrose Reeves, in the Diocese of Johannesburg, it is tempting to think that there was a complete identity of opinion between them on the issue of Christian resistance to the state. There is much to suggest that this was so, from the description of the long saga of opposition to the Western Areas removal scheme in Chapter Thirteen.[247] But there is also other evidence which shows that the process of radicalization which took place in Ambrose Reeves between his arrival in South Africa in 1949, and 1957, followed a different route from that of Trevor Huddleston, and that the theological arguments used by Bishop Reeves were different ones from those of Father Huddleston, described in Chapter Fourteen.[248] Though neither would have denied the argument of the other, they each came to the same conclusion by a different route, Huddleston first in 1953, and Reeves a year later. Where the turning point for Huddleston was the arrest of Yusuf Cachalia in June 1953, Reeves crossed his rubicon at the Umtata meeting of Episcopal Synod in November 1954 on the issue of Bantu Education.[249] It is interesting to discover this remark, in the course of Bishop Reeves' address to the Chicago Round Table on 29th August 1954: "I am becoming ever more sceptical of what I may call the counsel of gradualness".[250] This pre-dated his decision on resisting Bantu Education by only two months.

Reference has been made in Chapter Two to Reeves' self-imposed

247. See above, Chapter Thirteen, especially pp. 713-720.
248. See above, Chapter Fourteen, pp. 755-6.
249. See above, Chapter Eight, pp. 431-2; Chapter 13, p. 718; and Chapter Eleven pp. 596-602.
250. CPSA Archive, Reeves Papers AB 388, File on Minneapolis and Evanston. Typescript of address to Chicago Round Table, Sunday 29th August 1954.

vow of silence on arrival in Johannesburg. The Suppression of Communism Act in June 1950 caused him to interrupt that resolution after only a year, because, as he put it, "there I was on ground I knew".[251] It is important to recognize the extent to which Reeves did continue to observe a generally cautious attitude in expressing himself on public issues in this early period of his ministry. The predominant emphasis of his leadership of the diocese in this period was upon evangelism. He seconded Fr. A.G. ffrench-Beytagh to be full-time Director of Mission, to organize the work of this campaign, which continued over four years. 1950 was used for preparatory work. This led to the Church Weeks in 1951, Family Weeks in 1952 and to Crusade Weeks in September 1953.[252] Some viewed with misgiving Reeves' negative attitude towards the Diocesan Social and Industrial Council, which was allowed to lapse, and the rise in its place of a Diocesan Council for Evangelism, which took over the centre of the diocesan stage.[253] The fact that this massive effort in evangelism should have been confined to "European" parishes only, and received so much of the Bishop's attention, provided some grounds for Archdeacon R.P.Y. Rouse's complaint that, by contrast with his predecessor, Clayton, the new bishop, Reeves, was lacking in concern for the African.[254]

Reeves' comment in a letter to Visser 'tHooft in February 1950 that "there is so much to be said on all sides, which means that practically anything one says briefly is at once false and true ...." is an indication of the extent to which he was still groping with the problems of his new situation.[255] The emphasis of his charge in October 1950 was modest in addressing matters of social concern. His main concern was for the programme of "Church Weeks" planned by the Diocesan Evangelistic Council. He also said

251. See above, Chapter Six, pp. 272-5 and Chapter Two p. 125.
252. The Watchman, August 1950, p. 3, Bishop's Letter.
253. CLACK, the Revd. Canon Maurice, Interview, Bloemfontein 6.4.1981. "He [Reeves] called a meeting soon after he became Bishop, to which he invited some of the clergy from Pretoria which included me". Clack cited Reeves as being disparaging about the Church and Nation Report at that meeting. (See CPSA Archive, AB 397; Diocese of Johannesburg, Commission on the Church and the Nation 1941-1950).
254. CPSA Archive AB 389 Diocese of Johannesburg Evangelistic Campaign Records 1950-53, and AB 388 Reeves Papers.
255. WCC Archive, General Secretariat, Correspondence with South African Churches, and CPSA Archive, AB 388 Reeves Papers, letter Reeves to 'tHooft 23.2.1950.

he thought that "native housing" was "one of the most urgent questions" and appealed to employers of domestic workers to be concerned about the housing and conditions of service of those they employed, just as African church members in domestic service should "show themselves diligent and trustworthy". His other concern was the initiative to establish contact with the Dutch Reformed clergy.[256]

Reeves was criticized for being over-involved in "political work" to the neglect of his primary duty as a pastor. Yet the overwhelming impression conveyed by Bishop Reeves' files of correspondence preserved in the C.P.S.A. Archive during his entire episcopate in Johannesburg contradicts the public image people seemed to have of him. For instance, a profile of Bishop Reeves published by the Afrikaans periodical Die Huisgenoot in April 1954 gave the impression of a bishop occupying his time and energy on political work, and being as much in the political news as the Prime Minister or the Leader of the Opposition. He was quoted as saying:

> *"Dit is vir 'n predikant ontmoontlik om in hierdie land buite kant die politiek te bly." Hy maak egter 'n verskil tussen "menslike politiek" en partypolitiek. 'n Man soos Michael Scott het syns insiens miskien te ver gegaan. 'n Man moet die middelweg hou en nie jou balans verloor nie.* 257

Even among his own senior clergy the myth was maintained that Ambrose Reeves had been outspoken in championing African causes from the moment he arrived. Patrick Barron, Dean and Vicar General of the Diocese when Reeves resigned in 1961 after being deported the previous year, began his tribute to Reeves with these words:

> When Canon Richard Ambrose Reeves was elected as Bishop of Johannesburg on 23rd February 1949, little did the diocese and South Africa dream how God had placed in this land a prophet. Almost as soon as he set foot in the diocese his voice was raised against the barriers between black and white and the injustice which was being meted out to those who were not white. 258

Reeves' correspondence files yield the picture of a busy diocesan bishop striving to answer faithfully the numerous calls

256. The Watchman, November 1950.
257. Huisgenoot, April 1954. Interviewing journalist's translation of what Reeves said in English.
258. The Watchman, April 1961, "The Bishop of Johannesburg" by Patrick Barron, Dean and Vicar General.

being made upon him by a wide variety of socially conscious groups and organizations who wished to enlist his help or support for their good causes. Reeves seldom disappointed them even though it would have been easy to be so overwhelmed by the magnitude of the mere task of answering so many letters. Yet, amidst this vast correspondence on all manner of subjects, those letters of a personal nature seemed to receive particular care, attention and priority. For instance, a lady living in Yorkshire wrote to Reeves trying to trace her brother, who she said "lives somewhere in Johannesburg". Not only did Bishop Reeves trace him to an address in Durban, but he supplied the name of someone who had offered to give her any help she required in making contact with her brother.[259] The accusation that Reeves neglected his work as a pastor of his clergy for so-called political work was hotly denied by Charles Hooper, who saw the fault as being not so much due to the reality of Reeves' sins of omission as a pastor, which were few, but in the antagonisms he aroused amongst numbers of politically conservative white Anglican laymen, who resented his public statements on current issues. Fr. Hooper told me how one of his white parishioners in Zeerust had told him, when he was banned from the African areas of his parish, "We don't agree with your Archbishop, or your Bishop or your Archdeacon, or you".[260]

Bishop Reeves himself tried to correct the mistaken view that he was so caught up in what his detractors called "political work" that he neglected his other duties. He described something of the ordinary daily round of being a bishop in a diocese of 140 clergy without the help of an assistant bishop in his own book, South Africa - Yesterday and Tomorrow, written during 1961 as a sequel to Shooting at Sharpeville.[261] Bishop Reeves' biographer, John Peart-Binns, has rightly observed that "Reeves moved slowly at first and his major criticism of himself is that he left it too long before he took his decisive stand against the Nationalist Government".[262] There appears to have been a certain "white back-

259. CPSA Archive AB 388, Reeves papers, General Correspondence.
260. HOOPER, the Revd. Canon Charles, Interview, Manzini, 15.12.1980.
261. REEVES, R.A., South Africa - Yesterday and Tomorrow, A Challenge to Christians, London: Gollancz 1962, Chapter 4, "Aerial View", pp. 63-73 and p. 65, and REEVES, R.A., Shooting at Sharpeville, London: Gollancz 1960.
262. PEART-BINNS, J.S., Ambrose Reeves, op. cit., p. 91.

lash" against Reeves' so-called "political involvement". It is significant that Canon ffrench-Beytagh should have found the views of clergy in a Sacred Synod of the Johannesburg Diocese to discuss "the political set-up" of South Africa in the sixties so disappointing. He added "I think half those clergy had no concern at all".[263] This indicates that Bishop Reeves had left a diocese in which a significant number of clergy in white parishes did not share his deep concern about the church's prophetic duty, and were therefore likely to resent any time he spent on what they regarded as "political work".

Turning from Bishop Reeves' actions to his writing about passive resistance and the church-state relationship, it is interesting to find that his decision to resist Bantu Education by refusing to hand over any mission schools in the diocese of Johannesburg in November 1954 pre-dated any attempt on his part to justify civil disobedience theologically. This corroborates what Bishop Reeves himself told me when I asked him about the principal theological assumptions that lay behind his ministry.

> I feel increasingly, when people press me as you do, that I never have any answer except, as Martin Luther, "Here I stand" because there's nowhere else where I can stand. I don't think I can give a rationale of that. I have never sat down and said, now, what are my assumptions about this ? I am an activist, I suppose. And then I reflect upon it, and write of it afterwards, but I don't do it the other way round as a lot of academics do. 264

As we now proceed to examine the theology that lay behind Bishop Reeves' change of stance from protest to resistance, an event which neither he nor his biographer mention needs to be recorded here. On 17th June 1951 Bishop Reeves was asked to take the funeral of Dr. Pixley Seme, who had been President General of the African National Congress in 1936, and founder of the organization in 1912, "for the purpose of creating national unity and defending our rights and privileges".[265] It was at the time of Dr. Seme's funeral that Dr. Moroka and Walter Sisulu planned to fight

263. FFRENCH-BEYTAGH, the Revd. Canon G.A., Interview, London, 8.8.1975.
264. REEVES, the Right Revd. R.A., Interview, Shoreham-on-Sea, Sussex, 2.4.1975.
265. BENSON, Mary, The Struggle for a Birthright, London: Penguin 1966, revised edition of The African Patriots, London: Faber 1963, p. 137. cf. WALSHE, Peter, The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa, the African National Congress 1912-1952. London: Hurst 1970, p. 34.

for African rights and privileges by non-violent resistance. A meeting of the A.N.C. Executive on the day of funeral expressed its readiness to engage in joint planning with non-Africans. This, as Anthony Sampson, the B.B.C.'s Africa Correspondent has written, was an indication that "the old exclusive Congress had been buried with Seme".[266] The Joint Planning Council created to organize the Defiance Campaign was constituted soon afterwards by a Joint Conference of the Executives of the A.N.C., the S.A.I.C. and representatives of the Franchise Action Council of the Cape, held in Johannesburg on 29th July 1951.[267] Dr. Seme's funeral thus brought Bishop Reeves into intimate contact with the leaders of the A.N.C., and, presumably, with their intentions to engage in a campaign of passive resistance similar to that of the Indian Congress in 1946.

In spite of the growing intimacy of these contacts with the A.N.C., it is significant that Bishop Reeves, unlike Trevor Huddleston, did not give his support to the Defiance Campaign in 1952, as we have seen.[268] On 20th October 1952, at a meeting organized by the Civil Rights League, Bishop Reeves spoke on "The Moral Implications of the Passive Resistance Movement". Reeves did not agree to deliberate breaches of the law, however unjust, because of his fear that respect for justice might become the casualty of any general breakdown of law and order. On this occasion Reeves spoke not from a biblical standpoint, but from what he saw to be the ethics of such deliberately illegal actions.

> From the ethical standpoint it cannot be concluded that disobedience to unjust laws is automatically justifiable. In many cases it may well be that the individual has a duty to obey unjust laws, as for example, if such disobedience is likely to mean the loss of liberty or the loss of livelihood for the individual concerned. In such circumstances it is conceivable that an individual ought to obey a law even though he is convinced it is unjust. This is even more the case if such disobedience is likely to provoke civil disturbance, for all citizens have the duty of doing all in their power to assist in maintaining law and order. In a complex multi-

266. SAMPSON, Anthony, The Treason Cage: The opposition on trial in South Africa, London: Heinemann 1958, p. 85.
267. KARIS & CARTER, Vol. II, op. cit., pp. 458-9, Document 86, Report of the Joint Planning Council of the A.N.C. and the South African Indian Congress, November 8th 1951.
268. See above, Chapter Eight, pp. 430-431.

> racial society like our own this duty ought to be specially realised by all, for if the laws are not obeyed then the public peace may so easily be endangered, with serious consequences for every racial group in the community, not least to those who are breaking certain laws. Further, even those who feel compelled to take the extreme step of disobeying particular laws, ought to realise that by their action they are tending to produce a general contempt and indifference to the whole range of law. Whatever may be our verdict upon the present campaign, let us realise that it is always a most serious step for any group in the community to decide that they must deliberately break specific laws to call attention to their grievances. 269

At this point it is notable that Bishop Reeves' attitude towards the ethics of passive resistance was rather more cautious than that of Geoffrey Clayton. On the other hand, unlike Archbishop Clayton, who declined to add his signature to Margaret Ballinger's manifesto, both Bishop Reeves and Trevor Huddleston were among the signatories.[270] They saw no link between this statement and the inauguration of the Liberal Party, as Clayton did. Certainly it appeared to be no more than a statement of concern by leading citizens from all professions on the need for a political and not a police solution to the situation created by the Defiance Campaign. An explanation of Bishop Reeves' caution can be seen from his definition of the State's function in his writing on the theology of the church-state relationship.

On 28th May 1948 Canon Reeves, as Vicar of Liverpool, introduced a resolution in the Convocation of York, which proposed the creation of a joint committee that would "elucidate further the principles that should determine any action to be taken by the Church to make its relation with the State more satisfactory".[271] In his speech, which won many plaudits, Reeves argued for "the importance of freedom to the Church in a world of increasing State control".[272] Whilst there had been much writing on the nature of

269. PEART-BINNS, op. cit., p. 110. This passage from Reeves' address is cited in preference to that used in my Chapter Eight, pp. 430-1 above, since this would appear to be taken from a copy of the address given to his biographer by Bishop Reeves, whereas I was relying on Sidney Kentridge's summary of what Reeves had said in the Newsletter of the Civil Rights League, November 1952.

270. See above, Chapter Eight, pp. 390-3.

271. The York Journal of Convocation, York: W.H. Smith 1948, p. 65, 27-28 May 1948.

272. Ibid., p. 66.

the Church, he said, the need was for "a clear exposition of the Christian doctrine of the State".[273]

> .... they were living at a time when the independent, secular State, neutral or indifferent in matters of religion was rapidly being replaced by the planned State, which sought in greater or lesser degree to guide the whole life of the community, and to exercise some measure of control over human culture, made it imperative for them to realise that to persist in demanding a free Church in a free State was about as helpful as crying for the moon. 274

Reeves saw the need to subordinate human power to Christian principles and looked to the teaching of F.D. Maurice, who had written:

> A National Church should mean a Church which exists to purify and elevate the mind of a nation .... it should exist to make men tremble at the voice of God speaking to them in their consciences. 275

He saw nothing wrong in a National Church being closely associated with the affairs of the state since "both had been established by God for the accomplishment of his purpose among men".[276] He did not want a church "built into the fabric of the State", nor to "sever all connections".[277] Rather he sought a third way which was able to meet the situation of a National Church whose role put it in collision with the state.

> As he looked at the clash of Church and State both in Russia and in Germany, it seemed to him that it was just in these matters that the Church was confused and uncertain. 278

Reeves was thus elected Bishop of Johannesburg as someone with a reputation not only as mediator in the Liverpool Dock Strike, but as a priest who was well informed about the theology of church and state.

When Bishop Reeves' essay "The Church in Relation to the State" was published in February 1953 by the Community of the Resurrection, as the fourth in a series of "St. Benedict's Booklets", it is interesting to note that Trevor Huddleston, as Father Provincial of the Order in South Africa, had just addressed a mass conference organized in the Free Trades Hall in Johannesburg by the A.N.C. (Transvaal) and the Transvaal Indian Congress, at which he declared his "total identification" with the Defiance Campaign.[279] On that occasion Huddleston had said, "When once a Government

273-4. Ibid., p. 67. 275. Ibid., p. 68. 276-8. Ibid., p. 69.
279. REEVES, R.A., The Church in Relation to the State, Johannesburg: Community of The Resurrection February 1953, St. Benedict's Booklet No. 4.

degenerates into a tyranny its laws cease to be binding on its subjects", and that the Criminal Laws Amendment Act and the Public Safety Act took "a very long step towards tyranny".[280]

By contrast, Reeves' essay would have given no encouragement to a Christian satyagrahi. He concentrated upon the task of the church in relation to the function of the state. He said that the "Church is the genuine and authentic instrument through which Jesus Christ wills to continue his work" and that "the Church exists to be the instrument through which the Divine will can act in a broken and defeated world".[281] He then indicated that he did not think that the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign was a part of the Divine will for Christ's church. He declared that he was "persuaded that the Church ought never to be indifferent to securing order among sinful men outside her borders: the very matter which is the primary concern of the State".[282] His interpretation of Matthew 22;21 did not explore the extent to which the function of the state needed to be limited, but rather said, in terms reminiscent of Luther's "Two Kingdoms" doctrine, that this meant there were two spheres in which Christians had to live. "We are citizens as well as churchmen. in both spheres we have duties and responsibilities".[283] Commenting on Romans 13;1-3 he observed: "we have to recognise that St. Paul was fearful lest the infant Church should become an anarchistic, revolutionary sect." Paul's attitude was also to be understood in the light of the fact that it was the Jewish authorities who were persecuting the church, and "more than once the Church had to rely on the assistance of imperial Rome". And even when the tolerance which Rome gave was to "the beast of the Apocalypse, ... Paul in this passage is reminding us that the State exists to suppress moral outrage and lawlessness, and to maintain justice and right".

> The State exists to create a kind of balance between the rights and duties of sinful men: to try to get some sort of justice and decency among human beings while they remain imperfect and sinful. Such a task ought not, I believe to be outside the concern of the Church .... God ordains that there shall be some state authority to promote justice between men. 284

He then quoted Niebuhr's words, which said that as Christians we

280. See above, Chapter Eight, p. 431.
281. REEVES, The Church in Relation to the State, op. cit., p. 3.
282. Ibid., p. 4. 283-4. Ibid., p. 5.

must not "take any established order too seriously", and "not disturb any established order irresponsibly .... the road to hell is paved with good revolutions".[285]

On the other hand, he then cited Berdyaev to support the legitimacy of the church's concern in the affairs of men and to set limits upon the state's sphere of competence.

> Caesar always and irresistably tends towards demanding for himself not only that which is Caesar's, but that which is God's - Caesar wishes to subject to himself the whole of man.[286]

In a brief review of how the church-state relationship had evolved in different periods of the church's history, he related J.N. Figgis' observation that in the Middle Ages "churchmanship was co-extensive with citizenship", a situation which gave rise to the conflicts of a theocratic society between two sets of officials, the temporal and the spiritual.[287] The Reformation, however, had reversed the process, and "established the Church as a sect within the State".[288] The Renaissance had produced the independent state which was first tolerant of, and then either indifferent to or hostile to the church. Only in the New Testament period and in modern times, Reeves concluded, were the church and the state seen as two separate entities, and "today we are faced with the very complex question of the divided church with many nation States", but more seriously the "liberal State" was being replaced by "a collectivist State".[289]

> The emergence of the State which tries to mould the whole life of the community according to its own notions and to control culture and suppress with violence all who call its power into question, finds most churchmen ill-prepared. 290

He then devoted the last six pages of his essay to a consideration of the relations between the church and the state, and "the basic issue of the limited power of the State".

> The assumption that lies behind some of the official utterances of the State, which suggests that the State has unlimited power is, I believe, an assumption that brings us to the very heart of the issue. It is an assumption which must always be challenged, because not only does it spell social tyranny, it is also an ethical absurdity .... we must go further and try to discern the points at which that limitation is reached. 291

285. Ibid., p. 6. 286-7. Ibid., p. 7. 288-290. Ibid., p. 8.
291. Ibid., p. 10.

Unfortunately, it is at this point that the essay is at its weakest, because Reeves stopped short of concluding that Divine obedience must take precedence over civil obedience. He cited the Suppression of Communism Act as "an example of tyrannical and unjust legislation".[292] The Transvaal Education Draft Ordinance, which excluded the church from giving religious teaching in state schools by its insistence that "no specific doctrine or dogma which is distinctive of any particular religious denomination or sect shall be taught in any public school" was at fault because "Christianity without the Church is defective".[293] He then urged the church to be vigilant about legislation affecting the welfare of its citizens, but did not go on to discuss what the church should do should the state fail in its duty to do what justice required. When the state persistently abrogated its responsibility, he said meekly, "there are times when some abuses and injustice have to be tolerated as, for example, when their removal would lead to greater evils", and then he repeated,

> If we affirm that Church and State are separate and distinct forms of human society, which are complementary to one another, both of them necessary for the well-being of man and both ordained by God, we are bound as Christians to be concerned with the affairs of the State. 294

In other words it was the duty of the church to support the state in its function of maintaining law and order. He then emphasized that the church should not retreat into the catacombs, but ended, rather vaguely,

> Our first duty is to see that the Church is in very deed the Church, for we have at all times to remember that only thus can the Church make its proper contribution to the well-being of society in its relations with the State. 295

When the burning issue of church-state relations was the choice between divine and civil obedience, it did not help very much merely to conclude finally that the church must be the church, and that the state was ultimately subject to "the power and empire of Christ" as stated in the Queen's coronation oath.[296] Reeves did not face the question of disobedience to Caesar squarely. Instead he concentrated upon the church's duty not to so undermine the function of the state as to allow the nation to slip into anarchy.

The tenor of this essay in 1953 was quite different from a

292. Ibid. p. 12. 293. Ibid., p. 13. 294. Ibid.. p. 15. 295-6. Ibid., p. 16.

further article written by Reeves for the first issue of Africa South in December 1956 on "Church and State in South Africa".[297] Large sections of his earlier article were repeated. But the merit of this article over its predecessor was that it not only updated the issues which formed the content of the church-state conflict in South Africa, but, more importantly, it faced the issue, ignored in 1953, of the Christian's choice between divine and civil obedience. Much had happened in the intervening three years. The Bantu Education Act, he said, was "a clear example of the state over-stepping the legitimate exercise of its power".[298] The Government's policy of "large movements of Africans from one locality to another" was evidence of "action by the state which is bound to make the work of the churches more difficult".[299] Omitted was the facile quotation from Niebuhr about the "road to hell" being "paved with good revolutions".[300] Instead he cited Maritain, who described the aim of the state as being

> .... to procure the common good of the multitude, in such a manner that each person, not only in a privileged class, but throughout the whole mass, may truly reach that measure of independence which is proper to civilized life and which is ensured alike by the economic guarantees of work, property, political rights, civil virtues, and the cultivation of the mind. 301

Having repeated his previous statement about there being "times when some abuses and injustices have to be tolerated as, for example, when their removal would lead to even greater evils", Reeves added, "But the fact that certain evils have to be tolerated for a time is no justification for acquiescing dumbly in things as they are in our country".[302] The significant difference between his article of 1956, which had much in common with its predecessor of 1953, was its conclusion. The empty phrase "to see that the Church is in very deed the Church" without indicating what that meant, was now omitted. Reeves defined what it meant "to be the Church":

> So much will depend upon the faithfulness of the Churches to their calling .... It is to live by the demands of the

297. Africa South, Vol. I. No. 1, Oct-Dec. 1956, "Church and State in South Africa" by the Right Revd. R.A. Reeves, Bishop of Johannesburg, pp. 5-13.
298. Ibid., p. 10. 299. Ibid., p. 12.
300. REEVES, The Church in Relation to the State, op. cit., p. 6.
301. Africa South, loc. cit., p. 11.
302. Ibid., p. 12, cf. REEVES, The Church in Relation to the State, op. cit., p. 15.

> Gospel, whatever may be the policies and actions of the state. And to accept the consequences of so living, whatever these consequences may be. 303

Here at last was the authentic voice of Christian resistance, where in 1953 he had equivocated on the choice between divine and civil obedience, and avoided the conclusion towards which his arguments should have led.

By contrast with his long and indecisive essay of 1953, and his somewhat discursive though more decisive article of 1956, Bishop Reeves' pastoral letter to his diocese about the "Church Clause" legislation, on 14th July 1957 was concise, balanced and assured.[304] The first paragraph dealt succinctly with the church's teaching on divine and civil obedience. He set forth confidently the Christian's duty to be a law-abiding citizen, but pointed out that laws had to be "directed to the common good" if they were to be "binding on the conscience of Christians". He had obviously worked through the doubts which had prevented him from giving his unqualified support to the Defiance Campaign in 1952. Having reiterated that it was the duty of the church to support law and order by its own example of obedience to the laws of the country in order to avoid anarchy, he said he was convinced that the right of the civil authority to claim the obedience of citizens was not "an unlimited one". He went further, and stated categorically that a law which "conflicts with the demands of the Gospel or the dictates of conscience" fell into the category of laws which the Christian must disobey. The Native Laws Amendment Act was "a direct infringement of that freedom of worship which properly belongs to every individual irrespective of race or colour". The church thus had "no alternative but to disobey it".[305]

Confident of his conclusion, he could now distil all his earlier argument into one brief paragraph at the beginning of this pastoral letter. It was a model for such statements because of its firmness, brevity and clarity, and the way in which he took

303. Ibid., p. 13.
304. CPSA Archive AB 981, Native Laws Amendment Bill, records illustrating the Church's attitude to the Bill, February-July 1957. Pastoral letter to be read in all churches in the Diocese of Johannesburg, Sunday 14th July 1957.
305. Ibid.

into account all sides of the question.

> From apostolic times the church has insisted that Christians have a duty to obey the laws of the country in which they live. Because human beings are sinful, they cannot live together peaceably and usefully without some authority having the power to frame laws to govern their conduct in society, and to restrain those who break them. Such laws must be loyally obeyed by Christians, for without them there cannot be that order in society which is essential if men and women are to learn to live together. But the church has always recognised that this right which the civil authorities unquestionably have is not an unlimited one. For laws to be binding on the conscience of Christians, they must be directed towards the common good. If any law conflicts either with the demands of the Gospel or the dictates of conscience, members of the church have no alternative but to disobey it. 306

CONCLUSION.

This chapter's description and analysis of the C.P.S.A.'s response to the deteriorating situation regarding civil liberty in South Africa between 1955 and 1957 suggests firstly that whilst Anglican leaders showed that they were alert to what was happening, and devoted a good deal of attention to the defence of liberty, their reactions, in terms of their own diagnosis of the seriousness of the problem, did not offer a sufficient response to counter the threat to freedom posed by Mr Strijdom's administration. Secondly, since it was inevitable for the bishops to react piecemeal to the succession of measures passed by Parliament which in one way or another served to limit a citizen's rights to freedom of association, freedom of movement and of expression, the cumulative effect upon civil liberty of the first nine years of Nationalist rule was not fully appreciated until the publication in 1959 of Brookes and Macaulay's Civil Liberty in South Africa, a study which showed how far the process had advanced by 1957. Thirdly, the effect of the Nationalists' ruthless disregard for the entrenched clauses of the Constitution, the Senate, the Judiciary and the rights of the Coloured people in particular, was to radicalize even the most conservative of Anglican leaders. Even if the cumulative effects of the Government's actions between 1955 and 1957 amounted to a far greater

306. Ibid.

denial of civil liberty than the threat to religious liberty represented by the Native Laws Amendment Bill in 1957, the effect upon Anglican bishops meant that at least when the time came to oppose Clause 29 (c) of the above Bill because it interfered with the church's right to freedom of worship, there was spontaneous agreement that resistance was the only proper response to such a measure. Under Archbishop Clayton's leadership, and then after his sudden death, led by Archibald Cullen as Dean of the Province, the Bishops of the C.P.S.A. unanimously defied the so-called "Church Clause", 29 (c) of the Native Laws Amendment Act, and effectively defeated the Government's threat to religious liberty.

Faced with the escalating threat to civil liberty between 1955 and 1957 implicit in the Government's legislation for apartheid and the growing intolerance of the police towards opponents of the National Party, the perception grew among Anglican leaders that the only proper response to such measures was resistance. As the cumulative effect mounted of the Nationalists' assault on those rights and freedoms which normally distinguished democratic societies from totalitarian ones, it is significant that the C.P.S.A.'s methods of opposition still did not go beyond unco-ordinated protests and expressions of regret in synod charges and diocesan magazines. However, the next chapter will show how an arguably lesser threat to religious liberty in 1957 called forth the unanimous response of resistance to the Government when it tried to interfere with the freedom of Africans to worship in so-called white urban areas of South African cities.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN.

RESISTING THE ASSAULT ON CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY: II: RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

THE ROAD TO GETHSEMANE.

During 1956 there is evidence that Archbishop Clayton was beginning to experience a sense of weariness with the struggle against apartheid, for on 1st October 1956 he had written to Bishop Cullen, as Dean of the Province, announcing his intention to resign. He would be seventy-two in December, and he did not think that an Archbishop should continue much after seventy unless there were special circumstances.[1] But his brother bishops were "filled with dismay" at the thought of losing his leadership, and told him so at Episcopal Synod in October.[2] Clayton thus withdrew his resignation. He wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury informing him of this, and saying that he doubted the wisdom of his colleagues in prevailing on him to continue. Dr. Fisher told him,

> However much you may doubt the wisdom of your colleagues' judgement I don't doubt it at all. Knowing the situation in South Africa and knowing your own place in the affairs of the Church and of the country I can be only thankful that you have agreed to carry on, if God so wills, until after the Conference, and indeed as long after it as health and strength may permit. 3

Clayton's weariness can only be ascribed to his growing sense of frustration in his dealings with the Government and in particular with Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd. The latter's speeches in the debate on the Tomlinson Commission report had provided an ominous warning that worse was still to come. Some important

1. PATON, Apartheid and the Archbishop, op. cit., p. 271.
2. The Vineyard, April 1957.
3. CPSA Archive, AB 1095, Archbishop's correspondence with the Archbishop of Canterbury. Letter Fisher to Clayton 24.12.1956. "The Conference" refers to the Lambeth Conference of 1958.

features were still absent from his view of the brave new world of apartheid outlined in that report. The dangers of the situation had been dramatically underlined by the mass arrests for treason in December 1956. Since Mr J.G. Strijdom became Prime Minister the spate of legislation limiting civil liberty had continued unabated. In January 1957 the grim prospect of further conflict between the church and the Government must have seemed inevitable.

On his visit to England to speak at the S.P.G.'s Annual Meeting in April 1955, Archbishop Clayton had also preached at Westminster Abbey, when he had said,

> If the State likes to put us all in different compartments and organise us for its own purposes apart from one another, that is a matter for the State. But that is not the way of the New Testament. And it must not be the way of the Church. 4

The situation since then had deteriorated. Clayton's first meeting with Dr. Verwoerd in June 1954 had been affable enough. The reference to the Minister of Native Affairs in his speech at the Cape Town City Hall only a year later is an indication of how far his feelings towards Dr. Verwoerd had hardened since then. On that occasion he had said,

> The Minister of Native Affairs said to me not long ago, "We are not Nazis you know." A rose by any other name would smell as sweet. 5

Clayton's dealings with Dr. Verwoerd over Bantu Education in 1955 and 1956 had served to reinforce that view, and to convince him that further deputations to the Minister of Native Affairs were pointless.[6] After one interview with Dr. Verwoerd, Archbishop Clayton is alleged to have told his chaplain in the lift, "I do believe that man thinks he's God".[7] On another occasion, when Clayton was still President of the Christian Council, a deputation had been arranged to see Dr. Verwoerd, and Archbishop Clayton had said to Basil Brown, "I'm not going to go because I know what Verwoerd will do".[8] Basil Brown was among those who saw Dr.

4. CPSA Archive AB 191 Clayton papers, Sermons. Westminster Abbey, 3.00 p.m., 17.4.1955; text: John 11;52. Typescript, p. 10.
5. See above, Chapter Fifteen, p. 858.
6. See above, Chapter Twelve, pp. 643-652, especially p. 649.
7. HOOPER, Canon Charles, Interview, Manzini, 15.12.1980.
8. BROWN, the Revd. Basil and WOOD, Canon C.T., Interview, Hermanus, 4.5.1976.

Verwoerd on that occasion. He told me,

> We prepared a memorandum, which set out our views .... and when we met him, he said, "Gentlemen, I have received your memorandum. I don't think you understand Government policy". And then he spent more than an hour outlining what the Government policy was on Bantu Education. Then he finished by saying, "Gentlemen, I can give you five minutes to put your point of view". 9

Then, referring to another interview with Dr. Verwoerd which Geoffrey Clayton did attend, Basil Brown recalled that the Archbishop had come back and remarked, "I have never in my life been more conscious of being in the presence of an evil man".[10]

The sermons which Geoffrey Clayton preached in 1957 are kept in the archive in the same black loose-leaf binder which must have accompanied him into the pulpit. Unlike the great majority of his sermons up to about 1955, which were scribbled on the back of old letterheads from Chesterfield or Johannesburg, these are typed neatly, an indication that there came a time when he could no longer read his own hand-written notes with ease. The content of his sermons in January 1957, however, reflects his preoccupation with the conflict between good and evil. In a sermon at St. Stephen's Pinelands on 20th January he preached on Jesus' prayer in the garden of Gethsemane,

> Now is my soul troubled: and what shall I say ? Father save me from this hour ? But for this cause came I unto this hour.... If it be possible, let this cup pass from me. Nevertheless not my will but thine be done. (John 12;27,28)

His mood was a sombre one as he went on to dwell especially on John 12;31, "Now shall the prince of this world be cast out", and commented,

> There is a good deal of evidence in the New Testament to suggest that the world is governed by an evil power. 11

He reminded his hearers that although the Devil had a good deal of power left, he ought not to have any power over members of the church.

Two weeks before, preaching to a Coloured congregation at St. Luke's Salt River on the Feast of the Epiphany, Clayton took

9. Ibid. 10. Ibid.
11. CPSA Archive AB 191, Clayton papers, Sermons. Epiphany II, Evensong, St. Stephen's Pinelands, 20.1.1957.

the opportunity to preach on the passage in Ephesians 3;6 which emphasizes that the Gentiles are fellow-heirs with the Jews and members of the same body. Clayton emphasized that "there can be no barrier of race or colour". Because Christ has broken down the barrier between Jew and Gentile,

> The first thing I want to say to you this morning is that Christianity, the faith of Christ, the promises of Christ, the Church of Christ, these are open to everyone. The door into the Church is the door of baptism. That door is open for all men. 12

It was not long before that principle was to be challenged in legislation put forward by the Minister of Native Affairs, and Archbishop Clayton was to be called on to muster all his remaining energy and leadership in defence of the principle that "the door into the Church is the door of baptism" and that no minister of state could usurp the role of doorkeeper.

THE NATIVE LAWS AMENDMENT BILL CLAUSE 29 (c): "THE CHURCH CLAUSE".

When Parliament assembled on 18th January 1957 to hear the Governor General's speech from the throne, there was however no hint of any controversial legislation.[13] The first intimation came when a new Bill, called the Native Laws Amendment Bill, was published in Cape Town, to be given its first reading in Parliament on 19th February, with the second reading debate set down for the following day.[14]

This was a complex piece of legislation, which set out to consolidate and further amend the whole complicated network of laws affecting Africans in urban areas. This had last been done by the United Party government in 1945, and since then various other pieces of legislation had been put on the statute book by the Nationalists, governing Native Labour, the compulsory removal

12. CPSA Archive AB 191 Clayton papers loc. cit., Feast of the Epiphany, St. Luke's Salt River, 6.1.1957.
13. House of Assembly Debates, 18.1.1957.
14. A. B. 35 - '57; Union of South Africa Native Laws Amendment Bill. (To be read a second time on Wednesday 20th February 1957) BILL to amend the Native Labour Regulation Act 1911, and the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, 1945. Introduced by the Minister of Native Affairs. See below, Appendix G. p. 1133. Copy of the Bill amongst the personal papers of Bishop T.G.V. Inman.

of Natives from Urban Areas, and various other details of what was by then known as Bantu Administration. The Nationalist Government was now in its tenth year of office, and no such major review of Native Urban Areas legislation had been attempted in order to bring existing regulations into line with their policy of apartheid. It was a major piece of legislation, and the House required more than a day in which to prepare for the second reading, which was accordingly postponed for a month. When members studied the Bill more closely they noticed that in place of the provision in the Act of 1945, which merely gave the Minister of Native Affairs the power to prohibit the erection of church buildings intended mainly for Africans in an urban area which was not in either a location or a native village, an entirely new section (Clause 29 (c)) was being proposed by the new Bill, prohibiting

> .... any meeting, assembly or gathering to which a native is admitted or which is attended by a native .... without the approval of the Minister given with the concurrence of the urban local authority concerned, which approval may be given subject to such conditions as the Minister may deem fit .... [15]

Furthermore Clause 29 (d) of the same Bill provided that save for those "acting in the course of his duty as an employee of the government or of any local authority"

> (a) No Native shall, without the permission of the owner or the lawful occupier of any land or building within an urban area outside a location, native village or native hostel, enter upon or into or remain on or in such land or such building. [16]

The Clause (9 (7)) of the Urban Areas Act of 1945 which it replaced read as follows:

> .... no person shall conduct, on premises situated within any urban area outside a location, native village, native hostel or area approved by the Minister for residence of natives in terms of paragraph (h) of subsection (2) any church, school or other institution or any place of entertainment which is not in existence at the commencement of the said Act without the concurrence of the local authority concerned, which approval may with like concurrence be withdrawn. [17]

Thus the Urban Areas Act of 1945 already gave the Minister of Native Affairs an absolute veto on the erection of new churches for Africans in an urban area outside the locations. He had the

15. Ibid., Appendix G, p.1133, Col. 1.
16. Ibid., p. 1136, Col 2.
17. BROOKES & MACAULAY, op. cit., p. 125.

power to prevent the rebuilding of an existing delapidated church, or to prevent the building of another church to replace an old one which had been rendered redundant because its congregation had been moved away under the Group Areas Act. Under the proposed new Clause 29 (c) in the Bill of 1957 the emphasis was shifted from the erection of buildings for Africans' worship, to the attendance by an African at "any meeting assembly or gathering" in any building used as a "church, school, hospital, club or other institution or place of entertainment" which was not in existence before 1st January 1938. The fact was that no building erected after 1st January 1938 could be used as a church, school, hospital etc. without the Minister's permission, a principle already conceded in the 1945 legislation. Now, according to Dr. Verwoerd's new Bill in 1957, the attendance by any"native"at any meeting, assembly or gathering, even if the buildings were erected before 1938, was to be made subject to the permission of the Minister of Native Affairs with the concurrence of the local authority. Should an African decide to enter a city church to pray during a celebration of the daily Eucharist, the celebrant would be liable to the penalties provided for by the Bill. This would be true of any church, school, hospital, club or place of entertainment which any African chose to enter. But that was not all.

ITS PROBABLE EFFECTS.

The Bill struck at every aspect of the churches' life, worship and fellowship. Every bishop's mandate to convene the synod of his diocese would be made dependent upon the permission of the Minister of Native Affairs, since the church's canons required that clerical and lay delegates from every parish and every race attended. A great range of other activities would also be affected: services in the vernacular for domestic workers in white suburbs; most diocesan boards and committees, regional councils, clerical societies; inter-parochial bible study groups, sales of work, choral festivals, lectures; conferences, meetings for prayer and fellowship; where African clergy and laity met with fellow Christians of another race in an urban area without the approval of the Minister

of Native Affairs and the concurrence of the local authority, would become illegal gatherings. Churches where multi-racial worship occurred with any regularity would be likely to become the object of police surveillance, and the same attentions currently being visited upon political protest meetings by the Special Branch could therefore become the order of the day for them too. To enforce these regulations, the police themselves, or paid informers in their employ, would have to wait outside church buildings or infiltrate Christian congregations to spy on their services of worship and meetings. To obtain evidence in support of convictions under such legislation the police would be obliged to take photographs of black and white where they met to worship and pray. Would any African in such circumstances dare to enter a church building, or kneel down to pray in any church in the city ? Church News reported how members of the Special Branch had been present taking notes at Church Assemblies at which the "Church Clause" was being discussed.[18]

In the majority of parishes uni-racial worship was the general rule. Occasional multi-racial services were held for a special occasion, like the annual Eucharist in Durban and Pietermaritzburg on Advent Sunday, an ordination or on the occasion of the visit of a church dignitary, or for a Synod Eucharist or Diocesan Conference. If the clergyman charged with arranging such an event sought to conform to all the new legal requirements, the organizational obstacles which confronted him would prove a formidable deterrent. The bureaucratic obstacles to planning such events would be sufficient to deter all but the most determined, and would ensure that such events, if they occurred at all, took place rarely.

It was not just the church's right to freedom of worship that was at stake. The Bill also placed everyone's right to freedom of association in jeopardy as well. What should the church's response be to such a fundamental incursion upon its freedom to order its own worship, life and fellowship ? Hitherto no other Act passed by this Government had struck at the church itself in quite the same way. The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act in 1949 came closest to interfering in the church's worship. The

18. Church News, 17.4.1957, p. 57, "29 c For the Third Time of Asking !"

Bantu Education Act, the closure of Christ the King School Sophiatown were serious blows aimed at the church's influence in the African community. Other objectionable measures like the Western Areas removals and the Natives Resettlement Act, the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, as well as all the legislation affecting the franchise rights of Indians, Africans and finally the Coloured people, had been more or less strenuously opposed in a variety of different ways.

Opposition and protests had been expressed through the carefully worded and debated synod resolutions, by the bishops' charges, at the angry protest meeting or the more dramatic march of witness through the streets; all these methods had been used. Knowing that the way of the Afrikaner was to prefer to conduct church-state dialogue with cabinet ministers in private, and that often more could be achieved through quiet diplomacy behind closed doors and away from the blaze of press publicity, the method of presenting carefully argued memoranda, followed up by a deputation to the minister concerned, had been tried again and again. We have seen how many fruitless hours had been expended in such meetings, particularly with Dr. Verwoerd over various aspects of the Bantu Education Act. Archbishop Clayton's best theological arguments, his wise and eloquent statements, and careful support for the objects but not the methods of passive resistance involved in various Congress campaigns, seemed to be of little effect. So Trevor Huddleston and Ambrose Reeves had tried instead the mobilizing of world opinion against the Government's policies, the lobbying of city councillors and members of Parliament. It seemed that every conceivable constitutional method had been tried, patiently, painstakingly, yet unavailingly.

The Government under Dr. D.F. Malan had initially shown some willingness to listen and adapt to responsible representations. However, after their victory in the 1953 election, and particularly since the advent of Mr J.G. Strijdom as Prime Minister in 1955, the Government and especially Dr. H.F. Verwoerd had shown that they were unwilling to listen to any entreaty. Apparently impervious

to criticism, and increasingly adamant in their belief that even the most well-judged criticism was politically motivated, the Government had discounted and reviled their critics, and met any attempt at resistance with ruthless implacability and vindictive repression.

The powers that the Government had accorded itself to deal with any kind of resistance to their policies were alleged to be designed to deal with the Communist Party in the first instance. But it was not long before these measures had been employed to suppress trade unionists and leaders of the Congress movement who were not Communists. That no fewer than 156 such leaders were at the time standing trial for treason, of whom many were moderate and respected men and women of highest standing in the black community, was an intimidating thought. Among them were two Anglican priests. The most intimidating thought of all was of the powers conferred on the Minister of Justice by the Criminal Laws Amendment Act of 1953, which made it punishable by a fine of £500 or five years' imprisonment or a flogging, or all three, to incite others to break any law by way of a political protest. This made any advocate of resistance or disobedience to any law liable to these daunting penalties. Yet this new legislation was such that church leaders could only tell their members to disobey it.

SOME CONTEMPORARY REACTIONS: ALAN PATON.

Writing in Africa South, Alan Paton asked,

> How far would the Government go in sending citizens, some prominent, some humble, to prison .... Would the Government bring the Archbishop of Cape Town, or one of the Roman Catholic Archbishops, or one of the Moderators of the Free Churches before a criminal court ? [19]

In a letter to Canon Collins a week after the Bill was first published, he said he thought however that the Government would say to the church, "this is not really aimed at you, but at subversive organizations".[20] He correctly foresaw that "no Church will seek the Minister's permission and that a real stand is at last to be

19. Africa South, Vol. I, No. 4, July-Sept. 1957, "Association by Permission" by Alan Paton, p. 16.
20. Wits. Archive AD 1169 Paton Papers, letter Paton to Collins 26.2.1957.

made". He said he was glad that "at last they had threatened the church", but he feared that whilst the church would stand up to the Government "I should not like to predict that church people will rush to the defence of other bodies". Nor did they. Paton concluded:

> I begin to understand more and more clearly how Hitler picked off his enemies one by one. I begin to see that it was not only through fear but it is also due to the fact that people do not really rush to the aid of any organisation to which they do not belong. Many of my friends feel that this is the ultimate act of the Government, and that it is virtually declaring that attempts to cross the racial barriers are acts of treason to the State. Many of us feel here that the Government is going mad. 21

THE INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS.

The first body to react was the Institute of Race Relations, with a press statement of 28th February which described the Bill as "the most serious threat yet made to inter-racial harmony and goodwill".[22]

> The Bill appears deliberately designed to bar the way to mutual understanding between white and black, and to destroy those few bridges to tolerance which have been constructed over the years. 23

The statement asserted that Clause 29 (c) (7) meant that

> .... no Native may be admitted to membership of a "church, school, hospital, club or other institution" outside of a Native location or village .... and further [that] this clause makes it illegal for any Native to attend such an institution or place. 24

Furthermore:

> It directly prohibits the holding of any meeting, assembly or gathering on premises outside a Native location, to which a Native is admitted, or which is attended by a Native, without the approval of the Minister of Native Affairs. This prohibition is quite general and gives the Minister of Native Affairs arbitrary power to withhold approval or to lay down any conditions he deems fit for church services, synods, committee meetings, public meetings, lectures, sporting events, entertainments and any meetings or gatherings which a Native might attend. It would appear to apply to any gathering of Natives outside a Native location, and

21. Ibid.
22. SAIRR, The Native Laws Amendment Bill (press statement) Johannesburg: SAIRR 28.2.1957. Mimeo 2 pp.
23-24. Ibid.

> might be construed to apply to gangs of labourers and Natives employed in factories. 25

The Institute also drew attention to Clause 30 of the Bill, whereby the

> .... qualification to remain in an urban area by virtue of birth is restricted to those who have "since birth, resided continuously in such area". Those attaining the right to remain in an urban area through having worked continuously for one employer for ten years or through having lawfully remained continuously there for not less than fifteen years will, in terms of the Bill, forfeit this right unless they continue to remain in the area. Leaving the area for even a day or a short period of employment outside it destroys their slowly acquired right of residence. 26

THE CHRISTIAN COUNCIL.

The Action Committee of the Christian Council met in Cape Town on 1st March and released a statement on 4th March, which warned that should the Bill become law in its present form, it would "impose on the Christian Council a demand which must be disobeyed inasmuch as we believe it conflicts with the law of Christ".[27] The statement continued:

> The Church has its plain mission from God to watch over eternal values and to let the light of God's word fill all human relations. We believe that to achieve this the following basic rights of religious freedom must be recognised and upheld by the Christian State.
>
> The right to assemble to unhindered public worship.
> The right to freedom of association and fellowship.
> The right to preach the Gospel publicly.
> The right of a church to formulate a creed and to appoint a ministry.
> The right to receive into Christian fellowship all who desire to join.
> The right to instruct all members and converts in the Faith.
>
> We must utterly reject any law which restricts the freedom of men to assemble in public worship and cannot agree that access to worship and the sacraments should depend on the permission of any state authority. In the face of State coercion of our conscience we must declare in the words of the apostles: "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you, rather than unto God, judge ye."

25-26. Ibid.

27. CPSA Archive AB 981, Native Laws Amendment Bill, record illustrating the church's attitude to the Bill, February-July 1957. Statement for release on 4.3.1957, signed by the Secretary of the CCSA, Dr. Arthur Blaxall.

> Lastly, we would lay this matter on the conscience of the whole Church believing that whenever any church has for conscience sake refused acquiescence in the demands of the State, other churches should recognise the principle that is at stake and should render such assistance spiritual and practical, as may be required in obedience to God's will. 28

FOR GOD OR CAESAR: ARCHBISHOP CLAYTON'S LETTER TO MR. STRIJDOM.

On 5th March the Emergency Committee of Episcopal Synod, consisting of the Bishops of Grahamstown (Cullen), Pretoria (Selby-Taylor), Johannesburg (Reeves) and Natal (Inman), arrived at Bishopscourt.[29] This was a committee which had been created in 1953, after dissatisfaction had been expressed over the tardiness of the church's response to the Defiance Campaign.[30] The seriousness of the situation is evident from the fact that they met on Ash Wednesday, a day which every Bishop and Priest in the Church of the Province would keep clear of all other meetings to mark their observance of Lent. The gravity of the decision they must make was unmistakeable from the agenda which Archbishop Clayton had prepared. The last item (5) asked,

> In the event of the Archbishop and/or other Bishop being arrested for inciting people to disobey the law, what steps should be taken to carry on the ordinary business of the Church ? Should Vicars-General be appointed ? 31

They discussed each of the five points on the agenda, answering each question in the affirmative. It would be the duty of the C.P.S.A. to refuse to obey the Bill in its present form. Only the total withdrawal of the whole of Clause 29 would make it possible for them to obey the Bill without any compromise of principle. The Emergency Committee itself should make a public statement, and this should be sent to all the other C.P.S.A. bishops, suggesting that they issue it to the people of their dioceses.[32] When the Bill became law the Archbishop would send a pastoral letter to

28. Ibid.
29. CPSA Archive AB 981, letter Clayton to Archbishop Fisher 7.5.1957, and Church News, 10.3.1957, p. 35 "Conference at Cape Town" with photographs.
30. See above, Chapter Eight, pp. 442-3.
31. CPSA Archive AB 981, and the Right Revd. T.G.V. Inman's personal papers, Agenda of meeting of Emergency Committee of Episcopal Synod 5.3.1957, with the decisions that were made written in Bishop Inman's handwriting. See Appendix G, p. 1131.
32. Ibid.

the whole Province, having first prepared all the necessary documents for the appointment of a vicar-general in the event of his arrest.[33]

The public statement was a letter to the Prime Minister which would be released for publication on Saturday 9th March. Realizing that of all the bishops present for this crucial meeting of the Emergency Committee, only Ambrose Reeves had already taken the stance of resistance to the state, it might have been thought that it was he who exercised a decisive influence upon these deliberations. Bishop Robert Selby Taylor, however, gave me this most interesting description of the meeting.

> You say that I was one of the four bishops who drafted Geoffrey Clayton's letter. I think that it would be much more accurate to say that I was one of the four bishops who discussed Geoffrey Clayton's letter to the Prime Minister. Where Geoffrey Clayton was concerned, he always did the drafting. He was quite expert in doing that. We always used to leave any drafting to him. We did have this discussion before he drafted it, and then we discussed it again after he had drafted it, and I think we were all completely of one mind about the sending of this letter. We realized that it was going to involve a head-on collision with the Government, but we thought that the time had come when that decision should be taken. The "Church Clause" was a threat to the very heart of the Christian religion, much more so than the [state take-over of] education was. However important you may think education, it is something which can be done by the state, whereas worship is not something which can be done by the state. 34

I then asked whether Bishop Reeves had exercised any influence over Archbishop Clayton in coming to this decision. Selby Taylor's reply gives a revealing insight into Bishop Reeves' relationship with Archbishop Clayton.

> I think that Archbishop Clayton's mind was so clear himself about the seriousness of the situation, that he didn't need any pressure from Bishop Reeves or anyone else. I would say, in answer to your question, no. I think that Bishop Reeves rather provoked Archbishop Clayton than encouraged him, and I think he would be inclined to dislike a thought because it came from Bishop Reeves. He was very much a gad-fly to him, to Archbishop Clayton. I don't think he influenced him. I think that Archbishop Clayton

33. CPSA Archive AB 981, letter Archbishop of Cape Town to Bishops of Bloemfontein, Damaraland, George, Kimberley and Kuruman, St. John's, Zululand and Bishop Lavis, 6.3.1957.

34. SELBY TAYLOR, the Right Revd. Robert, Interview, Kalk Bay, 24.4.1976

> saw very clearly what was involved. I think it would be true to say that he saw more clearly than any of the rest of us what was involved, and it was his clearness of judgement on this which we were all prepared to accept. 35

The Archbishop's letter to the Prime Minister concentrated entirely on the issue of religious freedom, but said nothing about freedom of association. It pointed out that the Bill if passed in its present form would make conditional upon the permission of the Minister of Native Affairs the continued existence of any church or parish constituted after January 1st 1938 which did not exclude Natives from public worship; the holding of any service in an urban area except a location to which a Native African would be admitted if he presented himself; the attendance of any Native African at any synod or church assembly held in an urban area outside a location. The church could not recognize the right of an official of the secular Government to determine whether or where a member of the church of any race (who was not serving a sentence which restricted his freedom of movement) should discharge his religious duty of participation in public worship, or to give instructions to the minister of any congregation as to whom he should admit to that congregation. It pointed out that the constitution of the C.P.S.A. provided for synodical government, whereby bishops, priests and laymen were represented without distinction of race or colour. "Clause 29 (c) makes the holding of such synods dependent upon the permission of the Minister of Native Affairs".[36]

The letter bears the hallmark of Clayton's particular style. The letter set forth objectively and without exaggeration the effect that the Bill would have upon the church. There was no unnecessary elaboration. It concentrated on the most important single points to the church, the holding of synods and attendance at public worship. Neither of these could be construed as the business of a secular government to regulate.

35. Ibid.
36. CPSA Archive AB 981, letter signed by the Archbishop dated 6.3.1957 and transmitted to the Prime Minister under the signatures of the Archbishop's Domestic Chaplain, Roy Cowdry and Bishop Cullen as Dean of the Province and Acting Metropolitan. See Appendix G, p. 1132.

The great gravity of disobedience to the law of the land was recognized. Obedience to secular authority, even in matters about which they differed in opinion, was acknowledged as something which they believed was a command laid upon them by God. But they showed that their response was dictated by the biblical command to "render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's" (Matt. 22;21).

> There are therefore some matters which are God's and not Caesar's, and we believe that the matters dealt with by Clause 29 (c) are among them.
>
> It is because we believe this that we feel bound to state that if the Bill were to become law in its present form we should ourselves be unable to obey it or to counsel our clergy and people to do so. 37

The letter ended with an appeal not to place them in the position of having to choose between obedience to conscience and obeying the law of the land. Canon C.T. Wood has written that "this letter will rank as one of the great historical documents of our time".[38]

The Bishops left Bishopscourt early on the morning of Thursday 7th March, and Archbishop Clayton was up in his pyjamas to say goodbye at 6.0 a.m. He worked in his study throughout the morning, signing the typed letter to the Prime Minister. From half past one until about a quarter to three he dictated more letters to his chaplain, Roy Cowdry. Among these was a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, which described the position, and the action taken by the Emergency Committee.[39] He told Dr. Fisher that if the Bill became law "possibly all the Bishops [and] certainly I as Metropolitan, will become liable to arrest and imprisonment".

> I am not in the least anxious to go to prison; but I do not see how it is to be avoided.
>
> More important is the fact that if we refuse to obey the law, the Government can, and probably will, bring all our missionary work to an end. For they have the power to cancel the leases of all our churches etc. in locations and in Native areas. Further they can of course prohibit any reinforcements of clergymen coming from England or

37. Ibid.
38. WOOD, C.T., These Critical Days, unpublished journal op. cit., p. 52, 7.3.1957.
39. PATON, A. Apartheid and the Archbishop, op. cit., p. 280.

> elsewhere; also they can refuse us passports. So it may happen that none of us will appear at Lambeth. 40

He did not see any prospect of any change of government, and observed that "the prospect is pretty grim".

> For myself I am sufficiently cowardly to wish that the Bishops had accepted my resignation so that they could be led by some younger man at this time. But it seems that I must try to carry on and do the best I can. I hope that the Bishops at any rate will be unanimous. The Emergency Committee, which is really the urban Bishops, was completely so.
>
> It does not seem to me that there is anything much that can be done in England at the present moment. We do not yet know when the Second Reading debate will take place. It is, I suppose, conceivable that the Bill might be amended. The Government may try to split the churches by an amendment which was not really significant but which might appear to some people to be so. We Bishops came to the conclusion that no amendment except the deletion of the Clause would meet our difficulty. 41

At 3.20 p.m. Roy Cowdry went to the study to remind Archbishop Clayton that he must leave to attend a committee meeting of the Mission to Moslems. Geoffrey Clayton lay dead on the floor.[42]

THE GOVERNMENT'S REPLY.

The Government's reply to the letter from Archbishop Clayton to the Prime Minister came not from Mr Strijdom's office but from that of Dr. Verwoerd, whose private secretary was given the task of answering it.[43] This discourtesy was compounded by the tone of the letter itself, which accused the bishops of initiating and subscribing to a campaign in the press, and of threatening disobedience to the law of the land, instead of waiting for the second reading debate. "The attacks in the Press by some churches were based on wrong deductions and misunderstanding". Having chided the bishops for not first seeking the "opportunity for clarifi-

40. CPSA Archive, AB 981, letter Clayton to Fisher, 7.3.1957.
41. Ibid.
42. PATON, Apartheid and the Archbishop, op. cit., p. 281.
43. CPSA Archive AB 981, letter Private Secretary, Minister of Native Affairs to Domestic Chaplain to the Archbishop of Cape Town, 12.3.1957.

cation in a spirit of Christian goodwill", the letter went on to state that after the propaganda in the press "interviews at this stage .... could no longer serve any good purpose". Finally the bishops were advised "to desist from further participation in this most unnecessary agitation".[44] Five days earlier, on 7th March, a similar letter had been addressed to Dr. Arthur Blaxall, refusing the Christian Council's request for an interview.[45]

THE DUTCH REFORMED RESPONSE TO THE "CHURCH CLAUSE".

On the same day that this letter was written to the Anglican bishops, Dr. Verwoerd met the Executive of the Federal Mission Council of the N.G.K.[46] It was only after what C.T. Wood described as "a considerable delay", and against a background of mounting criticism, both of Dr. Verwoerd, and of the Afrikaans churches for appearing to support the Government by their silence, that a week after the publication of the Amendment to Clause 29 (c) the Federal Mission Council of all the N.G. churches publicly "took cognisance" of the negotiations conducted with Dr. H.F. Verwoerd on 12th March.[47] It was stated that at this meeting "an assurance was sought that the original clause 29 of the Native Laws Amendment Bill of 1957 embodied no limitation on the freedom of the gospel or of the sovereignty of the church in its own sphere".[48]

> The Council wished to assure itself fully of the implications which the amended clause 29 might entail for the church in the execution of its call in obedience to Holy Writ. Therefore, the Council decided in consultation with the Federal Mission Council to send a delegation to the Minister of Native Affairs for an assurance that the freedom and sovereignty of the church would remain guaranteed.
>
> The consultation with the Minister took place on the following statement of principles of the Dutch Reformed Churches:
>
> 1) The gospel of Jesus Christ emanates from God to all mankind and is subject to no human limitations.

44. Ibid.
45. Wits. Archive, CCSA Papers, "Church Clause". Letter private secretary to the Minister of Native Affairs to the Revd. A.W. Blaxall, 7.3.1957.
46. Christian Council Quarterly, May 1957, p.6.
47. WOOD, These Critical Days, unpublished journal, op. cit., p. 62. Die Burger 9.4.1957, p. 9, "N.G. Kerk berus in kerk-artikel", cf. Die Transvaaler, 10.4.1957, "Teleurstelling vir die vyand".
48. Christian Council Quarterly, May 1957, p. 7.

2) The task is laid on the Church of Christ, in obedience to the Head of the Church to proclaim the Gospel throughout the world and to all peoples.

3) The right to determine how, when [where] and to whom the Gospel shall be proclaimed is exclusively in the competence of the Church.

4) It is the duty of the State, as the servant of God, to allow [full] freedom to the Church in the execution of its Divine calling and to respect the sovereignty of the Church in its own sphere.

The Minister indicated his full agreement with these principles and undertook so to reword the original clause that there could be no doubt that the Bill did not intend to interfere with the freedom of the individual to worship in a church or at any other bona fide religious gathering so long as such freedom was not misused to the disturbance of good order in the community.

Because the delegation were convinced from their interview with the Minister that no violence would be done to the principles described above they felt that they could remain satisfied with the proposed legislation.

The Moderator of the Council to whom the delegation submitted a report decided to accept these findings. 49

It was not until 30th April, when the Synod of the N.G.K. (Transvaal) approved an eight-point statement which had been drawn up for the meeting with Dr. Verwoerd on 12th March, that the full extent of their criticisms became apparent. The Moderator, Ds. A.M. Meiring, told the Synod that as the objections had been removed, the delegation did not publish all eight points, whereas Professor Ben Marais regretted this. Because many wished to know what the attitude of the church was, he said, damage had been done. The Synod should be on its guard against giving advice not based on the word of God.[50]

Not only had the vital word "where" been omitted from point (3), but also the word "full" from point (4).[51] The remaining points read:

5) When the State lays down provisions which limit attendance

49. Ibid. The words "where" and "full" omitted from the public statement have been inserted in brackets. (See Reference 51). cf. Die Burger 9.4.1957, and Die Transvaaler 10.4.1957.

50. The Times 1.5.1957, "Religious Freedom Threat". Die Burger 2.5.1957 pp 6, 7, 8, reported the Transvaal Synod's endorsement of the original eight-point memorandum without stating its contents. Both Die Burger and Die Transvaaler, 2.5.1957 p. 5, published reports indicating the N.G.K. was in complete agreement with the "Church Clause". See below, p. 978, reference 211.

51. WOOD, These Critical Days, unpublished journal, op. cit., pp. 73-4.

at services or bona fide religious gatherings arranged by the Church, it affects freedom of religion and the sovereignty of the Church.

6) Therefore, it is to the benefit of the Church and State that each strictly should confine itself to the task which through the word of God is entrusted to it, and the Church is called upon to warn the State of the possible obstruction of the execution of the task of the Church.

7) For that reason, we regret that we and, as far as we know other Christian churches originallydid not devote the necessary attention to all the implications of the original Act which already in principle imposed limitations on specific Church gatherings.

8) The Church acknowledges the fact that the State is called upon to act against the propagation of sedition and incitement under the cloak of religion, but nevertheless the Federal Council feels that as far as this legislation is concerned, it cannot agree with the width of impact of the proposed provisions of the Bill. 52

The N.G.K. at that time was particularly sensitive to any suggestion that it blindly followed the dictates of the Government. In November 1956 the Revd. C.T. Wood, by then Rector of Hermanus, had suggested at a meeting in his parish hall sponsored by the Black Sash, in a lecture entitled "The Church and Politics" that the D.R. Churches were "The Nationalist Party at prayer". It was one of those asides, in a carefully prepared lecture, which caught the headlines and generated much heated controversy. As he recorded in his journal, "This lecture had repercussions in the public press and provoked two columns of protest in Die Kerkbode".[53] Although Fr. Wood had first come to South Africa in 1933 and was a South African citizen, he was described as having been in South Africa only two years, and on these grounds was thus disqualified from speaking about South Africa's national life.[54] The N.G.K., anxious to prove its bona fides and to show that it did exercise a prophetic role, almost a month after the meeting on 12th March between the Moderatuur of the Raad van Kerke and the Minister, claimed credit for persuading Dr. Verwoerd to amend the "Church Clause".[55]

52. Ibid.; The Times 1.5.1957; Church News, 15.5.1957, p. 74, and Die Burger, 2.5.1957.

53. WOOD, unpublished journal, op. cit., p. 51, and Die Kerkbode, 9.1.1957, "Ons Kerk en sy Susterkerke".

54. Die Kerkbode, loc. cit., and The Newsletter, February 1957, p. 21.

55. LANDMAN, Ds. W.A., Interview, Cape Town, 3.5.1976; MUNGER, E. African Field Reports op. cit., p. 768; Die Burger, 10.4.1957 p. 7, "Dr. Verwoerd verander artikel op versoek van Boerekerke"; Die Transvaaler 10.4.1957 p. 5, "Wysiging van die kerkartikel voorgestel", cf. SCHOLTZ, G.D. op. cit., Vol. I, p. 292, Col 2.

The N.G.K. (Cape) Synod, meeting in Cape Town on 17th October, endorsed the findings of the delegation that had seen the Minister, asserting that the article as amended did not impair the sovereignty of the church, but was instrumental to the promotion of good order.[56] In an exchange of letters with Dr. Visser 'tHooft, Ds. Willem Landman explained that the legislation of 1937 and 1945 had not met with any criticism by the English churches then, and argued that the new Bill in 1957 "does not involve any new principles". Moreover, "European members of our Church regularly attend services and other religious functions in our non-European Missionary Churches".

> It is therefore unnecessary for the Dutch Reformed Church in the light of its history to convince anybody that we stand for religious liberty and freedom of worship and that we will under no circumstances tolerate any interference in the autonomy of our Church. 57

With regard to the Clause 29 (c) as amended, he said,

> The deputation convinced itself that the basic principle of religious freedom and freedom of bona fide Christian worship was in no way impaired or interfered with, but that the Bill was only aimed at the curbing of possible nuisance which could arise if and when large numbers of Bantu gather in essentially white residential areas with the real or ostensible purpose of attending religious worship. The Bill makes it virtually impossible for the State or Local Authority to act arbitrarily in the matter. The Bill defines the procedure in order to establish the fact of nuisance beyond any reasonable doubt and provides the legal machinery to achieve a reasonable agreement for all parties concerned.[58]

The eight points, Ds. Landman's letter to Dr. Visser 'tHooft, as well as the manner in which Afrikaans newspapers avoided reporting any unpalatable disagreement between the N.G.K. and the National Party, illustrate the erastianism of Afrikaner church-state relations. Abraham Kuyper's principle of "soevereiniteit in eigen kring" as the guiding principle for church-state relations found a prominent place in the eight points.[59] However, once this principle

56. N.G.K., Handelinge van die Drie-en-Dertigste Vergadering van die Hoogeerwaarde Sinode van die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid Afrika gehou te Kaapstad op Donderdag 17 Oktober 1957 en die volgende dae, Cape Town: NGK 1957, p. 580.
57. Ibid., p. 168, and (in English) Dutch Reformed Church Monthly Newsletter, January 1958, No. 1, p. 3, from which this quotation is taken.
58. Ibid.
59. Calvinism, Six Stone Lectures, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1903, "Soevereiniteit in eigen Kring", translation of an address by Dr. Abraham Kuyper at the inauguration of the Vrije Universiteit of Amsterdam in 1880.

had been acknowledged by the Government, it is significant that the erastian tendency of the Afrikaans churches to legitimate state policy reasserted itself, so that everything was done to minimize any hint of a breach. The suppression of the last four points which contained a much more forthright expression of the right to freedom of religion and sovereignty for the church, together with the indignant rejoinder of Ds. Landman to Dr. Visser 'tHooft that it was unnecessary for them to convince anybody that they stood for freedom of religion, is typical of the Afrikaner's faithfulness to the strong strain of independence from the the state in the teaching of John Calvin, and that of Abraham Kuyper. However, this contrasted uncomfortably with the over-riding desire of the N.G.K. to avoid any hint of a breach in the unity of Afrikanerdom by publicly admitting to a church-state conflict. This pressure combined with the N.G.K.'s practice of having separate synods for their mission or daughter churches, and with Afrikanerdom's general support for the policy of apartheid. These factors blinded the Afrikaans churches to the fact that the amendment, no less than the original Clause 29 (c) as introduced at the first reading, represented an infringement of religious freedom for Africans, and meant that the Minister of Native Affairs was still to be the final arbiter of where a "native" should worship in an urban area. Because the protests of the Federal Council of the N.G.K. and its daughter churches were not sustained, Dr. Verwoerd was given the confidence he badly needed to refuse any substantive amendments to the Clause as revised for the Second Reading on 21st March.

THE CONSEQUENT AMENDMENT.

The amended Clause 29, published on 19th March, showed that 29 (c), with minor verbal alterations, returned to the position of the 1945 legislation. Clause 29 (d) was considerably expanded, and specified in turn the regulations for churches,[60] for schools hospitals and clubs,[61] for places of entertainment,[62] and for any

60. Clause 29 (d) (b), Appendix G, p.1131 , Columns 1 and 2.
61. Clause 29 (d) (c) and (d), Appendix G, p.1131 , Col. 2, and p.1132 , Col. 1.
62. Clause 29 (d) (e), Appendix G, p.1132 , Columns 1 and 2.

meeting, assembly or gathering (including any social gathering).[63] It was made clear that the same prohibitions did not apply to "any meeting, assembly or gathering connected exclusively with any church or other religious service or church function."[64] The relevant clause as it applied to the churches, 29 (d) b, now read as follows, and it was in this form that it passed through all its stages in Parliament:

> (b) The Minister may by notice in the Gazette direct that the attendance by natives at any church or other religious service or church function on premises situated within any urban area outside a native residential area shall cease from a date specified in that notice, if in his opinion -
>
> (i) the presence of natives on such premises or in any area traversed by natives for the purpose of attending at such premises is causing a nuisance to residents in the vicinity of those premises or in such areas or
>
> (ii) it is undesirable having regard to the locality in which the premises are situated, that natives should be present on such premises in the numbers in which they ordinarily attend a service or function conducted thereat,
>
> and any native who in contravention of a direction issued under this paragraph attends any church or other religious service or church function, shall be guilty of an offence and liable to the penalties prescribed by section forty-four: Provided that no notice shall be issued under this paragraph except with the concurrence of the urban local authority concerned, and that the Minister shall, before he issues any such notice, advise the person who conducts the church or other religious service or church function of his intention to issue such a notice and allow that person a reasonable time, which shall be stated in that advice, to make representations to him in regard to his proposed action: and provided further that in considering the imposition of a direction against the attendance by natives at any such service or function, the Minister shall have due regard to the availability or otherwise of facilities for the holding of such service or function within a native residential area. 65

The safeguards against the arbitrary use of this measure had undoubtedly been strengthened. A crucial distinction had also been made between church functions and other meetings. Yet

63. Clause 29 (d) f, Appendix G, p. 1132, Col. 2.
64. Clause 29 (d) g (ii), cf. Clause 29 (d) f, Appendix G, p. 1133, Columns 1-2.
65. Clause 29 (d) b, Appendix G, p. 1131, Columns 1 and 2; House of Assembly, Native Laws Amendment Bill (A.B. 35-57), Clause Twenty-Nine. Proposed Amendments by the Minister of Native Affairs; and Native Laws Amendment Bill (as amended by the Senate) (A.B. 358-57) - (S.B. 3-'57).

the final decision still rested with the Minister of Native Affairs. On the grounds that the presence of "natives" at any church service was deemed to be either "a nuisance to residents in the vicinity" or "undesirable having regard to the locality in which the premises are situated", the Minister, acting in collusion with the local authority, could still interfere with the right to freedom of worship for Africans. The significant difference made to the amended version was that liability was shifted from the person who organized or conducted the service, to the African who attended it. The Minister and the local authority, acting together, were given the absolute power to decide whether or not the attendances in question should cease. There was no provision for an appeal to the courts, nor any other form of redress. It could still not be said that the church's right to freedom of worship and of association was fully protected.

Another feature of this amendment that did not receive much attention at the time was the provisions of paragraph (f), which were qualified by 29 (d) g (ii).[66] They included the word "exclusively". This meant that any religious service, or church function, or meeting, which was not deemed to be strictly what it purported to be, would immediately become an illegal gathering. This might then be dealt with under other prohibitions prescribed by measures like the Riotous Assemblies Act, designed to control political protests. Should the Government, during a time of civil unrest, declare a general ban on public meetings in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act, a perfectly legitimate memorial service for someone regarded by the state as a dangerous and subversive influence during his life-time could be regarded by the police as an illegal gathering. Because of its political overtones, a meeting arranged ostensibly as an act of religious worship could be invaded by the police if they deemed it to be for the propagation of sedition or as an act of incitement under the cloak of religion. It has already been noted that under Section 44 (1) and (2) of the Criminal Procedure Act of 1955 any police officer had the right to compel the termination of a meeting, where he alone was the judge of what was necessary to preserve security.[67] Thus,

66. See Appendix G, pp. 1132 and 1133.
67. See above, Chapter Fifteen, p. 872.

for instance, although this was not said explicitly at the time, such religious gatherings as the services of prayer called for by the African National Congress on 26th June 1952, at the start of the Defiance Campaign, would probably be considered by the police to fall under such a general ban on political meetings.

Who could or might rightly decide when a bona fide act of religious worship transgressed, and became an "illegal gathering" for the purposes of political protest ? Prayers for relief from political persecution or a sermon that made a prophetic denunciation of current ills perpetrated by the government could easily be interpreted as a means of political agitation under the cloak of religion. A striking example, already cited in a previous chapter, was the prayer meeting arranged by the Interdenominational African Ministers' Fellowship during the Defiance Campaign in November 1952.[68] On that occasion a gathering of some 1500 people at a stadium in the East Bank Location at East London was invaded by the police when the preacher started reading a passage from the Bible about the Israelites' deliverance from slavery in Egypt. The police intervened, ordered a baton charge, and also used firearms to disperse an orderly and peaceful act of worship. It was a meeting which had been authorized despite a general ban on public meetings. This precipitated a riot, with results that shocked the country. It illustrated how in times of civil unrest subtle distinctions between civil and religious liberty tend to disappear. Even the sanctuary of a church building may provide no hiding place from the depredations of the police intent on dispersing a peaceful protest in defiance of a general ban on public meetings.[69]

Just as mixed social gatherings seemed to Dr. Verwoerd a means of demonstrating against Government policy, so too, it seems, did a multi-racial service of Christian worship represent a threat to the same policy. Referring to the "Church Clause" Dr. Verwoerd had been quoted as saying, "We will use an iron hand with regard to mixed gatherings aimed at undermining the Government's apartheid

68. See above, Chapter Eight, pp. 380-1.

69. On 2nd June 1972 police in Cape Town baton-charged a peaceful sit down demonstration on the steps of St. George's Cathedral. When a number of students, in order to escape police batons, took refuge within the Cathedral itself, they were pursued inside until the police were ordered to leave by the Dean, E.L. King.

policy".[70] Die Transvaaler, the newspaper which Dr. Verwoerd edited until 1948, considered that without such legislation the evil of mixed gatherings in white areas would fester,

> .... *die eeuwel van gemengde byeenkomste in blanke buurte maar moet voortwoeker* .... [71]

THE CHRISTIAN COUNCIL CONFERENCE, 19th MARCH 1957.

While the N.G.K. were in private conclave with the Minister of Native Affairs, the Action Committee of the Christian Council was busy making preparations for a Conference of the heads of all churches and missions affiliated to the Council. This was planned for the afternoon of Tuesday 19th March 1957, in the Metropolitan Methodist Hall in Cape Town.[72] The C.P.S.A. was represented by Bishop Lavis, and the Dean of Cape Town, Tom Savage.[73] Dr. R.H.W. Shepherd, who had succeeded Archbishop Clayton as the President of the Council the year before, gave the opening address.[74] He paid Geoffrey Clayton a genuine and generous tribute, as one whose death was "one of the severest losses" to the country.[75] "His views on difficult problems were invariably balanced yet unequivocal". In the letter the Archbishop had written to the Prime Minister the day before he died, he had spoken "not merely for the Church of the Province and its Bishops, but for many other Churches, their ministers and members".[76] Dr. Shepherd reiterated that the "Church Clause" would make the Minister of Native Affairs "the supreme arbiter and judge of where people are to worship and with whom they are to worship".[77] He quoted the reply of Beza to the King of Navarre,

> Sire, it belongs in truth to the Church of God .... to receive many blows and not give them, but it may please you to remember that it is an anvil that has worn out many hammers.[78]

He referred to matters in the Tomlinson Commission Report which caused the churches uneasiness, and which the publication of the

70. WOOD, unpublished journal, op. cit., p. 251, citing Dr. Verwoerd. BOTHA, Jan, Verwoerd is Dead, Cape Town: Books of Africa 1967, p. 25, cited the same statement by Dr. Verwoerd to a Nationalist Congress.
71. Die Transvaaler, 23.3.1957, p. 4, "'n Hoogtepunt Bereik".
72. Wits. Archive, CCSA Papers, Minute of a Conference convened by the Christian Council of South Africa .... 19.3.1957.
73. Ibid., Attendance, p. 3.
74. Ibid., opening address by Dr. Shepherd.
75-6. Ibid., p. 3. 77. Ibid., p. 2. 78. Ibid., p. 3.

"Church Clause" had only served to increase.[79] The impasse could only be avoided by a declaration by the Government of its unwillingness to curtail religious liberty, and the withdrawal or amendment of Clause 29 (c).[80] What the Minister of Native Affairs had described as "most unnecessary agitation" had in fact "opened the eyes of the parties concerned, including the Government, to the implications of the clause".[81] It was clear from the minutes of the conference that they did not have a copy of the Amendment which was published the same day, so the statement drawn up by a drafting committee consisting of the Dean of Cape Town, the President-Elect of the Methodist Conference (the Revd. C.K. Storey) and the Revd. Basil Brown responded to the clause as presented a month before at the first reading. At the end of the meeting every delegate gave his vote for the Conference Statement by standing, indicating his readiness to disobey the Clause if it became law.[82] However, since the Minister had stated that he would suggest amendments to Clause 29 (c) when he introduced the second reading debate, it was also decided that action after the Bill became law would not be considered at this stage, and that the Action Committee would serve as a continuation committee for the conference.[83] Their statement read as follows:-

1. The conference associates itself fully with the statement issued by the bishops of the Church of the Province contained in the letter from the late Archbishop to the Prime Minister.

2. The conference further takes its stand on the following basic rights of religious freedom.

a) The right to assemble for unhindered public worship.
b) The right to freedom of association and fellowship.
c) The right to preach the gospel publicly.

3. The conference further affirms the right of the individual to worship where he pleases and the right of the Church to admit any individual to its services or fellowship.

4. In making these statements the conference affirms that it would act in exactly the same manner irrespective of any political party in power which sought to pass a law on the lines of clause 29 (c) of the Native Laws Amendment Bill.

5. With great respect the conference asserts that the Christian Churches would have to disregard any laws or regulations

79. Ibid., p. 6. See above, Chapter Fifteen, pp. 867-9.
80. Ibid., p. 8. 81. Ibid., pp. 7-8.
82-3. Ibid., Minutes, p. 2.

which they believe would infringe these fundamental principles.

6. The conference declares that the denial of freedom of association and the enforcement of compulsory apartheid in any sphere of our life is a denial of the law of God and a repudiation of the teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ. 84

THE SECOND READING, 21st MARCH.

When Dr. Verwoerd introduced his amended Clause 29 (c) and (d) at the second reading on 21st March, he expressed surprise at the holocaust of criticism that the legislation had engendered. His speech criticized the "attacks" made on him by the Archbishop of Cape Town and Dr. Shepherd. He could not see how anyone could have thought that he as Minister of Native Affairs wanted to be the "supreme judge" or "arbiter" of where natives worshipped. Such criticism was "distorted and unreasonable".

> We had no other object than to ensure that in accordance with the spirit of Section 9 of the Act (Urban Areas of 1945) no troublesome or unnecessary mixed gatherings took place in the city. 85

He criticized the churches for not seeking an interview with him before resorting to press propaganda or public utterances, and gave a bouquet to the Afrikaans churches for not allowing themselves to be drawn into the struggle. This statement was read "with amazement" by Dr. Arthur Blaxall, then in Port Elizabeth.[86] He knew that on 7th March he had received a blunt refusal from Dr. Verwoerd's secretary to the request made on 1st March by the Christian Council's Action Committee for an interview with the Prime Minister. Their statement to the Prime Minister had been embargoed for the 4th March. They had received only a prompt but formal acknowledgement from the Prime Minister, who passed the letter on to the Minister of Native Affairs. The contradictions between what Dr. Verwoerd was prepared to say in Parliament in this regard, and the letters firstly to Dr. Blaxall dated 7th March, and then to the Archbishop's Chaplain dated 12th March,

84. Ibid., see also Christian Council Quarterly, No. 46, May 1957.
85. House of Assembly Debates, 3230/57, 21.3.1957, Minister of Native Affairs.
86. Wits. Archive, CCSA papers, Hand-written letter from Dr. A.W. Blaxall to the Editor of the Port Elizabeth Evening Post, 22.3.1957.

seem to suggest that Dr. Verwoerd could not himself have written the letters, and indeed that he was not even aware of their contents. In his speech he tried to make out that all the criticism was simply "propaganda without substance". The Bishop of Natal (T.G.V. Inman) was singled out for saying "the Church loathes the devilish device known as apartheid".

> Are these the words of a minister, a Christian protagonist of freedom of religion, or is this the language of a political opponent venting his spleen against his opponent in the strongest language ? 87

Speaking to his amendment, Dr. Verwoerd explained that the amended Clause 29 (c) "means that the clause in the 1945 Act is retained unaltered for Churches". The new clause, (d),

> .... adds that in respect of churches the community will in all cases be protected against nuisance or undesirable large numbers in the event of the local authority and Minister agreeing that protection is essential for a specific site or road leading to the site. If it is considered necessary then the person who contravenes such a notice, namely the Native who attends that church, will be liable to punishment. It is also stated here that notice must be given beforehand to the Church authority concerned because it is hoped it will be unnecessary to take action and that the matter will be settled by discussion and negotiation. 88

To this claim, Dr. D.L. Smit, who replied on behalf of the United Party, correctly anticipated the views of all the member churches of the Christian Council when he said he found that "the principle in the Minister's amendments is as bad as the original proposals".

> .... the original draft .... made it an offence for anyone to conduct a church service outside a location without the approval of the Minister, whereas the new arrangement reverses the position and puts the onus on the Native. In other words it frees the Churchman, the European Churchman, from criminal liability, and punishes the Native who comes to listen to him. 89

Regarding other kinds of mixing in schools, hospitals clubs or institutions, Dr. Verwoerd conceded nothing whatever. There the control was necessary, not only for reasons of nuisance and excessive numbers but "in view of the Liberal Party's attitude .... it is not at all unnecessary for Parliament to take steps timeously

87. House of Assembly Debates, 3235/57, 21.3.1957, Minister of Native Affairs.
88. Ibid., 3237/57, 21.3.1957, Minister of Native Affairs.
89. Ibid., 3243/57, 21.3.1957, Dr. D.L. Smit (U.P., East London City).

to curb those activities of theirs".[90] Indeed, other gatherings took place where it was necessary to take action,

> .... We find there are whites who take pleasure in arranging social gatherings where whites and non-whites mix freely, not because they feel the need for contact but because they wish to demonstrate .... the person who acts as host or who convenes such meetings may be prohibited from continuing to do so in that urban area or in that particular flat or house where these unpleasant incidents are occurring. There are for instance areas where nobody in the whole neighbourhood would think of doing such things, except for one liberalist who does them deliberately. Then it is sufficient to place that person's flat or house beyond the possibility of being misused in this way. 91

The United Party opposed the measure through all its stages. Dr. D.L. Smit called it a "wicked Bill", Mrs Ballinger a "very serious and grave interference with personal liberties".[92] Dr. Verwoerd however responded with an attitude of injured innocence, denying that he had any intention of interfering with the church's right to freedom of worship.[93] His private secretary, Fred Barnard, in a memoir written shortly after Dr. Verwoerd's assassination, quoted from a letter to a friend in August 1957 in which he had said, "my enemies' attacks, no matter how virulent, do not cause me the slightest uneasiness".[94]

Dr. Verwoerd received sustained support from the Afrikaans press. Die Transvaaler accused the English churches and the Opposition in Parliament of having unleashed "'n haatlike en demagogiese veldtog teen die wetgewing", whilst Die Burger, recalling Archbishop Clayton's speech to the Private Schools' Headmasters' Conference in 1950, claimed that he had engaged in an unworthy (onwaardige) campaign "met die metodes en opportunisme van 'n slim politieke party". When the measure had passed through all its stages in Parliament on 17th May Die Transvaaler applauded Dr. Verwoerd's achievement, saying that seldom had a member of any

90. Ibid., 3239/57, 21.3.1957, Minister of Native Affairs.
91. Ibid.,
92. Ibid., 3268/57, 21.3.1957, Dr. D.L. Smit, and 3272/57, Mrs Ballinger.
93. SCHOLTZ, G.D., Dr Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd 1901-1966, Johannesburg: Perskor 1974, Vol. I, p. 289, Col. 1: "dit klaarblyklik niks met lidmaatskap te doen het nie ... hierdie ongegronde beskuldiging Verwoerd diep getref ...." Ibid., p. 294 "dit 'n stryd was waarvoor daar nie die minste rede bestaan het nie".
94. BARNARD, Fred, Thirteen Years with Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers 1967, p. 32.

cabinet been subjected to so much "onregverdige kritiek en soveel persoonlike aanvalle .... Dr. Verwoerd was mans genoeg vir die hele Verenigde Party in die Parlement en vir die biskoppe daarbuite". Both newspapers assured readers that the measure involved no interference with the sovereignty of the church in its own sphere. Die Burger characterized opposition to the measure as "'n onstigtelike en onsmaaklike herrie" and the stand taken by the Anglican bishops in particular as "agitasie" and "'n verwoestende aanklag van onwaarheid". By contrast the N.G.K. had spoken with "kalmte, waardigheid,erns en opregtigheid" in the face of the "propaganda-storm oor die kerk-artikel". A crucial point in the National Party's defence of the measure was the claim that the N.G. Kerke did not consider that the Bill in its amended form posed any threat to freedom of worship. Thus Mr de Wet Nel eagerly claimed the support of the N.G.K. (Transvaal) Synod whilst Die Burger expressed its confidence that if ever freedom of worship were indeed to be threatened,

> .... *sal die N.G. Kerke in die voorste linie staan en seer seker die stryd nie oorlaat aan Engelse koerante, Opposisiepolitici en politieke kerkmanne* 95

At the moment when the controversy over the "Church Clause" was growing in intensity, the Prime Minister skilfully diverted attention by announcing that Die Stem would henceforth be South Africa's only national anthem, and the Union Jack, which had featured so prominently in parades and ceremonies to mark the hand-over by the Royal Navy of Simonstown Dockyard, would cease

95. Compiled from: Die Transvaaler:
26.4.1957, p. 8, "skop teen die prikkels"; 20.5.1957, p. 6, "'n persoonlike triomf";
2.5.1957, p. 5, "V.P. tas rond oor die N.G. Kerk se verklaring";
10.4.1957, p. 6, "Teleurstelling vir die vyand".
Die Burger:
25.4.1957, p. 8, "Godsdiens en Politiek"; 26.4.1957, p. 8, "'n onwaardige veldtog";
2.5.1957, p. 7, "N.G. Kerk stem volkome saam met artikel oor Kerke";
9.4.1957, p. 9, "N.G. Kerk berus in kerk-artikel";
2.5.1957, p. 8, "Voorwerp van woede";
2.5.1957, p. 6, "Kerk-artikel: Sinode se besluit".
cf. BOTHA, Jan, Verwoerd is dead, Cape Town: Books of Africa 1967, p. 27, and KENNEY, Henry, Architect of Apartheid, H.F. Verwoerd, an appraisal, Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball 1980, p. 141, who suggest that the Afrikaans press criticised Verwoerd for his interference in church affairs. The picture presented by his biographer G.D. Scholtz (SCHOLTZ, op. cit., 2 Vols. , Vol I, pp. 289-294) does seem to reflect more accurately the true extent of the support which Dr. Verwoerd continued to enjoy among Nationalists despite the controversy which raged over his head about the "Church Clause" in the country. cf. Chapter Seventeen below, pp. 984-6.

to be one of the nation's official flags.[96] Finally after a long and acrimonious controversy Dr. Verwoerd received support from an unexpected quarter. On Sunday 13th October 1957 the Revd. Harold Munro, preaching at a civic service in the Hill Street Presbyterian Church, Port Elizabeth, revealed that the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church meeting at Kimberley a month before had reached a "considered verdict" which "approved the 'church clause' .... except for one aspect .... that no appeal was [to be] allowed against any decision of the Government and municipality concerned". Mr Munro was presumably expressing his own opinion when, in the same sermon, he was also quoted as saying,

> The Church must accept that the State is better informed and better qualified to know what the needs of maintenance of public order are, and the Church must be reasonable about this.
>
> So much nonsense has been talked that people are apt to forget that the legislation is directed not against integrated public worship but against a public nuisance. The Church in this country must be very careful that it does not find itself defending its right to be a public nuisance.
>
> We appreciate that the use of religion as a cloak for other purposes is often beyond our control. If it is used as a cloak for creating a public nuisance, it is only by this sort of legislation that it can be curbed. 97

THE REACTION OF OTHER CHURCHES.

By the Second Reading on 21st March the Prime Minister, the Minister of Native Affairs and the press had received statements from no fewer than eleven different church bodies, and by the end of the Committee Stage on 25th April a further six had been added to the tally. Besides the Archbishop's letter to the Prime Minister, to which a special aura now attached (Dr.

96. Die Burger, 3.5.1957, p. 1, "S.A. kry sy eie volkslied: Die Stem. Strijdom kondig besluit aan".
97. Rand Daily Mail 14.10.1957, p. 3, "Only one objection to 'Church Clause' - Presbyterians want to see appeals allowed". cf. SCHOLTZ, G.D., op. cit., Vol. I, p. 293, Col. 2, who gives the impression that the Revd. Harold Munro's statement quoted above represented the official view of the Presbyterian Church.

Shepherd called it "his last will and testament"[98]) all were unanimous in rejecting the measure even in its amended form and most said they would disobey it.

Meeting at Port Elizabeth from 6th to 12th March, the Executive of the Baptist Union and the South African Baptist Missionary Society protested against legislation "which restricts the freedom of man to assemble in public worship", and declared, "should the state demand from us that which we owe in loyalty to God, we must then choose to 'obey God rather than men'".[99]

On 8th March, the Society of Friends rejected apartheid and emphasized the need for "co-operation of all [South Africa's] people in freedom".

> .... We must, with respect for those who truly believe in it and whose rights to their beliefs we shall firmly uphold, reject the concept of apartheid. We believe that as Christians it is laid upon us to do all in our power to draw together the separated peoples of South Africa to the end that we may become one Nation, united in work and worship for the good of our country and the glory of God.
>
> .... By these things we stand and, under God, can do no other. 100

On 12th March, in a statement read in all Presbyterian Churches in the Cape Peninsula the following Sunday, the Presbytery of Cape Town pointed out that

> .... although for purely practical reasons separate churches for European and non-European exist .... we have always insisted that the doors of all our churches are open to all .... in matters of faith and worship our first loyalty is to God .... [Therefore] .... the Presbytery declares itself unable to acknowledge or accept the right of any temporal authority to say who may or may not worship in our Churches. In the event, therefore of the proposed Bill becoming law, it would be our solemn duty, while not unmindful of our obligations towards and respect for the Civil Power, to take our stand on the words of Calvin:
> "We are subject to the men who rule over us, but subject only in the Lord. If they command anything against Him let us not pay the least regard to it, nor be moved by all the dignity which they possess as magistrates, a dignity-

98. Wits. Archive, CCSA papers, Inter-Church Conference at Cape Town. Dr. R.H.W. Shepherd, p. 3.
99. Christian Council Quarterly, No. 46, May 1957, Special Issue, pp. 3-4, The Baptist Union of South Africa.
100. Ibid., pp. 5-6, The Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), "On the Present Situation in South Africa".

> to which no injury is done when it is subordinated to the special and truly supreme power of God". 101

FURTHER RESPONSES TO THE AMENDED CLAUSE.

The Administrative Board of the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference, meeting from 19th to 21st March, decided to ask Archbishop McCann to draw up and issue a statement that no secular power had the right to prevent people worshipping in any church.[102] His statement, on behalf of the Roman Catholic Bishops, read:

> We consider that the Bill still constitutes a claim by the State to regulate the worship and religious practice of the individual person .... we reprobate the manner in which the Government has placed the onus for infringing the proposed law on the African .... We also maintain that people of different racial groups have the right to associate freely. That right can only be restricted in justice where it is abused for the purpose of activities injurious to the public good order. 103

On 15th March the Conference of the American Lutheran Mission, meeting at Ntumeni in Zululand, wrote to Dr. Verwoerd requesting "the Government not to pass a law that will force loyal Christian citizens and residents to be conscientious objectors to it".[104] Soon after the amended clause had been published the Congregational Union of South Africa stated,

> We cannot accept the Minister's assurance that this clause does not tamper with religious freedom. Any attempt on the part of the State to control or limit attendance at Churches, is a definite denial of the right of a man to worship God according to the dictates of conscience.
>
> We are a multi-racial Church of long standing in South Africa and we claim that no Minister of State has any moral right to tell us when, or with whom, we should meet together as a company of God's people, either to worship in the sanctuary, or to transact the business of the Church, or to pool thoughts and ideas in consultation and conference. We claim that the right to free access to God is a God-given right, and therefore beyond the sanction and control of the State.

101. Ibid., pp. 4-5, cf. CALVIN, John, Ed. J.T. McNeill, Institutes of the Christian Religion, Vol. XXI, London: SCM 1961 (Tr. F.L. Battles), Chapter XX, "Civil Government", pp. 1485-1621.
102. Khanya House, Pretoria, SACBC Administrative Board's Minutes, 19-21 March 1957.
103. Christian Council Quarterly, May 1957 op. cit., p. 6.
104. Ibid., p. 5, American Lutheran Mission in South Africa.

> If the State seeks to force a sub-christian ethic on the Church, the Church will be forced into the position of disregarding the law, in loyalty to conscience. This is a time for the Church to stand firm and to state categorically that it will not render unto Caesar the things which are God's. 105

On 29th March the Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa associated itself with all that the Christian Council had said, and pointed out,

> .... Such legislation, restricting religious liberty, can mean that Africans in domestic service in European residential urban areas, who at present can in some places attend services in European Church buildings, could be debarred from doing so, and would thus be debarred from attending at any Sunday Worship, as in most such areas there are no African Church Buildings. 106

It was at this stage that Dr. Verwoerd's private secretary replied to the Revd. Basil Brown's complaint about the Minister's accusation in his speech in Parliament, claiming that the Christian Council had embarked on a "venemous press campaign" and only afterwards sought an interview.[107] Since the Action Committee's request for an interview was made on 1st March, and its statement embargoed until 4th March, the accusation made was fallacious.

The same day it was the turn of the Institute of Race Relations to declare that the amendments to Clause 29 were merely a "strategic withdrawal and not an alteration in principle".[108]

> .... the Institute calls attention to the dangers inherent in this amended version, which arms the Minister of Native Affairs with far-reaching powers to interfere with what, in the Western countries of the world, are regarded as [the] elementary right of worship and association. [sic] 109

The limitations set on the Minister: that the local authority should concur in any directive issued; that the church should have the opportunity to make representations before the directive was gazetted, and that the Minister should consider the availability of alternative facilities, were considered to be "totally

105. Ibid., p. 4, The Congregational Union of South Africa.
106. Ibid., p. 4, The Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa.
107. Wits. Archive, CCSA Papers, letter, Private Secretary, Office of the Minister of Native Affairs to the Convenor, Action Committee CCSA, 29.3.1957.
108. SAIRR, The Native Laws Amendment Bill, Its Effect on Religious and Other Freedoms, Johannesburg: SAIRR April 1957, p. 35, Statement on the Revised Draft Clause 29 (c) issued on 29.3.1957.
109. Ibid.

inadequate safeguards".

> The very existence of such powers constitutes an invasion of the religious liberty of the subject and a curtailment of the rights of the churches. The fact that the new clause subjects only Africans to penalties for its contraventions heightens injustice in putting the onus on the more defenceless section of the population. 110

Addressing a meeting of the South African Institute of Race Relations at Auden House in Johannesburg on 3rd April, Bishop Reeves made it clear that the new clause in no way helped "to eliminate all possibility of suspicion and misunderstanding". Rather

> .... the principles which lay behind the original clause remain unchanged, namely, the power of the Minister to interfere with the internal life of the church.
>
> .... in some ways it is even more deplorable than the original .... it gives him [the Minister of Native Affairs] the power to interfere in the life of churches in the urban areas in a way which no self-respecting Christian community can tolerate.
>
> .... In saying this none of us can be unmindful that any church that decides to resist such unwarranted interference in the ordering of its own life by the secular authorities will expose its African members more especially, to the penalties of such disobedience. This has made our decision to refuse to obey any order the Minister may issue when this Bill becomes law even harder to make. But we do not believe that to acquiesce in such interference would for one moment exempt our African Christian brethren from suffering. On the contrary, we are persuaded that we should then expose them to even deeper suffering, for we should deny them that fellowship in worship and in life which they already have with us.... 111

On 6th April Quintin Whyte, Director, and Leo Marquard, President respectively of the Institute of Race Relations, issued a statement in which they pointed out that the gravity of the Bill's implications for the churches had already been amply demonstrated:

> .... but the issue is not a religious one only, it is also one which confronts all free men who believe in the democratic way of life in a free society. 112

Their statement continued,

> .... No one man has the wisdom, knowledge and experience to

110. Ibid., p. 36.

111. Ibid., pp. 2, 3 and 4. Also reported fully in S.P.G. Overseas News, June 1957.

112. Ibid., p. 32.

exercise the powers given under the Bill.

> We assert the right - a right acknowledged in any civilized democratic country - of any organization of loyal thinking citizens to seek together solutions to the national problems of our country.
>
> We believe that, if this right is denied, as in effect it is denied in this Bill and in other legislation, the future of South Africa will be one of entrenched dictatorship. 113

The day after the beginning of the Committee Stage, on 8th April, a meeting of all the Chairmen of Districts of the Methodist Church, in Durban, sent a telegram to the Prime Minister giving their judgement on the amended clause.

> .... Notwithstanding the Minister's assurances that interference with religious liberties will not be exercised we are persuaded and advised that the Clause does not protect the Christian Churches and people from arbitrary action by State Authorities. The protection which the Minister states is necessary is already adequately provided for in common law. We therefore urge the withdrawal of the Clause. .... The subsequent amendment to the clause published today in no way overcomes our objection. We believe that the Bill places unjustified restrictions upon free and unfettered contact between Africans and those of other races of our land. Freedom of association, of movement, of assembly, and of worship are threatened. We do not believe that it is necessary to frame a special law to control peaceful and law-abiding citizens in their attendance at public worship. The freedom of the individual to worship in accordance with his Christian convictions should not be interfered with by arbitrary State action.
>
> We wish to emphasize that the Methodist people are a law-abiding people, but if this legislation places us in the position where we have to choose between obedience to the State and obedience to God, we must reiterate that our choice is clear. "We must obey God rather than men". 114

On 11th April, the Church of Scotland's Mission Council, meeting in East London, reiterated the resolutions of the Christian Council's conference on 19th March, which had warned that the churches would have to disregard any law or regulation which attempted to debar any person from corporate public worship.[115] Then, on 18th April, the Southern African Association of the Disciples of Christ declared that "the so-called 'Church Clause'

113. Ibid.
114. Christian Council Quarterly, May 1957, p. 3.
115. Ibid., p. 4, Church of Scotland (Presbyterian).

29 (c) even as amended, violates principles of freedom of conscience and of the right of all men to combine for Christian fellowship" and warned the Minister to "refrain from placing Christians in South Africa in that invidious position where they may have to choose between loyalty to the Government and loyalty to God".[116]

THE ELECTION OF ARCHBISHOP CLAYTON'S SUCCESSOR.

As the Committee Stage of the Bill came to its tortuous end on 25th April two important meetings took place in Cape Town. On 24th and 25th April the Elective Assembly of the Diocese of Cape Town, meeting concurrently with Episcopal Synod, decided to choose the Bishop of Stepney, Joost de Blank, then on a lecture tour of the United States, as the next Archbishop of Cape Town. The rules for nominations did not make it mandatory for anyone to first ensure that the person was willing to allow his name to go forward, although this was usually done. The elective assembly was free to choose anyone it pleased. In the event of de Blank's refusal to accept the position, which the bishops however unanimously urged, the Bishop of Pretoria, Robert Selby Taylor, was chosen as alternative.[117] Two telegrams were sent to Bishop de Blank in New York. The first came from the President and Chairman of the elective assembly, Dean Savage, which read: "You have been elected Archbishop of Cape Town".[118] The other was from all the Bishops of the Province, indicating their unanimous approval of the election and promising their loyalty and support. Bishop de Blank described the receipt of these telegrams as a "stunning shock, for which I was wholly and utterly unprepared. Such an eventuality had never even crossed my mind".[119] He sent a telegram to his aged mother in Stepney, which said that his acceptance was "most unlikely".[120] However, after returning to London and consulting the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Fisher)

116. Ibid., p. 5.
117. WOOD, These Critical Days, unpublished journal, op. cit., p. 73.
118. Borthwick Institute, York, De Blank Papers DE 11, unpublished mss by the Right Revd. Joost de Blank entitled "Six Years Hard", p. 2.
119. Ibid.
120. Borthwick Institute loc. cit., DE 5, telegram from Joost Stepney, c/o Russell Brown to De Blank, Canonbury 1135, London, 26.4.1957.

and the Bishop of London (Dr. J.W.C. Wand), Joost de Blank finally accepted his election as Archbishop of Cape Town on 7th May. The Times' "own correspondent" in Cape Town soberly reported the official announcement of his election, and acceptance, and noted,

> The delay in the announcement after the rising of the electoral assembly on April 25th was due to the Bishop's absence in America and the consequent delay in informing him of his election. He is not widely known here. 121

The Church Times, on the other hand, thought that the appointment would bring widespread satisfaction, both in "this country" and in South Africa itself.

> The new Archbishop is deservedly well-known for his devotion to pastoral duty, for his deep interest in the cause of evangelism and for his energetic journeyings in the Anglican Communion overseas. 122

The Star described him as a "bustling Hollander".[123] Others picked up the coincidence that both Bishop de Blank and Dr. Verwoerd had been born in Holland.[124] The Christian World of London thought that the new Archbishop

> .... has been sent to his post of danger in order to attempt a Christian reconciliation in the Union rather than to fulfil the role of a fighting leader - though for that role, should it be forced upon him, he is formidably well equipped.[125]

THE RE-AFFIRMATION OF DEFIANCE.

Now under the Chairmanship of the Bishop of Grahamstown, Archibald Cullen, Episcopal Synod took the opportunity of their meeting together for the elective assembly in Cape Town to issue a further statement on the "Church Clause" as it had been amended:

> The Native Laws Amendment Bill, in spite of the change it has undergone, still constitutes a threat to religious freedom. It empowers the Minister of Native Affairs in certain circumstances to prohibit attendance of native Africans at religious services or church functions in urban areas not specifically set aside for native residence, thus giving an officer of the secular State the right to determine whom among its members the Church may and whom it may not

121. The Times, 7.5.1957.
122. The Church Times, 10.5.1957.
123. The Star, 15.5.1957, "Bustling Hollander elected Archbishop of Cape Town".
124. Cape Argus, 10.5.1957, "Two Hollanders".
125. The Christian World, London, 16.5.1957.

admit to participate in public worship.

> The Bishops regard the Bill in its altered form as being in one respect even more objectionable than in its original form, in that it makes native Africans who accept an invitation to worship at a particular service, and not merely the Church authority issuing the invitation, guilty of an offence and liable to penalties. For these reasons the Bishops reaffirm their previous statement that if the Bill becomes law they will be unable to obey it or to counsel their clergy and people to do so. 126

Meeting in Cape Town on 24th April, the Action Committee of the Christian Council decided that they "did not favour Churches taking any deliberately provocative action" if the Bill became law.[127] They recommended that churches should

> .... continue to function in exactly the way we always have done, holding multiracial meetings and services where and when we have customarily held them. 128

Telegrams were sent to the Minister of Native Affairs, the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition. The telegram to Dr. Verwoerd read:

> The Christian Council Action Committee meeting today affirms that Clause 29 (c) of Native Laws Amendment Bill in its original or amended form remains an offence to the conscience of the majority of Christians in South Africa. We again appeal to you in strongest terms to withdraw this clause in any form from the Bill.
> C.K. Storey Chairman. B.H.M. Brown Convenor. 129

THANKING DR. VERWOERD.

In defiance of all that had been said about the "Church Clause" in both its original and amended forms by the all the member churches and missions of the Christian Council; in spite of some significant expressions of concern about apartheid in the writings of leading Afrikaner theologians like Professors Ben Marais and P.V. Pistorius of Pretoria and B.B. Keet of Stellenbosch; despite further obvious signs of uneasiness in the Transvaal synod of the N.G.K. about the way in which the Moderatuur

126. The Times, 27.4.1957, and Church News, 15.5.1957, p. 72, "Synod Decision".
127. Wits. Archive, CCSA Papers, Minutes of the Action Committee of the Christian Council of South Africa on Wednesday April 24th 1957, in the Metropolitan Church Vestry Cape Town at 9.30 a.m.
128-129. Ibid.

of the Federal Council of the N.G. Churches had, at a crucial stage, suppressed the publication of all eight points that formed the basis of the N.G. Federal Council's negotiations with Dr. Verwoerd the month before, the debate in Parliament showed that the Government were going to bring the matter to its predetermined conclusion.[130]

Knowing now that the N.G.K. in both the Cape and the Transvaal, albeit reluctantly, had officially supported the amended clause, Dr. Verwoerd received further support for his beleaguered Bill from the Commission of the Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk on 1st May. They issued a pamphlet that thanked "the Minister concerned" and stated that their church would adhere strictly to the stipulations laid down in Clause 3 of its Church Law which said,

> The Church aware of the dangers involved to both groups with the intermingling of Europeans and non-Europeans, will not allow any equalisation in its midst, but aims at the erection of separate churches amongst the various races in our country. In doing this the Church believes that it will be fulfilling that which the Lord commanded in Matthew 28:19 "Go ye therefore, and teach all the nations" and that by adopting this method unity in Christ will not in any way be harmed. Therefore, only Europeans are allowed membership to the Nederduitsch Hervormde Church of Africa. 131

Referring to Clauses 6, 7 and 8 it said:

> The Commission would emphasise most strongly the fact that no one, whether for the sake of a false piety or for any other reason, will be allowed to act contrary to the clauses laid down in the Church Law.
>
> Our Church thus welcomes the stand taken by our country's authorities, and is grateful to the Minister concerned for bringing into action a law which will prevent any disregard of this principle which our Church has long accepted as right.
>
> Furthermore the Commission warns you [Church members] to treat all people with Christian justice and mercy, and to keep clean and pure your path through life so that the heathen seeing your good works, can know that you have been saved by Christ and that you glorify God in heaven. 132

130. PISTORIUS, P.V., No Further Trek, Pretoria: CNA 1957; KEET, B.B., (tr. N.J. Marquard) Whither South Africa ?, Stellenbosch/Grahamstown:University Publishers 1956; KEET, B.B. The Ethics of Apartheid, Hoernlé Memorial Lecture, (1957), Johannesburg: SAIRR 1957; and MARAIS, B., Colour: The Unsolved Problem of the West, Cape Town: Howard Timmins 1953, being a translation of Die Kleurkrisis en die Weste, Johannesburg: Goeie Hoop Uit Gewers 1952.

131. Highway, August 1957, pp. 6-7, as published in English translation by the Editor of Highway.

132. Ibid.

THE PROTEST MARCH IN CAPE TOWN.

As has been noted above, the N.G.K. synods gave their approval to the Clause in its revised form. On 17th May, with the acceptance in the House of Assembly of the Senate amendments, the Bill finally passed through all its stages in Parliament.[133] The next day three thousand people marched six abreast through the streets of Cape Town, from Dock Road on the foreshore to the gardens near the Cathedral and the Parliament buildings. In the leading rank were the Revd. A. Pierce Jones, an Anglican priest, Professor B. Bienart, Chairman of the Cape Peninsula Branch of the Institute of Race Relations, Mrs J.M. Grieve, Chairman of the local branch of the National Council of Women, the Dean of Cape Town, T.J. Savage, who had convened the protest in the name of the Christian Council's Action Committee, Bishop Lavis, and the Revd. Basil Brown who was chairman of the Cape Peninsula Church Council (the forerunner to the Western Province Council of Churches). At the base of a statue in the gardens Dean Savage told the marchers,

> This great gathering is not an act of defiance, but an act of duty. We as citizens have marched through our city as a solemn witness that each single one of us protests against the passage of the Native Laws Amendment Bill.
>
> The Bill threatens freedom of worship. It gives the Minister of Native Affairs the right to prevent men and women of different races from worshipping together. That he should have such a right offends the Christian conscience.
>
> Whatever our position in the world, whatever our race or colour, in prayer before the throne of God we are all equal, and no State official can take away from us our right to approach our Heavenly Father together as His children.
>
> We must protest. If necessary we must disregard the law. We must obey God rather than men. It is a matter of duty.
>
> The Bill also threatens freedom of association. Our freedom to associate on a basis of friendship or service with men and women of another race is undermined. The Minister can forbid this free association with the consent of the local authority.
>
> As a result of this march I hope our City Council and all other local authorities in this part of the world will never agree to the implementation of the offending clause of this Bill.

133. House of Assembly Debates, 6207/57, 11.5.1957.

> We can never rest content until this evil Bill is erased from the Statute Book. 134

The Revd. Basil Brown then read a pledge in English and Afrikaans to which people were invited to commit themselves during a minute's silence, and this was followed by a blessing from Bishop Lavis. Everyone then quietly dispersed. From beginning to end the demonstration lasted fifty minutes, and passed without incident, a model of how such things should be done.[135]

The Dean then put up the notice outside St. George's Cathedral, "This Cathedral is open to people of all races to all services at all times", and it was at Joost de Blank's instigation later that the notice was displayed in three languages, English, Afrikaans and Xhosa.[136]

"THE SITUATION OF THE CHURCHES IN SOUTH AFRICA IS A 'CONFESSING' ONE" : CONCERN OVERSEAS.

These events were being watched with growing apprehension from Geneva, London and New York. In the United States, concern among Anglicans there for religious liberty and respect for the C.P.S.A.'s witness in the situation gave rise to an impressive movement within the Episcopal Church of the United States of America. Organized from the Church of the Resurrection at 115 East Seventy Fourth Street, New York, some five hundred congregations and prayer groups took part in a special day of prayer for South Africa on 3rd November 1957, each signing an impressively embossed certificate. These were bound together in two volumes, and sent to South Africa to greet Archbishop Clayton's successor, Joost de Blank.[137] In London the British Council of Churches sent a message to the Christian Council of South Africa, with this moving expression

134. Cape Times, 20.5.1957, "3000 march through city in protest over Native Laws Amendment Bill".
135. Ibid., cf. Die Burger, 20.5.1957, p. 8, "Veelrassige Protes", which characterized the whole protest as misguided and the result of strong propaganda. "Wel glo ons dat hulle hulle ernstig laat mislei het deur verkeerde voorstellinge van die wetgewing waarteen dit gegaan het" and the protest was said to be the result of "sterk propaganda en intensiewe voorbereiding deur groot kerkgenootskappe en ander organisasies".
136. DE BLANK, Bartha, Joost de Blank, Ipswich: Boydell 1977, p. 116.
137. CPSA Archive AB 864, Episcopal Church of the United States of America. Two volumes, giving the names and addresses of the rectors and representatives of prayer groups. cf. Church News, 9.12.1957, p. 185, "Declaration of Conscience for South Africa".

of fellowship and support.

> .... We believe that the Church must order its own life under the guidance of the Holy Spirit and is not to be conformed by public opinion.
>
> We believe that the Church must not recognise the right of the State to legislate about what is not the state's business, but the Church's. The issue here is of the Crown rights of the Redeemer.
>
> We have read with respect and gratitude how you have stated all this openly in the eight point statement of the Dutch Reformed Church and the public statement of 19th March 1957 of the Christian Council.
>
> .... We send this letter with the assurance of our prayers at this difficult time, for you and for the Union of South Africa and its Government. 138

Meanwhile other leading figures in the ecumenical movement had been watching these developments with growing anxiety. Charles Ranson of the International Missionary Council, New York, wrote to Dr. Visser 'tHooft in Geneva and said,

> Orchard and others of us feel that the situation of the churches in South Africa has become a "confessing" one when the churches are being called "to make a confession of" [and] to bear witness to the faith by which they live, and the nature of their existence as churches living in and by that faith. .... The question in our minds is whether the W.C.C. and the I.M.C. should take joint or concurrent action in addressing ourselves to this "confessing" situation 139

Two months later, against a background of mounting criticism of the South African Government in world capitals, the South African High Commissioner in London tried to explain the necessity for this legislation on the grounds that the A.N.C. had "organized the attendance of Bantu in large numbers at European services as a demonstration against apartheid".[140] This blatant untruth was quickly countered by Christopher Gell from Port Elizabeth, who pointed out in a letter to The Times that during the long debates on the Bill "some speakers feared that this was intended for the

138. Wits Archive, CCSA Papers, Church Clause. Letter dated 6th June from the British Council of Churches.

139. Wits Archive, CCSA Papers, letter Charles Ranson to W.A. Visser 'tHooft, cc. to Revd. R.K. Orchard, Dr. G.W. Carpenter, Dr. A.W. Blaxall, 6.6.1957. The Revd. Ronald Orchard was the General Secretary of the Conference of British Missionary Societies, with offices at 2, Eaton Gate, London.

140. The Times, 5.8.1957, letter from the South African High Commissioner in London, Dr. Holloway. The Star, 8.8.1957, quoting Trevor Huddleston's reply to Dr. Holloway.

future, but they adduced no evidence because none is available". Only four actual incidents were cited as giving grounds for the clause:

> One Pretoria Colonel who objected to a neighbour holding services for Africans in his garage:- a fairly common practice among Afrikaners.
>
> The second was a desire by the Nationalist dominated Town Council in Welkom in the new Free State goldfields to prevent any Africans attending the Anglican or Roman Catholic Churches there.
>
> Third was a complaint by some English-speaking whites of Pinetown in Natal against a recently arrived clergyman inviting Africans to attend the "white" church.
>
> Fourth was the survey carried out by the African assistant editor of the magazine Drum to ascertain how he would be received in European churches in Johannesburg.
>
> None of these incidents had anything to do with the African National Congress or religion "being used as a cloak for political demonstrations". [141]

A VISIT BY JOOST DE BLANK.

Between 21st June and 3rd July, Joost de Blank made a "private" visit to South Africa. He spent a night with Robert Selby Taylor in Pretoria, who took him to see "one of the new native locations FLACKFONTEIN [sic]". In Cape Town he met the Dean, the Chapter, the Diocesan Secretary, "the Archbishop's chauffeur and the Archbishop's old car", as well as the Dean of the Province, Bishop Cullen. He thought the house at Bishopscourt "absolutely beautiful" and the garden "lovely".

> All the staff were lined up to greet me - three gardeners, two houseboys, a coloured laundry woman and of course the Chaplain [Cowdry] plus the Bishop of Grahamstown [Cullen]. [142]

He found Archibald Cullen "rising seventy, a typical English Bishop of 25 years ago, very friendly, rather comfortable and conscious of his status". [143] He then described for his sister and mother in

141. The Times (undated cutting, probably August 1957), letter from C.W.M. Gell, 94 Cape Road, Port Elizabeth, "Africans in Church". cf. also Church News, 21.8.1957 p. 120, "Church Clause and 'The Times'".
142. Borthwick Institute, York, De Blank Papers DE 8, Diaries. Cape Town 21.6.1957 - 3.7.1957, "Exploratory".
143. Ibid.

his diary the situation over the "Church Clause" and the Bishops' intention to disobey it.

> The Bishops are certain they must act as lightening conductors and draw the fire on themselves. Therefore a Sunday or two after the thing becomes law, a pastoral letter will be read in all churches saying that the Church's ministrations must on no account be refused to any bona fide worshippers of any race or colour. In other words this is definite rebellion - telling the Church not to obey a law. And a dear old man like Grahamstown is quite ready to take the consequences.
>
> There is nothing to stop the Government from throwing all the Bishops in prison as a result - and the Bishop of Basutoland has already been told that he must be prepared to take over the Province should this take place.
>
> But most people think that the Government will go slow.[144]

Of Dr. Verwoerd, de Blank wrote, "he has built up a horrendous empire for himself, is the strong man of the Party, and clearly means to be Prime Minister one day. But he is cordially disliked even by a great many Nationalists." Bishop Lavis he found to be "a truly wonderful old man of 84 with a keen sense of humour and a terrific memory". The Chief Justice, Mr Centilivres, told him that

> .... ultimately the government would be brought down through economic reasons and that he believed pressure overseas had delayed action about apartheid in the universities. [145]

Joost de Blank's comment is interesting: "[it] shows a line of action for the church".[146]

Among the numerous letters of goodwill which de Blank had received as the news of the acceptance of his election as Archbishop of Cape Town received wide publicity, a significant number emphasized the importance and the difficulty of the task which lay before him. George Bell, Bishop of Chichester, thought Cape Town to be "one of the key places on the whole christian front at the present moment".[147] The Bishop of Derby in whose diocese Geoffrey Clayton had served as Archdeacon of Chesterfield before he went to Johannesburg in 1933, expressed the attitude of Joost de Blank's many friends

144-6. Ibid.

147. Borthwick Institute, York, De Blank Papers DE 3, letter Bishop of Chichester to de Blank, 8.5.1957.

throughout the Anglican communion when he told the next Archbishop of Cape Town that he would be "going to a most distressful country, with a political situation full of tension and menace".[148] A retired sergeant who had played the organ for Joost de Blank on active service during World War II thought that his "archiepiscopal duties would be no sinecure .... when one bears in mind the testimony of Trevor Huddleston, and the stand taken by your predecessor ...."[149] At the end of his private visit de Blank told the Bishop of Borneo that there could be "no minimizing the difficulties".[150]

"MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO DISOBEY".

This interlude over, all Anglican bishops duly called on their clergy to read a Pastoral Letter in every Parish on 14th July.[151] Each diocesan bishop wrote his own letter, and each declared that he would be obliged to disobey the provisions of the Native Laws Amendment Act, which by then had been gazetted and had become law.[152] Each Anglican bishop had also solemnly written the necessary letters of appointment for a Vicar General in the event of his arrest.[153] Some impression of the magnitude of their stand may be gained from the following catena of quotations from the Pastoral Letters of the ten dioceses concerned.

> I solemnly call upon the clergy and laity of this diocese to decline to obey his [the Minister's] directives.
> - Bishop Trapp, Zululand.

> I call upon all Anglicans who live in that part of the Diocese which is within the Union of South Africa, both clergy and laity to ignore so far as they can, any directives which the Minister of Native Affairs may give under this clause. - Bishop Boys, Kimberley and Kuruman.

> I call upon the clergy and laity of this diocese to refuse to obey. - Bishop Selby Taylor, Pretoria.

> If anyone does have to suffer for disobedience in this diocese, it will probably be but a few and they mostly Africans

148. Ibid., letter Bishop of Derby to de Blank, 7.5.1957.
149. Ibid., letter H.J. Risk (ex-Sergeant R.C.O.S.), Sale, Cheshire. to de Blank 9.5.1957.
150. Ibid., letter de Blank to Bishop of Borneo, 3.7.1957.
151. Church News, 17.7.1957, p. 105, "Church-people were startled out of their complacency on Sunday last (14th July) ...."
152. CPSA Archive AB 981, Bishops' Pastoral Letters to Dioceses, 14.7.1957.
153. INMAN, the Right Revd. T.G.V., Interview, Durban, 14.9.1977.

.... it will be our duty as Christians to support them.
- Bishop Schuster, St. John's.

Before God and with you as my witnesses I solemnly state that not only shall I not obey any directions from the Minister of Native Affairs in this regard, but that I solemnly counsel you, both clergy and people to do likewise.
- Bishop Inman, Natal.

For laws to be binding on the conscience of Christians, they must be directed towards the common good. If any law conflicts with the demands of the gospel or the dictates of conscience, members of the church have no alternative but to disobey it.

After careful consideration we are persuaded that the Native Laws Amendment Act is such a law, and that in particular, clause nine, [sic] subsection seven (b) is a direct infringement of that freedom of worship which properly belongs to every individual irrespective of his race or colour. - Bishop Reeves, Johannesburg.

Now that this law has been duly enacted we solemnly enjoin upon all our clergy and people in this diocese that, if the Minister of Native Affairs, making use of the powers conferred upon him by the Native Laws Amendment Act, directs that the attendance of Native African members of the Church at any particular church or any properly constituted church assembly or synod within this diocese must cease, they should in obedience to Almighty God disregard the Minister's direction. - Bishop Hunter, George.

I have therefore thought it well to instruct the clergy of the diocese that they are under ecclesiastical obligation not to refuse the Word or Sacrament to any person whatsoever who presents himself in any place under their jurisdiction. Likewise, no other person whatever, (for example, a churchwarden) has any authority to exclude persons from Church, except on grounds of disorderliness in Church.
- Bishop Lavis, Vicar-General, Cape Town.

If any action is taken under what has come to be known as the "church clause" in the Act, either in respect of worship or any official church function, clearly the Church may not accept that action. The clergy are under ecclesiastical obligation not to refuse the ministry of the Word and the Sacraments to any person whatsoever ....
- Fr. Findley, Vicar General, Bloemfontein.

Should the Minister of Native Affairs gazette any church building under your jurisdiction as a place from which non-Europeans must be excluded I must remind you that no person who presents himself for reception of the Word of God or the Holy Sacraments may be denied them publicly by any priest, except such a person is formally excommunicate, or except as is provided in the Rubric before Holy Communion, or as is provided by the Missionary Regulations of any particular

> diocese - in other words, by ecclesiastical authority.
> - Bishop Cullen, Grahamstown. 154

These excerpts give an idea not only of the magnitude of the stand taken, but also of its solemnity, and the effectiveness which a threat of resistance to a particular law can have, when it is made universally by the whole church acting together. Anglican Diocesan Synods passed further resolutions in support of their bishops. For example, the Synod of the Diocese of Natal, meeting on 15th September, pledged its "full support to our Bishop in his decision to disobey the 'Church Clause' in the Native Laws Amendment Act" and in another resolution resolved "to do all in our power to maintain friendship and confidence between all people of South Africa".[155]

On 21st July 1957, a Pastoral Letter, issued by the S.A.C.B.C. at their plenary session from 2nd-6th July, was read from the pulpits of all Catholic churches. Whilst the Catholic Bishops roundly condemned the principle and practice of apartheid, they did not explicitly threaten disobedience to the "Church Clause", but issued a strong condemnation of segregation within the church:

> .... The practice of segregation, though officially not recognised in our churches, characterises nevertheless many of our church societies, our schools, seminaries, convents hospitals and the social life of our people. In the light of Christ's teaching this cannot be tolerated for ever .... We are hypocrites if we condemn apartheid in South African society and condone it in our own institutions. 156

The policy of apartheid was described as a "blasphemy", which "transcends the teaching of Christ", and as "Evil and anti-christian",

154. CPSA Archive, AB 981, Bishops' Pastoral Letters to the Dioceses, 14.7.1957, cf. Die Burger 15.7.1957, p. 1, "Anglikane gevra om wet te ignoreer", and 16.7.1957 p. 8, "Wat die Keiser toekom", a second leader which complained of the false impression created by gloomy "betrokke" churchmen that the Government had wished to confer upon itself dictatorial powers to forbid "Natives" from attending church in white areas. "Dit is natuurlik onwaar".

155. Natal Diocesan Office, Durban. Proceedings of the Synod of the Diocese of Natal, 15.9.1957.

156. SACBC, Pastoral Letters, Pretoria: Press Commission SACBC (no date, but the latest letter included is 1966), Statement on Apartheid Issued by the Plenary Session of the Conference held in Pretoria 2-6 July 1957, p. 16. cf. Die Burger, 22.7.1957, p. 3. "Roomse kerk weier om twee wette te gehoorsaam" reporting that the S.A.C.B.C. had declined to obey the two laws.

and expressed deep regret that "it is still thought necessary to add to the volume of restrictive and oppressive legislation in order to reduce contact between various groups to an inhuman and unnatural minimum".[157]

The next meeting of the Executive of the Christian Council, held in Johannesburg on 28th and 29th August 1957, emphasized in another statement to the press, the Prime Minister and the Minister of Native Affairs,

a) That, unless further action is taken by the Minister people of all race groups may still worship together without breaking the law.
b) That Churches should continue to function, undeterred by this legislation.
c) That we shall continue to pray and work for the repeal of this Act. [158]

The difficulty and the menace of the situation had intensified. The extent to which both civil and religious liberty had been eroded in South Africa in the nine years since Geoffrey Clayton had been enthroned as Archbishop of Cape Town on 2nd February 1949, could not have been illustrated more vividly than by the certificate of registration which Archbishop Joost de Blank was to receive on arrival in South Africa a month before his enthronement in St. George's Cathedral at 3.00 p.m. on Friday 25th October 1957. In common with church workers the new Archbishop, in terms of the Aliens Registration Act of 1939, as amended by the Nationalist Government to include British subjects, was issued with a certificate on which was stamped:

> Holder of Immigration Permit No. 4747 dated 23.9.1957. The holder is not entitled to follow any occupation other than that of Archbishop of Cape Town for a period of three years from 29.9.1957. [159]

Lest the possessor of such a certificate were tempted to find this statement mildly amusing, the small print of the Archbishop's Registration Certificate also stated:

157. Ibid., pp. 14, 17. Church News, 17.7.1957, p. 104, "Rome and Apartheid".
158. Wits. Archive, CCSA Papers. Minutes of the Executive Meeting held on 28th and 29th August 1957.
159. Borthwick Institute, York, De Blank Papers DE 4, various personal papers, identity card etc., including Registration Certificate No. 147377.

(1) When you leave the place where you reside or work for a period exceeding fourteen days, you must report your intention to change your address before you leave or within seven days of leaving. If you proceed to another district your arrival there must also be reported within seven days.

(2) If you leave the Union permanently you must surrender your certificate: if you leave temporarily you must report your return to the Union within fourteen days.

WARNING: These notes are merely for your guidance. The Police act as Registration Officers of aliens and if in any doubt you should consult them as to how you should comply with these requirements. 160

WAS THE "CHURCH CLAUSE" IMPLEMENTED ?

Was the "Church Clause" ever implemented ? Some isolated attempts were made to invoke the "Church Clause" to prevent Africans worshipping in the white urban area. However, research shows that whilst one of these attempts succeeded, it may be said that the legislation was not ever effectively implemented.

The first time an attempt was made to prevent Africans from worshipping in a white area occurred at Welkom in the Orange Free State later in 1957. Soon after Bill Burnett was enthroned as Bishop of Bloemfontein, the Welkom Municipality wrote to him, claiming that they had power under the 1945 Urban Areas Act to prevent Africans worshipping at St. Matthias' Church Welkom, and would the Anglican Church cease having them worship there. A similar letter was also written to the Roman Catholic Bishop of Kroonstad. Bishop Burnett told me he

> .... wrote back and said that if this law was invoked I would disobey it. That was in the same mood as the response of the Church of the Province to the "Church Clause". 161

Neither he nor the Roman Catholic Bishop of Kroonstad heard anything further and the services continued.

The second such attempt occurred at the Methodist Church in the Johannesburg suburb of Forest Town, in August 1958. Complaints were made by some white residents, who claimed that Africans who

160. Ibid.
161. BURNETT, The Most Revd. B.B., Interview, Bishopscourt, 21.4.1976.

worshipped in the Methodist Hall there on Sundays were "a nuisance".[162] Nationalist City Councillors were reported to have asked the Prime Minister and the Minister of Native Affairs to enforce the "Church Clause" and ban the services, which had been started nearly twenty years previously.[163] The Methodist Minister in Forest Town, the Revd. F.T. Peck, was quoted as saying that a few complaints had been reported, but none had been made directly to him, and that it was impossible for Africans in the area to travel to Alexandra Township and back for church. Professor J.H. Wellington, who played the organ for these services, said they were "orderly".

> The people disperse quietly. I won't say that they do not talk, but all human beings are entitled to talk. 164

This was widely regarded as a test case, and accordingly in October the Secretary of the Trust Committee of the Forest Town Methodist Church applied to the Native Commissioner for Johannesburg for permission to conduct the services "mainly for the benefit of Natives and outside a Native residential area".[165] The meetings had been started in 1946. Complaints had been made as long ago as 1950, and there had been further complaints subsequently. Mr de Wet Nel, who had succeeded Dr. Verwoerd as Minister of Native Affairs when the latter became Prime Minister in September, stated:

> The application and the complaints which came in over a number of years were given due consideration by me, and the Trust Committee of the Church was informed that the application cannot be granted. 166

Mr de Wet Nel went on to say, however, that it was not his policy to ban such services.

> .... in the case of garage services the buildings concerned are not used mainly for the purpose of Native gatherings. Applications to hold such services are considered on the merits of each case, and it is not my policy to ban the holding of such services. 167

The Chairman of the Johannesburg City Council's Non-European Affairs Committee, Mr Patrick Lewis, was quoted as saying,

> We genuinely believed that the majority of White residents

162. The Christian Recorder, 15.8.1958, "Nuisance complaint Church Clause issue".
163. Rand Daily Mail, 16.9.1958, "Church ban request to Verwoerd".
164. The Christian Recorder, 15.8.1958.
165. The Star, 12.12.1958, "Minister explains church position".
166. Ibid., and Rand Daily Mail, 13.12.1958, "De Wet Nel explains refusal".
167. Ibid.

> in Forest Town wanted services for Native servants to continue. That was why the Council recommended to Mr de Wet Nel that the services be allowed to continue. 168

This was corroborated by Mr John Cope, M.P. for Parktown, who said that "The United Party in Forest Town has established that most of the 300 residents have no objections to the services".[169] The Chairman of the Southern Transvaal District of the Methodist Church, Dr. J.B. Webb, announced that the services would not stop that week-end.[170] The services then continued in defiance of the Minister's announcement that they should not take place until Dr. Webb saw Mr de Wet Nel in January. The Minister then reversed his decision, and gave permission for the services. Dr. Webb observed ruefully in a letter to Dr. Blaxall,

> As you will have gathered from press reports the matter has now been settled so far as this particular case is concerned. The fact still remains, of course, that the Government has the power to ban public worship on certain grounds, and to restrict individuals in certain circumstances from attending public worship. Meantime we continue these services at Forest Town by ministerial permission ! 171

In November 1960 a report in The Star stated that the Minister for Bantu Administration and Development, Mr de Wet Nel, was preparing draft legislation that would remove the safeguards of the 1957 Act regarding the concurrence of the local authority, and that a draft Bill had been distributed secretly to local authorities for their consideration. In response to a letter from Dr. Blaxall, Mr de Wet Nel dismissed this report as "the ghost-stories of your press" and nothing more was heard of the matter.[172] That the report in The Star was not without foundation is evident from a letter to Mr Fred van Wyk, Secretary of the Cottesloe Consultation Planning Committee, from Dr. Edgar Brookes in November 1960, which said,

> .... I have now been allowed to read the Bantu in European Areas Bill, under section 14 of which the "Church Clause" is re-introduced in a worse form than before. In terms of this section the Minister can without interference by

168. Rand Daily Mail, 13.12.1958.
169. The Star, 12.12.1958.
170. Rand Daily Mail, 13.12.1958.
171. Wits. Archive, CCSA papers, Correspondence with Government Departments: Religious Liberty. Letter Webb to Blaxall, 20.1.1959.
172. The Star, 15.11.1960, and Wits. Archive CCSA Papers, Correspondence with Government Departments, Religious Liberty. Letters Blaxall to Minister of Bantu Administration and Development 16.11.1960, and de Wet Nel to Blaxall 18.11.1960.

> the courts and without the local government being consulted, close down any African Church not in a location and forbid any African to enter a "European" Church. It would be a great help for the Conference if the Dutch Reformed Church would condemn the Bill publicly. Do you think this is possible ? 173

Another attempt to dispense with the necessity for the local authority to concur with the Minister in dealing with any ban upon Africans worshipping at a particular church in an urban area was included in Clause 38 of the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill of 1963.[174] This Bill was then withdrawn, and re-drafted so that what appeared to be a clause restricting the freedom of worship and the freedom to congregate for church purposes was modified to exempt churches and church services from the other prohibitions in the Bill on the "congregating of Bantu in certain areas".[175]

Another instance which could be cited was the occasion during 1961 when the Bishop of Grahamstown, Robert Selby Taylor, was asked to postpone or change the venue of an ordination which had been arranged at Cradock. The Minister of Justice, Mr B.J. Vorster, had made this request "in the interest of public safety". In a letter to the Bishop of Grahamstown, the Minister of Justice wrote,

> It is not unknown, and indeed it often happens that people who otherwise have never cared for the church and religion use it as a cloak to further their cause which is the destruction of everything that christians believe in and hold dear and it is therefore assumed that you, as a devout and professing christian, can at all times be relied upon to co-operate with the forces of law and order to prevent the destruction of those christian principles on which our society is built and in spite of the fact that it may sometimes cause inconvenience for the moment and has as a result that bona fide services, such as the one you referred to, have to be postponed. 176

Another example of this subtle pressure had occurred the

173. SAIRR Archives, Johannesburg, F.J. van Wyk Cottesloe Papers, letter Edgar Brookes to van Wyk 16.11.1960.

174. Wits Archive, CCSA papers, letter Revd. James Rodger, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa to the Revd. Basil Brown, Secretary of the Christian Council, 26.2.1963. See also Good Hope, April 1963 and Christian Council Quarterly, second quarter 1963.

175. Wits Archive, CCSA papers, Memo headed "For your Information", 16.5.1963, signed by Basil H.M. Brown, Secretary.

176. Wits Archive, CCSA papers, Copy of a letter from the Private Secretary of the Minister of Justice to the Bishop of Grahamstown, 8.11.1961.

year before, during the State of Emergency in 1960, when the Bishop of Grahamstown (Selby Taylor), faced with a general ban on meetings in Port Elizabeth where his diocesan synod was due to meet that year, decided to postpone the holding of a synod that year.[177] This, however, was a decision made voluntarily by the bishop. The example of the ordination at Cradock was explained by Bishop Selby Taylor, who did not remember the instance very clearly, as being due to the fact that Canon James Calata was restricted to the Cradock magisterial district.

> I think that what must have happened was they were afraid of a lot of people from outside coming in and James having this opportunity of inculcating them with his views. [178]

The venue for the ordination service was, in the event, changed "at the request of" the Minister of Justice, with the church "voluntarily" complying with the Minister's request.[179]

A further example was cited by Leslie Cawood in his book The Church and Race Relations in South Africa, published in 1964.[180] This referred to the Revd. D.P. Anderson, Minister of the Congregational Church in Florida Park, Johannesburg. He had organized services in his church for Africans on Sunday afternoons, after being approached by an African Minister. After the first service on 16th February 1964, police approached Mr Anderson saying that the services would have to stop. Mr Cawood recorded that the police, acting on instructions from "the local Town Council", told the Revd. Anderson that white residents living near the church had complained that property values would drop. Mr Anderson was permitted to hold a final service, at which he told the people that they could not hold any more services. A policeman in plain clothes attended this service.[181]

The following example may be cited to illustrate how the church's stand for freedom of worship in 1957 served to protect

177. SELBY TAYLOR, the Right Revd. R., Interview, Kalk Bay, 24.4.1976.
178. Ibid.
179. Wits. Archive, CCSA papers, copy of letter from the Private Secretary of the Minister of Justice to the Bishop of Grahamstown, 8.11.1961.
180. CAWOOD, Leslie, The Church and Race Relations in South Africa, Johannesburg: SAIRR 1964, pp. 12-13.
181. Ibid.

the principle of freedom of speech and of association later.[182] In the country town of Dundee in Northern Natal the local branch of the Christian Institute advertised a public meeting in the Anglican Church Hall, some time in 1966 or 1967, at which Dr. Beyers Naudé was to be the speaker. Numbers of Africans made the journey to the meeting from Dr. Anthony Barker's mission hospital at Nqutu. On the grounds that black and white could not attend a meeting together without permission, the Anglican Rector, Fr. Richard Hughes, was informed that the meeting was illegal. Instead of a public meeting, a service of worship was arranged in the church, at which Dr. Beyers Naudé was to be the preacher. There was no interference with the service. However, afterwards the police took the names of those who attended, and the Special Branch interviewed Fr. Hughes for having held an "illegal meeting". During the service one of the trucks bringing Africans from Nqutu was tampered with, and sand poured into the engine oil. The police took no further action.[183]

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF RESISTANCE TO THE "CHURCH CLAUSE".

Why did the church's resistance to the "Church Clause" succeed where its witness over so many other issues proved ineffective ?

Firstly, it was because the issue itself involved the principle of religious liberty and the sovereignty of the church. This meant that a variety of authorities could be invoked in support of the churches' stand. The Quakers invoked Luther, the Presbyterians cited Calvin, the N.G. Churches followed Kuyper. The biblical injunctions of Acts 5;29 and Matthew 22;21 provided firm ground on which to resist any interference with the church's freedom of worship.

Secondly, although the churches made their representations separately, there was an impressive measure of unanimity in what they all said. Any consideration of why Dr. Verwoerd amended the original Clause 29 (c) must give due credit to the importance of the representations made by the Federal Council of the N.G. Churches.

182. See also below, p. 970.
183. HUGHES, the Revd. Canon Richard, Telephone Interview, Westville, 10.11.1981.

However, as Basil Brown told me,

> I think that is partly true. I don't think that it was only the protests of the Dutch Reformed Church, but I do think that did help tremendously. 184

The fact that Dr. Verwoerd did not consent to alter his amendment was largely due to the way in which the N.G.K. and the N.H.K. supported it.

Thirdly, the non-implementation of the Act was the result of the threat that it would be disobeyed or simply disregarded by all the member churches of the Christian Council as well as the Roman Catholic Church. The lead given by Archbishop Clayton was decisive. I think that Basil Brown summed up the position most appropriately when he told me,

> I am quite convinced, not only that the amendment came out of this protest, but also the non-implementation of the clause. I am quite convinced in my own mind that to save face he [Dr. Verwoerd] had to press on with the legislation. He brought the amendment in to pacify, or rather satisfy, the Dutch Reformed Church. The non-implementation of that whole section of the Act was due to the terrific stir that there was throughout the country among the church groups. I think that that protest was one of the most effective that we've had. 185

The way in which Dr. Verwoerd took advantage of any disagreement between churches to consolidate his own view should teach Christians that a cardinal principle of effective resistance to an all-powerful state had already been identified by M.K. Gandhi, that of unanimity. Symbolic gestures of defiance by individuals were useful to raise the level of public awareness on a particular issue, but without a wide measure of agreement and determination to resist the government, as well as the willingness of a substantial body of people to take the consequences for that disobedience, protests or acts of resistance which lack unanimity can easily be isolated and safely ignored.

Archbishop Clayton's wisdom lay in his ability to discern that effective resistance to the Bantu Education Act could not be achieved without unanimity. Even if resistance by means of a

184. BROWN, the Revd. Basil, Interview, Hermanus, 4.5.1976.
185. Ibid.

refusal to hand over church schools could have been justified morally, it was not a line of action that was going to achieve the desired result of persuading the Government to alter course without being unanimous. In 1957, however, it was the spontaneous decision of every bishop that resistance to the "Church Clause" had to be, and was, unanimous. Only if the church can truly act together may it expect faithful Christians who are its members to face the consequences of disobedience to the state in sufficient numbers for a particular protest to have any significant effect. The importance of the lonely stand taken by Michael Scott in 1946, the courage of Patrick Duncan in 1952, or the refusal of the Bishop of Johannesburg, the C.R. and the S.S.M. to hand over their African church schools in 1955, was that they pointed the way to the urgency of seeing that ultimately the only answer to apartheid was resistance. Whilst Trevor Huddleston saw how important was the stand taken by the churches to refuse obedience to the "Church Clause", Patrick Duncan viewed the matter with surprising nonchalance.[186] In a letter to Trevor Huddleston he gave his view about the effect of the new legislation.

> I am almost alone in not worrying very much about it. After all this country has for more than thirty years been enacting the most draconian legislation to keep the Africans out of the cities, yet they go on flocking there. Inter-racial contact is growing and will go on growing, Verwoerd or no V. I am all for Race Relations and the LP just carrying on, and ignoring V. and his legislation. Of course some of us will be jailed, but several hundred Liberals are ready for this. 187

Archbishop Clayton may be criticized for reaching the conclusion to take his resistance to apartheid to the point of defiance only when the church itself was threatened. By their unanimous refusal to obey the "Church Clause" the bishops of the C.P.S.A. ran the risk of prosecution for incitement, and shielded African members of the church from the risk of prosecution. The fact that one sphere of human activity, the fellowship of the

186. The Star, 8.8.1957. Trevor Huddleston was quoted as saying, "For the first time in the Union's history, the authorities of the Anglican, the Roman Catholic and the Methodist Churches, representing the largest Christian following in the country, had publicly called upon their members to disobey the law 'if circumstances should arise making the choice between God and Caesar inescapable'."

187. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan papers DU 5.45.64, letter Duncan to Huddleston, 18.4.1957.

church itself, was preserved from the dictates of regulations which separated the races of South Africa from one another, has kept alive the possibility of communication across the colour line on a basis of equality. This has meant that besides multi-racial gatherings for synods and church assemblies, throughout the long period when uniracial restaurants, clubs and hotels were the general rule, people could still meet without regard to a colour bar, to eat and have fellowship together, if this was done on church premises.

If freedom is indivisible, then any failure by the church to defend what may generally be categorized as personal freedom or civil liberty diminishes religious liberty. Equally, any success that the church may have in the defence of religious liberty has an important effect upon civil liberty and personal freedom. Therefore, ultimately, civil and religious liberty are inseparable from each other because freedom is indivisible. Thus it was that the church's resolute defence of the principle of religious liberty, by its refusal to obey the "Church Clause", has had the concomitant effect of keeping alive certain other principles of civil liberty, like freedom of association for all. The assertion of freedom for the church to preach the gospel also includes the freedom to preach and teach about the implications of that gospel for society. By upholding the principles of freedom of worship, of preaching and of association for Christians, the effect has been to help to secure the same rights for others. Equally, where the church has found that it was forced to concede the principle of freedom of worship, as in the instance of the ordination service at Cradock, this was because the principle of civil liberty had already been breached, by the banning without trial of James Calata. These famous lines, written by a former Dean of St. Paul's, John Donne, in his Devotions, provide an apt commentary:

> No man is an Island, entire of it self .... Any man's death diminshes me, because I am involved in Mankind; And therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; It tolls for thee. 188

Liberty, like humanity, is indivisible.

188. DONNE, John (1571-1631), Devotions, quoted from Oxford Dictionary of Quotations, Second Edition with revision, London: OUP 1959, p. 186: 27, 28.

For this reason, if for no other, the C.P.S.A.'s relative silence about the clauses of the Native Laws Amendment Act which prevented all South African citizens regardless of race from meeting freely in restaurants, clubs, hotels and places of entertainment underlines the conclusion of the previous chapter that Anglican bishops were less faithful in the defence of civil liberty than they were in making their most commendable and highly effective stand for the church's right to religious liberty and freedom of association within the church.

ARGUMENTS FOR RESISTANCE IN C.P.S.A. BISHOPS' PASTORAL LETTERS OF JULY 1957.

The gist of all the pastoral letters written in response to the Native Laws Amendment Act in July 1957 by each diocesan bishop had these main points in common. They recognized the duty of a Christian citizen to be law-abiding, but added that this did not mean that the powers derived from God by a civil authority were unlimited. It was declared that in the case of the Native Laws Amendment Act the limit had been reached, and Christians should disregard any direction made in terms of the Act by the Minister of Native Affairs. Most bishops included an appeal to church members to support any who might suffer as a result of such a refusal. The interest for our purposes at this point lies in the revealing variety of biblical, theological and historical arguments used in support of the priority of divine over civil obedience.

Though the Pastoral Letters of each bishop were commendable in their own way, and their cumulative effect truly impressive, the outstanding example of simple, succinct, and cogent statement of the arguments for resistance, based on the most important New Testament texts on the issue of civil disobedience, came from John Hunter, the Bishop of George. He began by asserting the "solemn duty" laid upon all Christians "to obey those set in authority in the land of which they are citizens", citing Matthew 22;21, Romans 13;1 and I Peter 2;13 to support this statement. He immediately went on to point out, however, that the civil powers could not

claim unlimited obedience.

> But while obedience to the civil powers is without doubt a Christian duty, Christians have always recognised that the claim of these powers to obedience is not unlimited. When obedience to particular laws clearly conflicts with the commandments of God as these have been revealed to us by our Lord and His Church, it becomes no less the duty of Christians to disobey these laws rather than be unfaithful to God. 189

He then cited Acts 5;29 as an example from the New Testament when the Apostles Peter and John, in response to an illegitimate command to stop preaching, declared, "We must obey God rather than men".

After referring to the law enacted by the Government "under which the Minister of Native Affairs is empowered in certain circumstances to prohibit Native African members of the Church from joining in the worship of God and taking part in other gatherings of Church members", Bishop Hunter cited the text from Galatians 3;28 to support his statement.

> The Church of God pays no regard to distinctions of race among its members, but looks on all, of whatever race, as brethren in Christ and entitled equally to the rights and privileges of membership in Christ's mystical body. 190

John Hunter's conclusion was not to make the claim that a law which prevented one particular race from joining in divine worship with those of other races was merely against New Testament teaching. He expressed this in terms of the church regarding such a law as "contrary to the revealed will of Almighty God", and on these grounds:

> .... such a law is one which Christians cannot obey without being unfaithful to the revelation of His will and purpose which God has made known to us through Christ. 191

The importance of expressing it in these terms was that a decision to disobey a particular law was not merely a matter of an individual responding to the dictates of conscience, but the considered and responsible decision of the Church in response to the revealed will of Almighty God.

The remaining paragraphs contained a solemn injunction to disregard the Minister's directions if he should make use of his powers under the Act, and secondly, that, should any Christian

189. CPSA Archive, AB 981, Bishops' Pastoral Letters to Dioceses, 14.7.1957, the Bishop of George.
190-1. Ibid.

suffer as a result of such a refusal to comply with the Minister's directions, the bishop called upon the people of his diocese "to render such assistance as lies within their powers to those who suffer on this account, and to their dependents".[192]

Bishop Eric Trapp of Zululand prefaced his letter with the words of Jesus to Pilate, "Thou wouldst have no power against Me except it were given thee from above", and quoted Romans 13;1 before continuing:

> Certainly Christians in every age and every place have recognised that secular governments derive their authority not simply from the people who elect them or acknowledge them, but ultimately from God Himself. So it is that God-fearing men and women commonly regard it as their moral duty to be law-abiding, and do not lightly disobey what is constitutionally decreed.
>
> Yet the fact that a government has its authority from God does not necessarily mean that it will always exercise that authority in accordance with God's will. A government is neither infallible in judgement nor impeccable in action. It may make laws which conflict with the demands of the Gospel and with the dictates of the enlightened conscience; and in such circumstances, Christians are plainly under obligation to resist at whatever cost. 193

Geoffrey Clayton, in writing about Civil Disobedience in 1952, had asked, "Who is to decide whether a particular law is just or unjust ?"[194] It is interesting to see how Bishop Trapp and several other bishops used the same formula as Bishop Reeves had done, in referring to "the demands of the Gospel and the dictates of conscience". This implied that it was a matter for the individual and not the church to decide when a particular law conflicted with the demands of the gospel, unlike Bishop Hunter, who expressed this in terms of laws which conflicted with "the commandments of God as these have been revealed to us by our Lord and His Church".[195] It was thus the corporate judgement of the church, and not the individual, that was decisive. John Boys, Bishop of Kimberley and Kuruman from 1951 to 1961, spoke of the "informed conscience of an individual" and "a law contrary to the demand of the gospel".[196] Similarly, Bishop Vernon

192. Ibid.
193. Ibid., the Bishop of Zululand.
194. Good Hope, May 1952. See above, Chapter Eight, p. 422.
195. CPSA Archive AB 981, loc. cit., the Bishop of George.
196. Ibid., the Bishop of Kimberley and Kuruman.

Inman of Natal made his primary appeal to "the voice of God as revealed to us through our conscience".[197] James Schuster, who had been Bishop of St. John's since 1956, posed the question of the Christian who was faced with a choice between the law of God and the law of the state. He normally obeyed the law of the state because he was "satisfied that, in doing so, he is also doing the Will of God".

> But what is he to do, if he is not satisfied in his conscience that, in obeying the law of the State, he will also be doing the Will of God ? .... He must obey God rather than Man. [198]

Thus he, too, seemed to place the criterion for decision upon the individual conscience and not upon the corporate conscience of the church as a whole.

The context in which the bishops issued their pastoral letters simultaneously on 14th July 1957 made it plain that in this instance it was the church as a whole which had decided that the "Church Clause" in the Native Laws Amendment Act was contrary to the demands of the gospel. Thus it was not merely a matter of a bishop's individual conscience, however enlightened, on which this particular decision depended. The choice had been manifestly and deliberately made "in conformity with the unanimous judgement of the Bishops", as the Bishop of Grahamstown told his diocese.[199] As Acting Metropolitan, Bishop Cullen concentrated his argument on the fact that the administration of word and sacraments in the church could be governed only by ecclesiastical authority in terms of the rubric of the South African Prayer Book before Holy Communion, and by Missionary Regulations. Hence, no one

> .... who presents himself for reception of the Word of God or the Holy Sacraments may be denied them publicly by any priest except such a person is formally excommunicate .... in other words by ecclesiastical authority. [200]

Robert Selby Taylor in Pretoria quoted Archbishop Clayton's letter to the Prime Minister, emphasizing that there was no way in which a Christian could render to Caesar what belonged to God. He also referred to obeying not the voice of man, but "the voice of God as revealed to us through our conscience".[201] Bishop Lavis placed

197. Ibid., the Bishop of Natal.
198. Ibid., the Bishop of St. John's.
199-200. Ibid., the Bishop of Grahamstown.
201. Ibid., the Bishop of Pretoria.

his emphasis upon the state's infringement of the principle of freedom of worship. Quoting from Episcopal Synod's statement in April, he repeated that

> .... no secular authority has the moral right to interfere with religious freedom or in particular "to determine whether or where a member of the Church of any race shall discharge his religious duty of participation in public worship or give instructions to the Minister of any congregation as to whom he shall admit to membership of that congregation".[202]

Thus the second feature arising from an analysis of the reasons advance for resistance in the bishops' Pastoral Letters of July 1957 was that almost every letter made the key criterion for the bishops' decision to refuse obedience to this particular Act its interference with freedom of worship. The state in terms of Matthew 22;21 had no right to expect the church to render to Caesar what obviously belonged to God, for the teaching of the New Testament made it plain that "men and women irrespective of race have the right to worship whenever and wherever they wish".[203]

Thirdly, it is relevant to note that the bishops' injunction to refuse obedience to the state applied only to the "Church Clause" in the Native Laws Amendment Act. Unlike the Defiance Campaign, which had singled out a considerable number of "unjust laws" which were to be defied, the bishops' decision of 1957 was not part of a general injunction to refuse obedience to all racially discriminatory legislation. This may account for the evident reluctance of the C.P.S.A. bishops to give their unqualified support to the campaign of civil disobedience in 1952. In particular, Bishop Reeves' hesitations were certainly due to his fear that a wholesale campaign of civil disobedience ran the grave risk of incurring a general break-down of law and order in society. On the other hand, the manner in which the C.P.S.A. bishops acted to threaten disobedience to the "Church Clause", if it were to be implemented by the Minister of Native Affairs, ran no such risk and could not have had the result of precipitating a situation in which all law and order was placed in jeopardy, because only one law was made the subject for disobedience.

202. Ibid., the Vicar General of Cape Town.
203. Ibid., the Bishop of Pretoria.

The foregoing survey of the theological arguments employed by Anglican leaders shows how attitudes gradually changed from repeating injunctions of Romans 13 and I Peter 2;13 about a Christian citizen's duty of civil obedience, to the recognition that a government's claim upon the obedience of its citizens was not unlimited. Geoffrey Clayton's emphasis in 1946 upon Christian teaching about non-resistance, even to evil rulers in spite of injustice, gave way to the confident declarations of the C.P.S.A. bishops when faced with the "Church Clause" in 1957, which asserted the calling of a Christian to refuse obedience to a law which conflicted either with the demands of the gospel or the dictates of Christian conscience, or, as Bishop Hunter put it, a law which the church had declared to be contrary to the revealed will of Almighty God.

There was thus a growing correlation between the methods of protest chosen by Anglican leaders to resist apartheid and the implacability of the Government in implementing its policy of total separation. After 1955, churchmen increasingly saw the futility of mere protests, which left no alternative other than a blunt refusal to obey the Government. The churches' stand against the "Church Clause" in 1957 therefore demonstrates the efficacy of resistance when applied with sustained unanimity and determination.

In the final analysis an important victory was thereby won. "Liberalistic" bishops by standing up for their right to worship with "Natives" secured one important sector of the nation's life in which apartheid would continue to be infringed.[204] For his part Dr. H.F. Verwoerd simply ignored the criticism and continued to live by his credo of apartheid in everything. Mr Harold MacMillan, the British Prime Minister, stayed at Groote Schuur as his guest in February 1960 and recalled,

> Even in small matters he had pressed apartheid to its extreme. In a country where there is at least the advantage of being able to enlist the services of an African staff, he refused to have a single African in his house. An old rather incompetent Dutch butler looked after us. 205

204. PATON, Alan, lecture to the Divinity Faculty of the University of Cambridge, 2.5.1975, "The Church and Apartheid", author's lecture notes.

205. MACMILLAN, Harold, Pointing the Way, Memoirs Vol. V, 1959-1961, London: MacMillan 1972, p. 152.

The controversy over the "Church Clause" certainly made no difference to Dr. Verwoerd's personal political standing in the National Party, except to enhance his reputation[206] as a "man of granite".[207] He asked Mr Strijdom to let him stand down as Minister of Native Affairs, but the Prime Minister obligingly refused to consider it.[208] The National Party then won a convincing victory in the general election of 1958 by 103 to 53, just two short of a two-thirds majority, but still with only 48,9% of white voters on their side.[209] Upon the death of Mr J.G. Strijdom on 18th August 1958, Dr. Verwoerd easily won an overall majority in the National Party caucus, defeating his two rivals Mr C.R. Swart and Dr. T.E. Dönges for the position of party leader and Prime Minister.[210]

Having failed to impose their will on the churches, the Nationalists then turned their attention to applying apartheid to the universities. A significant factor in Dr. Verwoerd's self-defence had been the claim that the amended "kerk-artikel" was drafted in consultation with the Moderatuur of Die Raad van N.G. Kerke, and that they had said they were satisfied that the sovereignty of the church in its own sphere was not thereby infringed. Professor Ben Marais' insistence that all eight points of Die Federaleraad's memorandum to Dr. Verwoerd be made public was ignored by the editors of Afrikaans newspapers, who did everything in their power to maintain the illusion that there had been no breach between the Government and the N.G.K.[211] Thus at another crucial moment the National Party Government claimed legitimation for its policy by the Afrikaans churches, and so reinforced its political position.

206. Die Transvaaler, 20.5.1957, p. 6, "'n Persoonlike Triomf". "Hy tree met verhoogde prestige uit die stryd".
207. BOTHA, Jan, Verwoerd is Dead, op. cit., Chapter Two, pp. 24-27, "Hendrik Verwoerd, Man of Granite".
208. BARNARD, Fred, 13 Years with Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers 1967, p. 41.
209. See above, Chapter Two, p. 85.
210. SCHOEMAN B.M., Van Malan tot Verwoerd, Cape Town: Human & Rosseau 1973.
211. Die Burger, 2.5.1957, p. 6, "Kerk-artikel Sinode se besluit"; ibid., p. 7, "N.G. Kerk stem volkome saam met artikel oor kerke", and p. 8, leading article, "Voorwerp van woede"; Die Transvaaler, 2.5.1957, p. 5, "V.P. tas rond oor die N.G.Kerke se verklaring"; and see above, pp. 942-4.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN.

ECUMENICAL DIALOGUE AND ECCLESIASTICAL DIPLOMACY.

Would dialogue and diplomacy with the Afrikaans churches have achieved more than protests and resistance to the Government ? Once it was seen that the legitimation of apartheid by the Afrikaans churches undermined the efficacy of the C.P.S.A.'s opposition a further strategy should have suggested itself. Should not the member churches of the Christian Council, acting together, have given absolute priority to ecumenical dialogue with the Afrikaans churches as a means of resisting apartheid ? This study of Christian resistance to apartheid would therefore be incomplete without considering what was done by Anglican leaders in the context of the C.P.S.A.'s membership of the Christian Council and the World Council of Churches to bring pressure to bear upon the Afrikaans churches to modify their stand on apartheid.

The preceding chapters have shown how the National Party Government after 1953 could with impunity ignore even the combined protests of all the member churches of the Christian Council acting together, as well as the unified resistance of the African, Indian and Coloured peoples of South Africa, who banded together in the Congress movement. To retain political power the National Party found it needed only two thirds of the votes of Afrikaners alone. Hence as long as apartheid received the sanction of the largest of the three Afrikaans churches, the N.G.K., the National Party was secure. In these circumstances it is not difficult to see that a most effective means of combating apartheid was to persuade the synods of the N.G.K. that what the Lambeth Bishops had said in 1948 about racial discrimination was true.[1] Once the N.G.K. declared that apartheid was contrary to Christ's religion the citadel of Afrikanerdom built on apartheid would crumble.

1. See above, Chapter Two, p. 99.

This penultimate chapter therefore aims to discuss and evaluate the extent to which Anglicans were involved in dialogue over the race question in the discussions which took place between the Afrikaans speaking and English speaking churches between 1950 and 1957.

This chapter thus deals with the initiatives of Bishop Reeves in the Transvaal and Archbishop Clayton in the Cape to open ecumenical dialogue with the Afrikaans churches, which led to the important visit to South Africa by Dr. W.A. Visser 'tHooft in 1952. It describes the series of conferences which took place in South Africa in 1953, 1954, 1956 and 1957, as well as the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Evanston in 1954. The effect of these discussions upon the stance of leaders of the N.G.K. towards their earlier legitimation of apartheid is assessed in order to evaluate the efficacy of ecumenical dialogue, ecclesiastical diplomacy and theological writing in resisting apartheid.

The value of such dialogue has to be assessed in the context of the protests and resistance of the C.P.S.A. both in South Africa and overseas already described in the preceding chapters. The overall impression of the C.P.S.A. was of a church that was publicly attacking the Afrikaner for his support of apartheid. It will be evident from this chapter that the C.P.S.A. at the same time was also trying to promote dialogue with the Afrikaans churches, through a liason committee created by the Christian Council and Die Federaleraad, as well as through discussions between the clergy of the member churches of the World Council of Churches. The value of employing both the carrot and the stick simultaneously was doubted by some, yet it can be demonstrated, nevertheless, that there was a considerable change in the stance of Afrikaans church leaders on the apartheid issue between 1951 and 1957. For example, by 1958 Dr. A.J. van der Merwe, the Moderator of the N.G.K. (Cape), was quoted as saying that the Federal Council of the Dutch Reformed Churches had rejected the effort of trying to prove from the Bible that apartheid was compulsory.

> Now, apartheid was merely a practical arrangement, and provided it was applied with justice, the N.G.K. had peace of

mind that it was not in conflict with the word of God and the Church. 2

Among the most influential leaders and theologians of the N.G.K. in both the Cape and the Transvaal were those who doubted that the Bible's emphasis upon the unity of Christians in the body of Christ could be reconciled with a doctrinaire separation of the races on grounds of skin pigmentation and cultural differences. In spite of the suspicion and mistrust in the ranks of the Afrikaans churches towards the world ecumenical movement, they took the initiative from within the milieu of the N.G.K. in the Transvaal and the Cape, and were sustained in their vision of Christian unity by some kindred spirits, among whom were a number of Anglicans, within the circles of the Christian Council. A vital role was performed in sustaining these relationships by the World Council's Dutch General Secretary, Dr. Willem Visser 'tHooft. The importance of his role is linked with that of Ds. Johan Reynecke and his son-in-law Mr F.J. van Wyk Deputy Director of the Institute of Race Relations, both of the N.G.K., and the Anglican Secretary of the Christian Council, Dr. Arthur Blaxall.

In the Transvaal the leadership of the N.G.K.'s Moderator there, Ds. C.B. Brink, together with Ds. J. du Toit, the Christian Council's Secretary up to the time that the N.G.K. withdrew in 1940, was crucial. In particular the writing of Professor Ben Marais and Professor P.V. Pistorius animated continuing debate.[3] In the Cape the leadership of Dr. A.J. van der Merwe and Ds. Willem Landman in Cape Town and Professor G.B.A. Gerdener of Stellenbosch did much to promote the cause of ecumenism in the N.G.K. (Cape) Synod. The most influential of all was Professor B.B.Keet, for forty years the Professor of Dogmatic Theology at Stellenbosch, whose book, Suid Afrika Waarheen ?, published in 1956, was described by Patrick Duncan as a "bomb in the citadel of Afrikaner unity".[4] The writing of Anglicans, Alan Paton, Edgar Brookes, Trevor Huddleston, Ambrose Reeves and Michael Scott, needs to be

2. Wits. Archive, SAIRR Papers, Papers of the Continuation Committee and the Cottesloe Planning Committee (lent to the author by the late F.J. van Wyk and now lodged in the Archive), letter Archdeacon Bailey to F.J. van Wyk 30.7.1958, referring to a report in the Christian Recorder 4.7.1958.
3. See above, Chapter Four pp. 157 ff, Chapter Fifteen p. 895, and below, p. 1039 ff, 1043.
4. See below, p. 1044 reference 266.

seen in relation to the work of men like Keet, Marais and Pistorius within Afrikanerdom. In spite of all the protests and the resistance as well as the most skilful efforts at suasion, the citadel of Afrikaner unity remained intact. The absence of any published work by Archbishop Clayton reflects the comparative inadequacy of the C.P.S.A.'s efforts to resist apartheid by means of theological writing, although this inexplicable omission was somewhat mitigated by the publication in 1960 of an edited collection of Clayton's Synod Charges.[5] A collection of Clayton's sermons, edited by the late C.T. Wood, The Critical Years, somehow failed to find a publisher.[6]

AFRIKAANS-ENGLISH CHURCH DIALOGUE: (1) ARCHBISHOP CLAYTON AND DR. A.J. VAN DER MERWE IN THE CAPE.

The relative conservatism of the N.G.K. synods of the O.F.S. and Natal meant that the only places where any possibility of dialogue existed were in the Western Cape and the Southern Transvaal. The invitation extended to Archbishop Clayton and Bishop Lavis by Dr. A.J. van der Merwe, Moderator of the N.G.K. (Cape) Synod in 1949 has already been mentioned.[7]

A week before Archbishop Clayton was received so warmly by the N.G.K. (Cape) Synod, he delivered the Peter Ainslie Memorial Lecture at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, on 12th October 1949. He had concluded the lecture by saying,

> I believe the next step is that we should try perhaps next year to inaugurate discussions which, at first, should not be public, though they may later become so, in which those who are not represented in the Christian Council should take part. 8

5. WOOD, C.T. (ed.), Where we Stand, Archbishop Clayton's Charges 1948-1957, London: OUP 1960.
6. CPSA Archive AB 811, "The Critical Years 1949-1957", sermons and addresses of Archbishop Clayton edited by C.T. Wood.
7. See above, Chapter Four, pp. 163-4.
8. CPSA Archive, AB 191, Clayton papers, Typed Documents. "Christian Unity, an Anglican View", the Peter Ainslie Memorial Lecture, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, 12.10.1949.

Giving effect to this desire for dialogue with the Afrikaans churches, Archbishop Clayton contributed "A Message of Fellowship" to Church News a month before the official opening of the Voortrekker Memorial on 16th December 1949. This was at the end of a year in which there had been much anguished talk about the deterioration of race relations, and blame had been attributed to the preaching of racialism by cabinet ministers. In this message, Archbishop Clayton identified the problem facing not only South Africa but the whole world as "the problem of fellowship".

> How are people of differing cultures, races and ideals to live together ? 9

He identified the manner in which this problem had been tackled in recent years, either by expulsion of those who were not thought to belong to the dominant race, or by the dominance of one race over others, or by a fusion of races and cultures "in which all that is characteristic of any particular tradition is lost".

> There is a better way, a way which is not easy, but which is pointed out to us by the teaching of our Lord and His Apostles about the Kingdom of God. According to this teaching, all the differing elements that make up Society are to bring their own riches of culture, character, and tradition into the common stock. This is fusion, if you like; but it is fusion after a different pattern. And it is the only hope of fellowship in our modern world. 10

Archbishop Clayton went on to stress that "we must learn to appreciate each other's traditions" and was generous in his praise of two features in the "Spirit of the Voortrekkers" worthy of imitation by all. He singled out "the courage which sacrifices much for an ideal", and secondly "the strong religious faith" which inspired their leaders like Abraham to go out "not knowing whither they went".[11]

That nothing seemed to come of this desire for dialogue in his first year as Archbishop Alan Paton has ascribed to the fact that

> .... something happened in the year 1950 to cause Clayton to lose this desire for closer association, or rather to realise that closer association was impossible so long as the Calvinist rulers of South Africa were determined to

9. Church News, 16.11.1949, pp. 162-3, "The Voortrekker Memorial- A Message of Fellowship". cf. above, Chapter Five.

10-11. Ibid.

impose their apartheid ideology upon all people.[12]
That "something" must have been the Bloemfontein Congress in April 1950, which showed the Afrikaans churches to be even more determined that Dr. D.F. Malan's Government to press on with applying apartheid to its logical conclusion. Perhaps it was this more than anything else which persuaded Clayton that he must concentrate his attention upon the Government, and that the "dearest wish" he had spoken of to the N.G.K. (Cape) synod was not worth pursuing. Certainly this deduction would accord with the tenor of the Archbishop's public speaking during 1950, and in particular with his address to the Headmasters' Conference of Private Schools, held at the Diocesan College, Cape Town, in December 1950.[13]

This speech was delivered at the end of a year which had seen the Immorality Amendment Bill as well as the Population Registration, Group Areas and Suppression of Communism Bills placed on the statute book. If this were not enough, the Afrikaans churches, at their volkskongres at Bloemfontein in April, had asked the Government to apply its policy of total apartheid more rigorously.[14] In this address Clayton warned that they must expect "a resolute campaign" directed against English ideas and English culture which might lead to the disappearance of English as one of the official languages of the country.

> The private schools of this country are strongholds of English culture, where the English language is predominant, and where there is a good deal of diluted liberalism taught or else they are strongholds of Roman Catholicism where the ideology is certainly not Calvinist. 15

He did not wish to see a fusion of the English Church and the Dutch Reformed Church or the assimilation of private schools into government schools. He wanted them to be "unashamedly English, and English as part of the South Africa of the future", and the products of the schools "must learn to be proud of the culture from which they spring" and "must think that the Nation of which

12. PATON, A, Apartheid and the Archbishop, op. cit., p. 196.
13. CPSA Archive AB 811, "The Critical Years 1949-1957" op. cit., pp. 182-188, Clayton's address to Conference of Headmasters of Private Schools, Diocesan College, Cape Town, 1950. cf. PATON, op. cit., pp. 196-8.
14. See above, Chapters Four and Six, and Sixteen, p. 942.
15. CPSA Archive AB 811 loc. cit., p. 184.

they form part will be the better for the possession of that culture".[16] On the other hand, it was not the business of the English Church

> .... to disseminate English culture. We don't want a "Christian National Education" of our own. We do want a Christian education. 17

The weakness of English speaking South Africa was that it lacked faith where the Afrikaner did not. Many of the boys and girls who went to private schools came from homes that had no faith. Whilst Clayton did not want "our English-speaking people to have an English faith", nor did he "want them to become Calvinists, because I believe Calvinism is a false interpretation of the Christian Faith". But he wanted an English South African tradition to be built on faith.

> An English culture can be built up on a faith that is not specifically English. But I don't think it can be built up where there is no faith at all. 18

Hitherto, the ministry of School Chaplains had tended to be regarded as secondary to that of the parish priest, and Christian commitment was not always a necessary criterion in the appointment of staff at private church schools. Clayton urged the Headmasters to "get the very best people you can find anywhere to represent religion in your schools".[19] This resulted in a noticable change in the calibre of clergymen who became school chaplains.[20]

Only two weeks before the second reading of the Natives Resettlement Bill, in which Bishop Reeves and Trevor Huddleston were subjected to a concerted attack by the Nationalist back-benchers in Parliament, the Bloemfontein Afrikaans daily Die Volksblad published the contents of Archbishop Clayton's address to the Headmasters' Conference in 1950. Archbishop Clayton was accused of advocating that English church schools existed for the express purpose of countering Calvinism. If this were so, warned Mr J.J. Fouchē, Administrator of the Orange Free State, subsidies to English church schools in the province might be stopped.[21] Clayton replied

16. Ibid., p. 186. 17-18. Ibid., p. 187. 19. Ibid., p. 188.
20. For example, B.B. Burnett, consecrated Bishop of Bloemfontein 1957, Grahamstown in 1969 and Archbishop of Cape Town in 1974, was appointed Chaplain at Michaelhouse in 1950.
21. Cape Times, Cape Argus, 6.3.1954; Church News, 17.3.1954; see above Chapter Thirteen, pp. 735-7.

that religious teaching in an Anglican church school was not given for the "purpose of countering any other kind of religious teaching, but with the purpose of instructing Anglicans in the faith of their fathers".[22] However, he did not deny that he saw Anglican private schools as a last bastion in resisting the ideology of apartheid. The late Canon W.V. Gregorowski, who was a priest in Clayton's diocese at the time, recalled the way in which this speech was remembered by Afrikaners. "Clayton", he concluded, "had a gut level reaction against Afrikaners and what they stood for".

> The only real friend among Afrikaans people that Clayton ever made was Dr. Keet .... He wrote that book against apartheid. Immediately they were pals 23

The damage had been done, and the Free State synod did not participate in sponsoring the Church Leaders' Conference in December 1954. The list of apologies sent to the Chairman of the Steering Committee charged with organizing the conference, Ds. J. Reynecke, indicates that some elements in the N.G.K. were opposed to a conference at which Archbishop Clayton was to be one of the joint chairmen. Dr. A.J. van der Merwe was among those who did not attend.[24]

Archbishop Clayton's desire for dialogue with the N.G.K., however, seems to have been revived again by the 1954 Witwatersrand Conference.[25] In a sermon at St. Mary the Less, Cambridge, he referred to his hopes for dialogue and the evidence of a developing social conscience in the Dutch Reformed Church.[26] A week later on his way home Clayton preached in Salisbury Cathedral, Southern Rhodesia, at a service to mark the constitution of the Anglican Province of Central Africa. He emphasized the importance of the catholicity of the Anglican Communion. "We have no Anglican Calvin", he said, making the same claim for the merits

22. Ibid.
23. GREGOROWSKI, The late Revd. Canon W.V., Interview, Kalk Bay, 1.5.1976.
24. Wits. Archive, William Cullen Library, SAIRR papers, Papers of the Continuation Committee of the South African Churches and the Cottesloe Consultation Planning Committee (loaned to the author by the late F.J.van Wyk and since lodged in the Archive).
25. WOOD (ed.) Where we Stand, op. cit., p. 36, Charge to Cape Town Diocesan Synod, 24.11.1954.
26. CPSA Archive AB 811 loc. cit., "The Critical Years 1949-1957", Sermon, St. Mary the Less, Cambridge, 1.5.1955, p. 137.

of Anglican universalism over against Afrikaner Calvinism that he had expressed in a sermon at Westminster Abbey three weeks before.[27] However, in also paying tribute to the sincerity of the Afrikaner in the same sermon, Archbishop Clayton seemed to be indicating his desire at the same time to retain the continuing fellowship and respect he enjoyed in his relationships with Dr. A.J. van der Merwe and Ds. C.B. Brink.[28] The testimony of Ds. W.A. Landman however indicates Clayton's relationship with Dr. A.J. van der Merwe remained on terms of mutual respect and was unaffected by his earlier brush with Die Volksblad and Mr J.J. Fouché over his speech in 1950 at the Headmasters' Conference. The temper of Afrikaner sentiment in the Orange Free State has always been quite distinct from that in the Transvaal and the Cape.

The desire for further dialogue with the Afrikaans churches on the racial question, however, needs to be distinguished from Archbishop Clayton's conservative attitude towards schemes of inter-church reunion. It has already been noted that Clayton had been among those to oppose the Union Scheme for the Church of South India at the Lambeth Conference of 1948.[29] That Clayton was reticent in his attitude towards ecumenism generally was evident from his Peter Ainslie Memorial Lecture in Grahamstown in 1949. "I am not prepared that Anglicanism should die for the sake of a reunited Protestant Christendom", he had declared. He regarded the Anglican contribution to the ecumenical movement as "to be something of a bridge .... [and] we believe that the bridge must be kept ready for the day when it is wanted".[30] Six years later in the same sermon at Westminster Abbey cited above, in April 1955, Archbishop Clayton expressed his hopes for church union, but he still felt no particular urgency over the matter. That, he emphasized, would have to wait "for tomorrow".[31]

Pardoxically, it was Clayton's very reticence towards ecum-

27. Ibid., p. 149, Sermon in Salisbury Cathedral on the creation of a new Province of Central Africa, 8.5.1955; and CPSA Archive AB 191 Clayton papers, Sermons, Westminster Abbey 17.4.1955.
28. CPSA Archive AB 191 loc. cit, Westminster Abbey 17.4.1955, and LANDMAN, Ds. W.A., Interview, Cape Town, 3.5.1976.
29. See above, Chapter Two, p. 98.
30. CPSA Archive, Clayton papers loc. cit., typed documents, "Christian Unity, an Anglican View" op. cit.
31. CPSA Archive AB 191 Clayton Papers, Sermons, Westminster Abbey 17.4.1955.

enism and church union which may have helped to sustain his relationship with Dr. A.J. van der Merwe, the N.G.K. (Cape)'s Moderator. Their similarly cautious attitude to ecumenism at least meant that they had that much in common. Whilst courtesy and mutual respect characterized their relationship, this stopped short of the kind of friendship Clayton enjoyed with Professor Keet.[32] Whereas Clayton had readily conceded that disunion was a "real evil" and "contrary to the will of our Lord as expressed in Holy Scripture", and that only "the One Spirit is to create the one body", he did not consider it "right to herd people together into one organization with the hope that oneness of spirit may grow".

> .... we cannot set to work to reunite the Church by lumping together everyone who calls himself a Christian .... however tiresome and slow the process may be it must be girded by theological thinking 33

Clayton was to make the same observation about Anglican-Afrikaner dialogue on the race question, when he wrote in the foreword to the Johannesburg Conference report of 1954, "without theology nothing can be done".[34]

Archbishop Clayton's attitude both on the question of Church Union and ecumenical dialogue with the Afrikaans churches was an ambiguous one. The important difference was that whilst he saw no urgency over the former, in spite of the serious obstacles which barred the way to meaningful dialogue with the Afrikaans churches on the issue of apartheid, it is clear that Clayton recognized both the importance and the urgency of the latter. A second element in his response to the Afrikaner was his ruthless honesty which always prevented him from glossing over an unpalatable truth. Although Archbishop Clayton said that the C.P.S.A. must speak the truth in love, this was something he acknowledged and found personally a most difficult thing to do. His biographer's portrait of Bishop Clayton spending his holidays with another

32. LANDMAN, Ds. W.A., Interview, Cape Town, 3.5.1976, and GREGOROWSKI, the late Canon W.V., Interview, Kalk Bay, 1.5.1976.
33. CPSA Archive AB 191, Clayton papers, typed documents, "Christian Unity, an Anglican View", op. cit., 12.10.1949.
34. VAN WYK, F.J. (ed.), God's Kingdom in Multi-Racial South Africa, a report on the Inter-Racial Conference of Church Leaders, Johannesburg 7-10 December 1954, Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers 1955, p. 6. See below, p. 1021, reference 181.

bachelor priest in his diocese, the Revd. G.A. ffrench-Beytagh, does much to explain why Clayton found it possible to be on terms of personal friendship only with those who shared his outlook.[35] It explains how Clayton enjoyed a genuine friendship with Professor B.B. Keet, whilst his relationship with Dr. A.J. van der Merwe is better described by the term mutual respect.[36] Clayton's inability to speak Afrikaans, his English upbringing, and his authoritarian style of leadership, made him by temperament better equipped for prophetic preaching than diplomatic dialogue. It is evident, though, that he was among those who realised that both were needed in the fight against apartheid.

AFRIKAANS-ENGLISH CHURCH DIALOGUE: (2) BISHOP REEVES, PROFESSOR GERDENER AND DS. BRINK IN THE TRANSVAAL.

By contrast with Archbishop Clayton, Bishop Reeves, though equally nurtured in the Anglo-Catholic tradition, had an entirely different attitude towards the ecumenical movement, and to questions of reunion. Ambrose Reeves came to South Africa having worked for the World Student Christian Federation as a colleague of Dr. W.A. Visser 'tHooft between 1935 and 1937. He had attended the W.C.C.'s inaugural assembly at Amsterdam in 1948 as a delegate of the Church of England. With Dr. G.B.A. Gerdener, who had gone to Amsterdam as a representative of the N.G.K. (Transvaal) and an observer for the N.G.K. (Cape), Bishop Reeves had been elected on to the World Council's Central Committee.[37]

Professor G.B.A. Gerdener's goodwill towards the World Council of Churches had been demonstrated by his series of articles in Die Kerkbode in November and December 1948. That distinguished gathering of world-renowned theologians and ecclesiastical leaders at the Inaugural Assembly at Amsterdam had made a deep impression on him.[38] These articles contained a strong appeal against

35. PATON, A., Apartheid and the Archbishop, op. cit., pp. 77-79.
36. GREGOROWSKI, the late Canon W.V., Interview, Kalk Bay, 1.5.1976, and LANDMAN, Ds. W.A., Interview, Cape Town, 3.5.1976.
37. See above, Chapter Two, p. 103; VISSER 'tHOOFT, W.A. (ed.), The First Assembly of the World Council of Churches, Official Report, London: SCM 1949, pp. 218-9.
38. Die Kerkbode, 3.11.1948; 17.11.1948 and 22.12.1948.

isolation:

> *So lank ons mure bou en grense belyn, bly ons vreemd en wantrouig teenoor mekaar en verswak ons elke getuienis in hierdie ongelowige wereld.* 39

No-one was thinking of establishing a super-church, he assured readers of Die Kerkbode. It was practical co-operation that was the priority, and the future of this whole historic movement depended on each church, every Christian, "van u en my".[40]

Professor G.B.A. Gerdener's goodwill towards the world ecumenical movement was sustained in spite of the aura of suspicion and hostility towards the World Council of Churches in the synods of the Afrikaans churches. Carl Macintyre's International Council of Christian Churches had held its own rival inaugural conference at Amsterdam in 1948, and circulated its propaganda to ministers in South Africa in a newsletter called The Christian Beacon, in which the World Council was stigmatized as being tainted by communist influence and liberal theology.[41] When the N.G.K. (Cape) synod considered the question of its membership of the World Council of Churches in 1949 suspicion of all forms of ecumenical participation was so great that W.C.C. membership was rejected out of hand. Membership of the Reformed Ecumenical Synod was only accepted if a commission examined the question of its relationship with the International Missionary Council and the World Presbyterian Alliance.[42] With regard to membership of the I.M.C., it was discovered later during the same synod that the N.G.K. already had representation through its Federal Mission Council. Although the N.G.K. (Cape) had been a founder member of the World Presbyterian Alliance in 1871, they had left that body due to the unfriendly reception of delegates at the end of the second Anglo-Boer War (Tweede Vryheidsoorlog). However, an invitation had been reissued in 1924, and membership restored then.[43]

This hostility towards the World Council of Churches was intensified when the first meeting of the Central Committee, at

39. Die Kerkbode, 17.11.1948, p. 1165.
40. Ibid., p. 1166.
41. VISSER 'tHOOFT, W.A., Interview, Geneva, 23.7.1975.
42. NGK, Handelinge van die Sinode Ned. Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid Afrika, Cape Town: NGK, 20.10.1949, p. 34.
43. Ibid., p. 96.

Chichester in July 1949, placed "the burning question of race" high on its agenda, and singled out the deteriorating position in South Africa and South West Africa for special attention.[44]

It was against this background that Professor G.B.A. Gerdener invited Dr. Visser 'tHooft to attend the proposed congress being planned by the Federal Mission Council of the Afrikaans churches for April 1950 at Bloemfontein, and sought the help of Bishop Reeves in persuading the World Council's General Secretary to come to South Africa.[45] Bishop Reeves told Dr. Gerdener that he had written to Dr. 'tHooft expressing the view that

> .... resolutions passed by the World Council of Churches on this situation are bound to do more harm than good and will only serve as an irritant in an already difficult situation. 46

Reeves further thought that "it was wrong" for the World Council "to sit in judgement on the South African situation unless a delegation fully representative of the Christian communions in this country can be present" when the Central Committee next met at Toronto. He had also told Dr. 'tHooft that

> .... the single most useful thing that the World Council could do would be to secure the co-operation of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa in the work of the Christian Council. 47

It will be seen how great is the contrast between Reeves' views in 1950, and his attitude with regard to mobilizing world opinion against apartheid after 1954. The collaboration of Bishop Reeves and Professor Gerdener in fact resulted in the Dutch theologian Dr. J.C. Hoekendijk visiting South Africa to attend the Bloemfontein Congress in 1950, as described in Chapter Four. It was then that foundations were laid for the important visit by Dr. Visser 'tHooft in 1952.

As someone who had been a colleague to Visser 'tHooft before the war, and who, with Professor Gerdener, was the only other South African delegate to be elected to the W.C.C.'s Central Committee,

44. Ecumenical Review Autumn 1949, No. 1, p. 38, "The Chichester Meeting" by the Right Revd. G.K.A. Bell, Bishop of Chichester.
45. CPSA Archives AB 388, Reeves Papers, letter Gerdener to Reeves 4.12.1949.
46. Ibid, letter Reeves to Gerdener, 7.12.1949.
47. Ibid.

Bishop Reeves, apart from Bishop John Hunter (Kimberley 1943-1951, George 1951-1966) had been the only other member of Episcopal Synod to have attended the inaugural assembly of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam. This meant that Reeves, among Anglican bishops, for a time became the obvious focus for ecumenical approaches from the Afrikaans churches. It mattered not to Professor Gerdener that he was new to South Africa. Clayton's lack of enthusiasm for the South India Church Union scheme meant that Reeves, rather than Clayton, was regarded as the one to get dialogue started.

THE COMBINED SOCIAL ACTION COMMITTEE OF TRANSVAAL CHURCHES, 1950-1953.

One of the fruits of the visit by Dr. Hoekendijk was that it provided the stimulus for the inauguration of "the Combined Social Action Committee of Transvaal Churches" in 1950.[48] There were four representatives of the Witwatersrand Council of Churches: Bishop Reeves, Dr. Blaxall, the Revd. D.P. Anderson (Congregational) and W. Edmunds (Baptist), who joined with Ds. B.R. Kruger (Gereformeerde Kerk), Ds. A.J. Nolte and Ds. A.M. Meiring (N.G.K.) and D.F.B. de Beer (Hervormde Kerk). Reeves was elected chairman, Kruger Vice-Chairman and de Beer Secretary. This committee, however, at first confined its discussions to such concerns as divorce, pornography and gambling. One proposal from the Afrikaans churches that had been submitted to General Smuts' Government in 1947 and again to Dr. Dönges in 1949 was that adultery be made a criminal offence. Episcopal Synod did not, however, support this proposal. The tenor of these discussions could not have encouraged Archbishop Clayton to believe that his "dearest wish" for dialogue with the Afrikaans churches on the race question, expressed at the N.G.K. (Cape) synod the year before, held out much hope of success. However, Bishop Reeves persevered.

At the same time as Bishop Reeves' Brakpan sermon about

48. CPSA Archive, AB 388 Reeves papers. The above account has been compiled from minutes and correspondence in Bishop Reeves' files on church unity. On the visit of Dr. Hoekendijk, see above, Chapter Four pp. 168-171.

Marxism had received wide publicity, and the start of the Korean War had re-emphasized the dangers of communism, Bishop Reeves discussed with Ds. C.B. Brink the lack of progress being made in the Combined Social Action Committee in getting to grips with the most important issue of race. Accordingly they together convened a meeting at Darragh House on 16th August 1950 that was attended by a cross-section of some sixty-nine clergy from all the non-Roman Catholic churches. Reeves' own hand-written minutes of this meeting reflect many of the abiding problems associated with inter-church dialogue between the Afrikaans and English speaking churches in South Africa.[49] Where the Combined Social Action Committee deliberately evaded the most crucial issue of race relations, the meeting at Darragh House faced the problem squarely. It was recognized that there were deep theological and political differences which interfered with co-operation and that it was differing attitudes about race which were the stumbling block.

One Anglican priest, Fr. H. Leach, gloomily suggested that the theological differences dividing Christians were so formidable as to prevent even a superficial coming together. Dr. Blaxall, on the other hand, believed that "our differing convictions were honest and both sides should respect these differences".[50] Ds. Viervogel of the Hervormde Kerk urged that they must not let political differences interfere with co-operation, and Ds. de Beer, also of the Hervormde Kerk, said that it was race attitudes that were the stumbling block. Ds. Brink had begun the proceedings by emphasizing that the Dutch Reformed Churches had always wished to co-operate, but when they had done so friendly relations had become strained, firstly on grounds of language, and secondly on the issue of race relations.

However, despite all these gloomy prognostications, a continuation committee was elected consisting of Bishop Reeves, Ds. Brink, Dr. Webb (Methodist), Ds. de Beer (N.H.K.), the Revd. W. Edmunds (Baptist) and Ds. Joubert (N.G.K.). They organized a

49. CPSA Archive AB 388, Reeves papers, Church Unity Files. See above, Chapter Six, p. 273.
50. Ibid.

conference at Kingsmead School on 29th January 1951. This group also seems to have had a good deal to do with the arrangements for Dr. Visser 'tHooft's visit in 1952.

January 1953 saw the attempt to take a deputation from this Joint Committee of the Transvaal Churches to the Minister of the Interior, asking for a statutory board on censorship. Episcopal Synod, however, said that they would prefer a voluntary censorship, rather than a governmental one. However, the test of all the goodwill which had been generated by these attempts at dialogue came during 1953 and 1954, when the constitution of a Witwatersrand Council of Churches failed to secure the membership of any of the Dutch Reformed churches.[51]

The effort had been patiently and perseveringly made. Although nothing more was heard either of the Combined Social Action Committee of the Transvaal Churches, or of its twin, the Joint Committee of Transvaal Churches after 1954, this did not mean that co-operation ended. Its role was taken over by the Continuation Committee appointed by the 1954 Church Leaders' Conference in Johannesburg. By then, Bishop Reeves' radical stance over Bantu Education, and his speeches in the United States against apartheid, meant that he could no longer be the bearer of the torch of ecumenical dialogue with the Afrikaans churches. For Bishop Reeves the roles of prophet and diplomat proved to be incompatible. However, his important initiative in starting the process of dialogue between English and Afrikaans speaking clergy on the Witwatersrand needs to be recognized.

By 1954 this initiative passed to two devoted members of the N.G.K. in the Transvaal. The first was Ds. Johan Reynecke, who had written to Geoffrey Clayton from Pretoria when he was elected Archbishop in 1948, expressing the desire "that we shall have more opportunity of learning to know each other".[52] Ever since the Afrikaans churches had withdrawn from the Christian Council in 1940, Ds. Reynecke had stayed on as a "fraternal delegate". A friend and confidant of Dr. Arthur Blaxall, his loving

51. Ibid.

52. See above, Chapter Two, p. 118.

personality remained throughout the dark years of the war and the period of consolidation of the ideology of apartheid after 1948 a constant reminder that the cause of dialogue between English and Afrikaans churches could never totally be quenched or forgotten. The second was his son-in-law, F.J. van Wyk, then Deputy Director of the Institute of Race Relations. He was elected Secretary to the Continuation Committee of the 1954 Church Leaders' Conference, which chose Ds. C.B. Brink as its Chairman.

However, before going on to describe the series of conferences arranged by the Afrikaans churches after 1950, and the untiring work of Ds. Johan Reynecke, Fred van Wyk and Dr. Arthur Blaxall in promoting dialogue with the English speaking churches, the role of Dr.Visser 'tHooft's visit to South Africa in 1952 in renewing these contacts between Anglican and N.G.K. leaders needs to be recognized.

THE VISIT OF DR. VISSER 'tHOOFT IN 1952.

The visit of the World Council's Secretary for Evangelism, Dr. J.C. Hoekendijk, in April 1950, had served to bring together Dominee C.B. Brink and Bishop Ambrose Reeves. Following what Reeves described as a "very frank discussion" at his house of "the whole relationship between the Dutch Reformed Churches and the English-speaking churches in the Union and the general situation in South Africa", it was agreed to call the meeting of clergy of the non-Roman Catholic churches already described above.[53] The "delicacy" of those conversations led Bishop Reeves to warn Dr. Visser 'tHooft

> .... that the World Council ought to be extremely careful not to sit in judgement on South Africa "in absentia" at Ottawa [sic]. 54

He also reported the view expressed by Ds. Brink, who traced the deterioration of the Dutch Reformed Church's relationship back to the time when the Presbyterian Alliance, meeting in America in

53. CPSA Archive AB 388, Reeves Papers, letter Reeves to Visser 'tHooft, 1950; and S.P.G. Reports 1950-1, ed. K.G. Symcox, Editorial Secretary.
54. Ibid. This refers to the next meeting of the World Council's Central Committee in Canada, which in fact met in Toronto.

1901, had passed a vote of censure upon them. It was not, he said, until 1948 that they had felt able to take their place in international church gatherings again by sending a delegate to Amsterdam.[55]

At the World Council's Central Committee meeting at Toronto in July 1950 a frank discussion of the race problem took place, in which the voices of the Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa and the negro churches in the U.S.A. were heard. The committee reaffirmed the stand taken against discrimination or segregation on grounds of race or colour, and proposed that if the churches of South Africa were ready to invite an ecumenical delegation, which ought to be multi-racial, such a delegation should be sent under the auspices of the W.C.C. and the I.M.C. "for the purpose of conference and fellowship with the Churches of South Africa".[56]

The replies of the World Council's member churches in South Africa were most revealing. The N.G.K. (Transvaal) said that the sending of such a delegation at that time would "serve no real purpose", and be "most unpracticable". "Before any ecumenical delegation be invited the General Secretary of the World Council should visit South Africa". The N.H.K. simply said that it was ready to receive an ecumenical delegation if it was white. The English speaking member churches, and the C.P.S.A., said they would favour the visit of a multi-racial delegation at a later date, but that for the present they would welcome the visit of a prominent official of the W.C.C.[57] Thus it was that the next meeting of the Central Committee, meeting at Rolle in 1951, whilst regretting that there were churches who were unwilling to receive an ecumenical delegation of a multi-racial character, made the decision that Dr. Visser 'tHooft should himself visit South Africa soon.[58]

'tHooft sought the advice of his former colleague Ambrose

55. Ibid.
56. Ecumenical Review, October 1950, No. 1. World Council Diary p. 79, "Other Aspects of the Toronto Meeting".
57. Ecumenical Review, January 1953 No. 2, pp. 174-197, "A visit to the South African Churches in April and May 1952".
58. Ibid., p. 176.

Reeves on planning his itinerary. He was warned against attending the Van Riebeeck Festival, and told that the Afrikaans churches

> .... will monopolise you and will only leave what time they do not need themselves to other churches. 59

After further liaison with Professor Gerdener and Ds. Brink over the visit, Reeves reaffirmed his "deep desire for a better understanding between the .... Dutch Reformed and English speaking churches".[60] For his part, Dr. Visser 'tHooft expressed his gratitude to the bishops of the C.P.S.A. "for the truly ecumenical spirit they have shown" in accepting that the idea of a multi-racial delegation had to be abandoned because of the conflicting attitudes amongst the Dutch Reformed churches.[61] He also told Reeves that what he had said confirmed his own thoughts about his itinerary.

In the event, the itinerary that was arranged avoided all these pitfalls, and yet supplied Dr. Visser 'tHooft with a unique opportunity to assess the realities and contradictions of the South African situation.[62] Essentially it was a visit to the South African churches, although there were also meetings with political, industrial and educational leaders.[63] He met Albert Luthuli and Manilal Gandhi, who each made a profound impression on him. When I asked Dr. Visser 'tHooft about his visit, he singled out Senator Edgar Brookes and Professor Ben Marais as among those who had impressed him greatly. He stayed with Bishop Reeves in Johannesburg, and was Archbishop Clayton's guest at Bishopscourt for a whole week. He regarded both as among the company of "far-sighted" leaders that he had met.[64] When he addressed the synod of the N.G.K. in Bloemfontein he received the most hostile reception: "My, how I was attacked - more than ever in my life !"[65] It was no accident therefore that many of the letters to Die Kerkbode attacking the World Council for its

59. CPSA Archive AB 388, Reeves papers, letter Reeves to Visser 'tHooft, 23.10.1951.
60. Ibid.
61. WCC Archive, Geneva, General Secretariat, Correspondence with South African churches, letter 'tHooft to Clayton, 23.2.1951.
62. Christian Council Quarterly, March 1952, p. 3, "Dr. 'tHooft's Itinerary".
63. Ecumenical Review, January 1953, No. 2, loc. cit., p. 176.
64. VISSER 'tHOOFT, Dr. W.A., Interview, Geneva, 23.7.1975, and CPSA Archive AB 707, SACI Papers, letter Clayton to Wood, 2.1.1953.
65. VISSER 'tHOOFT, Interview, Geneva, 23.7.1975.

"liberalistic" and "modernistic" theology, its crypto-communism, its universalism and for being unfaithful to the reformation because its doors were open to Rome, came from N.G.K. clergy in Bloemfontein.[66] Another particularly virulent correspondent came from Dundee in Natal.[67] As Dr. Visser 'tHooft tactfully wrote in his report for the Central Committee at Lucknow in January 1953,

> My visit has been an opportunity to clarify a number of misunderstandings and to deny a number of false rumours. But it is inevitable that in certain quarters at least the propaganda against the World Council continues to make its impression. 68

At the same time he was not without friends in the correspondence columns of Die Kerkbode either. G.C. Oosthuizen V.D.M. from Bulawayo expostulated that Ds. Kock had attacked his own caricature of the World Council. "Kan ons die Wêreldraad nie 'n kans gee nie ?"[69] Dr. Visser 'tHooft himself summed up this situation by the tactful understatement that

> .... the World Council has many loyal friends in the South African Churches, but there is still a great deal of suspicion and misunderstanding. 70

In his comments 'tHooft proved himself to be the most perceptive of observers as well as an astute diplomat.

> As one moves, as I did, from Afrikaans homes to English homes, then again to a Bantu or an Indian milieu, it is almost as if one crosses several borders and visits a number of different countries, each with its own assumptions, its own outlook upon the world and often, though not necessarily, its own prejudices. 71

In the oration at Oxford University in 1955 when he was awarded an Honorary D.D., it was said of Dr. Visser 'tHooft that "like Odysseus he had seen the cities of many peoples and learned their ways". As he commented in his memoirs,

> .... the reason why I could learn the ways and the mind of many peoples was that in most places I was not treated as a

66. Die Kerkbode: 8.11.1950 pp. 976-7, F.A. Kock V.D.M.; 15.11.1950 p. 1031, H.J. Strauss; 10.1.1951 p. 81, H.J. Strauss and F.A. Kock; 24.1.1951 p. 186, F.A. Kock.
67. Die Kerkbode, 27.12.1950 p. 1399, and 7.2.1951 p. 297, letters from F.N. van Niekerk V.D.M. of Dundee.
68. The Ecumenical Review, January 1953, No. 2, loc. cit., p. 178.
69. Die Kerkbode, 21.2.1951 p. 409, letter from G.C. Oosthuizen V.D.M. of Bulawayo. Prof. Oosthuizen presently holds the chair of Science of Religion at the University of Durban Westville.
70. The Ecumenical Review, January 1953, No. 2, loc. cit., p. 178.
71. Ibid., p. 176, and Church News, 19.8.1953, "Dr. Visser 'tHooft".

foreigner, but as a member of the family.[72]

Nowhere was this more true than of his visit to South Africa. He could speak Dutch to Afrikaners and they could speak Afrikaans to him, and this proved to be a "considerable advantage".

> I found that Afrikaners even if they know English, open up in a quite different way when they can use their own language. In this connection I was surprised to find that there was often a very considerable divergence between the official position of the churches and the opinions which my Afrikaans speaking hosts expressed in private. 73

When Dr. Visser 'tHooft sent a draft of his report to Bishop Reeves for comment, he confessed in the covering letter that accompanied it,

> I need not tell you that it has been written with fear and trembling. Now I hope that it will be at least useful as a basis for discussion between the leaders of the member churches. 74

The unique contribution made by the 'tHooft report was to enable both Afrikaners and English speaking churchmen to see themselves and their attitudes more objectively. He wrote with sensitivity and insight about the Dutch Reformed churches.

> There are few nations in the world in which one can find such a strong alliance and symbiosis of Church and people as one finds among Afrikaners,

he said, observing how this had also been true of other nations, only to break down in recent centuries. "This has not happened in South Africa".[75]

> Among the Afrikaners Church, nationhood, language and politics are so interconnected that it is extremely hard to arrive at clear distinctions. 76

He noticed how this has had an important influence upon the role of the church in politics.

> The Dutch Reformed Churches are often accused of playing an important role in politics. My own impression is that the real danger is just the opposite, namely that, owing to the historical cooperation between Church and nation, the

72. VISSER 'tHooft, W.A., Memoirs, London: SCM 1973, p. 340.
73. Ibid., p. 278.
74. WCC Archive, Geneva, General Secretariat, and CPSA Archive AB 388 Reeves papers, letter 'tHooft to Reeves 27.6.1952.
75. Ecumenical Review, January 1953, No. 2, loc. cit., p. 185.
76. Ibid.

> Church is far too much inclined to support uncritically the decisions and policies of the Afrikaans political leaders .... the Dutch Reformed Churches do not show sufficient evidence of that prophetic attitude to the State which is one of the most precious elements in the present Calvinist heritage. 77

Commenting on the Afrikaner's perception of Calvin's "economic and political doctrine", Dr. Visser 'tHooft told me,

> The church is not to have a prophetic attitude to the state. It can bless the state. It can pray for the state. It can Christify the state. But it must never stand over against the state. This of course is utterly different to what Calvin meant. I asked the question again and again: "Have you people forgotten that you come from a tradition - with John Knox - which is definitely a prophetic tradition ?" 78

From a sensitive study of the reports of the Bloemfontein Conference and the N.G.K. (Transvaal) synod of 1951 concerning the "scriptural grounds for racial apartheid", already dealt with in Chapter Four, 'tHooft could give the fairest and most objective outline of these arguments. He then gently pointed out that "this theology has not remained unchallenged within the Dutch Reformed Church". 79 A strong emphasis on the nation as a divine order, he observed, amounts to the selection of certain aspects of the biblical witness and the suppression of others.

> The Bible does not advocate the abolition of national characteristics, but it does show that in Christ these characteristics do not separate men from each other .... This victory over separation is certainly an eschatological fact .... But that does not mean that it is to be relegated to the future. 80

He pointed out that the argument of self-preservation denied what Calvin taught about self-love. This means "to transfer to others the love with which we love ourselves" (Institutes II:8:54). 81 The argument of maintaining Christian civilization had been used in India and Indonesia. However,

> .... the story of the Church in the countries in which it is no longer protected by Western governments shows precisely

77. Ibid., pp. 185-6.
78. VISSER 'tHOOFT, W.A., Interview, Geneva, 23.7.1975.
79. Ecumenical Review, January 1953, No. 2, p. 187.
80. Ibid.
81. CALVIN, Institutes of the Christian Religion, ed. J.T. McNeill, Tr. F.L. Battles, The Library of Christian Classics, Vol XX, London: SCM 1961, p. 417, cf. Ecumenical Review, loc. cit., p. 187.

> that the Word of God does not depend for its efficacy on governmental or cultural support. 82

He summarized the teaching of the Christian Council's Commission on the biblical view of race, and noted the witness of the Rosettenville Conference which had proclaimed the principle of eendrag and not apartheid. However, he observed, although

> .... most of these Churches are interracial in their assemblies and synods .... in the normal life of the congregations, common worship services are exceptional. 83

He found "a discrepancy between the multi-racial principle .... and the realities of church life".[84] His conclusion was that neither the Afrikaans nor the English churches

> .... had yet succeeded in convincing their own membership or the general public of the truth of the principles they advocate .... on the whole the Afrikaners do not seem to be ready to accept total apartheid, so the English-speaking do not seem to be ready to accord the franchise to any large section of the Africans. 85

If this were true, then there was certainly hope for the future. Here he seemed to be reflecting the more sanguine opinion of liberal Afrikaners, who may have overpersuaded him on certain points. On the other hand, he may have included this in his report, even if it was open to criticism as a piece of wishful thinking, in the hope that perhaps Afrikaners would not accept total apartheid, and English speaking South Africans might become more generous over the black franchise.

The great value of the visit for the South African churches was that it promoted renewed contact between Afrikaans and English speaking clergy in Johannesburg and Cape Town.[86] Church leaders were compelled to collaborate in arranging the 'tHooft itinerary, and this gave another much-needed boost to dialogue.[87] The cause of World Council membership was also effectively promoted, with the result that the N.G.K. (Cape) were present at the Evanston Assembly as fully accredited members, alongside the N.G.K. (Trans-

82. Ecumenical Review, January 1953, No. 2, p. 187-188.
83. Ibid., p. 192, see also Chapter Four above, pp. 175 ff.
84. Ecumenical Review, January 1953, No. 2, p. 192.
85. Ibid., p. 193. 86. Ibid., p. 176.
87. Wits. Archive, CCSA Papers, letter Clayton to Basil Brown 27.2.1952 which discusses arrangements in relation to the views of Van der Merwe and Gerdener.

vaal) and the Hervormde Kerk.[88] The visit prepared the ground for the appointment of an effective preparatory commission on inter-group relations in 1953, with Dr. Roswell Barnes of the United States as Chairman, and three South Africans among its members; Alan Paton, Professor Z.K. Matthews and Professor Ben Marais.[89] Having such a pioneer of the ecumenical movement as Dr. Visser 'tHooft as his guest for almost a week seems to have reawakened in Archbishop Clayton a greater sense of his ecumenical responsibilities. Although he had believed that the Christian Council was not a very "useful" body, Archbishop Clayton consented to serving one term as its President, from 1953 to 1956.[90] The renewed contacts with Dr. A.J. van der Merwe and Professor G.B.A. Gerdener also restored his flagging interest in dialogue with the Afrikaans churches.[91] As the Defiance Campaign was gathering momentum, a letter from Dr. Visser 'tHooft to Archbishop Clayton in September 1952 urged that the World Council's member churches in South Africa should meet for consultation at inter-racial meetings on a basis of complete equality.[92] In the Transvaal a decision was made, at a meeting addressed by Dr. Visser 'tHooft in Braamfontein on 13th May two days before his return to Europe, that local representatives of member churches should form themselves into an informal continuation committee to consider the 'tHooft report. This gave Ds. Reynecke and Fred van Wyk the mandate they needed to work for the continuation of the dialogue that had begun.[93]

The presentation of the 'tHooft report at the World Council's Central Committee at Lucknow in January 1953 came at a time when world attention was increasingly upon South Africa, as a result of the Defiance Campaign, and the intensifying debate at the United Nations over racial discrimination and South West Africa. A measure of Dr. Visser 'tHooft's achievement was that his report earned the congratulations of Sir Maharaj Singh, Indian Agent-General in South Africa from 1932 to 1935 and Governor of Bombay

88. VISSER 'tHOOFT (ed.), The Evanston Report, London: SCM 1955, p. 303.
89. VISSER 'tHOOFT, Memoirs, op. cit., p. 282.
90. CPSA Archive AB 707, SACI Papers, letter Clayton to C.T. Wood, 2.1.1953.
91. Wits. Archive, CCSA Papers, letter Clayton to Basil Brown, 27.2.1952.
92. WCC Archive, Geneva, letter 'tHooft to Clayton, 19.9.1952.
93. Christian Council Quarterly, July 1952.

at the time. He will be remembered as having led the attack upon South Africa at Lake Success in 1946.[94] Also present were the two American Negroes, Bishop William J. Walls and Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, who appealed to the World Council to make plain its view that any kind of apartheid was inconsistent with Christianity.[95] Bishop Hanns Lilje of Germany, who had also visited South Africa, spoke of the bitter complaints which Dr. D.F. Malan had made to him of misrepresentations in Europe.[96]

The unique contribution of the 'tHooft report was that it provided an authoritative and objective account of South African realities at a time when world opinion was somewhat bemused, by some of the inflated rhetoric of critics at the United Nations on the one hand, and by the counter-propaganda from the South African Government on the other. The quality of the 'tHooft report gave added authority to the resolutions of the Central Committee arising from the debate at the Lucknow meeting. Whilst the emphasis was upon the churches' contribution to the race problem, which was to see that no racial divisions prevailed in their own life, this was coupled with the unambiguous declaration that

> .... all forms of political, social, and economic discrimination based on the grounds of race, wherever they may exist, are contrary to the Will of God as expressed in the Christian Gospel. 97

THE AFRIKAANS CHURCH CONFERENCES OF 1952 AND 1953.

Following upon the all-white Congress at Bloemfontein in 1950, organized by the Federal Mission Council of the N.G. churches, which had included representation from both the Hervormde and Gereformeerde churches, its next conference was one which included Bantu Church leaders, in 1952. Three sectional conferences involving the Sotho, Xhosa and Zulu were arranged, at which the findings of the 1950 congress were explained and discussed, in

94. See above, Chapter One, p. 37.
95. The Listener, 12.3.1953, pp. 428-9, "The Churches and Racial Tensions" by the Right Revd. G.K.A. Bell, Bishop of Chichester.
96. Ibid.
97. Ibid., p. 429, and Ecumenical Review, April 1953, No. 3, p. 307, "World Council Diary, The Central Committee at Lucknow".

preparation for what was described by Professor Gerdener as a "Union Wide Bantu Conference with European guidance" from 9th-11th December 1952 at Bloemfontein.[98] Judging by those findings that were achieved with "European guidance", this conference seems to have been a somewhat paternalistic affair. The "Bantu Leaders" made a number of requests and expressions of gratitude to the "Mother Church", such as,

> .... We also beg our Mother Church to grant us her continued guidance in all matters.
> .... We as Bantu leaders wish to express unambiguously our sincere loyalty and gratitude to our Mother Church especially during this time of unrest.
> .... With deep gratitude we have also noted the beautiful Christian spirit of helpfulness at the time of the disaster [this refers to the recent tornado at Albertynville and Paynesville]. 99

The findings of the conference which received "European guidance" provided an unmitigated legitimation of Government policy. For example:

> 1.2. The Conference holds that our Church's acceptance of a policy which regards the separate development of the various races each according to its own nature, is in accordance with the teachings of Scripture. The fundamental principles of Diversity in Unity, of the recognition of the Divine Purpose, and of the urge for national self-expression must be borne in mind. 100
>
> 2.2. The Conference recommends that the system of state-aided schools be replaced by that of Government schools 101
>
> 2.4. The Conference requests Government to establish a separate University, offering every facility, for the Bantu in the North. 102
>
> 3.3. (d) The Government is respectfully asked to initiate a policy of creating and developing industries in the Reserves or in their vicinity. In these industries the Bantu must be given the opportunity of attaining to prominent positions as soon as their efficiency is established. No person other than a Bantu should in the last instance be permitted to carry on a lucrative business in a Reserve, unless his presence is essential for the development of the Reserve. This applies to civil servants and the professional classes as well. 103

The Conference did not discuss the "political aspect" owing

98. FEDERAL MISSION COUNCIL OF N.G. CHURCHES, The Racial Issue in South Africa, being findings on the Native Problem of various congresses held under the auspices of the Federal Missionary Council of the Dutch Reformed Mother and Mission Churches (1950-1952), Bloemfontein: D.R. Mission Press 1953. "By Way of Explanation", p. 2.

99. Ibid., p. 16. 100. Ibid., p. 9. 101. Ibid., p. 11.
102. Ibid. 103. Ibid., p. 12.

to lack of time.[104] A meeting of the Federal Mission Council at Durban from 28th to 31st August 1952 had already declared that "total separation must be advocated and practised" as its long-term policy.

> The present urban areas are to be kept as far as possible solely for Europeans, seeing that the Reserves are to become the National home of the Bantu. 105

The significance of these conclusions lies not so much in their legitimation of Government policy as in their anticipation of its future trend. They replicate the findings of the Tomlinson Commission appointed at the end of 1950, which were not tabled in Parliament until 1956.

The Federal Mission Council of the N.G. Churches, having staged Conferences in 1950 and 1952 for white leaders and then for black and white leaders of only the Afrikaans churches, next turned its attention to arranging an inter-church conference of leaders which would embrace both Afrikaans and English speaking churches. Ds. Johan Reynecke was given the task of organizing such a conference at Pretoria in November 1953. Much against his wishes, the meeting of the Federal Mission Council's Board at the beginning of April 1953 decided that it should be for "European representatives only", due to strenuous opposition from the N.G.K. in the Orange Free State. Deeply concerned, Ds. Reynecke sought the advice of Dr. Blaxall and other members of the Christian Council-Federal Mission Council Liaison Committee which had been created after the 'tHooft visit. Privately they concluded that since the battle for not having a uniracial conference in November 1953 had been lost, this should be followed by another conference which would be multi-racial.[106] Recalling Ds. Reynecke and his son-in-law Fred van Wyk with much affection, Alan Paton said of them,

> Fred van Wyk and his father-in-law were absolutely untiring. They'd never give up. Another person might have said "to bring these people together is like bringing oil and water". But they continued. 107

104. Ibid., p. 14.
105. Ibid., p. 15, Resolution of the Federal Mission Council in Session at Durban 28-31 August 1952.
106. Wits. Archive, CCSA Papers, letter Dr. A.W. Blaxall to Revd. E.W. Grant, 22.4.1953.
107. PATON, Alan, Interview, Botha's Hill, 26.8.1977.

As Bishop Robert Selby Taylor commented on the Pretoria Conference at the time, it owed most to the "indomitable determination" of Ds. Reynecke[108] who ensured at least that its stated purpose was to consider

> .... the application of Christian principles in our multi-racial land, with special reference to the extension of the Kingdom of God amongst the Non-European people of South Africa. [109]

In his opening address, however, Professor B.B. Keet put this slightly differently, saying that he assumed that the purpose of the conference was to

> .... explore the possibility of finding a common approach by .... the Afrikaans and English churches to the problem of our attitude towards the coloured peoples of our land. [110]

C.T. Wood lamented that this purpose as defined by Professor Keet had not been followed up.[111] Bishop Selby Taylor observed that "the actual points of agreement reached by the conference were not very numerous".[112] What struck Jordan Ngubane was the "divergences of opinion in the Dutch Reformed camp".[113] Archdeacon R.P.Y. Rouse of Johannesburg nevertheless regarded the Conference as "an important milestone in the religious history of South Africa".[114] Dr. Blaxall, who attended only as an observer, to uphold the Christian Council's view that the conference should have been inter-racial, thought that little had emerged except a valuable exchange of views, and inter-church contacts made at high level. It was, he thought, an "informative gathering", but it was the follow-up conference to which he looked forward with "interest and hope".[115] Archbishop Clayton saw the Pretoria meeting as a "preliminary conference", and felt that the invitation to "any church which is invited to appoint Europeans and Non-Europeans among its representatives" after an "Agenda Conference" of a few church leaders was indeed "a bright spot in a dark situation".[116]

108. The Kingdom, January 1954, Bishop's Letter, p. 4.
109. The Kingdom, December 1953, Bishop's Letter, p. 3.
110. East and West Review, Vol. 20, No. 3, July 1954, p. 80, "The Pretoria Conference", an assessment by C.T. Wood.
111. Ibid.
112. The Kingdom, January 1954 , Bishop's Letter, p. 4.
113. The Star, 9.12.1953, "The writer, a native, sees a 'fatal weakness' in the apartheider and neo-realist" by Jordan K. Ngubane.
114. Church News, 16.12.1953, p. 181, "An important milestone in the Religious History of South Africa", Special to "Church News" by R.P.Y. Rouse, Archdeacon of Johannesburg.
115. Christian Council Quarterly, December 1953, p. 2, "The Churches Confer".
116. Good Hope, December 1953.

The Pretoria Conference took place at a time when there was mounting concern in the churches and the country over the Government's take-over of Bantu Education and moves to implement the Western Areas removal scheme. In this context the conference was significant for the opening address of Professor B.B. Keet, and the paper by Ds. C.B. Brink, which posed diametrically opposed views on the question of biblical support for the policy of apartheid.[117] For Professor Keet, those who accepted apartheid on practical grounds and then tried to justify that standpoint from scripture could only do so "through the wrong use of scripture".

> In reality there is only one apartheid known to Scripture and that is the separation from sin, not from our fellow human beings, least of all from our brethren in Christ. [118]

He thought that

> If the State has followed the lead of the Church in its policy of separation, then the time has now arrived for the Church, in accordance with the principles of the Gospel, to lead the State in the direction of unity. [119]

On the other hand Ds. Brink gave thanks to the late Dr. J.D. du Toit ("Totius") for showing that

> .... from the very beginning it was the intention of the Lord that mankind should live in separate nations and people,

and that with the Tower of Babel "mankind desired a unity that was sinful in the eyes of the Lord".[120] It was only "when the Kingdom of God comes in perfection" that the limitations upon oneness in the body of Christ "will pass away", thus relegating inter-racial unity in Christ to an indeterminate point in eschatological time.[121] Mission policy, he said, was therefore correct in helping the non-European to develop indigenously ("eiesoortig") to independence.[122] Brink did not think that it was the task of the church to prescribe a racial policy for the country.[123]

117. South African Outlook 1.12.1953, p. 180, "Conference of Church Leaders - Pretoria 17th November 1953". Opening address by Dr. B.B. Keet, Theological Seminary, Stellenbosch; and SAIRR Johannesburg, Jan Hofmeyr Library, Box 42: Federal Missionary Council of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Churches in South Africa, Conference of Church Leaders: Pretoria 17th-19th November 1953. "The Fundamental principles of the Mission Policy of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Church in South Africa" by the Revd. C.B. Brink, Moderator of the Synod of the N.G.K. (Transvaal) and Chairman of the Federal Council of the N.G. Churches in South Africa. Mimeo. pp. 31-34. (Report issued as Christian Principles in a Multi-Racial South Africa).
118. South African Outlook, 1.12.1953, op. cit., p. 182.
119. Ibid., p. 183.
120. SAIRR Jan Hofmeyr Library Box 42 loc. cit., address by C.B. Brink, p. 36, and cf. above, Chapter Four, p. 154.
121. Ibid., p. 40. 122. Ibid., p. 41. 123. Ibid., p. 32.

Yet he also declared the calling of God regarding the preservation of "our identity" and His calling to maintain "natural differences between people and peoples" to be a "cardinal principle".[124] "The apartheid policy of the Churches is founded not only on practical grounds", he concluded, "but also on grounds of principle".[125]

The contrast between the two men was considerable. Brink saw that the object of mission policy was to lead the church formed out of the heathen to complete independence, that all might be finally united at the second coming.[126] Keet described this attitude as the Firm of "Brethren in Christ, Limited !"[127] The significant difference was that Ds. Brink believed that his church's mission policy was correct in practice, and was supported by biblical principle in deciding that all this should be done separately, whilst Professor Keet knew that

> Christian unity will include diversity but it must never be seen as separation .... Christian theologians of all schools of thought are unanimous that separation cannot be the model for a Christian community. 128

Dr. Norman Goodall, who attended the conference on behalf of the I.M.C., said in a radio talk that he came away feeling that the one common agreement was that the question at issue could not be answered by the white section of the population alone; not even by the white acting as "trustees" for the black.

> .... It seemed to me of immense significance that this critical discussion in Pretoria closed with a decision to adjourn until a further conference in which Africans will participate .... Whether conferences of this kind can lead to agreements in time to check the trend towards greater trouble in South Africa is the big open question of the moment; but at least the talks are on 129

In a confidential report Dr. Goodall noted that at one point in the discussion Professor Keet had said "I believe the theology of my Church in this matter to be utterly wrong". However, it was Dr. Keet's paper, and not that of Ds. Brink, which "provoked con-

124. Ibid., p. 44, Summary 8. 125. Ibid., p. 44, Summary 10.
126. Ibid., p. 42.
127. South African Outlook, 1.12.1953, op. cit., p. 184.
128. Ibid., p. 182.
129. The Listener, 20.5.1954, "The Church and Race in South Africa", Norman Goodall, Third Programme.

siderable dissent from other Dutch Reformed speakers".[130] The ominous implication of that observation he did not enlarge on.

THE QUESTION OF RACE AT THE W.C.C. ASSEMBLY AT EVANSTON 1954.

The publication by Professor Ben Marais of his book, Colour, the Unsolved Problem of the West, in 1952 provided an important starting point for the discussion that was to take place at Evanston about the question of race.[131] He summed up his case in forty-four theses at the end of that book. The nub of his case was reached in 27-30. Having earlier denied that apartheid had scriptural justification, and said that it was only to be accepted on grounds of practical convenience and historical precedent, it seemed that Dr. Marais was now questioning whether apartheid as defined by the 1950 Bloemfontein Congress was still practicable (Thesis 28). Thesis 30 indicates that he had finally concluded that it was not.

> 30. If large-scale territorial separation is finally impossible, or is not, or cannot be applied by us as whites, because our whole industrial and economic life is based on the Native and we will not or cannot pay the price to eliminate him from it; in other words if we once accept that a few million non-whites are going to live and work permanently among us, will be born among us and die among us, and have no other home than among us, then there is in the long run no honourable way by which we, as Christians and democrats can withhold political and other rights commensurate with their development from them, or limit such rights to a meaningless minimum. 132

Commenting upon Dr. Marais' book in a series of public lectures at the University of Natal in 1953, Dr. Edgar Brookes praised Marais' theses as "an honest man's estimate of the position", and urged that "self-respecting Christians must cease to preach as

130. Wits. Archive, CCSA Papers AC 623c, "Some reflections on the racial situation in South Africa including a note on the Pretoria Conference of November 1953" by Norman Goodall, Mimeo 16 pp. December 1953. pp. 9 and 11.
131. MARAIS, B. Colour, the Unsolved Problem of the West, Cape Town: Howard Timmins 1953, being a translation of Die Kleurkrisis en die Weste, Johannesburg: Goeie Hoop Uit Gewers 1952.
132. Ibid., Thesis 30.

a solution that which is no solution".[133] But this was not easy for Dr. Marais to do, for he remained loyal to his church, retaining his chair at Pretoria University. At Evanston he did not dissent from accepting apartheid as a temporary arrangement that was necessary for practical reasons.[134]

On the seventh day of the W.C.C.'s Evanston Assembly, on 21st August 1954, the debate on the Section Report concerned with Inter-Group Relations was opened by the American Negro Dr. Benjamin Mays. He said that

> .... in the Old Testament the lines of separation are drawn only alorg religious and not along racial lines. In the New Testament it is equally clear that separateness was on the basis of religion and culture and not on the ground of racial or ethnic origin. 135

Nor could there be found any justification for a segregated church on racial or ethnic origins in early or modern church history.

> How can segregation and discrimination in the Church be justified ? What can the churches do to put themselves in line with the gospel, the practices of the ancient and medieval Church, and in line with the findings of modern science ? If the Churches cannot practise full Christian fellowship in worship and membership, how can they preach the prophetic word to secular organizations that discriminate on grounds of race, colour and caste ? Another aspect of this subject is often overlooked: what discrimination does to the person who practises it. It sears not only the soul of the segregated but the soul of the segregator as well. 136

When Dr. Ben Marais spoke, he began by describing the opinion of those who based a policy of racial segregation within the church on Scripture, but emphasized that this was not his view. He believed in a third view, which agreed that

> .... exclusion as such is wrong but yet holds that Christian responsibility may lead us to acknowledge that while separate churches for different racial, ethnic, colour or language groups are not the ultimate ideal, it may in certain situations be at present the lesser of two evils. 137

Dr. Marais then repeated what Dr. Keet had said at the Pretoria Conference, namely that "the Christian fundamentally knows only one apartheid (separation) and that is separation from sin".[138]

133. BROOKES, E.H., South Africa in a Changing World, Cape Town: OUP 1953, p. 44.
134. VISSER 'tHOOFT, W.A., The Evanston Report, London: SCM 1953, p. 44.
135. Ibid., p. 43. 136. Ibid., p. 43-44.
137. Ibid., p. 45, [sic]. 138. Ibid., p. 45.

In concluding the presentation of his Section's joint report with Dr. Mays, Dr. Marais made a plea for understanding, prayer and hope, "because of the extremely complicated situations some churches face".[139]

At Evanston, the Afrikaans member churches, which now included the N.G.K. (Cape), were represented by Ds. W.A. Landman and Ds. C.B. Brink (N.G.K. (Transvaal)), and Ds. A.J.G. Oosthuizen (Hervormde). Bishop Reeves and Bishop Inman were there for the C.P.S.A. Dr. Ben Marais, Alan Paton, Henry Ramaila (Lutheran), Leon Malan (N.G.K.), the Revd. Milton Martin (Methodist) and Ds. F.J. Liebenberg (Hervormde) were present at the invitation of the World Council as Consultants, and Bishops Reeves and Inman had each taken with them the Revd. B.J.L. Moloi and the Revd. J.B.K. Tsebe as accredited visitors. The Revd. J.W. Hunt and H.M. Rist were also present, as the official delegates of the Methodist Church, together with Dr. Livingstone Mzimba of the Presbyterian Church.[140] At Evanston there were thus six from the Afrikaans churches and nine from the other South African churches. Alan Paton recalled how, in the seminars and debates, "they had to take such hard topics". He expressed his sympathy particularly for Ds. C.B. Brink:

> I really felt desperately sorry for him because he wanted to be at home there and couldn't. There was a young woman from the Ivory Coast who was determined that Brink should not be excluded, from a purely Christian point of view she did not like to see them cut out from everything. But she found herself excluded. [141]

Ds. W.A. Landman recalled how he had disturbed Alan Paton in the discussions of this sub-committee, by speaking out against "the double talk of the English churches in this country" and referring to

> .... how complicated the whole business is, of different churches for different ethnic groups with different backgrounds, with their own liturgy, and this whole movement to make a pot-pourri, just an outward symbol of unity, without having deep fellowship. [142]

Arising out of discussions such as these, the Section report

139. Ibid. 140. Ibid., p. 264 ff.
141. PATON, Alan, Interview, Botha's Hill, 26.8.1977.
142. LANDMAN, Ds. W.A., Interview, Cape Town, 3.5.1976.

on Inter-Group Relations had some telling comments to make about the calling of the church, particularly in segregated societies, which spoke eloquently to all South African Christians.

> 13. The great majority of Christian churches affiliated with the World Council have declared that physical separation within the Church on grounds of race is a denial of spiritual unity, and of the brotherhood of man. Yet such separations persist within these very churches, and we often seek to justify them on other grounds than race, because in our own hearts we know that separation solely on the grounds of race is abhorrent in the eyes of God.
>
> 14. We seek to justify such exclusion on the ground of difference of culture, or on the ground that a residential pattern of segregation necessitates it, or on the ground that the time is not yet ripe. We even say that we are willing to abandon all separations, but must retain them because so many others are unwilling to abandon them. We often make use of the unregenerateness of the world to excuse our own.
>
> 15. The Church is called upon, therefore, to set aside such excuses and to declare God's will both in words and deeds ....[143]

The resolutions of the Assembly on Inter-Group Relations were quite categoric in their repudiation of racial segregation. The first stated:

> The Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches declares its conviction that any form of segregation based on race colour or ethnic origin is contrary to the gospel, and is incompatible with the Christian doctrine of man and with the nature of the Church of Christ. The Assembly urges the churches within its membership to renounce all forms of segregation or discrimination and to work for their abolition within their own life and within society. [144]

During the Conference in response to a deputation from the Dutch Reformed contingent led by Ds. Brink, Dr. Visser 'tHooft and Dr. Roswell Barnes said that neither the Section Reports nor the resolutions had mandatory power over member churches. They agreed that the main resolution, renouncing all forms of segregation and discrimination based on colour or race, should be followed by one which acknowledged that in some situations the immediate achievement of these objectives was extremely difficult, and that under God the fellowship of the ecumenical movement should be such as to offer to those churches strength and encouragement to overcome these difficulties.[145] This was accepted by the Section,

143. VISSER 'tHOOFT, The Evanston Report, op. cit., pp. 153-4.
144. Ibid., p. 158.
145. Ibid., p. 159, and VISSER 'tHOOFT, Memoirs, op. cit., p. 282.

and the delegates of the N.G.K. (Cape), the N.G.K. (Transvaal) and the Hervormde Kerk issued a statement, which expressed the fear that Resolution (I) would have the opposite effect in their own churches, "so prejudicing the issues at stake for some churches that fruitful action for them will be gravely jeopardised".[146] They would not oppose what was said, but they could not vote for it either. They wished to keep the door open for further dialogue, but could not commit their churches to what was being proposed.[147] In his report to the Sinodale Kommissie of the N.G.K. (Transvaal), Ds. Brink spoke of this experience as "'n lang en pynlike bespreking":

> *Ek het gesê dat ons bewus daarvan is dat geen besluit van die Wêreldraad enige bindende krag op ledekerke het nie, maar dat as die voorstelle besluit van die vergadering word dit sake vir sommige ledekerke so mag prejudiseer dat enige verdere optrede vir hulle ontmoontlik gemaak mag word .... Ek het verder verduidelik dat ons .... nie die deur wil sluit vir verdere samesprekings nie .... Terselfdertyd onderneem ons om ons Kerke te probeer beweeg om hulle onmiddellike en ernstige aandag aan die verslag te gee ....* 148

On his return Ds. Brink wrote to Dr. Visser 'tHooft to say

> *Ek het die Wêreldraad verlaat met die versekering dat sommige ten minste oortuig geraak is van ons eerlikheid en opregtigheid en dat hulle vir ons [intree] !* 149

It will be remembered that Bishop Reeves had told the Round Table of Chicago, in the course of an outspoken address roundly condemning apartheid, which received wide publicity, "I am becoming ever more sceptical of what I may call the counsel of gradualness".[150] This was on 29th August, three days before the Assembly ended, and a week after the crucial debate on Inter-Group Relations had proved to be such a stern challenge to the delegates of the Afrikaans churches. Where Professor Gerdener in 1950 had turned to Bishop Reeves for encouragement in his desire to promote dialogue and get Dr. Visser 'tHooft to visit South Africa, Ds. Brink in 1954 saw Archbishop Clayton as a better hope for promoting better relations between the N.G.K. and the C.P.S.A. Once

146. VISSER 'tHOOFT, The Evanston Report, op. cit., p. 328, Appendix 7, Statement by delegates from the Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa.
147. Ibid.
148. Wits. Archive CCSA Papers, "Verslag oor die Tweede Vergadering van die Wêreldraad van Kerke", die Sinodale Kommissie van die Ned. Herv. Gereformeerde Kerk van S.A. Mimeo, pp. 8, 9.
149. WCC Archive, Geneva, Letter Brink to Visser 'tHooft, September 1954.
150. See above, Chapter Fifteen, p. 899, and VISSER 'tHOOFT, The Evanston Report, op. cit., pp. 42-7; 67.

Bishop Reeves decided to speak up overseas against apartheid, his relationship with Ds. Brink inevitably suffered. There could be no doubt that Brink's remarks above applied to Reeves.

In his letter to Dr. Visser 'tHooft Ds. Brink also complained of other points that would cause difficulty for him. These included the affirmation of the church's right to contract mixed marriages on the ground that marriage falls outside the jurisdiction of the state; the C.C.I.A. Report, for raising the issue of South West Africa ((this was "baie onvolledig en eensydig"); his concern that a resolution of the Norwegian Church that the World Council was a fellowship of churches who acknowledge Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour "following the scriptures" had not been accepted. Ds. Brink did conclude this letter with some words of praise for the ecumenical movement, describing it as "the greatest undertaking of the Christian Churches since the Reformation", and assuring 'tHooft of his strong wish to remain in its fellowship and of his belief in the unity of the Church of Christ.[151]

THE JOHANNESBURG INTER-RACIAL CONFERENCE OF CHURCH LEADERS (7-10 DECEMBER 1954).

The multi-racial conference of church leaders held in December 1954 at the University of the Witwatersrand was the sequel to the Pretoria Conference the year before, when whites only had been present. In a letter on 19th November in English to Dr. Robert Mackie, Dr. Visser 'tHooft's deputy General Secretary, Ds. Brink mentioned the forthcoming conference of church leaders to discuss the race question. He explained that

> .... the Dutch Reformed Church in the Transvaal is sponsoring the conference on its own responsibility, but to get the greatest measure of co-operation, the Archbishop of Cape Town has been invited to chair the meeting with my assistance. 152

This information evoked a delighted response from Dr. Visser 'tHooft. He then volunteered the information that he had recently spent an evening with "Minister Louw" (South Africa's Minister of External

151. WCC Archive, Geneva, letter Brink to Visser 'tHooft, September 1954.
152. Ibid., letter Brink to Mackie, 19.11.1954.

Affairs). Mr Louw, he said, gave an outstanding exposition ("uitvoerige uiteenzetting") of the South African Government's stance, and they had a stimulating discussion("een boeiende discussie").[153] More will be said presently of Dr. Visser 'tHooft's gifts as an ecclesiastical diplomat, and the significance of this correspondence with Ds. Brink.

The conference convened by Ds. Brink from 7th-10th December 1954 at the University of the Witwatersrand took place three months after the Evanston Assembly, and scarcely before the "Collins controversy" had begun to subside. There can be no doubt that the event owed much to the inspiration of the 'tHooft visit of 1952, and to the work of the Joint Liaison Committee of the Christian Council and Die Federaleraad. The Pretoria Conference the year before had consolidated the resolve that such a conference should take place multi-racially. Once again it was the thorough work of Ds. Johan Reynecke and his son-in-law Fred van Wyk whose organization under the overall leadership of Ds. Brink as Chairman ensured that there was a substantial attendance from all non-Roman Catholic churches and mission societies in South Africa.[154] It is notable that although the conference took place in his diocese, Bishop Reeves was not among the representatives chosen by Archbishop Clayton to attend. The C.P.S.A. was represented by the Bishop of Bloemfontein, Archdeacon R.P.Y. Rouse, the Revd. E.L.B. George and the Revd. J.B.K. Tsebe.[155]

It was a significant achievement to bring such a wide cross-section of churchmen together. The large number of apologies received from conservative elements in the N.G.K., however, particularly from the Orange Free State, must in part be attributed to the incipient hostility to the W.C.C. and ecumenism of any kind, reinforced by the strong condemnation of racial discrimination and segregation at Evanston.[156] Where there had been full partici-

153. Ibid., letter 'tHooft to Brink, November 1954.
154. Wits. Archive, SAIRR,papers of the Continuation Committee and the Cottesloe Planning Committee (lent to the author by the late F.J. van Wyk and now lodged in the Archive).
155. VAN WYK (ed.) God's Kingdom in Multi-Racial South Africa, op. cit., pp. 134-5. Fr. George was a Coloured priest from the Diocese of Cape Town. Fr. Tsebe had attended the Evanston Assembly and was appointed Canon Emeritus of St. Alban's Cathedral in the Diocese of Pretoria in 1967.
156. Wits. Archive, SAIRR papers, Papers of the Continuation Committee and the Cottesloe Planning Committee loc. cit., and VAN WYK, op. cit., p. 141.

pation from all four synods of the N.G.K. at Pretoria the year before, in 1954 there was serious opposition. By the time of the conference the Cape Synod had joined the N.G.K.(Transvaal) in officially sponsoring the conference, although Dr. A.J. van der Merwe was prevented from attending at the last minute. Natal sent observers, and the O.F.S. were not willing to be represented, even by observers.[157] In the event some 160 participated, of whom about one third were black, and there were two Africans among those who read papers, the Revd. Seth Mokitini (Methodist) and Ds. S.S. Tema (N.G.K. Afrika).[158]

The Editor of Church News entertained high hopes that the conference "may well prove to be a turning point in the history of South Africa".[159] Archbishop Clayton's expectations, however, were less sanguine. In his charge to the synod of his diocese he had said "it would be a mistake to expect a great deal from such a conference. We do not agree and we shall probably not come to an agreement".[160] Dr. Norman Goodall, however, thought that "the mood of the conference was not an escapist one".[161] However, the theme of the conference, "the extension of the Kingdom of God in multi-racial South Africa", did deflect attention from the racial question, and the most urgent emphasis was upon the primacy of evangelism.[162] The result was that the Johannesburg conference, to Dr. Goodall's disappointment, "did not come to grips with the main theological difference which emerged so clearly at Pretoria".[163] On the other hand there was some forthright condemnation by several speakers of discrimination based on race or colour. Ds. Tema, a minister of the N.G.K. (Afrika) stressed:

157. Wits. Archive, CCSA papers AC 623c Confidential. Some notes on the Inter-Racial Conference of Church Leaders, Witwatersrand December 1954, by Norman Goodall, 2, Eaton Gate, London. January 1955. Mimeo, 7 pp., p. 1.
158. CPSA Archive AB 925f, Inter-Racial Conference of Church Leaders 1954, Agenda, and VAN WYK, op. cit., pp. 134-140.
159. Church News, 15.12.1954, p. 179, "History is made".
160. Ibid., p. 185, "Isolation is Impossible", extracts from the Archbishop of Cape Town's Charge to his Diocesan Synod. cf. also WOOD, (ed.), Where we Stand, op. cit., p. 36. The 1954 Cape Town Diocesan Synod took place on 24.11.1954.
161. Wits. Archive, CCSA papers AC 623c loc. cit, Norman Goodall's notes.
162. Ibid., p. 3, cf. VAN WYK, op. cit., p. 132, Resolution (5), calling for an evangelistic campaign during a certain period every year.
163. Wits. Archive, CCSA papers, AC 623c loc. cit, Norman Goodall's notes, p. 4.

> Because of our disunity, we have opened the door to the enemies of Christian unity to find new means to strengthen the sin of racialism. 164

Bishop Alderson, the Anglican Bishop of Bloemfontein, drove home the point that

> A colour bar, imposed, as it always is, by people of one colour, one-sidedly, at their own discretion, will and pleasure, is the cruellist of human ills. 165

Dr. Goodall's impression was that there had been a change of emphasis since 1950.

> .... the main trend of the speaking from the D.R. standpoint failed to reflect convinced adherence to the apartheid policy (in the Bloemfontein definition of it): the majority of the D.R. speakers clearly occupied this position. 166

One of the Afrikaans delegates had told Dr. Goodall,

> Have you noticed how few of those who have alluded to our position have claimed Scriptural sanction for it ? Five years ago no one would have stated our view - however briefly - without starting with Scripture. 167

This, of course, could be explained by the absence of those who decided to stay away. That there was no attempt made to discuss the Evanston Report on Inter-Group Relations, and that there was what Dr. Goodall recognized as a "general feeling that this particular conference, in fact, could not accomplish as much as this"[168] meant that the fulfilment of the conference's purpose, as defined by Professor Keet the year before, was no nearer. How far was it possible to find a common approach by the Afrikaans and English churches in South Africa towards the problem of white attitudes towards the non-European peoples of South Africa ? Archdeacon R.P.Y. Rouse had said at Pretoria that

> Christians must advance by the Christian way and not necessarily by so-called civilized ways. In the Kingdom of God it is not civilization that is important it is Christianity. 169

164. CPSA Archive AB 925f, Inter-Racial Conference of Church Leaders Johannesburg, 7-10 December 1954. "Is the Church meeting the Challenge of South Africa today ?" by Ds. S.S. Tema, Minister of the N.G.K. Africa Mission, Pretoria Central, p. 3.
165. Ibid., "An Analysis of the ills affecting the World and South Africa today", by the Bishop of Bloemfontein, the Right Revd. C.W. Alderson, p. 5.
166. Wits. Archive, CCSA Papers AC 623c loc. cit., Norman Goodall's notes, p. 4.
167. Ibid.
168. Ibid., cf. VAN WYK, op. cit., foreword by Ds. C.B. Brink, p. 2.
169. South African Outlook, March 1954, "Some fundamental Christian Principles" by the Ven R.P.Y. Rouse, Archdeacon of Johannesburg. cf, CPSA Archive AB 925f loc. cit., The Agenda.

The emphasis upon "God's Kingdom in Multi-Racial South Africa" in the choice of theme for the 1954 Church Leaders' Conference reflects the influence of Rouse's words upon the thinking of the planning committee. However, at the conference itself, the theological issue of race was evaded in the planning of resolutions. Delegates did hear an important condemnation of racialism by a leading minister of the N.G.K.'s own African daughter church, but no resolution dealt adequately with the issue.[170] Nevertheless at a first meeting like this of black and white church leaders of the protestant churches, probably the most important achievement was that they had met at all. To have expected more in the way of agreement would not have been realistic. Thus the single most significant step in ensuring that the process of dialogue should carry on, was the appointment of the Continuation Committee of South African Churches. An Anglican, a Methodist and a Presbyterian joined with three from the Afrikaans churches. Ds. C.B. Brink was appointed Chairman, and F.J. van Wyk Secretary.[171]

Though the measure of agreement recorded by the conference in its resolutions was not great, it is of particular interest to see how one proposal of the drafting committee on Bantu Education fared. The initial proposal, that the conference

> .... considers the transfer of Bantu Education to the State a great opportunity for the Church to concentrate on religious education of all young Bantu people and recommends that Sunday School, Student Christian Association and young people's work be strengthened.

after debate was amended to:-

> .... the transfer of Bantu Education to the state places a great responsibility on the church to concentrate on religious education .... [etc] 172

One resolution on Human Relations called on all Christian persons

> .... to regard and treat every human being with the honour and respect to which we are committed as Christians, and to use every available opportunity to come into real Christian fellowship with one another. 173

Another resolution urged that similar conferences be held at three-

170. VAN WYK, op. cit., p. 131, Resolution (1).
171. Wits. Archive, SAIRR Papers, Continuation Committee loc. cit., and CAWOOD, Leslie, The Churches and Race Relations in South Africa, Johannesburg: SAIRR 1964, p. 163, cf. CCSA Papers AC 623 loc. cit., Norman Goodall's notes, p. 5.
172. Wits. Archive SAIRR Papers, Continuation Committee, and VAN WYK, God's Kingdom in Multi-Racial South Africa, op. cit., p. 132, Resolution (4).
173. Ibid., Resolution (7).

yearly intervals. The Continuation Committee in fact organized a conference on Christian Literature at Atteridgeville near Pretoria in 1956, and another on Rapid Social Change in 1959, thus fulfilling this intention faithfully.[174] The first did much to promote the training of African authors and journalists, and the second was part of the World Council's study of social change on five continents, and did much to strengthen the mutual awareness of both Afrikaans and English speaking of their common membership of the W.C.C.

THE CONFERENCE AS AN AGENT OF CHANGE ?

In making an assessment of the 1954 Inter-Racial Conference of Church Leaders in Johannesburg, it is important to recognize that in general a conference serves as a barometer of opinion, rather than as an agent of change. This is particularly true of conferences organized in the manner of those held at Pretoria in 1953 and at Johannesburg in 1954. The importance of the occasion, and the high expectations of the organizers, were indicated by an official opening on 7th December 1954 by no less a dignitary than the Governor-General, Dr. E.G. Jansen.[175] It had been thoroughly organized by Ds. Reynecke's Committee. Mr Justice Feetham, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand, and Chairman of the C.C.S.A.'s Committee on Religious Liberty, was "in constant attendance" and the Vice-Principal, Professor H.B. Sutton, was "attentive to all our needs".[176] All the papers were prepared and circulated in advance. Each paper would have taken up to 45 minutes to read, and was followed by discussion for as long again. Two whole afternoons were set aside for the work of a drafting committee, but only one for discussion in groups. However, of a total of 24 hours that could be devoted to working sessions during three full days of meeting, morning, afternoon and evening, eighteen and a half hours were devoted to the reading of papers and discussion of those papers

174. VAN WYK, F.J., Interview, Johannesburg, January 1977; cf. VAN WYK, op. cit., p. 131, Resolution 2 (11)
175. VAN WYK, op. cit., p. 7, Opening Address.
176. Wits. Archive, CCSA Papers AC 623c, loc. cit., Norman Goodall's notes, p. 1.

in plenary session. However, on only one afternoon two hours was given to group discussion in three groups: the first about the unity of the church, the second on the Bantu Education Act, and the third concerned with evangelization.[177]

A conference of this kind is useful, in so far as it serves as a symposium for the collation of a number of differing viewpoints, upon which discussion can then take place. Because all the papers had been prepared in advance, such a conference served firstly only to register the opinion of various "experts" or representative "leaders". In the discussion that followed, a wider circle were enabled to indicate the extent of their agreement or dissent from the views of the speakers, and perhaps to suggest some alternative ideas. However, a plenary discussion involving as many as 160 people is seldom anything more than a platform for the ventilation of differing viewpoints. The resolutions arising out of such discussions, however skilfully composed by a drafting committee, could do no more than register such limited agreements as could be found from the plethora of contradictory views that had been expressed. Where divisions of opinion were deep-seated, such a conference was unable to say much about the issues which divided the participants. That was what seems to have happened in 1954.

Archbishop Clayton, writing his foreword to Fred van Wyk's report of the conference, with greater honesty than tact, was severe in his criticism of the outcome of the conference. He defined the purpose of the conference quite differently from either Ds. Reynecke or for that matter Professor Keet, and certainly from Ds. Brink. Clayton said that they had met

> .... to discuss missionary methods, to estimate the greatness of one's task, the measure of our success and failure, and the hindrances in our path. 178

He did not think that anything very constructive was put forward, or that anyone went away with new ideas or new plans. If the purpose of the conference was to reconcile differences, he did not think "much, if any, progress" had been made.

177. CPSA Archive, AB 925f, Inter-Racial Conference of Church Leaders 1954, Agenda.
178. VAN WYK (ed.) God's Kingdom in Multi-Racial South Africa, op. cit., p. 4.

> There was no agreement, and no approach to agreement about the relation of the people of different races to one another within the Christian Church. 179

He then said something which seems to be of abiding importance for any who might wish to promote joint action by all the South African churches:

> .... our practical differences, our differences of method had their root in profound theological differences and [we are] not likely to make much progress towards a common policy unless these theological differences [are] tackled 180

> .... It is clear that the wounds of Christ's Church are not to be healed lightly, that goodwill and friendliness, though essential among fellow Christians, will not of themselves heal our divisions even if they do provide an atmosphere in which a discussion of our differences can usefully proceed.

> .... unless there is a background of hard thought and interchange of views about the deeper causes of our differences I fear that large conferences, though they may do much to create a spirit of friendliness and goodwill, can only skate about on the surface of things. We shall be discussing symptoms and not causes. Theology is supposed to be unpractical, but the fact is that <u>without theology nothing can be done</u>. 181

Ds. C.B. Brink, with greater sensitivity to the feelings of the organizers, explained in his foreword to the Conference Report that the "task of this Conference was primarily not to discuss those problems of which everybody is conscious". Such attempts "to remove the outward appearance of the present situation" he thought would be a "waste of energy". Instead, he described the conference as

> .... a serious attempt to have an experience of the Kingdom of God as a banquet to which all are called .... The Johannesburg Conference avoided the risk of being choked by the inedible portions of the meal to which it was called. 182

By contrast, the Pretoria Conference in 1953 may have served a more useful purpose as an agent for change, by posing two diametrically opposed viewpoints within the N.G.K., and then allowing participants to choose between them. Yet once again, the conference itself did no more than serve to register such contrary opinions as existed at the time. The Revd. Joseph Wing, who attended both conferences on behalf of the Congregational Church,

179. Ibid.
180. Ibid., p. 5.
181. Ibid., p. 6, [my italics].
182. Ibid., p. 2.

recalled that whereas the 1953 Pretoria Conference had been "hopeful", at the Witwatersrand Conference there was merely a "restatement of the obvious differences".[183]

The unique value of this series of conferences was that they were conceived by the planning committee as part of an ongoing process of dialogue, which did seek to reconcile these differing and deeply-held convictions. As Archbishop William Temple said of the Malvern Conference in 1941, in reply to a questioner who had challenged the conference's right to publish conclusions:

> .... the value of registering such agreement as is found is that it may be used not to require assent, but to challenge thought and so carry forward the general process that went on in the conference. 184

A conference needs to be distinguished from a consultation. Six years later, at Cottesloe, Johannesburg, in December 1960, the World Council's eight member churches in South Africa held a consultation.[185] A description of the Cottesloe meeting belongs to the sequel to this volume, since it falls in a later period. Here it is relevant merely to note that an entirely different method was employed. Instead of prepared papers by individuals being circulated, each member church prepared a memorandum on various aspects of the racial situation in South Africa, and upon related issues which the planning committee saw as those which divided the English and Afrikaans speaking churches from one another. The delegates from each church were then given these to study before the consultation began. The consultation itself was thus able to devote all the time available to following through these issues, both in groups and in plenary session. Such a procedure possessed the potential to effect changes of opinion and to reconcile conflicting views. But more important still, at Cottesloe there took place a public act of reconciliation and forgiveness between Archbishop Joost de Blank and Dr. A.J. van der Merwe which wiped clean the slate in a long

183. WING, The Revd. Joseph, Interview, Pietermaritzburg, 7.8.1982.
184. IREMONGER, F.A., William Temple Archbishop of Canterbury, London: OUP 1948, p. 433.
185. HEWSON, Leslie A. (ed.) Cottesloe Consultation, the Report of the Consultation among South African member churches of the World Council of Churches 7-14 December 1960 at Cottesloe, Johannesburg. Johannesburg: SAIRR 1961.

history of misunderstandings and disagreements between the N.G.K. and the C.P.S.A.[186] It is to be doubted whether the Afrikaans and English speaking churches were ready for such a consultation in 1954. Professor Keet's wish to a common approach to questions of race amongst the Afrikaans and English churches proved to be premature then. That something of the kind was achieved at the Cottesloe Consultation in 1960 might not have been possible, however, without the prior experience of the 1954 Inter-Racial Leaders' Conference.

THE C.C.S.A. AND DIE FEDERALERAAD VAN N.G. KERKE.

At the foundation of the Christian Council of South Africa in 1936 Dr. W. Nicol Moderator of the N.G.K. (Transvaal) had been unanimously elected President and another minister of the N.G.K., Ds. J. Murray du Toit, General Secretary. By January 1937 some thirty different churches and missionary societies had affiliated to the Council. However, a serious weakness was that the powerful N.G.K. (Cape) was not among them. The decision in 1940 by the N.G.K. (Cape) not to affiliate led to the withdrawal of both the C.P.S.A. and the N.G.K. (Transvaal). It was then that the Dutch Reformed Churches founded their own Federaleraad van N.G. Kerke, and the C.C.S.A. was continued by a mere thirteen churches and mission bodies, who in turn prevailed on the C.P.S.A. to re-affiliate in 1942.[187] Dr. Nicol's Presidential Address to the Christian Council in January 1940 reported that besides "steadily consuming the handsome donations with which the work of the Council was inaugurated" there were two over-riding problems. The first was the need for bilingualism between Afrikaans and English in the deliberations of the Council, and secondly the deep cleavages of opinion over the "Native Question" which showed that "we are not free of distrust and fear of each other".

> Notwithstanding all these painful admissions, I have no hesitation in again urging that we should get together in the Christian Council. We are here for the united study

186. Ibid., Statements D and E, pp. 81 and 83.
187. STRASSBERGER, Elfriede, Ecumenism in South Africa 1936-1960, Johannesburg: SACC 1974, pp. 157-163.

> of our problems. Let us try with greater charity to convince each other rather than to evade each other. If you succeed in converting your brother from his folly, why then you have won your brother .... Let us remember that whether we co-operate or not the differences still exist and we are all the time neutralising each other's usefulness. 188

Since the events which took the N.G.K. out of the fellowship of the Christian Council in 1940, a tenuous contact had been sustained by the persevering efforts of Ds. Johan Reynecke, who continued to attend meetings of the Christian Council's Executive as an unofficial "fraternal" delegate. There was cause for cautious optimism therefore when in April 1951 the Christian Council received a letter from the N.G.K. (Transvaal) stating that a committee had been appointed to study and report on the possibility of closer relations with other churches. This led to the attendance of Dr. Ben Marais and Ds. J. du Toit at the Biennial Meeting of the Christian Council in January 1952. Dr. Blaxall wrote happily in the Christian Council Quarterly: "For the first time in ten years official representatives of the Dutch Reformed Church attended the Christian Council meetings". Marais and du Toit had to point out, though, that this was was only an exploratory visit and they could not commit their church.[189] These contacts led to the formation in March 1953 of a "Liaison Committee" consisting of three members of the Christian Council and a similar number from Die Federale Raad van N.G. Kerke, with Ds. J. Reynecke as Chairman and Dr. Arthur Blaxall as Convenor. The other members were Dr. M. Retief and Ds. J.H.M. Stoffberg, the Revd. H. Junod and Archdeacon R.P.Y. Rouse. They dealt with the arrangements for the visit of Norman Goodall, London Secretary of the International Missionary Council, and the difficulties over entry permits for Bishop F. Jordan of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.[190] It is notable that the formation of this liaison

188. Wits. Archive, CCSA Papers AC 623 C.5.2. An undated newspaper clipping from a Johannesburg newspaper in January 1940, "President's address to Christian Council - problems of joint endeavour in South Africa - lack of bilingualism a passing phase".

189. Wits Archive CCSA Papers AC 623, Statement issued by E.W. Grant and A.W. Blaxall from the biennial meeting of the Council held in the Cathedral Hall, Cape Town, 23.1.1952, and Christian Council Quarterly, March 1952, "Dutch Reformed Official present".

190. CCSA Papers loc. cit., The Federal Mission Council of the D.R.C., The Christian Council of S.A., Minutes of the second meeting of the Liaison Committee held in the Vestry of the D.R.C. Bosman Street, Pretoria, 13.4.1953 at 9.30 a.m.

committee was achieved soon after Dr. Visser 'tHooft's visit to South Africa in April and May 1952, and the election of Archbishop Clayton as President of the Christian Council in January 1953.[191] A few months later the Archbishop reported that he had discussed with Dr. A.J. van der Merwe a united approach to the Government on calling a national conference on housing and the general welfare of all sections of the community. The Archbishop was accordingly asked to approach Die Federale Raad with a view to common action.[192] There is no record of such a conference having taken place, but the important point is that a measure of co-operation was at last being sought after a ten-year period in which such contacts had been minimal.

The visit of Dr. Ben Marais and Ds. J. du Toit to the Biennial Meeting of the Christian Council in January 1952 was an especially important moment in the patient process of re-establishing dialogue between the English and Afrikaans speaking churches. The Christian Council Quarterly captured the significance of the occasion by recording:

> Appreciation of their visit from the Council's point of view, remembering how ceaselessly it had worked for such closer co-operation, was voiced by Bishop Parker, Pastor Junod and others, the session ending in prayer to God that much might come of this small beginning. 193

The extent of the closer contacts which developed between the Afrikaans and English speaking churches after 1952 must have owed something to Archbishop Clayton's leadership. His role must not be exaggerated, but it was during his Presidency of the Christian Council that the joint liaison committee referred to above was established. It was the existence of this committee which ensured the widest possible participation at the conferences arranged by Ds. Reynecke in 1953 and Ds. Brink in 1954. When Ds. Brink attended the biennial meeting of the Christian Council at the Central Methodist Church, Johannesburg, on 7th February 1956, he heard Archbishop Clayton make his valedictory Presidential Address. Clayton made a cogent appeal to the Afrikaans churches

191. Ecumenical Review, January 1953, No. 2, pp. 174-197, "A visit to the South African Churches in April and May 1952" p. 175; and Christian Council Quarterly March 1952.
192. Christian Council Quarterly, May 1953, "Housing and Welfare".
193. Ibid., March 1952, "Dutch Reformed Officials present".

to rejoin the Christian Council, by criticizing its "sectional" character whilst it did not "include the Dutch Reformed Churches". He thought, however, that the differences which had caused the Afrikaans churches to leave the Council still persisted, so that the C.C.S.A. could not yet speak for all the churches in the affairs of the nation.[194] Nor did he think that "the present arrangements are such as to make it possible for the Council to act efficiently".[195] The door was held open, but the Afrikaans churches baulked at the thought of entering. The anomaly therefore persisted of the Dutch Reformed churches' membership of world ecumenical bodies and their refusal to affiliate to the only organization created for the same purpose in South Africa. Thus a request from Die Federalesendingsraad in 1956 for affiliation to the International Missionary Council should be seen rather as another evasion of the demands of inter-church co-operation in South Africa, whilst also being an indication of a desire for more ecumenical co-operation generally.[196] In spite of Ds. Brink's hesitations, therefore, to consider the establishment of a National Council of Churches for South Africa in 1956[197] it is also possible to discern a growing willingness on the part of certain N.G.K. leaders to consider afresh their church's earlier legitimation of apartheid. By March 1957 efforts were being made by Dr. Calvin Cook of the Presbyterian Church and Ds. W.A. Landman to establish a joint study group between the Christian Council and the N.G.K.[198] It is notable that this was happening at a time when the National Party under Mr Strijdom began to apply apartheid more rigorously.

THE N.G.K. AND RACE RELATIONS, 1956: "LISTENING AFRESH TO THE WORD OF GOD".

In spite of the continuing reluctance of the N.G. churches

194. The Christian Recorder, 19.2.1956, "First impressions of last week's important biennial meetings" by the Revd. D.P. Anderson M.A.: "Christian Council to be more effective".
195. Christian Council Quarterly, March 1956, Presidential Address, p. 2.
196. Wits. Archive AC 623, CCSA Papers, letter Dr. A.W. Blaxall to Miss Dearing, assistant to Dr. Charles Ransom, International Missionary Council, New York, 12.3.1956, and letter Miss Dearing to Blaxall 23.3.1956.
197. See below, p. 1030 reference 210.
198. Christian Council Quarterly, March 1957.

to rejoin the Christian Council, an interesting feature of this series of conferences between 1950 and 1954 was the marked change that took place subsequently in official statements of the N.G.K. about the racial question. At a meeting of Die Federale Raad in June 1955, the report of a commission it had appointed to consider the scriptural basis of race relations was presented, in which it was stated that those who preached equality between black and white failed to realize that God willed and perpetuated the different races. In addition this report also stated that it was those who were "culturally and spiritually advanced" who were responsible for protecting and helping the "less advanced". During discussion, it transpired that not all members of the commission had been invited to attend the commission's deliberations. Consequently, this reactionary report was unanimously rejected, and another commission appointed.[199]

Ds. C.B. Brink was chosen as Chairman, and Ds. W.A. Landman Secretary, who together with Ds. P.S.Z. Coetzee and H.J.C. Snyders constituted the new Commission, which then "collaborated with" a wide-ranging number of leaders and theologians of the N.G.K. Among these were Prof. F.J.M. Potgeiter and Prof. B.J. Marais of Pretoria, Dr. A.J. van der Merwe (Moderator, Cape), Professors B.B. Keet of Stellenbosch, G.B.A. Gerdener (Stellenbosch), E.P. Groenewald of Pretoria, Dr. T.N. Hanekom and Dr. J.C.G. Kotze, and Dr. P.E.S. Smith, Mission Secretary, Cape N.G.K.[200] Their report, published in May 1956 and successively adopted by Transvaal and Cape Synods as well as by the N.G.K.'s Federale Raad, showed a marked change from all earlier statements on the church's attitude to apartheid. The reasons for founding racially separate daughter churches in the nineteenth century were, it was said, a "sincere attempt to minister to them more efficiently" in indigenous churches, but it was admitted that

> .... the motives here were grounded on social and hygenic considerations and on the racial attitudes of the nineteenth century. 201.

199. CAWOOD, L., The Churches and Race Relations in South Africa, op. cit., p. 123.
200. NGK, The Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa and the problem of Race Relations, Report of the ad hoc commission for Race Relations appointed by the Federal Council of Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa, Johannesburg: NGK (Transvaal) 1956, p. 16.
201. Ibid., p. 10.

It was emphasized that the

> .... decision of 1857 had only separate places of worship in view .... there was no intention of excluding non-white members from white congregations and vice versa. 202

Whereas "the general cry for equality and unity in the world today" was denied as being a "surrogate unity and brotherhood .... without Christ", the 1956 report expressed "a true feeling for and a genuine interest in the ecumenical striving of our day".[203] The whole emphasis of the 1956 report was upon the biblical teaching about the unity of the church in Christ. The unity of believers in Christ which "already exists" was described as "a supernatural organic communion". This gave a unity that

> .... cannot be destroyed by the multiplicity of instituted churches or by the derivation of believers from various nations and races. At most the above-mentioned factors can only obstruct the concrete expression of such unity.

It was also admitted that

> .... to an increasing degree the Christian Church is becoming aware of the danger of acquiescing in race relations which may perhaps not be in accordance with the Word of God. The Dutch Reformed Church is also listening afresh to what the Word of God has to say to us .... in the present situation. 204

When the "Declaration of Principles" of the 1956 statement is compared with the conclusions of the Cape Synod in 1949, the Transvaal Synod in 1951, and particularly with the findings of the Bloemfontein Congress in 1950, it becomes apparent that a most significant change had taken place.[205] In particular the koinonia of the communion of saints received a new emphasis. The fellowship of Christians inter-racially was no longer relegated to the future.[206] It was now described as a "unity of His mystic body". The final paragraph emphasized the need for vigilance that "the unity in the Church of Christ be preserved, in spite of the diversity".[207]

What was omitted in the 1956 report was as significant as these new emphases. For the arguments of "Totius" which Ds. C.B. Brink had cited with approval at the Pretoria Conference

202. Ibid. 203. Ibid., p. 11.
204. Ibid., p. 13.
205. Ibid., pp. 14,15 and 16, (1) to (8). See above, Chapter Four, pp. 163-167, NGK (Cape) Synod 1949; pp. 168-171, Bloemfontein Congress 1950; and pp. 171-2, NGK (Transvaal) Synod 1951.
206. Ibid., p. 15, para. (6). 207. Ibid., p. 16., para (8).

in 1953 there was no place whatsoever. The adoption of the report of this commission, which had Ds. C.B. Brink as its chairman in 1956, thus represented a radical change of attitude by the Moderator of the powerful N.G.K. (Transvaal). This conclusion is borne out by the private correspondence between Ds. C.B. Brink and Dr. Visser 'tHooft during 1955 and 1956. At the time of the meeting of the Federal Council of N.G. Churches, which rejected the report of the earlier commission, and appointed a new one on Race Relations and the Unity of the Church, Ds. Brink wrote to Dr. Visser 'tHooft apologizing for being unable to attend the next meeting of the W.C.C.'s Executive in June 1955.

> The Federal Council of the D.R. Churches is due to meet soon and I personally think it necessary for men Ben Marais, Willem Landman and myself to concentrate our efforts on the attempt to bring the other churches with us into the ecumenical fellowship. 208

In his reply, Dr. Visser 'tHooft said he was naturally sorry they could not come to Geneva, but spoke in high praise of the initiative for ecumenical dialogue between the leading churches in South Africa, and wrote that he was impatient to hear how the conference in December 1954 had fared, and of the difficulties he saw.[209]

The anomaly of the N.G.K.'s stance on ecumenism was, however, to remain unresolved. Although the N.G.K. (Cape) and the N.G.K. (Transvaal) as well as the more conservative Hervormde Kerk had become members of the World Council of Churches, the N.G.K. (O.F.S.) and N.G.K. (Natal) had not yet become members. None of these churches was a member of the Christian Council in South Africa. In 1956, a suggestion proposing the formation of a National Council of Churches in South Africa that would include the Dutch Reformed Churches became the subject of correspondence between Dr. Visser 'tHooft and Ds. C.B. Brink, after Bishop Reeves had raised the subject with Brink the year before. Ds. Brink, however, explained that the question was dependent upon the decision of the N.G.K. in Natal and the O.F.S. regarding membership of the World Council. The N.G.K. (Cape) had joined and had sent delegates to the Evanston Assembly. The O.F.S., he said, had left the door open until it

208. WCC Archive, Geneva, letter Brink to Visser 'tHooft, 6.6.1955.
209. Ibid., letter Visser 'tHooft to Brink, 22.6.1955.

had discussed the matter with the other N.G. Churches. Ds. Brink told Visser 'tHooft in May 1956 that he still thought there was a possibility that the N.G.K. could be persuaded to take united action on the ecumenical movement, but was cautious in advocating any immediate action to constitute a National Council of Churches for South Africa.

> *In tussentyd sou dit ongereg wees om met 'n stigting voort te gaan wat soos die Nasionale Raad net sekere Kerke verteenwoordig.* 210

Despite the growing conflict between the C.P.S.A. and the Government over Bantu Education, the Western Areas removals and in particular over the closure of Christ the King School, Sophiatown, the fact that such a possibility was being discussed so seriously in 1956 does however bear witness to the rapprochement that had taken place in the relations between the English and Afrikaans speaking churches since 1950. Whilst it is extremely difficult to apportion credit for what had been accomplished, it is significant that certain Anglican leaders were intimately involved both in initiating and by their openness towards participating in such dialogue, sustaining the movement for frank and open theological discussion of the racial question. The early initiatives of Bishop Reeves in the Transvaal which did so much to get conversations going may come as a surprise to many who remember only his collision with the Government over the shooting at Sharpeville, which led to his deportation in 1960.

In spite of Archbishop Clayton's inability to communicate in Afrikaans, and his consistent opposition to the National Party's policies, he retained the respect of leading members of the N.G.K.'s ecclesiastical establishment like Professor G.B.A. Gerdener, Dr. A.J. van der Merwe, Ds. C.B. Brink and Ds. W.A. Landman. A significant change took place in the tenor of Afrikaans-English church relationships during the period of Archbishop Clayton's presidency of the Christian Council between 1953 and 1956 in spite of the escalating conflict between the C.P.S.A. and the Government on racial policy. Two other Anglicans held key positions in the Christian Council, and were the necessary partners in the persev-

210. Ibid., letter Brink to Visser 'tHooft, 22.5.1956.

ering efforts of Ds. Johan Reynecke and his son-in-law Fred van Wyk to bring the N.G.K. into meaningful dialogue with English speaking Christians on the racial question. Dr. Arthur Blaxall as Secretary of the Christian Council, and Archdeacon R.P.Y. Rouse a Vice President and Chairman of the General Purposes Committee in Johannesburg, were both intimately involved in these contacts. Behind the scenes was the important role of Dr. Visser 'tHooft. His correspondence with Ds. C.B. Brink the Moderator of the N.G.K. (Transvaal) indicates how much can be accomplished by a skilled and trusted exponent of the art of ecclesiastical diplomacy.

THE I.D.A.M. (F.) CONFERENCES OF 1956 AND 1957.

Against a background of dissatisfaction over the Inter-Racial Conference of Church Leaders in 1954, and the headlong pursuit of apartheid by the Government of Mr J.G. Strijdom and his Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, the Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation held an important conference to discuss the Tomlinson Commission Report, in the Bochabella Location at Bloemfontein, from 4th-6th October 1956. This was attended by some 400 African delegates, drawn from a wide cross-section of cultural, religious, occupational and political organizations.[211]

African experts addressed the conference on various sections of the Tomlinson Commission Report, and a comprehensive statement was issued under the signatures of the President General, the Revd. Z.R. Mahabane, and Secretary, the Revd. A.L. Mncube.[212] Unlike the Inter-Racial Conference of Church Leaders in 1954, the I.D.A.M.(F.) Conference of 1956 possessed an instinctive and spontaneous unanimity. Karis, Carter and Gerhart have observed that "the delegates showed themselves to familiar with the Report and well-informed on the subjects".[213] In a letter to Archbishop Clayton, Alan Paton described the Conference's report as "note-

211. KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 381.
212. Ibid., Document 16, pp. 251-6, Statement by the All-in African Conference called by the Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation, 4-6 October 1956.
213. Ibid., p. 381.

worthy .... dignified in language, uncompromising on principle, conciliatory in tone".[214]

The conference recorded its "total rejection" of the Tomlinson Report "as a comprehensive plan for the implementation of apartheid in South Africa". It could not subscribe to the view that there were only two "cast iron alternatives - viz. 'ultimate complete integration' or 'ultimate complete separation between Europeans and Bantu'." Rather the South African situation called for "co-operation and inter-dependence between the various races".[215]

> The policy and practice of Apartheid denies the African the inalienable and basic human rights on the pretext that the African is a threat to white survival 216

Having examined the plan for the economic development of the Reserves, which was at the heart of the Tomlinson proposals, the conference, which had attracted attendance equally from both urban and rural areas, was at one in declaring,

> The general economic development of the resources of all parts of the country in which the skills and abilities of all its people are utilised is sound policy. But a separate plan of development of the Native areas based on the policy of Apartheid and the concept of separate national homes for the Africans coupled with the deprivation of basic and economic opportunities and rights in the rest of the country is something totally unacceptable to this conference.[217]

There was a strong condemnation of civil rights violations:

> The continuation of this policy has already created a grave situation in which orderly government and the foundation of South Africa as a viable state are seriously threatened. Police raids, banishment orders, dismissals for political non-conformity, extension of the pass system to women, detention camps, farm prisons, convict labour, the slave markets, euphemistically called the labour bureaux and all the other trappings of a police state constitute an insufferable burden to the African people. 218

The commission's proposals for universities on an ethnic basis, separate areas for national homes, and the inequality of the present system of taxation were rejected. They called for economic justice:-

> The belief so widely held by white South Africans that it

214. Wits. Archive, AD 1169, letter Paton to Clayton, 25.1.1957.
215. KARIS CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., Document 16, p. 252.
216. Ibid., p. 253. 217. Ibid., p. 253, "Economic".
218. Ibid., p. 254, "Civil Rights".

> is so-called white monies that are financing African services and welfare is in total disregard of the fact that the very profits and incomes made by Europeans are the result of the use of Africans as an essential factor in production and low wages paid to them. 219

They protested at the way in which the Tomlinson Commission looked upon the church "as something to be controlled and used by the government to further its own schemes" and concluded with an appeal "to that strong and powerful body for which the Dutch Reformed Church speaks with recognised authority to re-examine its approach to the race question".[220] Somehow apartheid, designed to separate blacks from whites, was having the paradoxical effect of dividing whites, and uniting blacks in their opposition to it.

This conference organized by I.D.A.M.(F.) at Bloemfontein in October 1956 could not have been staged at a more critical moment, or in a more suitable place. The synods of the N.G.K. were wrestling anew with their attitude to the question of race. Three months earlier, in July 1956, the three Afrikaans churches had taken part in a massive Volkskongres, convened by S.A.B.R.A. and the F.A.K., also in Bloemfontein, which had been attended by some 800 delegates representing 544 Afrikaner groups and organizations.[221] At the time S.A.B.R.A. was going through one of its "verligte" phases. Some of those who had been intimately involved in the Brink/Landman Commission on the Problem of Race Relations, which had been adopted by the N.G.K. (Transvaal) Synod on 25th April 1956, had been elected to key positions of leadership in S.A.B.R.A.[222] Dr. G.B.A. Gerdener and Ds. W.A. Landman had been elected as the second and third National Chairmen of S.A.B.R.A., and Ds. C.B. Brink had come a close second in the voting for Chairman earlier in the year. As Edwin Munger wrote at the time, "several of its [S.A.B.R.A.'s] most dedicated leaders are determined to see daylight".[223] Nevertheless, the Volkskongres

219. Ibid., p. 256, "Taxation".
220. Ibid., p. 255, "Churches", and p. 256 "Conclusion".
221. Ibid., p. 382, and Christian Council Quarterly, December 1956, "Challenge to the Churches", a plea by Dr. Arthur Blaxall.
222. FEDERALERAAD VAN N.G. KERKE, The Dutch Reformed Church and the Problem of Race, Relations, published by A.J.V. Burger, Secretary, Federaleraad van N.G.Kerke, 4 Elm Street, Houghton, 25.5.1956, p. 16.
223. MUNGER, Edwin S., African Field Reports 1952-1961, Cape Town: Struik 1961, p. 507: "An intimate account of S.A.B.R.A.'s origins, leadership, organisation and views; and its interaction with Afrikanerdom's Church, Press, Party and Public."

had endorsed the proposals of the Tomlinson Commission as containing the only positive hope of keeping the races apart peacefully.[224] On the other hand, the Cape Synod of the N.G.K. followed the lead of the N.G.K. (Transvaal) in accepting the conclusions of the Brink/Landman Report in 1957, and the N.G.K.'s Federale Raad, which included representatives from the O.F.S. and Natal, followed soon afterwards.[225]

The Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation, which organized this important "all-in" conference at Bloemfontein in October 1956, secured attendance by the widest cross-section of African organizations. The importance of this conference thus lay in the way in which it gave the African people an opportunity to express their ideas on the Tomlinson Commission proposals. It took place at a time when many A.N.C. leaders had been silenced by banning orders, and in the same city which had provided the venue for a congress organized by the F.A.K. and S.A.B.R.A. in July that had endorsed the same proposals only three months earlier. As is evident from the earlier discussion on ecumenical dialogue, this I.D.A.M.(F.) conference took place at a time when there was a genuine ferment of attitudes going on within the N.G.K. The I.D.A.M.(F.) conference of 1956 was in a real sense the African equivalent of a volkskongres, and at the end, the hope expressed by Chief Albert Luthuli that this might lead to "a multi-racial Conference, one truly representative of South Africa" was warmly applauded, and the chairman given a mandate to organize it.[226] Dr. Blaxall added his voice to pleas for such an "all-in conference" to be convened by the churches as "essential", and a gathering which would be a preliminary to "another National Convention .... called by official action".[227]

It is notable that the I.D.A.M.(F.) Bloemfontein Conference of October 1956 took place only two months after 100 000 African women, led by Lilian Ngoyi, President of the A.N.C. Women's League, and her friend Helen Joseph, had converged on Pretoria from all

224. KARIS CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 382.
225. LANDMAN, W.A., Interview, Cape Town, 3.5.1976.
226. KARIS CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 382.
227. Christian Council Quarterly, December 1956, "Challenge to the Churches", a plea by Dr. Arthur Blaxall.

over South Africa in an impressive and moving protest against passes for African women, on 9th August 1956.[228] They gathered in the amphitheatre of the Union Buildings, and handed a petition to the Prime Minister.

The treason arrests in December 1956 came as a severe blow to African morale, and it seemed likely that I.D.A.M.(F.) might abandon the attempt to hold the Multi-Racial Conference as had been suggested by Chief Luthuli, since so many African leaders would be prevented from speaking or attending. Alan Paton expressed his concern about this in a letter to Archbishop Clayton early in 1957, saying that "it would be calamitous if the conference were not held. This may not be the last chance, but it is certainly one of a dwindling number of chances".[229] Clayton duly wrote to Mahabane on 11th February, encouraging him to go ahead with the conference. Clayton thought that it should be seen as having been organized by Africans, since

> .... if it had been organised by the English-speaking churches, those who do not agree with us would have said that we had indoctrinated you. 230

Paton's concern was twofold. Like Clayton he believed it should be seen to have been organized by the Africans themselves. Thus the Liberal Party had to keep out. Secondly, he feared that the Africans' resources might be too small, thus assistance would have to come from "other Christians and not politicians".[231] Clayton spoke to the Bishops of Bloemfontein and Johannesburg, as well as to Archdeacon Bailey, and in the event it was Bishop Reeves who did most to assist with the planning and the arrangements for the conference, which took place in the Great Hall of the University of the Witwatersrand in December 1957.[232] A small planning committee was set up in Johannesburg, with Mr James Dey as Chairman, and composed of "members of the Liberal Party, churchmen, and some members of the Congress movement".[233] Mr K. Shanker of the Indian Congress thought that the attendance at the conference,

228. KARIS, CARTER & GERHART, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 802, Chronology 1956.
229. Wits. Archive, Paton papers AD 1169, letter Paton to Clayton 25.1.1957.
230. CPSA Archive AB 191, Clayton papers, letter Clayton to Mahabane 11.2.1957.
231. CPSA Archive AB 191 loc. cit., letter Paton to Clayton 5.2.1957.
232. Ibid.
233. SAIRR Jan Hofmeyr Library, Box 43, Analysis No. 1, February 1958, "Congress and the Multi-Racial Conference" by K. Shanker January 1958, mimeo 6pp., p. 1.

because it was held in mid-week at the insistence of church bodies, was "heavily weighted to the right by professional men, academics and clergymen" who were "middle class".[234]

James Dey as chairman of the planning committee circulated a list of individual sponsors (besides I.D.A.M.(F.), which was the only organization to sponsor officially), which included the Bishops of Natal and Johannesburg and the Dean of Cape Town (Savage), leading personalities from the English universities, the Congress movement and the Liberal and Labour parties, the South African Institute of Race Relations and the English speaking churches.[235] The Afrikaans churches, though invited, declined to be officially represented, although certain individuals from the N.G.K. did attend in their private capacities. Among the speakers were Professor I.D. MacCrone, Dr. R.E. van der Ross, Alan Paton, Govan Mbeki, W.B. Ngakane, Professor Z.K. Matthews, Sheila van der Horst, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Durban Denis Hurley O.M.I., and the Revd. Z.R. Mahabane and Bishop Reeves, who gave the opening and closing addresses respectively. Some 300 delegates attended, to discuss various aspects of a multi-racial society, with special reference to the current situation in South Africa.[236] Their findings proclaimed a spontaneous united front against apartheid.

The Commission on Political Arrangements called for a "universal adult suffrage on a common roll" as "the only means of achieving the transition from white supremacy to a non-racial democracy".[237] The Commission on Religion, reflecting the input of Archbishop Hurley and Bishop Reeves, stressed the duty of prior obedience to God, and that "our loyalty to the state is limited in its scope by the prior claims of this duty" as well as the use of

> .... moral education in social and racial matters by means of the pulpit, the religious press, religious schools, classes, meetings .... and practical applications of inter-racial collaboration .... in worship, discussion, social exchanges and in charitable and cultural undertakings. 238

234. Ibid.
235. CPSA Archive AB 964f, Multi-Racial Conference of South Africa December 1957, Preliminary Arrangements.
236. SAIRR Jan Hofmeyr Library Box 43, Analysis No. 1, February 1958, p. 1.
237. CPSA Archive AB 964f, loc. cit., Findings.
238. Ibid.

The educational Commission called for an end to compulsory segregation in schools and the encouragement of "the multi-racial classroom".[239] The economic Commission considered that apartheid imposed "a crippling cost on the economy of the country", and called for the redress of specific measures like the Group Areas Act, the Pass Laws and influx control.[240] The Commission on Human Relations foresaw the danger of "a headlong collision between the forces of white domination and those of counter-domination" and said that "a turning-point had been reached".

> White South Africa [has] no adequate conception of the repugnance felt by non-white citizens towards the doctrines of apartheid, and [it has] no conception of the sufferings and deprivations inflicted on its non-white fellows by apartheid legislation, of the ways in which they were harried by laws and officials every moment of their lives. [241]

Unlike the conferences organized by the Dutch Reformed Church, the I.D.A.M.(F.) Conference in 1957 achieved both radical black and Roman Catholic participation. Bishop Reeves thought it to have been "an event which ought to have significance for all who care for the harmonious ordering of our social life in a multi-racial society".[242] Patrick Duncan told Trevor Huddleston that "it <u>was</u> a tremendous success .... and held without anyone giving the Native Laws Amendment Act a thought".[243] It made a deep impression upon Archbishop Denis Hurley, for it was the first time that the Roman Catholic Church had been involved in an inter-church conference of that kind. He had "enjoyed the challenge of it and the excitement".

> You can get the feeling in such meetings that the spirit which you are creating and the spirit which you are experiencing is a kind of physical and political force of its own.[244]

He recalled that there were some "radical elements" belonging to "the extreme left wing of the South African scene at the time" who wanted to push the church into "a very activist stance". At one point "the beloved" Dr. Arthur Blaxall had proposed "Let's all walk over to Pretoria and present our views at the Union Buildings". Hurley, fearing that the conference might be suddenly

239-241. Ibid.

242. <u>The Watchman</u>, January 1958, The Bishop's Letter.

243. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan papers DU 5.45.67, letter Patrick Duncan to Trevor Huddleston 5.1.1958.

244. HURLEY, the Most Revd. Denis, O.M.I., Interview, Durban, 2.9.1981.

swayed by Blaxall's eloquence, and that such an action would make them look ridiculous, felt that he had to get up and say so.

> I felt rather a wet blanket in doing it because I admired Dr. Blaxall highly, but I just thought that his motion at that particular time was highly unrealistic. 245

Archbishop Hurley later explained his reaction to Dr. Blaxall's proposal in terms of the attitude of his church at the time towards social questions with a strong political dimension. "It was before the Second Vatican Council",he said.[246] "Up to that time we were very theoretical. Even getting involved in that conference in 1957 seemed a very big step to us. I suppose I was the only [Catholic] Bishop at it".

> I find it very hard to analyse my own thoughts at the time and how far I was in fact prepared to go in practice. Certainly not as far as Fr. Huddleston or Fr. Michael Scott. They seemed far beyond what I would have been prepared to say or do as a Catholic Bishop at the time. But I suppose I was drifting in that direction without knowing it. 247

The other feature of the I.D.A.M.(F.) Conference of 1957 was the attention it received from the Special Branch. Archbishop Hurley recalled how because of their presence it was not so much a conference as a "confrontation".

> I remember the appearance of their faces - that grim look. I remember that you could tell them by their shoes, the square-toed shoes that they wore. And if I remember rightly, the head of the Branch in Johannesburg spent most of the time with us. His name, I think, was Colonel Spengler. 248

The Conference in Johannesburg was followed up with conferences in the main centres of all the provinces, and one was held, for instance, in the University Hall in Pietermaritzburg in 1958, at which prominent personalities in Natal took part. The object seems to have been to push the church into taking a more active stance against apartheid. That this was considered necessary at the time provides its own comment upon the reticence of the church to involve itself in direct action to resist apartheid.

245. Ibid.

246. Ibid. The Second Vatical Council took place in 1963, and its thinking is reflected in two papal encyclicals of POPE JOHN XXIII, Encyclical Letter of Mater et Magistra, New Light on Social Problems, London: Catholic Truth Society 1961, and Pacem in Terris, Peace on Earth, London: Catholic Truth Society 1963.

247. HURLEY, Interview, op. cit.

248. Ibid.

Speaking of the Catholic Church at the time, Archbishop Hurley recalled,

> The Catholic Church in the majority of its leaders still operated on a rather ethereal plane, on the plane of statements and declarations and pastoral letters, but without feeling that there should be practical involvement. 249

The same might have been said of the Anglican bishops, but they did take the lead in speaking up. There were notable exceptions, like Michael Scott, Trevor Huddleston, Ambrose Reeves, James Calata, Patrick Duncan, Arthur Blaxall and the others whose activities have featured in this account of resistance to the state by the C.P.S.A. Those who sacrificed so much in challenging Christians to renounce the sin of racialism had grounds to be encouraged that their witness was not in vain by the way in which the N.G.K. began to look afresh at the basis of race relations in the context of biblical teaching on the unity of the church. Before the Government presented its ill-judged proposals to Parliament in 1957 which legislated for the application of apartheid to the life of the church, amongst leaders of the N.G.K. in the Cape and the Transvaal there was a new awareness that biblical teaching about the unity of the church and the universal fellowship of all South African Christians superseded any God-given diversity on grounds of race or colour. The unwillingness of the Afrikaans churches to participate in ecumenical conferences which they had not themselves played the decisive part in organizing does, however, reflect the underlying tension between the more open ecumenical stance of these leaders and the latent conservatism of their synods.

THE VALUE OF ECUMENICAL DIALOGUE, ECCLESIASTICAL DIPLOMACY AND THEOLOGICAL WRITING AS A MEANS OF RESISTING APARTHEID.

Nothing illustrates better than the Visser 'tHooft-Brink correspondence, the significant consequences that could flow from theological writing, ecumenical dialogue and the sensitive appli-

249. Ibid.

cation of ecclesiastical diplomacy.[250] If once it could be shown that fidelity to the scriptures required the conclusion that God was not the great skeidingmaker, as had been declared by Professor J.D. du Toit in 1944, but that in Christ all are made one, regardless of race, culture or social standing, then ecumenical dialogue needs to be regarded as an indispensable means of resisting apartheid. A process of dialogue, begun during the 'tHooft visit of 1952, followed by the publication of his book, The Ecumenical Movement and the Racial Problem in 1953, and continued at Evanston in 1954, was reinforced by the experience of representatives of three Afrikaans churches at that great assembly of Christians of all races and nations.

The asperity of the reaction to the "Church Clause" legislation from the N.G.K. (Transvaal) synod in May 1957, as we have seen, owed much to the influence of Professor Ben Marais. Though it may be doubted that the change in Ds. C.B. Brink's perception of race between 1953 and 1956 amounted to a whole-hearted conversion, a process had begun, which by 1960 led him and a great company of leaders and theologians from the N.G.K. in both the Cape and the Transvaal to subscribe to a declaration which renounced apartheid.[251] What influence those anxious attempts to befriend him by an unknown woman of mixed parentage from the Ivory Coast may have had at Evanston no one will ever know. There can be little doubt that Ds. Brink's change of heart, which he evidenced in 1955 and 1956, owed most to the goodwill and skill of a superb ecclesiastical diplomat and statesman, Dr. Willem Visser 'tHooft, who succeeded so completely in winning his total trust and confidance in the bona fides of the world ecumenical movement.

Contrary to opinion that criticism of apartheid from overseas is always going to be counter-productive inside South Africa, Dr. Visser 'tHooft demonstrated how such pressure, when sensitively applied by someone who has first earned the right to be regarded as a friend of the Afrikaner, can achieve most significant results. By contrast, Canon John Collins, whilst quickly winning

250. VISSER 'tHOOFT, W.A., The Ecumenical Movement and the Racial Problem, Geneva: UNESCO, 1953.
251. HEWSON, Leslie (ed.) The Cottesloe Report, op. cit., pp. 73-6.

the confidence of black South Africans, as quickly succeeded in irritating Afrikaners, in achieving results that were no less significant to this account of resistance to apartheid. The role of the Treason Trial Defence Fund is a case in point. Yet this serves to demonstrate that the roles of prophet and mediator are seldom easy to combine. It was a measure of Dr. Willem Visser 'tHooft's greatness that he did so with such consummate skill and success.

The influence of Dr. Visser 'tHooft upon leaders of the N.G.K. in the Cape and the Transvaal, like Brink, Landman and van der Merwe, would have been as nothing without the prophetic voices of three leading theologians. Dr. Ben Marais' book, published in 1952, Die Kleurkrisis en die Weste, has already been discussed.[252] But even that, as Dr. Edgar Brookes observed later, "ends in a sort of apartheid".[253] It was the writing of Professor B.B. Keet, who since 1920 had held the chair of Systematic Theology at Stellenbosch, that rang out fearlessly and consistently amidst the ebb and flow of argument and counter-argument within the N.G.K. during the fifties. Such a pamphlet as his Hoernlé Lecture, The Ethics of Apartheid, but more than anything his book Suid Afrika Waarheen ?, published in 1956, proclaimed unequivocally that "the scriptures do not justify apartheid".[254] The book was serialized in English language newspapers and received many plaudits. S.P.G. Overseas News, for instance, commended Chapter Four on "Political Apartheid" as the anti-dote to You are Wrong Father Huddleston.[255] For once even "Dawie" was almost reduced to silence, and pleaded that as a mere newspaperman and layman in such matters as theological or moral argument, it was not necessary for Die Burger to "come up with deafening replies to every deafening argument which our political

252. See above, p. 1009, reference 131.
253. KIRKWOOD (ed.) African Affairs, No. 1 St. Anthony's Papers, London, 1961, "The General Election of 1958 and After" (1958) by E.H. Brookes.
254. KEET, B.B., The Ethics of Apartheid, Hoernlé Memorial Lecture (1957), Johannesburg: SAIRR 1957; KEET, B.B., (tr. N.J. Marquard) Whither South Africa ?, Stellenbosch/Grahamstown: University Publishers 1956. cf. Rand Daily Mail, undated cutting in C.T. Wood's scrapbook, CPSA Archive, interview with the Editor, Benjamin Pogrund.
255. SPG Overseas News, February 1957, cf. KEET, Whither South Africa ?, op. cit., pp. 44-59, and STEWARD, A., You are Wrong, Father Huddleston, op. cit.

theologians advance".[256] Later in 1957 Professor P.V. Pistorius published his book No Further Trek, which was an eloquent plea to his fellow Afrikaners that they could retreat no further.[257] They must overcome their fear, and recognize that Afrikaner self-preservation demanded relinquishing sectional nationalism. "We must choose between the call of South Africa and the call of the group".[258] Patrick Duncan, fresh from the experience of addressing a meeting at Pretoria University on behalf of the Liberal Party when two hundred rowdy students had broken up his meeting but then stopped to listen, wrote to Trevor Huddleston telling of his experience and of the impression that Professor Pistorius had made upon him.

> He is a most lovable person, and will help us to put our views before the students there. It is absolutely essential to get Afrikaners into the L.P. 259

A distinguished English visitor to South Africa in 1959, Lord Brand, observed that,

> .... no English speaking South African, so far as I know, has produced so telling a criticism of apartheid and so distinguished a defence of true liberty as these two learned and thoughtful writers. 260.

There were other writers who were as learned, and certainly as thoughtful. Two Anglicans, Edgar Brookes and Alan Paton, could be mentioned.[261] But they were not Afrikaners, like Keet, Pistorius and Marais, nor did they hold the key teaching posts at the N.G.K.'s most important institutions of theological education, the Kweekskool at Stellenbosch, and the University of Pretoria's Faculty of Theology.

256. Die Burger, "Dawie", 13.7.1957, [my translation].
257. PISTORIUS, P.V., No Further Trek, Johannesburg: CNA 1957, p. 84.
258. Ibid.
259. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan Papers, DU 5.45.64, letter Duncan to Trevor Huddleston, 18.4.1957.
260. The Times, 10.3.1959, "Two Races must live together".
261. For example: BROOKES, E.H., South Africa in a Changing World, London: OUP 1953; City of God and the Politics of Crisis, London: OUP 1960; and BROOKES, E.H. & MACAULAY, Civil Liberty in South Africa, Cape Town: OUP 1958; and by PATON, Alan: Cry the Beloved Country, op. cit.; Christian Unity, a South African View, Peter Ainslie Memorial Lecture, Grahamstown: Rhodes University Press 1951; South Africa Today, New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund 1951; Too late the Phalathrope, Cape Town: Carson 1953; South Africa and her People, London: Lutterworth 1957; and Hope for South Africa, London: Pall Mall 1958. Paton's biographies of Hofmeyr (1965) and Archbishop Clayton (1973) were not published until after the period covered by this study. Both Brookes and Paton were frequent contributors to newspapers and journals like Forum as is evident from extensive references to articles by them throughout this study.

The Afrikaans churches had reached the point when they could no longer find any scriptural grounds for supporting apartheid, but they were not yet ready to deny it, for practical and historical reasons. This did not mean that at some future time the N.G.K. might not repudiate apartheid. The significance of the writing of men like Keet, Marais and Pistorius was that it did something which no Anglican church leader could do. As Leo Marquard observed:

> They did what was at that time more important: they wrote to the official Afrikaans church organs and spoke at church conferences; to the members of their own churches they exposed the hollowness of the argument that apartheid is supported by the Bible. 262

Where the protests of Michael Scott, Ambrose Reeves and Trevor Huddleston could be written off as the modern equivalents of the nineteenth-century missionaries who "blackened the name" of the Afrikaner, as Marquard observed the importance of the criticism of Keet, Pistorius and Marais was that it came from "within the fold".[263]

It will for ever remain one of the paradoxes of the N.G.K.'s attitude to apartheid, that the same synod of the N.G.K.(Cape) which so vehemently repudiated the findings of the Cottesloe Consultation, and withdrew its membership of the World Council of Churches, also rose to its feet in passing a resolution in fulsome praise and thanks for Professor Keet's forty years as Professor of Dogmatics and Ethics at the Kweekskool at Stellenbosch.[264]

262. MARQUARD, Leo, The Peoples and Policies of South Africa (Fourth edition), London: OUP 1969, p. 231.

263. Ibid., p. 232. Marquard interestingly does not mention Reeves. SCOTT, M., A Time to Speak: An Autobiography, New York, Doubleday 1958; TROUP, Freda, In Face of Fear, London: Faber 1950 (a biographical treatment of Michael Scott until 1950); HUDDLESTON, Trevor, Naught for Your Comfort, op. cit.; REEVES, Ambrose, Justice in South Africa, London: Africa Bureau 1955, besides frequent newspaper and journal articles were the only published work by the above in the period covered by this study. Bishop Reeves following his deportation was the author of a number of books on South Africa including : Shooting at Sharpeville, Cambridge, Mass.: Houghton Liffling 1961, and London: Gollancz 1961 (also in Afrikaans translation Bloedbad in Sharpeville); Let the Facts Speak, London: Christian Action 1962; South Africa Yesterday and Tomorrow, London: Gollancz 1962; Calvary Now, London: SCM 1965; South Africa - Revolution or Reconciliation ?, London: Fellowship of Reconciliation 1973; White Immigration to South Africa, Johannesburg: Christian Institute 1974; also PATON, David M. (ed.) Church and Race in South Africa, London: SCM 1958 includes selections from Bishop Reeves' Charges 1952-1957.

264. NGK, Handelinge van die Vier-en-Dertigste Vergadering van die Hoogeerwaarde Sinode van die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid Afrika Gehou in Kaapstad op Donderdag 19 Oktober 1961 en volgende dae, Cape Town: NGK 1961, p. 154.

.... sy invloed op die teologie en geestelike vorming van die studente was onberekenbaar groot; die Sinode dink met dankbaarheid aan wat hy vir die uitbreiding van Gods Koninkryk in die algemeen en die opbouing van ons kerk in die besonder beteken het 265

Patrick Duncan, as already mentioned above, described Dr. Keet's book as a "bomb in the citadel of Afrikaner Unity".[266] There was, however, no explosion until after the Cottesloe Consultation of December 1960. The subsequent withdrawal in 1961 of the N.G.K. from membership of the World Council of Churches marked a step in precisely the opposite direction to the one which theologians like Keet and Pistorius were advocating. Thus, however highly Professor Keet may have been regarded by generations of theological students who passed through his hands at Stellenbosch, it could not be expected that any rapid results would flow from his writings. As Dr. Edgar Brookes was to write in 1961, "One swallow does not make a summer. And indeed Professor Keet stands almost alone with Professor Pistorius, among Afrikaans writers in his views".[267] This does not, however, reduce the importance of writing of this kind as a means of resisting apartheid. In the circumstances prevailing at the time it greatly enhanced the value of such writing as a means of Christian resistance to apartheid.

The question may still be asked, "yet what real effect did all this have ?" After the Cottesloe Consultation of 1960, the Afrikaans churches withdrew from membership of the World Council of Churches and retreated once more into ecumenical isolation. Apartheid remains a source of conflict in church-state relations and an obstacle in the path of ecumenical dialogue between the Afrikaans and English speaking churches in South Africa. Whatever modest gains were made in the period 1950-1957 towards modifying the stance of the N.G.K.'s principal leaders towards apartheid, the adequacy of Anglican efforts to promote such dialogue must also be assessed in relation to these inherent obstacles to

265. Ibid.

266. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan papers DU 5 George Houser, "What is happening in South Africa", undated, no author. Probably an article written by Patrick Duncan between March and June 1956 for publication in the U.S.A.

267. KIRKWOOD (ed.) African Affairs, article by E.H. Brookes, op. cit., p. 144.

the achievement of an abiding rapprochement between Anglican and Afrikaner Christians.

Firstly, one of the problems which had taken the Afrikaans churches out of the C.C.S.A. in 1940 still persisted. The language of ecumenical dialogue was invariably English. Among bishops and clergy of the C.P.S.A. at the time a majority were still recruited in England. Even among South African-born priests there were few who were at all fluent in Afrikaans. The ethos of the C.P.S.A. was incorrigibly English, and this was accentuated by the tenacious belief that academic qualifications from British universities and theological colleges were more highly regarded than those which could be obtained locally. This had the effect of accentuating the cultural differences, already pronounced, between English speaking South African Anglicans and bi-lingual Afrikaans-speaking members of the Dutch Reformed churches. The C.P.S.A. is still called "die Engelse Kerk" by Afrikaners.

Secondly, the word "Anglican", in an Afrikaner's perception of his history, tended to be associated with the much resented policy of anglicization implemented by Lord Milner in the defeated Transvaal Republic after the Second Boer War. The mutual resentments between Boer and Briton generated by the victory of British imperialism over Afrikanerdom in 1902 had not been healed by forty years of Union. The rising tide of Afrikaner imperialism after 1948 over all the non-Afrikaner peoples of South Africa awakened these feelings of resentment as the National Party asserted their intention of dismantling the emotive ties of crown and commonwealth in the name of a new Republic of South Africa.

Thirdly, however tenacious the differences of language and historical sentiment between members of the C.P.S.A. and the N.G.K., there were in addition contrasting ideas about theology and churchmanship which placed further obstacles in the path of dialogue between Anglicans and Afrikaners. Just as some Anglicans needed to demythologize their perception of the theology of the Afrikaner as the chosen race of Southern Africa, whose herrenvolk ideas accounted for his racialism, so too did certain Afrikaners need

to exorcise their view of the liberal trend in Anglican theology as being insidiously universalist in theology and "romish" in churchmanship.[268] The perception of the Anglican Church as a Trojan horse that would allow into the promised land of Afrikanerdom its three most feared dangers, could not be ignored. Die swart gevaar was thus seen to be accentuated by the activities of foreign missionaries like Huddleston and Reeves, die kommuniestiese gevaar by leftward leaning Anglican priests like Michael Scott, and die Roomse gevaar by the style and churchmanship of Anglican bishops.

Even when the motivation was strong enough to overcome such formidable obstacles to meaningful dialogue due to their divergent history, culture and tradition, the process of the ecumenical debate between Anglicans and Afrikaners had to contend also with the inherent conflicts not only of perception, but also of role and method of the participants to this dialogue. Firstly, the conflicting perceptions of each other, mentioned above, were not easily overcome when the differences of language, culture and tradition were being further accentuated by the exclusivism of apartheid. Secondly, because Anglican leaders were put in the position of having to be prophets who opposed the Afrikaner Government on the issue of apartheid, there was inevitably a conflict of role in their trying at the same time to be diplomats and mediators in the struggle for right and justice. Thirdly, the conflict of method involved in challenging the Afrikaner Government, made it more difficult at the same time to promote dialogue with the Afrikaans churches, because any attack upon the National Party's policy could not be dissociated from criticism of the Afrikaans churches who supported the Government. The fluctuating relationship between Ds. C.B. Brink and Bishop Reeves illustrates this difficulty particularly well.

However, it would be wrong to speak of the failure of dialogue, just as it is mistaken to point to the futility of resistance to apartheid merely because the National Party remains in

268. See HANEKOM, T.N. The liberal trend in South Africa: A Study in Church History, 2 Vols., Stellenbosch: 1951 and 1961; BROOMFIELD, Gerald, The Chosen People or the Bible, Christianity and Race, London: Longmans 1954.

power and its policy is still supported by the three white Afrikaans churches. In a later period there were those in the C.P.S.A. who originated in an Afrikaans environment, who asked whether the C.P.S.A.'s stand against apartheid had not been pursued in a spirit of arrogant confrontation with the Government and the Afrikaans churches. Yet the evidence of this chapter is that persevering and patient efforts were made between 1950 and 1957 by the C.P.S.A. in the context of its membership of the Christian Council and the World Council of Churches to engage the Afrikaans churches in dialogue on the race question. The implacability of the Government, culminating in the ultimate arrogance of the state exemplified by the Native Laws Amendment Bill of 1957, led the C.P.S.A. inexorably to resistance. In spite of much additional work already imposed by Government legislation for apartheid upon the schedules of busy diocesan bishops, it is remarkable how great was their investment in the time-consuming task of ecumenical dialogue with the Afrikaans churches.

Did the C.P.S.A. travel the way of love in its relations with the Afrikaans churches and the National Party Government ? Or, to put the same question differently, did the C.P.S.A. do what God required, using method's consistent with Christ's gospel of love ? There were those in the C.P.S.A. who later expressed strong criticism for what they regarded as their church's confrontationist approach in matters of church-state and C.P.S.A.-N.G.K. relations. C.T. Wood's statement in 1956 that the N.G.K. was the "Nationalist Party at prayer" illustrates the point.[269] Archbishop Bill Burnett, who was consecrated Bishop of Bloemfontein in 1957, and was born at Koffiefontein in the Orange Free State, believed that the C.P.S.A.'s manner of witnessing to the state had been judgemental and arrogant. He told me in an interview in 1976:

> My theology hasn't changed, but I find I'm very reluctant to tell the state to do something when I cannot tell the church to do it, because it's not going to .... Now I know that, being a citizen, you have to go on speaking, but it also taken the guts out of what you want to say when you feel that there really is a certain injustice in expecting the state to do this when you can't do it yourself. I

269. See above, Chapter Sixteen, p. 932.

> think we have got to still try to find a place for doing the other thing, and witnessing to the state, for the sake of the state. But then, the way we say it becomes different. One used to say it in terms that were highly judgemental. You were speaking the word of God to them in judgement. I find I cannot say that any more, precisely because I'm speaking out of this totally dubious situation that I live in, in the church .... So that one cannot address the state in quite those, you might say, arrogant terms. 270

The late Canon W.V. Gregorowski, who like Bishop Burnett originated in a predominantly Afrikaner environment, held very similar views and was severely critical of "confrontation" as the manner in which the C.P.S.A. addressed the Government and the Afrikaans churches. "We are cut to the heart for each other, as brothers. Who are we to love ? If you love the one, the other side rejects you."

> What we need now is the converting power of Christ in these things, and if you've got an opponent, to ask God to deal with that opponent as he dealt with Saul of Tarsus, and to deal with us also, because we are probably just as bad as that opponent. 271

Archbishop Clayton stressed that the church, in addressing both the Government and the Afrikaans churches, must speak the truth in love. The criticism to which both Trevor Huddleston and Ambrose Reeves were subjected re-emphasizes just how difficult was the task of "converting your brother from his folly", to use the phrase employed by Dr. Willem Nicol in his last Presidential Address to the C.C.S.A. in 1940.[272] Yet, like diplomats and teachers who as practitioners of the art of persuasion find great efficacy in the application of both the carrot and the stick, so too did the C.P.S.A. under the leadership of Archbishop Clayton. When the contending parties are separated by such deep cleavages of culture and tradition, the employment of both a hard-line and a soft-line simultaneously is needed to achieve attitudinal change. Although the differences were so deep-seated, the C.P.S.A.'s protests and resistance to the Government, as well as the efforts described above to promote dialogue between the English speaking and Afrikaans speaking churches did yield certain dividends. There was a marked change in the stance of N.G.K. leaders on the

270. BURNETT, The Most Revd. B.B., Interview, Bishopscourt, 21.4.1976.
271. GREGOROWSKI, the late Canon W.V., Interview, Kalk Bay, 1.5.1976.
272. See above, p. 1024.

apartheid issue between 1950 and 1957. It is interesting that Archbishop Clayton, like Gandhi, believed that both resistance and dialogue had to be pursued by speaking the truth in love. In this regard the point made by Archbishop Clayton in his enthronement sermon on 2nd February 1949 is pertinent. "We are not commanded to be popular", he said, "but to be faithful".[273] Nor was it necessarily the calling of the church to be successful. The faithfulness and the efficacy of the C.P.S.A.'s efforts to resist the ideology of apartheid between 1946 and 1957 remains to be assessed in the concluding chapter.

273. See above, Chapter Two, p. 120.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

CONCLUSION.

If it indeed be true, as Edmund Burke once wrote to the Sheriffs of Bristol after riots there, that "moderation in a case like this, is a sort of treason", this was advice which could be given both to the upholders and resisters of apartheid.[1] The point of dispute between the Nationalists and the United Party in 1953, as we have seen, was who could with the greater rigour repress resistance. At the same time the disagreement between the opponents of apartheid concerned the extent to which moderation in attempting to resist so evil a doctrine should itself be regarded as subverting the cause of resistance to this policy. The dispute between Archbishop Clayton and Bishop Reeves about the C.P.S.A.'s stand against Bantu Education arose as a result of their different estimate of what constituted the lesser of two evils. To Reeves and Huddleston the greater evil was the long-term effect upon African people of the application of a system of education for their servitude, and this consideration far outweighed any short-term risk involved in a refusal to hand over mission schools to the Government in terms of the Bantu Education Act. The difficult choice which constantly faced the church in this period was to decide between pursuing the moderate goal of bringing in a non-racial South Africa by moderate means, as against the nightmare of being forced into employing progressively more immoderate means in order to resist the extremes to which apartheid was leading.[2] At the heart of the difficulty lay the question of the efficacy of the means employed to oppose the imposition of apartheid. The primary object, therefore, of this concluding chapter is to evaluate the efficacy of the C.P.S.A.'s contribution to the movement to resist apartheid between 1946 and 1957. An essential prerequisite to the task of providing such an evaluation is an appreciation of the magnitude and power of the forces ranged

1. The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations, Second Edition, London: OUP 1962, p. 103.19.
2. cf. HINCHLIFF, Peter, Holiness and Politics, London: Darton Longman & Todd 1982, especially p. 24 ff. on "The Undesirability of Morals", and pp. 150-158.

on the side of the National Party.

The chapter therefore begins with an examination of the factors which placed and maintained the National Party in power. An additional element in sustaining the Nationalists in power was the failure of the United Party to provide a consistent and principled opposition to apartheid in Parliament. These were factors which both impeded and enhanced the critical importance of the church's witness against apartheid. The preceding chapters have dealt extensively with Archbishop Clayton's responses to the Government and the Appendix provides the full text of certain key statements he made about Christian resistance to the state. Because Clayton's views gradually changed between 1946 and 1957 his ideas are best located, as at present, in their appropriate context. The review of Archbishop Clayton's pilgrimage from co-operation to resistance included in this chapter serves to show, however vehemently he might himself have denied such a suggestion, that he was influenced both by the example of men like Scott, Duncan, Huddleston and Reeves, as well as by the issues as they confronted him. Archbishop Clayton's conversion to accepting that he must himself disobey the Government provides a vivid case-study in the provocation of resistance. A second task of this conclusion is to evaluate Archbishop Clayton's leadership of the C.P.S.A. in this period in relation to the issue of Christian resistance to apartheid. The most salutory lesson which the history of this period has to teach later generations is that the repression of protest provokes resistance and that resistance, when suppressed, breeds deeper frustration which can only find expression with magnified intensity later. The violent repression of non-violent resistance leads inexorably to the provocation of violent revolution.

In tracing the different stages through which Geoffrey Clayton passed before finally in deed and word he decided to resist apartheid, it is interesting to see how some of the other leading figures who have featured in this study made similar decisions, but at different times. There were those who arrived at the point of deciding that resistance was the only viable way of opposing apartheid sooner than others. For Trevor Huddleston it was the

signs of a police state evidenced in the arrest of Yusuf Cachalia in 1953; for Bishop Reeves the turning point came in 1954 with the imposition of Bantu Education. Michael Scott and Father Satchell decided to resist as early as 1946.

The criticism of the C.P.S.A.'s efforts to resist apartheid by those who decided on resistance before 1957 was that the church should have stood up to the Government sooner. For instance both Bishop Reeves and Trevor Huddleston continued to believe that it was more important for the C.P.S.A. to resist the compulsory take-over of church schools than the "Church Clause". Trevor Huddleston, having assured me that Reeves shared his view, told me,

> The Bantu Education Act was a very strong attack on the church, more so than the "Church Clause". I couldn't see them doing it, whereas they did act on the schools. The Bantu Education Act, to me, was the most effective bit of legislation on the Statute Book because of the consequences over so many years. 3

The analysis below of the route by which certain leading characters in the C.P.S.A. travelled from a position of co-operation in their attitude to the state authorities to one of confrontation and resistance is revealing. Six stages are identified between a stance of civic responsibility and civil war. These findings have some important lessons to teach both the church and governments about the provocation of resistance.

In making an overall evaluation of the C.P.S.A.'s contribution to Christian resistance to apartheid between 1946 and 1957, the question addressed below is whether Anglican leaders rightly discerned the correct objectives to fulfil their aim of resisting apartheid, and also whether the Church of the Province chose the most appropriate means of resistance in the circumstances. Anglican bishops generally lacked a clear perception of the basis of the National Party's power, provided by recent studies dealing with the rise of Afrikaner power.[4] Otherwise in their desire to resist apartheid they would have devoted greater priority to dissociating the Afrikaans churches from their support of the National

3. See above, Chapter Fifteen, p. 902; HUDDLESTON, The Right Revd. Trevor, Interview, Stepney, 25.6.1975.
4. MOODIE, T. Dunbar, The Rise of Afrikanerdom, Berkeley, University of California Press 1975; ADAM, Heribert, and GILIOMEE, Hermann, The Rise and Crisis of Afrikaner Power, Cape Town: David Philip 1979.

Party. Instead Anglican leaders somehow assumed that their witness concerning matters of public policy should invariably be addressed to the Government.

Unlike the Congress movement, the C.P.S.A. did not try to plan a coherent strategy to resist apartheid. An essential component of the A.N.C.'s "Resist Apartheid" campaign against Bantu Education and the Western Areas removals between 1953 and 1955 included the lobbying of United Party City Councillors and Members of Parliament. Archbishop Clayton, though irritated by the frequent failures of the United Party in opposition, in his anxiety to avoid the risk of the C.P.S.A. being dubbed "the United Party at prayer", generally avoided direct communication with the Leader of the Opposition. He thus gave inadequate attention to the need to place pressure on the Official Opposition as well as the Government. The C.P.S.A.'s efforts to resist apartheid thus not only failed to give sufficient priority to challenging the legitimation of apartheid by the Afrikaans churches, but also neglected the important task of striving to stiffen the resolve of the United Party to repudiate all forms of racial discrimination.

A consideration of the merits of violent revolution as a method of resisting apartheid is not attempted on the grounds that before 1960 all the principal opponents of apartheid in South Africa including the African National Congress, because of their commitment to satyagraha, believed that violence must be avoided at all costs. Hence such violent means of overthrowing the South African Government as armed rebellion, coup d'état, guerilla warfare, assassination or foreign military intervention are not considered. For a study covering the period 1946 to 1957 the consideration of violent means of achieving political change would be an unacceptable anachronism. Although such a discussion belongs to the sequel to this study, it is necessary to state that once all non-violent means of resistance have been suppressed and the oppressed have been deprived of all other means of meaningful political expression, no other options remain.

The value of this study between 1946 and 1957 is that it

covers a period in which the widest repertoire of non-violent methods of resistance were employed by the church and individual Christians. Christian resistance was first practised in the context of two major campaigns of civil disobedience, and more numerous protests organized by various extra-parliamentary organizations. The attempt will now be made to assess the efficacy of these methods in the context of the powerful forces against which they contended.

THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL COHESION OF AFRIKANERDOM IN SUPPORT OF THE NATIONAL PARTY.

The narrative of the previous chapter concerning the persevering efforts that were made to persuade the N.G.K. to modify its stance towards the legitimation of the Government's apartheid policy, has shown that by the end of the period covered by this study influential leaders and theologians of the N.G.K. had concluded that they must abandon the attempt to prove from the Bible that apartheid was compulsory. However, the statement on behalf of Die Federaleraad made by the Moderator of the N.G.K. (Cape), Dr. A.J. van der Merwe in 1958 to this effect, nevertheless went on to say that apartheid was a policy acceptable to the N.G.K. on the grounds that if applied with justice it was a practical arrangement which did not conflict with the Word of God or the teaching of the church.[5] The stance, therefore, of the N.G.K. towards apartheid at the end of the period covered by this study, though markedly different from the attitudes being expressed by the Afrikaans churches between 1948 and 1951, only six years earlier, still meant that the N.G.K. gave its support to the National Party's policy. The grounds for this further legitimation of the Government's policy were more modest, and for that reason capable of finding a wider measure of agreement among moderate Afrikaners. The greater sophistication of the N.G.K.'s support for apartheid in 1958 does something to explain why the National Party did not lose support in the general election of that year, in spite of the unprecedented reaction of all churches towards the Native Laws Amendment Bill only the year before.

5. See above, Chapter Seventeen, pp. 980-1.

The reaction to the Cottesloe Consultation's findings of December 1960 by the synods of the Afrikaans churches in 1961 shows that the Moderatuur of the N.G.K. had good reason to be cautious before adopting a stance which they knew would not only sever the umbilical cord linking the Afrikaans churches to the National Party, but also would prejudice efforts being made at the time to achieve closer unity between the separate synods of the N.G.K. in the Cape, Transvaal, O.F.S., Natal, South West Africa and Rhodesia.[6] The National Party's ability to maintain its policy without losing white electoral support, despite the magnitude of the protests and resistance to the "Church Clause", requires a similar explanation as in 1953 and 1948. The social and political cohesion of Afrikanerdom remained unbroken because of the N.G.K.'s continuing support for the National Party.

A feature of the first decade of Nationalist rule was the way in which a process of polarization gathered momentum, widening the different perceptions between black and white in South Africa. The enigma of white South African politics has been the growing trend among white voters in successive general elections since 1948 to give increased support to a Government whose policy has met with universal condemnation in world forums, and among all but the Afrikaans-speaking churches and the cultural organizations of Afrikanerdom in South Africa. Why has support for the National Party continued to increase ? What makes racial prejudice so tenacious amongst white South Africans ? Before any final evaluation of the C.P.S.A.'s efforts to resist apartheid may be attempted, it is necessary to appreciate the magnitude of the task facing those who sought to oppose the National Party and its ideology of apartheid.

The two most significant factors in giving victory to Dr. D.F. Malan in 1948 provide the reason for the National Party's continuing success. Firstly, the social and political reunification of Afrikanerdom under the banner of the National Party,

6. cf. LUCKHOFF, Dr. A.H., Cottesloe, Cape Town: Tafelberg 1978, and HEWSON, Leslie A., Cottesloe Consultation, The Report of the Consultation among South African Member Churches of the World Council of Churches, 7-14 December 1960 at Cottesloe, Johannesburg. Johannesburg: Transvaal Printing and Photo-Lithographers (Pty) Ltd., 1961.

begun in 1944 at the F.A.K.'s Volkskongres in Bloemfontein, had been consolidated. Secondly, the support of the Afrikaans churches for apartheid, implicit at the time of the 1948 general election, was made explicit at Bloemfontein in 1950, and thereafter, in spite of indications that apartheid is a principle that should be renounced by Christians, the synods of the most influential N.G. churches in the Cape and the Transvaal had continued to give their legitimation to the policy. Dr. D.F. Malan's goal of Afrikanervolkseenheid symbolized in the alliance struck between the National Party and the Afrikaner Party in 1947, built on a process already evident in the general election of 1943 when Dr. Malan eliminated all his political rivals in Parliament to the right of the United Party, with both Oswald Pirow's New Order and the rump of General Hertzog's party failing to gain any seats.[7]

The political reunification of Afrikanerdom under the banner of Dr. D.F. Malan's Herenigde Nasionale Party was nurtured by the persevering work of the Afrikaner Broederbond and its satellite organizations like the F.A.K., S.A.B.R.A., I.C.N.O., etc. The findings of Chapter Four, regarding the legitimation of apartheid by the Afrikaans churches, show that a vital element in Dr. D.F. Malan's achievement was the enthusiastic support given to the National Party by the synods of the N.G.K. This was the church which had educated and ordained him before he embarked on his political career as the first editor of Die Burger, and then as the Member of Parliament for Piketberg and Cape Leader of General Hertzog's National Party in 1915.

Whilst the exact role played by the Afrikaner Broederbond will remain debatable as long as that organization retains its rule of secrecy, sufficient evidence can be advanced to make some conclusions with a degree of confidence that justifies their consideration in the overall argument of this discussion. For instance, the internal evidence alone from the findings of the two conferences organized by the Federal Mission Council of the N.G. Churches in 1950 and 1952 is such as to suggest that the hypothesis of Broederbond influence is not a fanciful one. The 1950 Bloem-

7. See above, Introduction, p. xxxi , and Chapter Two, p. 86.

fontein Inter-Church Congress has been described in Chapter Four as a key element in the legitimation of apartheid by the Afrikaans churches.[8] The recommendations of this congress anticipated the application of certain aspects of the master plan for total apartheid. The Union-Wide Conference of Bantu Church Leaders "with European guidance" of 1952 in its turn anticipated the findings of the Tomlinson Commission.[9] The F.A.K. and S.A.B.R.A. organized a mass Volkskongres in Bloemfontein attended by some 800 delegates representing no less than 544 Afrikaner groups and organizations in July 1956, to discuss the findings of the Tomlinson Commission Report, which had been tabled in Parliament only four months earlier.[10] This feat of organization suggests that the governing inner élites of Afrikanerdom had made good use of the long period which elapsed between the presentation of the Tomlinson Report to the Cabinet in July 1954, and its publication and tabling in Parliament in March 1956. This Volkskongres organized by the F.A.K. and S.A.B.R.A. in July 1956, which endorsed the findings of the Tomlinson Commission, could not have come at a more critical time for the Afrikaans churches. It is interesting that prominent leaders of the N.G.K. at the time should also have held the key positions in S.A.B.R.A., and therefore must have been intimately involved in planning the congress which occurred at a time when the N.G.K. was said to be "listening afresh to the Word of God" in re-defining their church's attitude to apartheid. Thus the N.G.K.'s support for apartheid was somehow sustained at a time when N.G.K. leaders were showing some signs of wavering in their attitude towards the Broederbond-inspired political orthodoxy of Afrikanerdom. Due credit needs to be given to the Afrikaner Broederbond not only for its part in re-building the social and political cohesion of Afrikanerdom on which Dr. D.F. Malan's hallowed goal of volkseenheid rested, but also by the manner in which broeders were able to monitor and manipulate the most important levers of power and influence in the cultural, political and ecclesiastical organizations of Afrikanerdom.[11]

8. See above, Chapter Four, pp. 168-171.
9. See above, Chapter Seventeen, pp. 1004-1005.
10. See above, Chapter Seventeen, p. 1033.
11. See above, Chapter Two, pp. 86-89, references 22, 23, 29 and 30.

The National Party was thus able to sustain its general support amongst Afrikaners for the policy of apartheid, with consistent support from the Afrikaans churches. In spite of the considerable success which ecumenical dialogue with the member churches of the Christian Council and World Council of Churches seems to have had between 1951 and 1957, the continuing support given by the Afrikaans churches to apartheid seems to suggest that some more persuasive agent even than Dr. Willem Visser 'tHooft was at work. The hypothesis of the Broederbond's role as the arbiter of Nationalist orthodoxy does much to explain the sustained strength of the National Party's political position after 1948. The tesimony of Dr. Beyers Naudé, who was himself a member of the A.B.'s Uitvoerenderaad, known as "the twelve apostles", confirms this hypothesis.[12]

The importance of the N.G.K.'s attitude to the prevailing policy of apartheid is underlined by the statistics of church membership in this period. The white membership of the N.G.K. alone was greater than the combined white membership of all the member churches of the C.C.S.A. and the Roman Catholic Church put together. In 1951 according to the census the N.G.K. had 1 107 482 white members, against 1 037 739 for the C.C.S.A. member churches and the R.C. church. By 1960 the proportion had changed to N.G.K. 1 324 052: :1 004 000. The decisive effect upon the electoral support for the National Party of a change in the pattern of support for apartheid by the N.G.K. could not be more eloquently expressed than by these statistics of white church membership. In the same period there was a fall in white Anglican membership from 416 472 in 1951 to 384 448 in 1960, whilst African membership doubled from 345 185 to 752 095.[13] This may reflect the cost at which the Anglican witness was made, as well as the fact that although there were more white Anglicans that white members of all the other member churches of the C.C.S.A. put together, and white Anglicans outnumbered white Roman Catholics by two to one,

12. NAUDE, Dr. Beyers, Interview, Johannesburg, 10.3.1982.
13. Statistics compiled from the following:
Union of South Africa Population Census 8.5.1951 Vol. VII Marital Status, Religions and Birth Places of Coloureds, Asiatics and Natives; Vol. III, Religions of the White Population of the Union of South Africa. Republic of South Africa Bureau of Statistics, Population Census 6.9.1960, Vol. III, Religion.

the C.P.S.A. had to admit that in relation to the N.G.K. it was a minority. What the C.C.S.A. member churches had to recognize was that amongst those who had the vote they could muster fewer white members than the N.G.K. alone, and Anglicans were only 40% of that minority.

The correlation between religious beliefs and white prejudice has been demonstrated by recent sociological research. Although no comparable survey of this question has been undertaken, giving a comparative measurement of C.P.S.A. as against N.G.K. racial attitudes, the work of the South African sociologist Robert Buis in 1975 showed how "committed" white members of the N.G.K. had less favourable attitudes towards blacks than did committed white members of the Roman Catholic or Presbyterian churches. And this remained true when variables like occupation, income and education were taken into account, indicating the decisive influence of church teaching upon the racial attitudes of its members.[14] Professor I.D. MacCrone has also demonstrated the continuity between parental origins and popular prejudice. This accounts for the tenacity of apartheid as an ideology, particularly amongst Afrikaners.[15]

Even if a significant number of Afrikaans-speaking South Africans still resisted the embrace of the National Party, the demographic fact upon which the National Party's political power rested was that it needed only two-thirds of the votes of Afrikaans-speaking South Africans alone to keep political power. Dr. D.F. Malan's shrewdness as a politician was to recognize this from an early stage. Dr. Gwendoline Carter has demonstrated this in her pioneering study, The Politics of Inequality.[16] For Dr. D.F. Malan, Afrikanervolkseenheid thus held the key to political power for the National Party in South Africa.

A feature which assumes prominence in this study of Christian resistance to apartheid is the tenacity with which the National

14. BUIS, Robert, Religious Beliefs and White Prejudice, Johannesburg, Ravan, 1975, p. 48.
15. Proceedings of the South African Psychological Association, no. 5, 1954, "Parental origins and Popular Prejudice" by Professor I.D. MacCrone.
16. CARTER, G., The Politics of Inequality, London: Thames & Hudson, 1958.

Party pursued its policies regardless of the massive protests and resistance from all but their own supporters. The tendency of the National Party to ignore or discount the protests of all but the 40% of whites who voted for them is in one sense explained by the fact that they needed only two-thirds of the votes of Afrikaans-speakers, who outnumbered English-speakers by 6:4. The Government thus needed to satisfy the interests and prejudices of only this dominant minority. This helps to explain why apartheid could provoke bitter resistance and even the most vehement of protests could go unheeded since black resistance actually contributed to the political success of the National Party.[17]

Since the days of the border wars with African tribes in the nineteenth century and the skirmishes with those who occupied land in which the trekboers established their republics in the Orange Free State and Transvaal, kragdadigheid was a quality most admired among Afrikaners. President Krüger possessed this quality of tenacity in adversity, as did all the most admired of the Boer generals. The National Party Government's response, therefore, of further repression to meet non-violent resistance in the Defiance Campaign, and what Trevor Huddleston called the "implacability" of Mr C.R. Swart and Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, thus proved to be a winning formula in the general election of 1953. Then, in spite of his dangerous brush with the Moderatuur of the Afrikaans churches in 1957 over the "Church Clause", Dr. H.F. Verwoerd's exposition of apartheid still, it seemed, held the key to electoral success for the National Party in 1958 as well.

The most striking conclusion of the above discussion, therefore, is that the peculiar logic of white South African politics is that policy is predetermined by demography. Whites will not cede political rights to non-whites, because they outnumber them by four or five to one. The demographic fact upon which the Nationalists' election victories have been built is that Afrikaners outnumber English-speaking South Africans by six to four. Thus Dr. D.F. Malan's political adroitness in 1948 lay not in exploiting racial prejudice. His political acumen was to be seen in the

17. See above, Chapter Nine, pp. 468-472.

way in which he reunited the Afrikaner, by isolating General Smuts from the mainstream of Afrikanerdom, and the success with which he played upon Afrikaner prejudices against British imperialism by identifying the United Party with the English mining and financial interests who, he claimed, had exploited the country's wealth at the expense of poor Afrikaners.

This was why such issues as the application of Christian National Education in Afrikaans medium schools in 1949, the lowering of the voting age from 21 to 18 for the 1958 election, the introduction of its own news broadcasts by the S.A.B.C., the canvassing of support for a republic, together with the whole pattern of Nationalist sponsorship of the Afrikaans language movement and separate Afrikaner commercial and cultural institutions were all designed to take advantage of this one important demographic fact. The National Party would win all elections in an all-white electorate simply because they needed only two-thirds of the votes of Afrikaners, who outnumbered English-speakers by six to four, and a rural vote had a value up to 20% greater than an urban one. This accounts for the manner in which the N.P.'s emphasis upon "laager politics" was never relaxed. It provides a simple explanation of the importance to the National Party of achieving and sustaining the unity of die volk.

The social and political cohesion of Afrikanerdom has therefore to be recognized as the most powerful factor in underwriting Afrikaner support for the National Party, undeterred by the magnitude of the protests and resistance engendered by its policy of apartheid. If an "irresistable force" meets an "immovable object" one of two results can ensue. In this instance the granite-like solidarity of Afrikanerdom remained intact, and the forces of resistance to apartheid expended their momentum without making any apparent impression upon the political power of the National Party.

THE CONTRADICTIONS AND COMPROMISES OF THE UNITED PARTY IN OPPOSITION.

A further factor in reinforcing the electoral position of the National Party was the erratic stand of the United Party in opposition. Unlike the National Party whose consistency was unwavering in implementing its policy of apartheid both in theory and in practice, the United Party's outstanding characteristic between 1946 and 1957 was the inconsistency of its stance on many of the issues which the Nationalists placed on Parliament's agenda. The irresolute performance of the United Party during elections, besides strengthening their opponents, also had important implications for the witness of the C.P.S.A. in its fight against apartheid. For example, Trevor Huddleston's decision to seek publicity overseas can be ascribed to his sense of dismay over the United Party's support of the "Swart Bills" in 1953.[18] The manner in which the contradictions and compromises of the United Party's stance on various key issues called forth protests from the C.P.S.A., makes it necessary to include, as a part of this concluding chapter, a short analysis of the United Party's performance in opposition.

Underlying the United Party's inherent inability to sustain a principled stand against racial discrimination were its earlier alliances of convenience with other political parties before 1948. The origin of the United Party stemmed from the time when economic survival had been the dominant issue in 1933, and General Smuts had led the late General Botha's South African Party into "fusion" with General Hertzog's National Party. Dr. D.F. Malan, seeing the incompatibility between the racial policies of the two parties, had formed his Gesuiwerde Nasionale Party and gone into opposition.[19] For the duration of the Second World War, when fighting Hitler was the dominant issue, the United Party had accepted Colonel Stallard's Dominion Party as a coalition partner. Apart from that party's campaign to obtain for the Union of South Africa dominion status within the British Commonwealth, its most outstanding characteristic was the vehemence of its desire to consolidate the colour bar.[20] In

18. See above, Chapter Nine, p. 481.
19. See above, Introduction, p. xlv.
20. See above, Chapter One, p. 13.

1948, when the eight votes of Mr N.C. Havenga's Afrikaner Party would have turned a narrow National Party victory into a narrow majority for General Smuts, there were those in the United Party, in spite of strong links between the Ossewabrandwag and certain elements in the Afrikaner Party, who were prepared to enter into serious negotiations with Mr Havenga, whose racial policies were perceived to be as close to the United Party as those of Dr. Malan.[21] General Hertzog's Nationalists, Mr N.C. Havenga's Afrikaner Party and Colonel Stallards Dominionites were, however, strange bedfellows for a political party which purported to oppose apartheid. Among the seventy United Party members elected to the Parliament of 1948-1953 were many who were advocates of social and residential segregation, and as later defections from the party were to show, were closer in their allegiance to the racial outlook of the National Party than to an Official Opposition committed to oppose apartheid.

The strong stand made by the United Party between 1951 and 1956 against the removal of Cape Coloured voters from the common electoral roll is all the more surprising when it is remembered that it was a United Party government led by General Hertzog which had removed African voters from the common electoral roll and established separate representation for Africans in the Natives Representative Council. Then in 1946 General Smuts had himself offered the Indians separate representation on the same terms as those for Africans as a quid pro quo for accepting residential segregation as between whites and Indians in terms of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indians' Representation Acts of 1946.[22] Yet when the National Party offered the same dispensation for the Coloured people after 1948 it found the United Party strenuously opposing them.[23]

If the United Party's stance on separate representation seemed contradictory to its opponents, the same was true of the party's attitude to residential segregation. Principles supported by the United Party whilst in Government before 1948 were opposed now that the same party was in opposition. Thus the resistance offered by Mr J.G.N. Strauss against the Group Areas

21. See above, Chapter Two, pp. 93-5.
22. See above, Chapter One, pp. 13-17.
23. See above, Chapter Seven, p. 302, and Chapter Fifteen, pp. 844 ff.

Act in 1950 seemed surprising to some when this measure merely extended the principle of residential segregation to Africans and Coloureds, when the United Party in 1946 had already legislated to keep Indians out of "European areas" in Durban.[24] The United Party's attitude towards population removals also changed. Between 1944 and 1953 the Johannesburg City Council, supported by the United Party, were advocates of the Western Areas removals. The scheme had been suggested by a United Party City Councillor, Mr S.G. Tighy, in 1944. In 1953 Mr Tighy was elected as the United Party's M.P. for Florida in the belief that his party still supported the compulsory removal of the inhabitants of Sophiatown, Newclare and Martindale.[25] When opposing the Natives Resettlement Bill in March 1954, Dr. Henry Gluckman acknowledged that the United Party had changed its mind on the issue and now opposed such removals.[26] Thereafter the United Party's spokesman on Native Affairs, Dr. D.L. Smit, consistently opposed further Nationalist measures designed to facilitate compulsory population removals, like the Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts) and Native Administration Amendment Bills of 1956.[27] Mr J.G.N. Strauss, on the day the Sophiatown removals began, on 9th February 1955, called for an emergency debate, thus re-emphasizing the United Party's opposition to the removals.[28]

In 1949 the delicate path which the United Party was compelled to tread in opposing the principle of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Bill becomes understandable when it is realised that in 1937 the leader of the United Party in the Transvaal, General Pienaar, had introduced a private member's bill to prohibit mixed marriages. When the vote was taken, but for the absence of many of the United Party members who had supported General Pienaar during the debate, the United Party Government would have suffered an emarrassing defeat. In the debate on the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Bill in 1949 it will be recalled how, among all opposition speakers, only Mr Sam Kahn, Mrs Margaret

24. See above, Chapter One, pp. 13-17, and Chapter Six, p. 261.
25. See above, Chapter Thirteen, pp. 683, 721.
26. See above, Chapter Thirteen, p. 737.
27. See above, Chapter Fifteen, p. 870.
28. See above, Chapter Thirteen, p. 741.

Ballinger and Mr F.B. Allen had spoken for the principle of mixed marriages. The United Party took the view that the prohibition of mixed marriages was undesirable, not because the state had no right to prescribe whom God should join together in marriage, but simply because there was no satisfactory means of preventing such marriages by legislation.[29]

African education was, however, an issue over which the United Party did maintain a consistent attitude. The conference organized by the Government in 1944, after which responsibility for financing African education was transferred from the Ministry of Native Affairs to Mr J.H. Hofmeyr's Department of Education, resulted in an immediate improvement in the allocation of funds for African education.[30] The United Party's opposition to the Bantu Education Act in 1953, its stance on the closure of Christ the King School, Sophiatown, and its opposition to the Bantu Education Amendment Bill of 1956 were consistent and uncompromising in rejecting the compulsory take-over by the Department of Native Affairs of all mission schools.[31]

In spite of the United Party's tendency whilst in Government to temporize with a milder form of segregation, after 1948 the National Party's measures to prescribe apartheid were generally opposed, whilst legislation to proscribe black opposition to apartheid was often supported. The most striking contradictions in the United Party's stance against the National Party after 1948 are thus to be found over measures that affected law order and liberty in South Africa, and not so much in legislation concerned with the further separation of the races. Thus it was found that between 1949 and 1951 the United Party's opposition to the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages, Immorality Amendment, Population Registration, Group Areas and Bantu Authorities Bills was uniformly vigorous even if its earlier compromises whilst in office sometimes proved to be an embarrassment during debate.[32] The determination of Mr J.G.N. Strauss' opposition to the Suppression of Communism

29. See above, Introduction, p. xlvi, and Chapter Five, pp. 200-1.
30. See above, Chapter Ten, pp. 538, 540.
31. See above, Chapter Ten, p. 567, and Chapter Twelve, p. 642, 645.
32. See above, Chapter Five, pp. 200-210; Chapter Six, pp. 249, 253-5, 259-61, 263; and Chapter Seven, p. 304.

Act in 1950, however, stands in total contrast to his support for the Public Safety and Criminal Laws Amendment Bills in 1953, which gave the Government such intimidating powers to suppress even peaceful protests to its apartheid policies. In this debate it was not the Leader of the Opposition who rose to express the dismay of those who valued liberty at the severity of these repressive measures, but Mr Brian Bunting, who like his predecessor Mr Sam Kahn was deprived of his seat in Parliament as the Natives' Representative for Cape Western in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act. "The tragedy", said Mr Bunting, "is there has been no opposition from the United Party on this issue .... they have failed in the hour of the country's need to stand by fundamental democratic principles in defence of the rights of the people".[33]

On the other hand, the United Party's stand on academic freedom was consistent and their opposition sustained, in resisting all suggestions by the Government that it should impose racially separate universities.[34] By contrast the United Party vacillated over the principle of freedom of association in industry. The Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Amendment Bill of 1955, which denied Africans trade union rights, received the support of the Official Opposition, whilst the Industrial Conciliation Bill of 1956, which prohibited racially mixed trades unions and imposed job reservation, was strenuously opposed.[35] Certain measures which affected the principle of freedom of movement for all were strongly opposed, others were meekly supported. Thus the Natives Resettlement (1954), Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts) (1956) and Native Administration Amendment (1956) Bills and the Departure from the Union Regulation Bill (1955) were all opposed by the United Party, whilst a new Riotous Assemblies Bill in 1956 was supported.[36] The latter gave the Minister of Justice arbitrary powers to restrict any person to a particular magisterial district. In such instances where an individual citizen's right to freedom of movement was denied by administrative action there was no appeal, nor could the Minister's action be tested in court.

33. See above, Chapter Six, p. 266, and Chapter Nine, pp. 462-3, 470.
34. See above, Chapter Fifteen, p. 864.
35. See above, Chapter Fifteen, pp. 865-6.
36. See above, Chapter Fifteen, pp. 870-2.

The United Party did not falter in supporting the principle of religious liberty by offering strong opposition to the Native Laws Amendment Bill in 1957.[37] However, the party's role in upholding principles of civil liberty was once again flawed and contradictory. By supporting the Customs Act in 1955 the United Party accepted in principle the political censorship of literature.[38] Nor did the Police Amendment and Criminal Procedure Bills of 1955, which extended police powers of search and arrest without a warrant, encounter any serious opposition from the United Party. Spokesmen for the Liberal and Labour Parties were left to express the growing concern of those who were alarmed by the increase in police surveillance and harassment between 1955 and 1957.[39] In commenting on the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 Trevor Huddleston had said, "the European is reaping the fruits of his own carelessness in respect of the liberties of others".[40] The same criticism could have been justly made of the United Party. Having purported to uphold principles of the rule of law and liberty, the foregoing analysis shows how numerous were the contradictions and compromises which the United Party was willing to entertain so that it might be perceived by rural voters as being no less severe than the Nationalists in matters affecting law and order.

At no time did the underlying contradictions of the United Party's ambiguous stand on civil liberty stand out so starkly as in the general election campaign of 1953. The observations made in Chapter Nine in this regard indicate how the United Party's stance in the general election of 1953 and the circumstances which led to the defeat of the United Democratic Front in that year were in some respects to prove a more significant watershed in the political history of South Africa than the general election of 1948 which put the Nationalists in power.[41] The general election of 1953 so consolidated the unity and strength of the National Party that the opposition began to disintegrate. By 1959 no less than five new political parties had been formed out of the wreck of the United Party's defeat in the general election of 1953, in which a major

37. See above, Chapter Sixteen, pp. 941-2.
38. See above, Chapter Fifteen, pp. 871-2.
39. See above, Chapter Fifteen, p. 872.
40. See above, Chapter Six, p. 276, reference 160.
41. See above, Chapter Nine, pp. 495-7.

factor had been its bewildering lack of consistency in opposition.[42]

An explanation which accounts for the erratic performance of the United Party in opposition has already been suggested en passant in earlier chapters. In the first place, the United Party wrongly assessed the cause of its defeat in the general election of 1948. What won the election for Dr. Malan was the achievement of Afrikanervolkseenheid. Any loss of confidence in General Smuts' government was not due so much to Mr Hofmeyr's liberalism as to the gibe levelled against General Smuts, that his party had no "Native" policy, and was thus rightly criticized as being die party van niksdoen en laatmaarloop.[43] Secondly, the United Party's sudden reversal of tactics in the general election campaign of 1953 revealed the deep divisions within its own ranks on racial policy and political strategy. The running conflict intensified between a growing but relatively small, able group of "liberals", skilled in debate and led by Dr. Bernard Friedman, and a more numerous and powerful body of conservatives led by the United Party's Transvaal and Natal leaders, Mr Bailey Bekker and Mr Douglas Mitchell, who did not say much in Parliament but controlled the party machine. The latter controlled the majority in the United Party caucus. Thus Mr Strauss, like General Smuts and Mr Hofmeyr before him, and Sir de Villiers Graaf after 1956, was held hostage by those who refused to grant further political rights to Africans to avoid losing support on the platteland.[44] The other possible explanation is that the principles upheld by the United Party were no different from those of the National Party, and they differed only over the extent and rigour with which segregationist policies could be implemented. Thus the so-called "liberals" in the United Party, with the death of both Hofmeyr and Smuts, were left without a leader in the party's heirarchy and at election time power passed into the hands of the conservatives who determined election strategy. Between elections the caucus was content to give the party leader and the Official Opposition spokesmen on Native Affairs (Dr. D.L. Smit) and on Justice (Mr Harry Lawrence) greater freedom to oppose the Government.[45]

42. See above, Chapter Eight, pp. 390-3, and Chapter Nine, pp. 489-94; 497-8.
43. See above, Chapter Two, pp. 91-97 and 86-91.
44. See above, Chapter Nine, pp. 465-6; pp. 495-6; 497-9; and Chapter Fifteen p. 847.
45. The first part of this statement is supported by the view of Dean Palmer cited above in Chapter Six, p. 243. The second is a deduction on the basis of the analysis above.

One issue over which the United Party showed no inconsistency was its continuing inability to offer any alternative form of political representation for the non-European peoples of South Africa.[46] Field Marshal Smuts had expressed his doubts to Archbishop Darbyshire about the chances of improved representation in Parliament for non-Europeans as long ago as 1943, due to the "stubborn influence of racial prejudice".[47] Nor had Professor Z.K. Matthews come away from his interview with Mr J.H. Hofmeyr as Acting Prime Minister in 1946 with any tangible promise that Africans would one day sit in Parliament.[48] The failure of the United Party to address the question of African representation in Parliament can be explained by the hypothesis either that the party wished to go no further than the status quo anyway, or that, because it was a party divided within itself, no consensus could be reached within the party's parliamentary caucus.[49]

By offering no clear alternative for the political representation of the non-European peoples of South Africa, the United Party showed the all-white electorate no viable alternative to repression in the general election of 1953. Had the Defiance Campaign brought about dialogue between the leaders of the Congress movement and the Official Opposition some accord could have been found which gave an acceptable measure of political representation in Parliament to non-Europeans. Although it is impossible to speculate whether a bemused white electorate would have reacted any differently in 1953, what can be concluded, however, is that the United Party's reaction to the "riots crisis" of 1952 reinforced the view that the country's only choice was the one offered by the Nationalists, that of more separation and more repression. The alternative policy, of sharing power in a common society as a means of containing the confrontation between African and Afrikaner nationalism, was not an option that any but a few liberals and the leaders of the Congress movement were ready to offer. Thus, whatever the fears of the white electorate after the riots of the previous year, and however tenacious the instinct for racial discrimination amongst both English and

46. See above, Chapter Nine, p. 492.
47. See above, Introduction, p. xliii.
48. See above, Chapter One, p. 50.
49. See above, Chapter Six, p. 243.

Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, the United Party by pandering to such prejudice merely reinforced the arguments of the Nationalists and contributed to its own demise. The contradictions and compromises of the United Party in opposition thus not only helped to entrench apartheid, but also lent added significance to the C.P.S.A.'s witness against the policies of the National Party Government.

FACTORS WHICH ENHANCED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ANGLICAN WITNESS AGAINST APARTHEID.

The findings of this study thus indictate firstly, that the foundation of the National Party's power rested upon the growing social and political cohesion of Afrikanerdom and the legitimation of apartheid by the Afrikaans churches. Secondly, a further factor in reinforcing the strength of the National Party in Parliament was the United Party's inconstancy in opposition, which in its turn helped to legitimate racial prejudice amongst white South Africans generally. Thirdly, demographic factors inherent in the situation and imbalances in the electoral system gave to the National Party undeserved advantages. In these circumstances, the special significance of the C.P.S.A.'s witness against apartheid in this period was both enhanced and undermined.

Firstly, even if the National Party was not always inclined to listen to the English-speaking churches, the fact remains that theologians belonging to the member churches of the Christian Council were the only other South Africans equipped to challenge the theological arguments of those in the Afrikaans churches who supplied "biblical" legitimation for the ideology of apartheid. The few Afrikaner theologians who openly challenged their own church's stance on apartheid were thus encouraged to realise that theirs was not the minority position which the consensus of opinion in their own churches might otherwise have implied. Archbishop Clayton's friendship with Professor B.B. Keet is evidence of this.[50]

Secondly, the tendency of the United Party in opposition to

50. See above, Chapter Seventeen, p. 989.

be uncertain about making a consistent and principled stand against apartheid and for civil liberty caused opposition voters to seek definitive guidance not from politicians but from church leaders. This is evident from the way in which leader writers of English language newspapers and some opposition Members of Parliament bolstered their arguments by reference to episcopal statements.[51]

Thirdly, the Labour Party and the Natives' Representatives often provided the principled opposition to apartheid which "liberals" in the United Party looked for in vain from their own party. Archbishop Clayton's role as the confidant of Mrs Margaret Ballinger and Bishop Reeves' friendship with the Labour leader Mr Alexander Hepple have been mentioned earlier to account for the way in which of all Anglican bishops at the time, Clayton and Reeves often seemed to be the most alert and best informed.[52] It was also often the case that when the need arose it was the Labour Party or the Natives' Representatives who articulated the mind of the English-speaking churches in the course of parliamentary debates. Walter Stanford, Natives' Representative for Cape Western from 1954 and John Cope (U.P., Parktown) also had close contact with Archbishop Clayton and Bishop Reeves respectively, and like Senator Edgar Brookes were committed Anglicans who saw their role in Parliament as a Christian vocation.

Fourthly, other opposition political parties came into being which revealed the extent of the disillusionment with the United Party. The sense of dismay engendered by the defeat of the United Democratic Front in the general election of 1953 was reflected in the creation of no fewer than four new political parties in that year. The formation of the Liberal Party, the Union Federal Party, the Congress of Democrats and the Conservative Party started a trend whereby the United Party lost support both to the right and to the left. The defection of the United Party's liberal wing, so nearly precipitated by the resignation of Dr. Bernard Friedman in 1956, did not finally eventuate until the formation of the Progressive Party in 1959. The United Party's decision to support Mr C.R. Swart's Public Safety and Criminal Laws Amendment Bills

51. See above, Chapter Five, p. 209, and Chapter Eleven, p. 577.
52. See above, Chapter Fifteen, p. 878.

in January 1953 thus played a decisive part in starting a process which, twenty-five years later, culminated in the Progressive Federal Party taking over from the United Party as the Official Opposition in Parliament to the National Party, who by then had enjoyed an uninterrupted period of almost thirty years' rule. In these circumstances where the parliamentary opposition to the Nationalists was divided, the C.P.S.A.'s consistent stand against apartheid provided a more reliable guide to the perplexed than the speeches of politicians.

For the same reason, fifthly, the extra-parliamentary organizations opposed to apartheid were undoubtedly strengthened by the knowledge that their stand was being steadfastly supported by the witness of the C.P.S.A. For example, Albert Luthuli's concern at the tardiness of the member churches of the Christian Council in expressing an opinion about the Defiance Campaign was because Christians were in real confusion about the principles involved. This reflects the extent to which Christians in the Congress movement looked to church leaders for support and moral guidance.[53] A significant measure of the dissatisfaction with the United Party's opposition is further reflected in the vigorous protests of a number of other extra-parliamentary organizations amongst whites which led the way in opposing various unsatisfactory aspects of apartheid legislation. Reference has thus been made to the important work done by the South African Institute of Race Relations, the Civil Rights League, the Torch Commando and the Black Sash in articulating and co-ordinating the protests of the more indignant of the Nationalists' opponents. Though in one sense the vigour of these protests, especially against the removal of the Coloured franchise, allowed Anglican leaders to make a less concerted stand against the Government on this issue than the strength of their feelings on the matter would otherwise have called forth, their restraint also had an important concomitant effect which enhanced the importance of what was said by Anglican bishops on the matter. Thus the activities of the Torch Commando and the Black Sash in particular at different times both enhanced and diminished the importance of the C.P.S.A.'s

53. See above, Chapter Eight, p. 438.

stand against the unrelenting efforts made by the Government to remove Coloured voters from the common electoral roll.

Thus, sixthly, the activities of extra-parliamentary organizations also served to highlight certain weaknesses in the church's ecumenical witness against apartheid. For instance, it is a reflection upon the inadequate organizational capacity of the Christian Council that it was the Civil Rights League who published the pamphlet The Church's Judgement on Apartheid in 1948.[54] Then in 1952, fully a year before the Christian Council arranged its two conferences on Bantu Education, the Institute of Race Relations organized a most effective ecumenical conference to co-ordinate the attitude of all involved in African church schools towards the findings of the Eiselen Commission Report.[55]

Seventhly, in the relatively undeveloped state of ecumenical institutions at the time, Archbishop Clayton's position within the Christian Council gave to that body an enhanced stature. "The Archbishop" came to be regarded as the spokesman for the whole family of C.C.S.A. member churches, as evidenced in the tribute to Geoffrey Clayton by Dr. R.H.W. Shepherd. In the letter he had written to the Prime Minister the day before he died, Geoffrey Clayton had spoken "not merely for the Church of the Province and its Bishops, but for many other churches, their ministers and members".[56] An episcopal order of church government did not only give to an Archbishop a greater continuity of leadership, unlike the Methodist, Presbyterian or Congregational system of annual conferences and assemblies which elected a Moderator or Chairman, who had only a year in which to exercise his office as "Head" of his church. A bishop with a gift for articulate speech and writing, and who could establish a good rapport with the press, remained in the public eye in a way which enabled him to communicate his message to a wider audience. Clayton, Reeves and Huddleston each had well developed gifts for this kind of public ministry. An Anglican bishop was also regarded by some as the primus inter

54. See above, Chapter Three, p. 145.
55. See above, Chapter Ten, p. 549.
56. See above, Chapter Sixteen, p. 938.

pares amongst leaders of the English-speaking churches, in the same way as the Moderator of the N.G.K. was recognized as the leader of the Afrikaans-speaking churches.[57]

An eighth factor in enhancing the significance of the C.P.S.A.'s stand against apartheid was the moral support given to Anglican laymen and women in key positions in Parliament as well as those who played their part in various extra-parliamentary organizations mentioned above. The C.P.S.A.'s stand also upheld a wider circle of leading men and women in the professions, the universities, educationists, writers and journalists for whom the support of the church must have meant a great deal. Margaret Ballinger, Alexander Hepple, John Cope, Alan Paton, Edgar Brookes and Patrick Duncan are but a few whose names could be cited, and who have featured in this account of Christian resistance to apartheid. Of special importance, too, were a number of Anglicans in positions of leadership in the African National Congress like Z.K. Matthews, Oliver Tambo, James Calata, John Skomolo, Walter Sisulu, James Gawe and Nelson Mandela who, against enormous odds were sustained in their struggle by the knowledge that the sacrifices they voluntarily accepted in resisting apartheid were supported by the ethical and moral precepts they had learned as members of the C.P.S.A.

Ninthly, the bishops of the C.P.S.A. avoided one failing to which the Anglican episcopate is prone, by virtue of the independence which a bishop enjoys in his own diocese. Regular meetings of Episcopal Synod, together with the assumption of many of the bishops that it was the function of the Archbishop to express the church's mind on most issues, ensured that in general the C.P.S.A. spoke with a united voice. One exception was over the issue of Bantu Education, but even so, the differences of view in Episcopal Synod fairly reflected the differences in the overall membership of the church. By virtue of the fact that every Anglican bishop was accountable to a multi-racial synod, this meant that, unlike politicians in Parliament who were answerable only to a white electorate, no bishop could be elected who did not take cognisance of the opinions of black members and white alike. It is interest-

57. SELBY-TAYLOR, The Right Revd. Robert, Interview, Kalk Bay, 24.4.1976.

ing to note that between 1951 and 1960 the white membership of the Anglican church declined slightly, whilst its African membership doubled, to become almost exactly twice that of its white membership. The Coloured membership of the C.P.S.A. increased slightly in the same period, to approximately two-thirds of the number of white members.[58]

In a period when all Anglican bishops were white and the articulation of the point of view of Africans in the church was considered to be the task of white missionaries, the importance of the role of missionary religious orders like the Society of the Sacred Mission and the Community of the Resurrection needs to be acknowledged. The independence of such religious orders meant that the views of African Christians were clearly articulated by mission priests like Cyprian Thorpe and Trevor Huddleston. Chief Luthuli apart, it was also the case that the leading figures in the African National Congress in this period were Anglican laymen. Thus a tenth factor which enhanced the importance of the Anglican witness against apartheid was the manner in which independent religious orders within the C.P.S.A. gave clear support for and lucid exposition of African views which would otherwise have the more easily been discounted. The long-term contribution to the liberation struggle of African people of Trevor Huddleston's ministry in Johannesburg is incalculable. Much of the credit for the achievement of an indigenous leadership and ministry in the C.P.S.A. may be ascribed to the Community of the Resurrection's theological college of St. Peter's Rosettenville. Of thirteen African priests who by 1981 had been elected bishops of the C.P.S.A., no less than eight have been graduates of St. Peter's College.[59]

The constitution of the C.P.S.A. in 1870, with its structure

58. C.P.S.A. Members:

	White.	Coloured.	Asian.	African.
1951:	416 472	229 588	4 802	345 185
1960:	348 448	260 849	6 007	732 095.

Compiled from Union of South Africa Census 8.5.1951, Vol. VII, Marital Status, Religions and birth places of Coloureds, Asiatics and Natives, and Vol. III, Religions of the White Population of the Union of South Africa; and R.S.A. Bureau of Statistics, Population Census 1960, Vol. III, Religion.

59. This includes dioceses of the C.P.S.A. outside the Republic of South Africa: Damaraland (Namibia), Niassa and Lebombo (Mozambique), Swaziland and Lesotho, but excludes Botswana, where Archbishop Walter Makhudu is a former priest of the Diocese of Johannesburg and a student of St. Peter's Rosettenville.

of diocesan and provincial synods, as a self-governing church and independent province of the Anglican Communion, preserved its bishops from the erastian structures which complicate the Church of England's relationship to the state in Britain. Thus finally the stature of the Anglican Communion within the world ecumenical movement gave powerful support to the C.P.S.A.'s stand in rejecting apartheid on Christian grounds. Declarations by the Lambeth Conference and the Assemblies of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam and Evanston, as well as by the United Nations, were weighty indictments of racial discrimination at a time before such world bodies had been so subjected to government propaganda as to discredit them in the eyes of white opinion in South Africa. Because of the interest around the world in South Africa's racial policies, the Anglican witness against apartheid stood out as an unprejudiced and trustworthy guide between the kragdadigheid and counter-propaganda of the Afrikaner Government, and what seemed to some the inflated rhetoric of Indian and African militants. In this situation the English-speaking churches provided a bridge between the extremes of Afrikaner and African nationalism, a standard of objectivity and reason in a sea of conflicting claims and ideologies.

FACTORS WHICH UNDERMINED ANGLICAN RESISTANCE TO APARTHEID.

In the report on his visit to South Africa in 1952 Dr. Visser 'tHooft had observed how, as he moved from the homes of Afrikaners to the English, and thence to the African and Indian milieu,

> .... it is almost as if one crosses several borders and visits a number of different countries, each with its own assumptions, its own outlook on the world and often, though not necessarily, its own prejudices. 60

Herein lies South Africa's most intractable problem.

Firstly, the widely differing perceptions of reality held by all her separated peoples meant that on any issue there were deep cleavages of attitude between black and white. Nor was the C.P.S.A. immune from this peculiarly South African characteristic.

60. See above, Chapter Seventeen, p. 998.

The perspectives of the clergy were very often conditioned by the milieu in which they happened to work. Issues were perceived so differently in a suburb than in a township. The tenor of life for a mission priest in rural Natal or the Transkei was markedly different from the pressures which impinged upon Trevor Huddleston or Michael Scott living in Sophiatown.

This helps to explain the differences of attitude towards Bantu Education within the Church of the Province, since the prevailing circumstances of Johannesburg were so different to those in Cape Town, Pretoria, Grahamstown or Natal. Talk about the onset of a police state, denials of civil or religious liberty, warnings of racial conflict, the end of democracy, totalitarianism, even tyranny, to many white South Africans seemed like gross exaggerations. However, those whose ministry brought them in close contact with leaders of the African National Congress, or whose daily lives were lived in the black milieu, felt that such words did not adequately describe the reality of what it was like to live and work for ever wary of the activities of police informers. They were constantly conscious that their movements were being watched, and mail intercepted. Meetings they addressed were invaded by badly disguised police from the special branch, or armed police in uniform. They knew at first hand the kind of twilight existence forced upon friends like James Calata, Oliver Tambo or Walter Sisulu by restriction orders under the Suppression of Communism Act. This was another world, unknown to the majority of priests whose ministry belonged elsewhere. The gulf between the ideas of Scott and Huddleston and the attitudes of the majority of white South Africans , whose contact with black people was at the level of the master-servant relationship, was inevitably very much greater.

It is these deep differences of perception within the church and South African society generally which account for Trevor Huddleston's frustration with the lack of awareness of his fellow Anglicans and white people generally about the urgency of the developing political situation, which he saw so clearly. "For God's sake wake up", and "The Church Sleeps on" were two of the titles of his

articles in The Observer, written with the purpose of disabusing people in Britain and in South Africa "who do not understand why all the fuss is being made".[61] Their close relationship with the African community explains why Michael Scott, Trevor Huddleston, Patrick Duncan, Arthur Blaxall and Ambrose Reeves decided on the response of resistance to apartheid before others did.

Thus a second important factor which undermined their stand was the way in which others, from the perspective of another South Africa, considered their reactions to be too extreme and their rhetoric exaggerated. Jesus' statement to the people in his home town of Nazareth, "A prophet is not without honour, except in his own country" was somehow reversed in South Africa, so that the opposite applied.[62] A prophet not born in South Africa was held to be without honour, and his message discounted as the inflated rhetoric of a foreign missionary.

The very Englishness of the Church of the Province in this period was thus a third factor in weakening the witness of Anglicans against apartheid. Since none of the bishops of the C.P.S.A. at the time were South Africans by birth or training, Archbishop Clayton's observation to Bishop Roberts, Secretary of S.P.G., that "We tend therefore to be regarded as exotic foreign missionaries rather than as an indigenous church" has particular force.[63] The tendency to recruit clergy in England, not only for the missionary dioceses like Zululand, St. John's, Kimberley and Pretoria, but also in "self-supporting" dioceses like Cape Town, Johannesburg, Grahamstown and Natal, meant that Afrikaners aptly described the C.P.S.A. as "die Engelse Kerk". St. Paul's College, Grahamstown, found itself in competition with the prevalent attitude that an English university and theological education was superior to that offered in South Africa.[64] Every bishop appointed commissaries in England, and the Director of the South African Church Institute in London was there for the express purpose of recruiting clergy as parish priests and missionaries for most dioceses of

61. See above, Chapter Fourteen, pp. 757-8 and 765-6.
62. Mark 6;4 (R.S.V.)
63. See above, Chapter Fourteen, pp. 762-3.
64. For example, it was the practice of the Diocese of Natal to train most of its ordinands in England until this policy was reversed in 1965.

the C.P.S.A.

In this period the leadership of the C.P.S.A., which had growing numbers of black members, was dominantly white. With a few exceptions white missionaries were Priests in Charge of African missions, with African priests as their Assistants. The white Archdeacon or Director of Native Missions directed the African work of a diocese, which was administered separately through the Diocesan Missionary Conference. Efforts to reform representation of diocesan synods to reflect a more equal status between "missions" which were black, and "parishes" which were white, began to take place in this period, as the C.P.S.A. faced the challenge of racialism in its own life.[65] The stipends of the clergy were determined according to race. Declarations against any separation within the church or the nation on grounds of race were the more easily discounted because of the uniracial character of Anglican congregations and church schools. Ds. Willem Landman's indictment at Evanston of the "double talk of the English churches" provides its own comment upon the way in which the C.P.S.A.'s resistance to apartheid in the nation exposed weak points within its own life.[66]

Thus, fourthly, it is significant that it was in this period, when the C.P.S.A. stood out in condemning the racialism of government legislation, that the need for an indigenous leadership and ministry in the C.P.S.A., as well as the creation of a genuinely multi-racial church life, was perceived with a new urgency. The unwillingness of many white congregations to accept the ministrations of black clergy, Coloured worshippers who would habitually occupy the back seats of Anglican churches, and came to the altar rail only after all Europeans had communicated, provided an indication of how pervasive was the reality of racialism within the life of the church. It will be remembered how adroitly Mr Eric Louw, then Minister of Economic Affairs, exploited the uniracial character of Anglican private schools in replying to a statement by Episcopal Synod in October 1953 condemning apartheid, but which had conceded that "the maintenance of separate schools for different

65. See above, Chapter Five, p. 195.
66. See above, Chapter Seventeen, p. 1011.

races is supported in the present circumstances".[67] The same statement pointed out that it was "linguistic and geographical reasons" which led "Africans and Europeans" to worship in different places, but that "no-one has any authority to exclude any Churchman of any race from any of our churches if he presents himself there for the purpose of worship".[68] In order to avoid the implications for themselves of the church's witness against apartheid, "Physician heal thyself" made a convenient rejoinder from Government spokesmen for a church which could not always practise what it preached.[69]

UNREST WHICH PROVOKED REPRESSION.

Besides the above factors which tended to undermine Anglican resistance to apartheid, riots occurred at different times during the period covered by this study, which complicated the church's task and precipitated some unexpected political consequences. This study has revolved around the repressive measures of the South African Government which provoked protests and then resistance from the C.P.S.A. A significant factor which continually impinged upon the church's consideration of its means of resisting apartheid was the riots which generated further repression from the Government and the police, which in turn incited further protests and resistance from the oppressed. Generally, rioting reinforced repression, and repressive measures tended to provoke more resistance to the Government.

In September 1945, the Springbok Legion's counter-demonstration against the National Party's Conference outside the Johannesburg City Hall, in which Michael Scott was involved, served only to reinforce the Nationalists in their determination to proscribe communism.[70] The African mineworkers' strike on the Witwatersrand in August 1946 did nothing to assist the African in his struggle

67. See above, Chapter Eleven, p. 577, and Cape Times, 28.10.1953, "Mr Louw replies to Bishops - Alleged Inconsistency in their statement".
68. CPSA Archive AB 191, Clayton papers, Statement by the Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa October 1953, mimeo 3 pp., p. 2.
69. Luke 4;23. Appendix "D", pp. 1125-7.
70. See above, Chapter One, p. 61.

for trade union rights. Nor did the ensuing protests of the Natives Representative Council achieve any improvement in the matter of African representation in Parliament.[71] Instead, the United Party Government under the leadership of Mr J.H. Hofmeyr as Acting Prime Minister responded with severity to restore order. These protests were to achieve results precisely the opposite to those which their proponents desired. The eventual outcome, once the Nationalists came to power, was to provide powerful arguments for legislation to proscribe communism in 1950, and to furnish an excuse to continue to deny Africans parliamentary representation and trade union rights.

Civil unrest did not, however, always work in the Government's favour. The preaching of racialism by National Party cabinet ministers had undoubtedly exacerbated latent feelings of hostility between Africans and Indians in Natal. The racial rioting which ensued in Durban in January 1949 was, however, to have some unexpected political consequences. In spite of the barbarity and ferocity with which Indian and Zulu had set about each other for two gory weeks in an orgy of murder, arson, loot and destruction, the African and Indian Congresses were able to forge a political alliance of the most profound importance. In the same year as these brutal riots took place, the Congress Alliance was established, and provided a springboard for a joint committee of the two Congresses to plan the Defiance Campaign in 1951.[72] Only three years after these riots, the same city of Durban witnessed the spectacle of African and Indian volunteers standing shoulder to shoulder in defiance of apartheid's laws. This example of inter-racial reconciliation between the Zulus and Indians of Natal provides a telling testimony both to the most remarkable qualities of leadership possessed by the leaders of the African and Indian Congresses at the time, and to the intensity of the feelings of hostility against white domination which had been aroused by the National Party's policy of apartheid amongst the voteless black and brown people of South Africa.

71. See above, Chapter One, p. 43.
72. See above, Chapter Five, pp. 183, 192 ff; Chapter Six, p. 239.

The Durban riots of 1949 provide one example of civil unrest which did not of itself precipitate more repression. The "Freedom Day" strikes on the Witwatersrand on 1st May 1950, however, followed a more predictable pattern. The police intervened and fired on the strikers, killing nineteen and injuring thirty at Alexandra, Orlando and Sophiatown.[73] Only five days later Mr C.R. Swart introduced the first reading of the Unlawful Organizations Bill in Parliament on 5th May.[74] Thus protests provoked by foreknowledge of the Government's intention to proscribe the South African Communist Party provided the opportunity for police intervention, which in turn supplied the Government with vivid and convenient arguments to justify the suppression of liberty.

In the same year, 1950, and at different times, riots broke out at Dube and Newclare with serious loss of life. Public concern was such that the Government appointed an official commission to enquire into the causes of such riots which kept recurring in the most alarming way. In March 1952 a renewed outbreak of gang warfare in Newclare had important repercussions. A petition to Dr. H.F. Verwoerd signed by 7 000 inhabitants of the neighbouring white suburbs of Westdene and Newlands called for the implementation of the Western Areas removal scheme.[75] It is therefore significant that it was in the year 1952 that the most decisive and irrevocable steps were taken by the Government, in collaboration with the Johannesburg City Council, which led to the enforced removal, beginning in 1955, of all the inhabitants of Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare. Once again rioting had given the Government the excuse it was seeking to implement another vital aspect of its policy.

The most significant outbreak of rioting in the period covered by this study also occurred in the year 1952, during the Defiance Campaign. The riots at Port Elizabeth, the Denver Men's Hostel in Johannesburg, Kimberley and East London between 18th October and 10th November had far-reaching political consequences.[76]

73. See above, Chapter Six, p. 270.
74. See above, Chapter Six, p. 258.
75. See above, Chapter Thirteen, pp. 706-7, 710.
76. See above, Chapter Eight, pp. 374-387.

These riots induced in Anglican leaders a more cautious attitude towards the legitimacy of civil disobedience as a means of resisting apartheid. The outstanding feature of the crisis precipitated by these riots was the Government's political skill, which contrasted so markedly with the heavy-handedness of the police, whose reckless reactions to a succession of minor incidents provoked a conflagration of frightening proportions. The fear of further outbreaks of racial rioting of similarly unbridled savagery and violence between black and white was such that it induced in the white populace a mood in which many turned to the strong arm of the Nationalists for protection, although ultimately the problem had been caused by the injustice of the Government's own apartheid legislation. The National Party somehow succeeded in placing the blame upon the Congress leaders who had planned the Defiance Campaign, when the underlying cause of black unrest lay in the injustice of its own policies.

Then, in spite of the severe penalties for incitement provided by the Criminal Laws Amendment Act of 1953, police harassment and banning of their leaders, the Congress Alliance launched its "Resist Apartheid" campaign on the first anniversary of the Defiance Campaign. In its turn the Government found that its legislation for the suppression of "Communism" had to be employed to contain the resistance of many who manifestly were Christians and not communists. On 1st October 1952 the police started collecting evidence in an endeavour to support an indictment of treason against the leaders of the Congress movement. The Government, recognizing the loopholes in its legislation for the suppression of Communism, began to take similar powers in order to be able to suppress the liberty of any of their political opponents whether they be communists or not. The intensification of police surveillance and the assault on civil liberty were part of a more general process of refining security legislation in order to deal with unrest. It is paradoxical, however, that the incidence of civil unrest, usually an indicator of insensitive and unpopular government, should have provided the National Party with what Keppel Jones called "an electoral situation equal to their wildest dreams".[77]

77. See above, Chapter Nine, p. 472, and cf. p. 533.

The explanation of this paradox of course is that the National Party needed the support of 40% of whites only to remain in power. The escalating cycle of oppression that provoked unrest, which in turn generated more repression, which then incited a further intensification of resistance, served to strengthen support for the party which could promise to "keep the native in his place".

The incidence of unrest in the remaining years of the period covered by this study revealed a similar pattern. Repressive measures provoked by earlier unrest then incited further protests and more resistance, which in their turn attracted police intervention. Sometimes there would be no casualties. For the Sophiatown removals on 9th February 1955, the schools' boycott in April, the Congress of the People in June, and the nation-wide police raids on 27th September of the same year, the authorities used such an overwhelming show of force that only token resistance was offered and no-one was injured.[78] There were inevitably other occasions when the people's protests attracted police attention, and police batons and even bullets caused injuries. Fr. Charles Hooper has provided a vivid description of the Government's strong-arm measures in the Zeerust district of the Western Transvaal, when the Congress Women's League organised protests against the imposition of passes for women.[79] Certain instances of police brutality during the bus boycott on the Witwatersrand and Pretoria early in 1957 described in Chapter Fifteen are another example of violence by the police in their dealings with black people.[80] A characteristic of most of these encounters is that rarely did the police suffer any injury. It was they who possessed superior force of arms. Police weapons were so often used over-zealously to deal with resisters who, however numerous, were unarmed and peaceable until provoked.

The reinforcement of the very repressive measures which in the first instance had incited people to non-violent resistance inexorably had the effect of escalating the conflict. Thus the

78. See above, Chapter Thirteen, pp. 678, 742; Chapter Twelve, p. 631 and Chapter Fourteen, pp. 778, 791.
79. HOOPER, The Revd. Charles, Brief Authority, London: Collins, 1960, and see above, Chapter Seventeen, pp. 1034-5.
80. See above, Chapter Fifteen, p. 891.

inherent violence and overkill habitually employed by the Nationalist Government and the South African Police to deal with non-violent resistance initiated an apparently irreversible and spiralling cycle of repression and counter-violence, which has since led to armed conflict on both sides. Thus the conflict between African and Afrikaner Nationalism, initiated in the fifties by the policies of the National Party, has led obstinately to a situation thirty years later when the African National Congress is an armed liberation movement in exile. Guerilla groups can cross South Africa's borders and have the sympathy of others inside the country who are themselves waging a low intensity civil war against every symbol of white authority that the hated policy of apartheid has imposed upon them.

PIONEERS OF CHRISTIAN RESISTANCE IN THE C.P.S.A.

Allusions have been made to the stance both of the Government and the United Party as well as to that of the Labour Party and the Natives Representatives on most issues of any importance. The failure of the Official Opposition in Parliament sometimes to oppose the Government consistently contrasted with protests from the churches and other extra-parliamentary organizations like the Institute of Race Relations, the Civil Rights League, the Torch Commando and the Black Sash.

Significantly, resistance to apartheid came from the African and Indian Congresses, whose organization of two mass campaigns of civil disobedience in 1946 and 1952 led the way in challenging the church to turn from protest to resistance. In all these organizations Anglicans played their part, many with distinction. Unfortunately, written records left by men like Z.K. Matthews, James Calata, Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo are scanty. The papers of the African National Congress were confiscated by the security police at such frequent intervals that it has been difficult to do justice to the role they played in leading their church to resist apartheid.

By contrast, written sources abound for figures like Michael

Scott, Patrick Duncan, Trevor Huddleston and Ambrose Reeves. Accordingly, it has been possible to offer, at appropriate points in this study, an evaluation of their theory and practice of Christian resistance to apartheid, where this has not been attempted for the African leaders mentioned above because of insufficient information. It is also true that the well-publicized activities of Scott, Duncan, Huddleston and Reeves did have more influence upon the Church of the Province at the time than the example of African leaders, merely because they were white, since leadership of the C.P.S.A. in the fifties was entirely white.

Thus, with the possible exception of the National Party itself, no political party in Parliament, or extra-parliamentary organization opposed to the Government, was as influential in leading the C.P.S.A. to radicalize its methods of protest and resistance towards the policies of apartheid as the Indian and African Congresses. One of the significant achievements of the two campaigns of civil disobedience lay in the recruitment of white Anglican resisters. The participation of Michael Scott and Fr. W.H. Satchell in the Indian Congress' campaign of 1946 and the whole-hearted identification of Fr. Trevor Huddleston and Patrick Duncan with the Defiance Campaign of 1952 compelled the C.P.S.A. to face the moral questions raised by the practice of satyagraha by Anglican Christians. There were, of course, many Anglican clergy and laymen in positions of leadership in the African National Congress, and numerous men and women who volunteered to court imprisonment and went to gaol because of their conviction that apartheid was an evil doctrine which had to be defeated. They were the true pioneers of Christian resistance in the C.P.S.A. But their skin colour was not white. Scott, Satchell, Duncan and Huddleston who as whites identified with their struggle, because white leadership was more influential than black leadership at the time, thus became the more important prophets of Christian resistance in the C.P.S.A. Other leading figures in the C.P.S.A. consequently were challenged to consider whether the time had not finally come for them to choose between their duty to God and obedience to Caesar.

ARCHBISHOP CLAYTON'S PILGRIMAGE FROM OBEDIENCE TO DEFIANCE.

A summary of Archbishop Clayton's changing stance towards the South African Government serves to provide both a summary of the gradual deterioration in the relations between his church and the state from 1943 to 1957, as well as acting as a barometer of the C.P.S.A's attitude towards Christian resistance to apartheid. Archbishop Clayton moved from a stance of co-operation with the Government of General Smuts at the time of the publication of the Church and Nation Report in 1943, to a stance of confrontation and resistance when Dr. H.F. Verwoerd and Mr J.G. Strijdom encountered a blunt refusal from Archbishop Clayton and all the bishops of the C.P.S.A. to obey the clauses relating to the church in the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1957.

Unlike Michael Scott and Trevor Huddleston, or Bishop Reeves after 1953, and in sharp contrast with Patrick Duncan or Anglicans among leaders of the African National Congress like Z.K. Matthews, Oliver Tambo or James Calata, Archbishop Clayton did not take the initiative to resist apartheid. He responded reactively to the Nationalist Government's measures to separate South Africans by race and skin colour. The pungent theological statements he drafted for Episcopal Synod, his sermons about the problem of fellowship, his letters to the Government about the issues which troubled Christian consciences, and his synod charges which warned against the evil effects of apartheid, were invariably measured, wise and fair to both sides, whilst not conceding the statement of theological principle which he had set out to defend. Where Nationalist cabinet ministers could often criticize the C.P.S.A.'s failure to live by its non-racial principles, Clayton's annunciation of theological truths hostile to the ideology of apartheid commanded respect.

Initially he believed that he could influence the Government by speaking to Dr. D.F. Malan. The fire-side chat at Groote Schuur arranged for him by Dr. Blaxall in 1952 represented an advance on the abrupt refusal of the Prime Minister to see a delegation from the Christian Council early in 1949.[81] The year 1955

81. See above, Chapter Three, p. 152, and Chapter Fifteen, p. 835.

seems to have coincided with an escalation in Archbishop Clayton's language of protest. One exception had been his speech to the Private Schools' Headmasters' Conference in 1950. Until the Johannesburg Multi-Racial Conference of Church Leaders in December 1954, and as long as Dr. D.F. Malan remained Prime Minister, the Archbishop had good reason to temper his criticism of the Government with sensitivity for the Afrikaner. However, a significant change is evident in Clayton's speech at the protest meeting in the Cape Town City Hall in June 1955. He then bluntly likened the methods of the Nationalist Government, and in particular the high-handed attitude of Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, to the totalitarianism of Nazism.[82] The frustration and futility of making representations to the National Party Government, now led by Mr J.G. Strijdom, and his personal experience of Dr. Verwoerd's implacability, made Archbishop Clayton realise that mere protests were not enough. This was what Trevor Huddleston had told him in apologizing for his article in The Observer, "The Church Sleeps on".[83] He only half believed it in 1955. He knew then that whatever he said in the name of his church, the Government continued on its own reckless way adding measure after measure to enforce racial separation and inhibit liberty. However, only in 1957, with the introduction of the Native Laws Amendment Bill which directly threatened the religious liberty of African worshippers, did he finally decide that a stance of resistance was the only proper response to this attempt to apply apartheid to the life of the church itself.

Archbishop Clayton's pilgrimage from a stance of obedience to secular authority in 1946 to accepting for himself the need to defy the Government in 1957 cannot be understood except in terms of the challenge posed to his own conscience by the example of those who placed pressure upon him to act more radically. Michael Scott was the first, in 1946, when Clayton was still at the stage of stressing those New Testament texts which urge Christians to obey even unjust rulers. By 1952 Clayton responded far more positively to Patrick Duncan's request for guidance about a Christian's participation in a campaign of civil disobedience. Clayton's letter to Duncan, congratulating him for his courage and advising

82. See above, Chapter Fifteen, pp. 858, 882, and Chapter Sixteen, pp. 915-6.
83. See above, Chapter Fourteen, pp. 765-6.

him to obey his conscience though he might differ over his choice of method, contrasted with the intention which pervaded his charge to Sacred Synod in 1946. Clayton's criticism of the line of action being followed by Trevor Huddleston between 1953 and 1956 was in many respects no different from that which had previously evoked in him a negative attitude towards Michael Scott. Firstly, Clayton resented Huddleston's strictures against the church's failure to resist apartheid in both word and deed. This seemed to challenge his authority as Archbishop, as perhaps rightly Clayton sensed that he was personally the object of Huddleston's criticisms, and this he did not like. Secondly, Clayton believed that Huddleston's more radical reaction was likely to be counter-productive, particularly when it came to arousing public opinion outside South Africa. Thirdly, although he had himself urged that the church should have a special concern for the poor at his enthronement in 1949, Clayton could see that Huddleston's total identification with the cause of the underprivileged held within it the danger of a theological error if taken to its logical conclusion. Clayton frequently averred that, whilst individual Christians had social and political responsibilities, the church as such could never give its unfettered allegiance to any one political party or political theory. This was evidenced in the care he took to avoid being involved in the foundation of the Liberal Party. The church had to take special care of the under-privileged and those who were prevented from speaking for themselves. However, just as he must not seek popularity among the poor for its own sake, neither was it "the duty of a minister of the Church to be a court chaplain to King Demos", said Clayton in that notable speech in the Cape Town City Hall in June 1955.[84] Although the term was never directly applied by Clayton to Trevor Huddleston, this reference to courting the popularity of the poor was made just before the Congress of the People, and at the conclusion of the A.N.C.'s "Resist Apartheid" campaign against the Western Areas removals and Bantu Education. It is difficult to imagine that Archbishop Clayton did not have Trevor Huddleston in mind when he said this.

Over the issue of Bantu Education the conflict between

84. See above, Chapter Fifteen, p. 857. CPSA Archive, AB 811, "The Critical Years 1949-1957" loc. cit., p. 157, Address 10.6.1955, Cape Town City Hall.

Archbishop Clayton and Bishop Reeves depended upon their different estimate of what constituted the greater evil. To Bishop Reeves and Trevor Huddleston the long-term effect upon African people of imposing a system of education which they perceived to be designed deliberately to confer on them an inferior status, was far more serious than any immediate risk to the church or African scholars involved in a refusal to hand over diocesan mission schools to the Department of Native Affairs. Bishop Reeves saw the lesser of two evils as requiring an acceptance of the risks involved in challenging the power of the state, whereas Archbishop Clayton acknowledged that the churches had been presented with a grievous choice, but the safer course was to acquiesce under protest. Archbishop Clayton's estimate of the seriousness of the situation regarding civil liberty also differed from that of Trevor Huddleston and Bishop Reeves, which once again is explained by his remoteness from the pressures being experienced by the latter and their friends in the African National Congress. Later, having himself experienced the constraints which the responsibility of the episcopate placed upon him, Huddleston conceded that Clayton's role as Archbishop made it more difficult for him to adopt a stance of resistance, than had been the case for him as Father Provincial of the Community of the Resurrection.[85]

Clayton's successive encounters with Scott, Duncan, Huddleston and then Reeves thus proved persistent reminders to him that it was the duty of Christians to distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate obedience to secular authority. We have seen how Clayton's final decision to resist the "Church Clause" in 1957 turned on the distinction between what the Christian should rightly render in obedience to God, in contrast to that which was lawfully and rightfully required of a Christian citizen in obedience to secular authority. Once a government interfered with freedom of worship, then there could be no doubt that prior obedience was owed to God, and a bishop would have no alternative but to disobey any such law enacted by a secular government, and willingly to run the risk of suffering the severe penalties for incitement laid down by the Criminal Laws Amendment Act of 1953 by refusing to

85. HUDDLESTON, The Right Revd. Trevor, Interview, Stepney, August 1975.

obey the "Church Clause" and counselling his clergy and church members to do likewise.

Archbishop Clayton's attitude about the wisdom of Christian resistance to the state was complicated by his personal relationships with those like Scott, Huddleston and Reeves who pressed him to act more radically against injustice. It is interesting how the suggestion that Geoffrey Clayton's decision to resist the "Church Clause" might have been influenced by Ambrose Reeves was quickly denied by Robert Selby Taylor, who then used the word "gadfly" to describe Bishop Reeves' relationship with his Archbishop.[86] This observation betrays a tendency in Archbishop Clayton's disposition which led him to react contra-suggestively and with irritation to those who implied that the church must match its brave statements condemning apartheid with deeds. This accounts for the note of asperity which sometimes entered his relationship with Michael Scott, Trevor Huddleston and Bishop Reeves.

At the same time Geoffrey Clayton, in his letter to Patrick Duncan in October 1952, revealed an attitude of deep respect for those who possessed the courage to live by their convictions in obedience to conscience, even if he acknowledged that he would probably differ from Duncan over his choice of methods. Clayton could thus have disguised his own misgivings about what he had said in 1946 about a Christian's duty to obey even unjust rulers by an outward display of irritation towards those who pressed him to react more radically to the Nationalists. First Scott, then Duncan, then Huddleston and Reeves took their opposition to the point of resistance, and thus served to irritate his tender conscience on this issue. Thus, although Clayton was himself beginning to feel uneasy about the futility of protests, he defended his own unwillingness to act more drastically by judging the actions of Scott and later Huddleston and Reeves as counter-productive or unlikely to produce the desired results. As indicated above, their differences arose from a different estimate of the seriousness of the situation, and the Archbishop's relative remoteness in Cape Town from the pressures faced by A.N.C. leaders in the Transvaal.

86. See above, Chapter Sixteen, pp. 926-7.

Clayton's eventual decision to resist the "Church Clause" rested on a shift of emphasis away from texts like Romans 13 and 1 Peter 2;13 to Matthew 22;21 and Acts 5;29 which stress a Christian's duty to give prior obedience to God and not to secular governments. Michael Scott joined passive resisters in Durban because the Smuts Government proposed to deprive Indians of their property rights whilst offering them only separate representation in Parliament. Patrick Duncan made up his mind to become a satyagrahi because he despaired of any other method being sufficient to force the Nationalist Government off their relentless course, which he saw was rapidly destroying his country. It was the issue of civil liberty which persuaded Huddleston to resist, once he became convinced that South Africa had become a tyrannical police state. Whereas Bishop Reeves changed to a stance of resistance because of his utter repugnance for a system of education which he considered to be morally indefensible. Although Clayton strongly disagreed with all the Government's actions in each case, why was it that none of these issues were sufficient to call forth from him the response of resistance until the church itself was threatened ? There would be something selfish, or even cowardly, about the church's willingness to offer resistance to the state, and hence run the risk of suffering the penalties for so doing, only when it was the issue of its own liberty of worship that was at stake, if it was not willing to do the same for the liberty of others. Thus the suspicion that Clayton was either slow to perceive the seriousness of the situation until he was directly affected, or culpable in not taking his stand sooner, needs to be examined more closely. Clayton's estimate of the extent to which conditions had deteriorated certainly differed from that of Duncan, Huddleston or Reeves.

Clayton did not yet think, like Huddleston, that South Africa was a police state even in 1955. Nor did he agree with Reeves about refusing to hand over the church's schools, saying that gestures of defiance were of no practical use. Clayton did not think it possible for the church to avoid all co-operation with the Government, as Reeves proposed. He saw that if the C.P.S.A. followed Reeves' line, it would "leave the field wholly clear to

the Government and the Dutch Reformed Church". As he told Patrick Duncan, the church was called to minister to those who "have to live under the existing government whatever it may be" and "the Church must minister to people in the circumstances in which they are as well as it can ".[87]

Even if Clayton had been in complete agreement with Reeves, Huddleston and Duncan in their assessment of the political situation, the Archbishop rightly required that any stand taken by the church should also meet the criterion of having a reasonable chance of success. Ethical theory for the justification of a "just war" insisted upon this, and Clayton believed that Christian resistance to the state by the church, too, demanded that any course of action must also satisfy the same test. Clayton judged that a refusal to hand over church schools failed to meet this criterion, whereas disobedience to the "Church Clause" did. In the first case the Government held the decisive sanction of withholding grants. In the second, it was the church which held the initiative and Clayton rightly thought that unanimity could be achieved.

In 1949 Clayton had advised his clergy to obey the provisions of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, although he did not agree with it. In 1957 he advised his clergy and laity to disobey the provisions of the Native Laws Amendment Act. Why ? Was not the first just as much an interference with religious liberty as the second ? The only explanation which accounts for the contradiction satisfactorily is that gradually, due to the pressure of events and the influence of others, Archbishop Clayton's view changed beween 1946 and 1957. The statement with which Clayton prefaced his so-called "Charge" to Sacred Synod of the Diocese of Johannesburg in 1946 needs to be given due attention. He said then, "I am genuinely puzzled myself and I suspect that some of you are puzzled also".[88] Clayton did not finally resolve the puzzle until, faced with the "Church Clause", he summoned the Emergency Committee of Episcopal Synod to Bishopscourt on Ash Wednesday 1957. Archbishop Clayton's final acceptance of the

87. CPSA Archive, AB 191 Clayton Papers, letter Clayton to Duncan 2.6.1954.
88. See below, Appendix "B", p. 1116.

legitimacy of Christian resistance, taken to the point of being ready to resist himself, took place only on the day he died.

SIX STEPS FROM CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY TO CIVIL WAR.

As we study the route taken by each leading character in the preceding narrative of resistance to apartheid by the C.P.S.A. between 1946 and 1947, it is possible to discern six steps which a Christian could take. The first seems to have been a commitment to discipleship and church membership which included a general awareness of a Christian's civic or social responsibility, without necessarily doing very much about it in practice. It is suggested by the evidence of parish and diocesan magazines in this period that this was the stage of social involvement of most Anglican Christians and congregations in the C.P.S.A. at the beginning of our period, and that the social awareness of congregations gradually increased.

Professor Edgar Brookes described a congregation he knew well, in a series of lectures delivered at the Federal Theological Seminary at Alice in Holy Week 1966.

> I have before my eyes as I speak one congregation well known to me. It is almost always a wholly white congregation. Occasionally an Indian or African has appeared in the pulpit, but of late years this has been rare. The church is crowded. It is devout. There is an atmosphere of prayer which almost seems tangible, especially when you visit the church during the week. This is not a congregation of hypocrites. Nor is it hostile towards non-whites. No African or Indian would ever be refused admission or even be shown to the gallery or the back pew. It gave over R 200 towards the building of an African church in 1965 and hopes to do the same in 1966. I mention all these things to show that this congregation - I will call it St. Bartholomew's - is not a group of bad people.
>
> And yet you could sit through a round of fifty-two sermons on every Sunday in the year and never realise that there was a race situation in South Africa which might fairly be described as "desperate" 89

Nine years had elapsed since the church's stand over the "Church Clause", and there is no reason to suppose that the situation in

89. CPSA Archive AB 847f, The Universal Church in its South African Setting. Lecture II, "The Church as a sword in Christ's hand", by Professor Edgar Brookes, p. 1.

that church was any different in 1957. As Dr. Brookes continued,

> Unlike some critics, I do not condemn wholesale a church like St. Bartholomew's. There is much that is genuine, sincere and good in its life. But in a way it is tragically irrelevant to the facts of life in our country. St. Bartholomew's could not in any circumstances be described as a sword in the hand of Christ. It faces no persecution. It experiences no acute strain. It is sensible and comfortable. 90

For a congregation like "St. Bartholomew's", the change of orientation to the kind of church envisaged in the Church and Nation report of 1943 would have been a considerable one. There we find the desire for a strongly motivated church, which by a process of constructive engagement with the civil authorities at both government and municipal level was striving to tackle society's ills in a spirit of co-operation and involvement. That church's ministry in society was, as Archbishop Clayton put it, to be "the priest of creation" and "the extension of the incarnation in history". It was a church which would see its duty in terms of teaching its members the obligations of Christian citizenship, urging them to accept responsibility for service in Parliament and Municipal Councils, trying to awaken the conscience of the people to evils within the nation, co-operating with the state in promoting the welfare of all its citizens.[91]

Such a church would have seen a practical involvement in works of mercy, and the care of the destitute and the oppressed as an integral part of its ministry, quite as important as the pastoral care of its own members. It would have realised that the ills of society, of which such problems were the symptoms, arose from structural causes, and in the corporate attitudes which determined the political organization of that society. This would require that church to turn to theological and other methods of persuasion in order to deal with such problems at their source. It was then that the church would find itself having to define for itself the proper relationship of the church and the state in terms of its social witness. Many would have misconstrued this as "interfering in politics".

90. Ibid.
91. See below, Appendix "A", C. 9 (a) to (h), p. 1111.

Should theological and other forms of persuasion by such a church be rebuffed by those in authority, it is inevitable that its efforts to participate constructively with the government in a relationship of creative engagement would begin to turn to protest. If such protests, too, proved futile, it is likely that opposition would then go beyond mere expressions of disapproval to the manifestation of discontent on an ascending scale of vehemence. Polite requests would become angry demands, efforts to persuade by means of submitting memoranda and arranging polite deputations to the minister of state concerned would be abandoned in favour of direct prophetic actions to draw attention to deeply felt grievances.

The narrative of the preceding chapters has decribed how inexorably, as the Government pressed on with its policy of compulsory apartheid in spite of the protests of black political organizations, the churches and world opinion, organizations and individuals found themselves compelled by the relentless logic of the situation they found themselves in, to turn reluctantly from tactics of verbal protest to a strategy of direct prophetic action. Eventually they were compelled to accept that the only form of opposition commensurate with the obduracy of the Government's oppressive policies was the response of non-violent resistance or civil disobedience.

As we have traced the pilgrimage of leading Anglicans between 1946 and 1957 from a stance of civic responsibility to resistance, it is interesting to see how their progress has differed in passing through these six stages:-

1. Church membership with a vague awareness of social responsibility.
2. Constructive engagement with rulers to cure society's ills.
3. Theological and other forms of peaceful persuasion.
4. Protests on an ascending scale of vehemence, from verbal statements to acts of direct prophetic action to draw attention to grievances.
5. Non-violent resistance or civil disobedience.
6. Violent revolt, armed rebellion or civil war.

We note that Michael Scott passed quickly through stages (2) to (5) within three years in South Africa, whereas it took Geoffrey Clayton and most Anglican bishops all the time between 1946 and 1957 to arrive at the same decision. Trevor Huddleston was still at stage (2) in 1946, but reached stage (4) in 1950, coming to (5) in 1953, and supporting (6) after 1961. Bishop Reeves, on the other hand, was still at stage (2) at the time of the Defiance Campaign in 1952, and passed fairly quickly to stage (5) in 1954, and (6) after his deportation. Patrick Duncan could be regarded as having been at stage (2) throughout his time as a Colonial Officer in Basutoland from 1941-1952, and (2), (3) and (4) when he was National Organizer of the Liberal Party and then Editor of Contact between 1955 and 1961. He plunged straight into passive resistance in the Defiance Campaign. Then followed a period from 1954 to 1961 mainly of protest. However, after the State of Emergency which followed the shooting at Sharpeville, and Duncan's banning and exile in 1961, he joined the Pan African Congress. Living in Basutoland once more, he abandoned his earlier stance of non-violence, resigned from the Liberal Party and joined those who planned to achieve political change in South Africa by violence. It is interesting that Patrick Duncan's progress kept pace with African opinion, first in the A.N.C. and after 1959 in the P.A.C. Anglican laymen who were leaders in the A.N.C., like Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, progressed through all these stages on a time-scale which coincided with the policy of the A.N.C. The same was true of James Calata, though his ideas had lagged behind those of the Youth League in 1949, nor did he take with the others the road from non-violence to violence in 1961, because of his pacifist convinctions, as a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and a friend of Dr. Arthur Blaxall.

In relation to the intractable nature of the problem which presented itself to Christians in this period in their call to resist apartheid, an ideology which white South African voters supported in increasing numbers, one further question needs to be explained. We must now turn to the attempt to make an estimate of whether the means of resistance employed by the opponents of apartheid were adequate to meet the powerful forces which

sustained the Government in the determined pursuit of its ideology. It would seem that at every point in the conflict between the state and those who tried to oppose it, the Nationalist Government invariably outbid its opponents in the means it employed to suppress opposition. This may not have been due to any calculated policy on its part. An instinctive belief in kragdadigheid meant that a frequent criticism of the Nationalist Government's response to a crisis was that it tended to "use a sledgehammer to crack a nut". The scale of the methods employed in resisting apartheid thus seems at all times to have lagged behind the Government's ability to meet opposition to its measures effectively.

In 1952 the Government met non-violent resistance by using violence to suppress rioting which the police themselves had provoked by their own violence. The Criminal Laws Amendment Act and the Public Safety Act of 1953 were further examples of the employment of structural violence to thwart non-violent resistance. The way in which the Congress movement persevered with non-violent means of resistance to apartheid, through the long period of the Treason Trial from December 1956 to April 1961, and their patient attempts to seek redress by constitutional means in the period up to 1949, illustrate how it was in each case the scale and extent of Government action in pressing on with its racially discriminatory policies which determined the scale of the reaction by its opponents. Inevitably this meant that the means of resistance always lagged behind the scale of the Government's methods of enforcing apartheid.

Professor Z.K. Matthews has indicated how the road taken by the African National Congress led inexorably from peaceful methods of non-violent resistance to the violence of armed revolution.[92] The turning point was the South African Government's repressive measures following the shooting at Sharpeville in March 1960. From this study of Christian resistance to apartheid

92. THE SECRETARIAT ON RACIAL AND ETHNIC RELATIONS, WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, Christian practice and race relations in Southern Africa, (Race Relations in Ecumenical perspective No. V), Geneva: WCC 1964 (for private circulation only), pp. 14-21, "The road from non-violence to violence". The Consultation held at the Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation, Kitwe, Northern Rhodesia, from 25 May to 2 June 1964, was organized by the Revd. Paul Abrecht, who told me that the unnamed author was Prof. Z.K. Matthews, and the unnamed "theologian" was Dr. W.A. Visser 'tHooft.

between 1946 and 1957 it is evident that the response of kragdadigheid may offer a government certain short-term benefits in dealing with a campaign of non-violent resistance. However, a ruler's persistent implacability in enforcing unjust laws by employing yet more repressive measures leads inevitably to a situation in which the politics of dialogue and persuasion are replaced by the militarization of politics. The road to violent revolution begins with the violent repression of non-violent resistance.

The apparent efficacy of the South African churches' resistance to the "Church Clause" suggests that any estimate of the success of resistance will depend upon the degree of unanimity among the resisters as well as the intensity of their will to resist. In these circumstances the dominance even of a most powerful opponent, like the National Party Government of Mr J.G. Strijdom which had overwhelming force at its command, is still vulnerable to resistance employing methods of mass conscientious objection, when disobedience is confined to a specific issue or a particular law, which in addition is widely perceived to be manifestly unjust. The bus boycott on the Witwatersrand and the churches' resistance to the "Church Clause" in the first half of 1957 represented a significant victory for the method of non-violent Christian resistance, yet neither was sufficient to stem the advancing tide of apartheid. However, these two examples of resistance that succeeded do show that whatever disappointments practitioners of non-violent Christian resistance to apartheid may have had to endure between 1946 and 1957, repression by the state can never be regarded as ending the issue. Even in situations where those who hold political power do so with apparently overwhelming force on their side, their dominance is nevertheless vulnerable to the application of methods of non-violent action, provided civil disobedience to an unjust ruler can be organized on a sufficient scale. The choice as to whether the desired change will come with or without violence then rests with the oppressive ruler.

As Patrick Duncan told his friends two months before the Defiance Campaign began, "if this campaign is broken, then there

is no future for South Africa that could ever be called non-violent."[93]

THE C.P.S.A.'S RESISTANCE TO APARTHEID: AN EVALUATION.

In offering a final evaluation of the C.P.S.A.'s resistance to apartheid in the period 1946 to 1957, there is little to criticize and much more to praise. Nor is it easy to determine what the criteria for such an evaluation should be. In one sense it is perhaps better that the facts should be so presented that they speak for themselves. At the same time, there are those who like to think that posterity will judge their actions, and it is the task of an historian to perform this function. The conclusions that follow are therefore offered only tentatively, since many people who have occupied a place central to this narrative are no longer here to set the record straight. The convention that history may only be written about people when they are dead may therefore need to be revised, since some of the most fruitful sources for this work have been the interviews with certain of the main participants in the action.

What, then, are the criteria by which an evaluation of the C.P.S.A.'s resistance to apartheid may be made ? If the criterion of efficacy be chosen as a guide, it would be possible to point to the undoubted success of the resistance to the "Church Clause" in 1957. Although the legislation is still on the statute book, no Government has succeeded subsequently in implementing the measure. It would be possible, too, to point to the relative success of ecumenical dialogue between 1951 and 1957 in achieving a significant change in the stance of some leaders of the N.G.K. In circumstances where the right to public protest is threatened, the very assertion of free speech, however futile such protests may at times appear, is of itself a defence of freedom. Thus the lonely stand of one man, against the tide of opinion at the time, cannot be discounted altogether. The church needs therefore to respect its prophets, even if it is sometimes unable to honour them because they speak uncomfortable words to the church itself.

93. Borthwick Institute, York, Duncan Papers DU 8.53.9. Printed letter announcing Duncan's resignation from the Colonial Service dated 14.5.1952. Also CPSA Archive AB 191 Clayton Papers, letter Duncan to Clayton 25.8.1952.

Michael Scott may be so regarded. It is possible also to conclude, if efficacy be demanded as the criterion, that resistance to be effective needs also to be unanimous. Patrick Duncan learned this from the teaching of M.K. Gandhi, but later said surprisingly little to praise his church's stand against the "Church Clause".

Another criterion by which to measure the Church of the Province's efforts to resist apartheid would be to ask whether its leaders rightly discerned the correct objectives in expressing their opposition to the Nationalist Government. Once it is realised that the National Party held political power by the votes of only two-thirds of Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, a most important objective must be to weaken the political cohesion of Afrikanerdom. If ever it were possible to dissociate the Afrikaans churches from their support for the National Party and its policy of apartheid, the struggle would be over. It could therefore be suggested that the C.P.S.A. should have given greater priority to the promotion of dialogue with the Afrikaans churches. However, ecumenical dialogue, particularly on the race question, does not necessarily succeed by episcopal fiat and requires much patient nursing. The narrative of Chapter Seventeen shows how much was done in this regard, and that leading figures in the C.P.S.A. took the initiative in promoting renewed contacts with the Afrikaans churches in this period.

Another objective of the church's resistance to apartheid is suggested by earlier observations about the United Party. It seems that it was only after the 1953 election that the objective of holding the Official Opposition to its duty to oppose apartheid was seen to be a line of action that was a necessary part of the church's witness to the state. The fruits of determined lobbying of United Party M.P.'s and City Councillors by Bishop Reeves and Trevor Huddleston's Western Areas Protest Committee do show that this could be done without compromising the independence of the church's position. A minor criticism of C.P.S.A. bishops, therefore, is that they did not always address their comments and protests about Government legislation to the Leader

of the Opposition in addition to the Prime Minister.

A major criticism of the church by Dr. Mokgethi Motlhabi in an unpublished doctoral dissertation for the Boston University Graduate School in 1980 was that

> .... although racial oppression is endemic in South African history, the church did not address this issue - except for a few individual clergymen here and there - until after 1948 .... Words were seldom accompanied by action, and to this day the church is still a discriminatory institution on the basis of colour. 94

The criticism is a valid one, even if Motlhabi has not adduced the evidence to support this conclusion. A good example of the failure of the C.P.S.A. to translate its words into action came in the midst of the crisis precipitated by the riots during the Defiance Campaign. A resolution of Episcopal Synod in November 1952 called upon the Prime Minister to initiate negotiations with "representatives of various non-European groups".[95] At the same time the Leader of the Opposition Mr J.G.N. Strauss and Dr. A.B. Xuma called for consultations between the Prime Minister and African leaders.[96] The Institute of Race Relations did finally succeed in convening a meeting between African leaders and some liberal Afrikaners at Adams College in July 1953.[97] There is, however, no record of the C.P.S.A. having done anything to follow up its appeal to the Prime Minister to hold consultations with African leaders. A vital opportunity was lost at a crucial moment and nothing was done. The Archbishop could have taken the initiative with other member churches of the Christian Council to invite the Prime Minister, the Leader of the Opposition and non-European leaders to such a meeting. If the Prime Minister, Dr.D.F. Malan, had failed to respond to the invitation, then the talks could have taken place between the leaders of the United Democratic Front and the non-European leaders. A concordat struck between them about political representation for the disenfranchised peoples of South Africa would have offered the United Party an entirely

94. MOTLHABI, Mokgethi B.G., The Theory and Practice of Black Resistance to Apartheid, A socio-ethical analysis of the internal struggle for political and social change in South Africa 1948-1978. Boston University Graduate School 1980 (unpublished), p. 414.
95. See below, Appendix "C", p. 1122.
96. See above, Chapter Eight, p. 382.
97. See above, Chapter Nine, p. 493.

different platform from which to fight the crucial 1953 general election. Instead a fearful white electorate was offered only one alternative by both Government and Opposition, of more separation and more repression. The alternative of restoring peace by co-operation between black and white in a common society was forgotten, and the National Party won a closely fought election anyway.

However, this is a suggestion that may be easier to make than to have implemented. The possibility of achieving consultations was complicated by the riots of October and November 1952, which caused such a wave of hysteria among whites, at a time when the majority of non-European leaders were preoccupied with arranging for their defence against charges under the Suppression of Communism Act. This is one instance where the Christian Council needed a strong secretariat which could have been given the task of organizing consultations. Yet even if such a meeting had taken place, the gap between the United Party and the Congress movement might well have proved to be too wide in the light of the comments made by Jordan Ngubane about the meeting at Adams College the following year.[98]

The above criticism thus suggests that the goal of resistance to apartheid was imperfectly perceived by both church and Congress leaders, since the object of the Defiance Campaign was to bring the contending parties to the negotiating table by means of a campaign of civil disobedience. The opportunity of holding such negotiations was lost due to the unpredictable consequences of rioting.

Therefore, besides a tendency to distinguish imperfectly the correct objectives of resistance, the C.P.S.A. also, in its choice of methods for resisting the Government, showed a lack of consistency between the means it employed and the ends it desired. The method of deputations to see the Minister concerned, synod resolutions, press statements, public protests, all conducted in English, ignored the fact that it was those 40% of white South

98. See above, Chapter Nine, p. 493, reference 169.

Africans who voted for the National Party who needed to be convinced that apartheid was contrary to the principles of Christ's religion. This was why a blunt refusal to obey the "Church Clause" spoke more eloquently than all the words that could have been uttered, even if translated into Afrikaans. In assessing the efficacy of the methods of opposition employed by the C.P.S.A. it is clear, therefore, that it was only when Anglican bishops together adopted a stance of resistance that the strategy of the church became consistent with its goal and due cognisance was taken of the strangle-hold which the National Party had on political power.

Criticisms could therefore be offered about the appropriateness of the C.P.S.A.'s choice of method in resisting apartheid. The critique of Canon John Collins, Ds. Willem Landman and Dr. Motlhabi is that the C.P.S.A. did not live by the multi-racial precepts which it professed. This weakness was recognised by bishops of the C.P.S.A. who initiated processes to put their own house in order. Many of the efforts to indigenize the C.P.S.A.'s ministry, to reverse the dominance of white leadership and to establish multi-racial worship on a regular basis stem from the force of the critique which the C.P.S.A. had to undergo in the fifties about its own failure to practise what it preached.

Another criticism which was made about the C.P.S.A.'s methods of resistance was that Anglican leaders should have stood up to the Government sooner and not waited until legislation which attempted to impose apartheid on the church itself was presented to Parliament in 1957. It was suggested that a unanimous refusal by the member churches of the Christian Council to co-operate with the Government in handing over their mission schools would have brought the Nationalists to their senses and concessions would have been wrung from the unwilling hands of Dr. H.F. Verwoerd. This criticism, however, as will be evident from the description of the debate within the C.P.S.A. in Chapter Eleven, ignored the fact that although considerable efforts were made to find a common approach, a consensus,which would have made such a refusal of co-operation with the Government effective, could not be achieved. In the

circumstances church leaders had no alternative but to concede that Bantu Education was not the issue on which the churches could risk a head-on confrontation with the Government, when the Minister of Native Affairs possessed the power to with-hold state subsidies upon which these schools depended. There was also another reason why the church needed to measure with care any escalation in the methods of resistance it employed. The enactment of the Public Safety and Criminal Laws Amendment Bills in 1953 showed how any escalation in the means of resistance was certain to exacerbate the force of the Government's reply.

It could be said that where Archbishop Clayton only spoke the truth in love, the Gandhian practice of satyagraha was concerned rather to do the truth in love. However, it must also be remembered that the danger of the rising conflict between African and Afrikaner nationalism escalating into an uncontrolled violence was an ever-present reality. Any premature escalation in the means of resistance to apartheid by the church may not have achieved results that were any different from the more modest means of protest that were employed by the C.P.S.A. at the time. Any intensification of the means of resistance from protest to non-violent action could have provoked contingent violence from the authorities on a scale that might have exacerbated the problem even further. Only when the religious liberty of the church itself was threatened did the C.P.S.A. have an incontrovertible issue on which to make its stand against the Government.

In making any evaluation of the C.P.S.A.'s overall stand against the apartheid policies of the National Party, it is necessary also to remember that the Archbishop of Cape Town particularly, and the other bishops of the C.P.S.A., each had the pastoral care of a large diocese, whose geographical boundaries were such as to require an exhausting schedule of travelling merely to keep up with their routine work of conducting confirmations. That the leaders of the C.P.S.A. in this period devoted as much time as they did to the time-consuming tasks of protests, ecumenical dialogue, and resistance to the policy of apartheid, reflects considerable dedication to the cause of freedom and justice, which

should remain an abiding example of ecclesiastical leadership. Thus in spite of criticism that they should have stood up to the Government earlier and that their method of opposing apartheid underestimated the power of the National Party, the example of the bishops of the C.P.S.A. led by Archbishop Clayton is worthy of close attention by their successors not only in South Africa, but wherever civil and religious liberty is threatened by totalitarian governments.

Michael Scott's policy to defeat injustice due to racial discrimination was to pursue the moderate goal of a non-racial democracy for all South Africans, but by extreme means. This recourse to methods of resistance prematurely tended to make his good causes seem extreme, even to those who sympathized with his goals. On the other hand, apartheid had been judged by all Anglican bishops in 1948 to be "inconsistent with the principles of Christ's religion". Thus to oppose such a doctrine with moderation when it spawned social effects that were so manifestly evil, could be regarded as treason against the very principles which Christians must defend. Trevor Huddleston has rightly described apartheid as "sub-Christian" and an "inherent blasphemy".[100] Was the only response consistent with Christian morality therefore to refuse all co-operation with a Government which applied this policy ? Both he and Bishop Reeves had by 1954 come to believe so. However, it must also be conceded that a diverse human institution like the church is bound to find it difficult to match the ideals which by common consent it agrees are sacred with the actual ability of all its members in practice to live by the principles implicit in even such deeply held beliefs. The fall in the number of white members of the C.P.S.A. between 1950 and 1960, however, is probably an indication that not all Anglicans fully endorsed the stand taken by the bishops against apartheid, and suggests that the non-racial convictions of some were perhaps superficial.

Thus the wisdom and restraint exercised by the bishops of the C.P.S.A. under the leadership of Archbishop Clayton in refusing

100. HUDDLESTON, Trevor, Naught for your Comfort, London: Fontana 1957, pp. 50, 180.

to be provoked into a more extreme stance against the Government prematurely meant, at least, that when the church experienced its severest test in 1957, a majority were ready to refuse obedience to the "Church Clause". At the same time the C.P.S.A. had among its members a significant number who stood out as courageous prophets of resistance to apartheid before 1957. Thus Blaxall, Calata, Duncan, Gawe, Huddleston, Mandela, Matthews, Paton, Reeves, Satchell, Scott, Sisulu, Skomolo and Tambo were among those at the forefront of the struggle to resist apartheid. However, to expect the C.P.S.A. to have had many more such men and women among its members who were ready to take their opposition to the point of resistance sooner, was to have an unduly high expectation for so diverse an institution. Although the C.P.S.A. was becoming increasingly alert to its prophetic task, it is significant that no Anglican leaders other than Reeves, Huddleston and the Society for the Sacred Mission could find a majority who were ready to give effect to a decision to refuse all co-operation with the Government over Bantu Education in 1955. Even Patrick Duncan had to admit that mass resistance was impracticable as a strategy for resisting the Sophiatown removals.

That the gap was not wider between the ideal and the actual ability of the C.P.S.A. to live by the non-racial principles which many Anglicans had come to believe should be normative for a Christian, may be ascribed both to the wise leadership of Archbishop Clayton and to the persistence of those individual prophets of resistance to apartheid mentioned above. The sagacious example of those whose deliberate decision to resist apartheid both in deed and word led to persecution and suffering has received special attention in this study. Their fidelity as pioneers and prophets of Christian resistance to apartheid ensured that the stand taken by the bishops in 1957 was decisive. The fact that Anglicans with the courage to accept the risk of resisting the power of the Nationalist Government were as numerous, made the C.P.S.A.'s contribution to the movement to resist apartheid between 1946 and 1957 a most significant one.

APPENDIX.

"A". THE CHURCH AND THE NATION.

DIOCESE OF JOHANNESBURG.

THE CHURCH AND THE NATION.

The Report was accepted by the Synod of 1943, having been drawn up by a Commission set up in accordance with a resolution of Synod passed in 1941. It is now published as a Report of Synod.

A. INTRODUCTION.

The Commission which was brought into being by the Diocesan Synod of 1941 had for its task the defining of what it believed to be the mind of Christ for this land. This Report embodies the findings of this Commission.

We would make one important observation at the start. The Commission was of the unanimous opinion that before it could proceed to say what it believed to be the mind of Christ for this land, it should consider carefully what were the fundamentals of the Christian faith and life, and to that end it drew up the "Statement of Christian Principles".

The whole structure of the Report is built up on these principles. We believe that any attempt to reconstruct the true way of life for men which disregards these principles is doomed to failure.

B. STATEMENT OF CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLES.

The Purpose of Creation.

1. All creatures exist to give glory in their several orders to Him in Whom they have their being and for Whom they are and were created.

2. Man by reason of his intelligence, his power to mould his environment, and his capacity for Communion with God, is the crown, and is called to be the priest of creation. It is only in virtue of his relationship to God that he rises above the stream of circumstance. Himself disordered and enfeebled by sin and living in a world corrupted by sin, he is capable through grace of realising the purpose of his being, which is to know, love and serve God in this world, and in the perfect fellowship of the redeemed, to be made like unto Him in Heaven.

Man's Relation to God.

3. God is the Father of all men, because he created all men; and all men are brothers because they are the children of a common Father, and are equally objects of His love.

4. Every man is potentially a member of God's household, which is the Christian Church, constituted by the sacramental relationship of its members to Jesus Christ, His Only begotten Son.

Man and Organised Society.

5. A truly human life cannot be lived in isolation, but only in community with others; and this community is normally realised through membership of groups within the State, constituted by a common historical and cultural back-ground, or by common interests and ways of life. The most important community or group is that of the family, because in the order of nature it is antecedent in time and idea to other groups or communities, and in particular to the State.

6. The State should take account of the existence of other groups also, recognising that they are not necessarily permanent or mutually exclusive, and that they are continually modified by the interaction of one group with another, and, while so controlling them as to prevent any one group from interfering with the rightful liberty of others, should grant them such autonomy as is not inconsistent therewith.

7. The Christian doctrines of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man carry with them the principle of the essential importance of each individual life. Therefore all individuals have an equal claim on the Community for a basic share in what the State has to offer to satisfy the material needs of its members. All individuals also have an equal claim to an opportunity of developing within the State their aptitude, ability and talent to the full. The Community has a claim on each individual equally to contribute to the best of his aptitude, ability and talent to the common good. Thus each individual's life and development should be regarded as subordinate to none but subsidiary to all.

Spirit and Matter.

8. Man is not a spirit imprisoned in a body, but a unity of body and spirit: and the Incarnation of the Son of God, together with His Resurrection and Ascension, carries with it the assurance that every part of man's nature is capable of redemption unto eternal life.

9. The Sacramental Doctrine of the Church is the guarantee that the material universe, though disordered through the effects of sin, is capable of being used as a vehicle of God's grace, and a means for the attainment of fulness of life by redeemed humanity.

The Nature of the Church.

10. The Church is the extension of the Incarnation in history, having the roots of her being in the supernatural order, and thus reflecting in the world the transcendence of God. She is therefore an integral part of God's revelation to man, and her doctrine is more than a consensus of Christian opinion. For she is the Body of the glorified Christ, through which He acts upon the world through the power of the Holy Spirit. Thus though being made up of sinful men and women, she may fail to give adequate expression to her own inner being, she contains within herself the seeds of recovery and restoration, and remains God's instrument for the redemption of mankind.

Sin.

11. In making suggestions for a social order for South Africa, as for any other country, account should be taken of the fact that it must be operated by sinful men, not all of whom accept the Christian faith.

12. The Christian attitude to Social Reform is conditioned by a realistic estimate of the fact of sin. Human progress, individual and social, will always be limited by the obstinate fact of the inherent sinfulness of man. Therefore neither a change in human institutions nor intellectual enlightenment, nor the two together, can of themselves save society or its individual members. It is also necessary that the wills of men should be turned from sin, if any improvement is to be made and maintained.

13. Sin is essentially the rebellion, implicit or explicit, of a created being against the Creator. Thus sin is in every case an act of will on the part of a creature endowed with some measure of freedom. In man the root sin is pride, by which he claims for himself an independence and autonomy, which is a denial of his true nature as a dependent creature. But in fact he depends upon the will of God for his being and continued existence, and upon the Revelation of God for the ordering of his life.

14. The effects of sin may include the perversion of such of God's creatures as come under the power or within the influence of the sinner to ends which are inconsistent with the purpose of their being. Such perversion infects the order of man's moral, social, political and economic life. Nevertheless there is no part of God's creation which is beyond the reach of God's redemptive power, though, in the case of beings endowed with free will, redemption cannot be effective without the co-operation of that which is to be redeemed.

Redemption.

15. Redemption has been achieved by the act of God, in that the Son of God

took to Himself human nature, and, in that human nature, conquered sin upon the Cross, at the same time by His obedience unto death making from the midst of the rebellious world and on behalf of that world an act of perfect self-oblation, which was the surrender of Himself to the Father, so reversing the primal human sin.

16. It is the Mission of the Church which is the Body of Christ, to unite herself with Him alike in His conquest of sin and in that act of self-surrender, and so to share in His redemptive work. Thus God calls the Church to share the suffering of her Lord. So only can she respond to her vocation and serve the world.

Christian Life and Duty.

17. Thus the rule of conduct for an individual Christian as a member of the Church is to share in the self-oblation of his Lord. This involves for him a complete reversal of the standards of the world, in so far as they are infected by the primal sin of self-assertion. For the Christian the self finds its fulfilment in surrender to God. Thus the summary of the Law given in the Old Testament and ratified by our Lord as the duty of loving God and loving neighbour involves the reversal of that sin, and is perfectly fulfilled by humble and grateful acceptance of the position of a child of God, and cheerful readiness to discharge the obligations of brotherhood towards the other members of God's family.

Christian Action.

18. The Christian Church has the duty of proclaiming to all men the principles set forward in the Life and Teaching of our Lord, Jesus Christ. These principles are of eternal validity, and are binding upon all Christian people. Yet, because the Church is made up of sinful and fallible men, she is liable to error in the application of these principles to particular circumstances, and it is no part of her mission to set out with divine authority a plan for the reformation or organisation of human society. Nevertheless, it is the duty of Christian men, in reliance upon the guidance of the Holy Spirit, to attempt so to apply these Christian principles as to bring about a social order in which they find expression. It is in that spirit and with that intention that our suggestions are made.

C. THE CHURCH AND THE STATE.

1. Modern Science and the material progress of the world have encouraged men to base their thoughts and actions on human resource and material power. It has therefore become increasingly difficult for the individual to uphold a Christian standard of life, and the Church is the only body capable of maintaining an effective witness within the State to things spiritual. The present world-catastrophe emphasises the fact that where God is ignored man loses his value as an individual.

Distinctive Functions of Church and State.

3. The main task of the Church within the State is to uphold spiritual values which shall inform all social actions. As the upholder of the doctrines of the sovereignty of God and the rights of human personality, it acknowledges no limits to the sphere of its influence. Consequently it has a bounden duty to make that influence felt in every part of the life of the people. History warns us of the deplorable situations that have arisen when this has been forgotten. When the Church has failed to interest itself in the general life of the community it has ceased to discharge its duty as the Body of Christ. The primary duty of the Church, therefore, is to be the Church, and to serve the nation and the State by proclaiming the will of God as the supreme standard to which all human wills must be subject, and to which all human conduct must conform.

The Freedom of the Church.

4. In a State which is Christian by profession the Church should be free to the fullest extent to perform its function. In countries where the Church finds in the constitution of the State nothing on which to base a claim to this right, it is not absolved from its prim-

ary duty of witness, which must be borne even in spite of such a denial of fundamental justice.
5. Because of the variable political circumstances of this present time, tension between the Church and the State is liable to be increased. We realise that whilst it is true that our Lord told His disciples to "render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's"; it is God who declares what belongs to Caesar. Therefore, whatever the choice may be, the Christian, whether as a member of the Church, or as a citizen, must always obey the will of God.

The Anglican Church and South Africa.
6. The fact that our Church is a province of the Anglican Communion, and part of the Holy Catholic Church, carries with it a great responsibility and privilege. It is in the position of being able to call upon the moral support of the rest of the Anglican Communion, and those churches in communion with her, whenever it is necessary to witness to the freedom of the Church, or the rights of man, or the sovereignty of God.
7. Its responsibility is made greater as it is called to witness in a land where the rights of man at any rate are challenged. The witness of our Church is weakened by two facts. Among Europeans it is identified almost entirely with one section. That is not perhaps our fault but rather the result of historical causes. With regard to non-Europeans, while it is, of course, true that every communicant of any race has a right to communicate at the altar of any of our Churches, it has not been made sufficiently clear that he would be welcomed if he exercised that right. We accept this as a challenge to ourselves, and emphasise the necessity of putting our own house in order.
8. We desire also to state that we believe that the nation, because of its professedly Christian foundation, and its adherence to the democratic way of life, is also faced with this urgent challenge. In so far as South Africa is fighting for the rights of man, the charge of hypocrisy cannot be avoided if through the laws and customs of this land, these rights are refused to any of its people on account of colour.

The Task of the Church in South Africa.
9. It is the duty of the Church:-
(a) To teach with greater care the obligations of Christian citizenship.
(b) To urge upon its members their duty to accept responsibility for service in Parliament and on Provincial and Municipal Councils, and other public bodies.
(c) To examine all political policies and to say when such policies offend against God or man, or on the other hand when they make for the fulfilment of God's will.
(d) To take especial care to ensure that where existing or prospective legislation fails to uphold Christian principles a powerful stand be made to educate public opinion against it.
(e) To try to awaken the conscience of the people to evils within the nation, particularly with reference to:- Injustice towards non-European people; Denial of the obligations of marriage; The secularization of education; The scandal of poverty and malnutrition, and The need of penal reform.
(f) To co-operate with the State in promoting the welfare of all citizens.
(g) To give moral support to the State when it upholds the Christian standard of justice.
(h) To summon its members to repentance, and to pray for the spirit of consecration, which shall make of them agents whom God may use for His purpose in the world.
10. We believe that the Church has a great opportunity for the training of leaders in its colleges and schools. Every advantage should be taken of this opportunity. The need of teaching the duty of christian citizenship is of first importance. We urge upon parishes, colleges and schools the detailed study of this report as a means to that end.

D. THE CHURCH, ECONOMICS AND INDUSTRY.

Necessary Requisites for the Good Life.
1. The application of the Christian principles set out at the beginning of this report to the field of economics

and industry involves the attempt to secure both for employers and employed the opportunity of living the "good life"; and this requires the restoration of a sense of divine vocation in all human work and effort. The profit motive must be balanced by a sense of service and duty to the community and the recognition of the principle of stewardship.

2. Adequate opportunity must be provided by education and training for every individual to develop to the full his ability and aptitude, the whole being conditioned by a Christian foundation and background of life.

3. The implications of the divine injunction, "six days shalt thou labour", include reasonable leisure for all; and it is important that more attention should be given by the schools to education for the right use of such leisure.

4. It should be recognised that a concentration of ownership or control of the principal industrial resources of a community in the hands of a few is contrary to God's plan for mankind.

Exploitation of National Material Resources.

5. The national resources of the Union of South Africa include gold, base minerals and the products of agriculture. Our present economy has been built up largely round the exploitation of our gold deposits. But gold deposits are a wasting asset, and sooner or later a decline in the country's major export industry will take place. Coal and iron ore exist in large quantity and good quality. However, the circumstances of this country involve great transport difficulties in marketing. Our agricultural resources in many parts of the country are being seriously impaired by wrong policies and low standards of farming.

Exploitation of Human Resources.

6. The great mass of the people are very poor, the average income per head being about £ 47 per year. The fact that there are great inequalities of wealth causes the incidence of poverty to be heavier than this would suggest. The racial distinctions maintained by the European minority aggravate the position. The economic effect of these distinctions is disasterous.

7. A mere redistribution of the present material income cannot in itself solve the problem of the poverty of the mass of the people. There is an imperative need to increase the productiveness of our economic efforts.

8. Our least developed but most promising resources are our human resources. But these are being unnecessarily wasted. Thus we deprive the community of vast resources of skill and intelligence by confining our native population and a large proportion of other non-Europeans to unskilled work, and the extreme poverty of the great mass of the people is resulting in their progressive moral and physical deterioration.

9. It has been calculated that apart from the Reserves, between two and three million natives are engaged in agriculture, either as peasants or as working for European masters, and that the latter are for the most part underpaid and badly housed. Their wages have not been affected by any recent determinations or agreements. Such conditions are uneconomic, and are therefore an obstacle to a necessary increase in production. Further, their inevitable tendency is to divert Natives from farms to urban areas with unfortunate results to both.

Fundamental Principles of Reform.

10. If our national income is to be increased, the costs of production must be lowered. This can only be accomplished by production on a larger scale, and this depends upon a sufficiently large market, which in its turn depends upon the economic development of an undeveloped population, for in the post-war world a general movement towards the reduction of international tariff barriers is very probable, and small nations would find great difficulty in going against this stream.

Removal of the Colour Bar.

11. It is essential to increase the efficiency of labour and the purchasing power of the mass of our people. Skilled employments must be opened to

all who are capable of them, and this must inevitably involve a gradual removal of the colour bar.

Social Services.

12. Housing, education, medical and health services should be rapidly extended. An opportunity for this is likely to be given by the probable necessity for the Government to initiate public works to provide post-war employment. They should be paid for by a system of taxation based on the ability to pay. The opportunity should be taken to train and employ native and other untrained workers in skilled occupations in these works.

Apprenticeship.

13. The regulation of apprenticeship and technical education has been successful in producing skilled and efficient workers, and in opening avenues of advance to Europeans who have had a sound secondary education. But the Apprenticeship Act should be administered so as to provide opportunities for a wider circle of young people regardless of colour.

The Wage Question.

14. The wages of most unskilled and semi-skilled workers are not sufficient to provide even a very modest standard of living for the worker and his family. Thus it is urgently necessary to increase their earning capacity and wages. If wages are increased by legislation in certain industries only, the result may be to produce unemployment in these industries. If this is done in all industries it may result in a rise in prices, and so defeat its own object. Therefore a rise in wages needs to be accompanied by an increase in the efficiency of labour. There may still be temporary unemployment, but the unemployed should be regarded as a social responsibility.

15. Increase in wages by legislation or trade union action would be immediately beneficial at least: (a) where present wages are so low as to impair the physical efficiency of workers; (b) where the employer has a monopoly and earns monopoly profits at the expense of the workers. Experience shows that an increase in wages stimulates industrial employers to develop more efficient forms of organisation to offset the increased costs of labour.

16. We regard as of the greatest value the Conciliation Boards and the Wages Board established under the Industrial Conciliation Act and the Wage Act. We also attach importance to the work and findings of the several Commissions set up of late to study and report upon economic and industrial questions of national importance especially:-

The Committee on the Social, Health and Economic Conditions of Urban Natives.

The Industrial and Agricultural Requirements Committee, and the Social and Economic Planning Council, and we urge that every effort be made to implement their recommendations.

An Essential Initiative.

17. Government and local authorities should lead the way in the improvement of wages and conditions of employment; and no employees in the Government service, agriculture, the gold or any other industry should be excluded from the operation of legislation designed to improve standards of wages and working conditions.

Migratory Labour.

18. The wage situation is complicated by the fact that on the average one third of the total number of natives employed on the gold mines are imported from outside the Union and the Protectorates. This has a depressing effect on the wages of all Union natives in all employments. At the same time we suffer in the Union from an underemployment of labour. The alleged shortage of labour is mainly a shortage at low wages.

19. The system of migratory labour in industrial and urban employment is generally wasteful, being damaging to the natives in the reserves, and leading to a very wasteful use of labour, so that workers are prevented by this system from being worth a higher wage. The amount of such labour should be progressively reduced.

The Challenge to Trade Unions.

20. The bargaining powers of non-European workers should be increased by the registration of Trade Unions on equal terms with other trade unionists, and by the amendment of the Industrial Conciliation Act so as to give to all organised workers direct representation on Industrial Councils and Industrial Conciliation Boards.

Protection Against Sweated Labour.

21. The wage increases granted to unskilled workers in many industries should be extended to other unskilled workers. Industries which cannot pay more than a "sweated" wage ought not to exist, or, if of national importance, should be subsidised by the Government.

The True End of Money.

22. As regards the individual it should be maintained: (a) that money is a means towards the full life, and not an end in itself, and (b) that the Christian doctrine of stewardship implies that the individual should regard himself as the administrator of the material gifts of God.

23. Money and credit institutions are an integral and essential part of modern society, but banking activities should always be subordinate to the interests of the whole people, and to the proper working of the economic system. This must not be sacrificed for the sake of the profit of favoured individuals and groups. The best hope of monetary and credit reform lies in international co-operation.

The Church's Duty in Industry.

24. It is the duty of the Christian Church to proclaim the principle that industrial activity is a trust and implies responsibility in the exercise of this trust by the owners of capital, the directors of enterprises, the managers, and all grades of workers, in relation to the community.

25. With a view to the discharge of this duty: (a) Christians should participate actively in Trade Unions and Employers' Associations; (b) Special services should be provided for Labour Day; (c) a Board of Advisers should be established by the Bishop to study and report upon any important developments, whether by legislation, government regulation or combined or individual acts of employers or workers in industry, that are contrary to Christian principles.

E. THE CHURCH AND RACIAL SEGREGATION.

1. The principles outlined above apply to all citizens of the Union, without distinction of race or colour. This means that careful consideration must be given to all discriminatory measures which tend towards racial discrimination.

2. Though there is no final wrong principle involved in the practice of segregation, various evil forms of it are to be condemned. Such will be found in enforced segregation which involves the deprivation of the common rights of man, or which is inspired by motives of revenge, exploitation or race prejudice.

3. There is among all people a general tendency for persons, who have the same interests and follow a common way of life, to group together. However, such groups are not usually rigid, and normally barriers are not set up to prohibit people of one group passing over into another.

The Danger in South Africa.

4. Many people in South Africa, however, possess an attitude of mind which results in an attempt to create and maintain barriers between the European and non-European people of the community. It should be stated that for Christians no segregation is tolerable which is inconsistent with the dignity of man as a child of God, or which hinders him from such development as will enable him to contribute to the whole community to the best of his aptitude, ability and talent.

Specific Forms of Segregation.

5. Enforced segregation arising out of racial discrimination is to be condemned in such forms as:-

(a) Occupational, in that it deprives persons of the opportunity of exercising such skills and talents as they may possess or develop.

(b) Educational, in that while there is no moral objection either to mixed schools, or to separate schools for different groups, yet discrimination against the schools of any such group in the matter of equipment, educational standards or opportunity hinders the full development of personality.

The fact that the majority of the non-European children of school-going age cannot attend school because the facilities do not exist, makes it essential that the Government should make plans immediately to rectify the position. It is urged that as a first step provision should be made for compulsory education for all children in urban areas, and thereafter this should be extended to the rural areas.

(c) Territorial, in that when the freedom of movement of persons is limited unfairly, and taken in conjunction with the pressure of unfavourable economic circumstances, it tends to the exploitation both of the land and the labour of the less privileged people.

(d) Social, in that it tends to prohibit real fellowship.

(e) Political, in that it deprives, because of their colour, citizens, who have reached a sufficient stage of responsibility, of participation in the affairs of their country. Consequently we urge that there must be an extension of the franchise, and we recommend:-

The Franchise.

(i) Coloured Franchise. That the privileges held by Coloured men in the Cape Province be extended to the rest of the Union, and that the franchise be given to Coloured women who possess similar qualifications.

(ii) Indian Franchise. That the privileges held by Indians in the Cape Province be extended to the rest of the Union, and that the franchise be given to Indian women who possess similar qualifications.

(iii) Native Franchise. (a) That immediate steps be taken to improve the Native Representative Council by enlarging the number of elected members, and modifying the exercise of the block vote by individual chiefs.

(b)However, as the Native people as a whole receive inadequate and indirect representation through this Council, it is further recommended that as soon as possible the direct individual franchise be extended to all Native men in the Union, with the same qualifications as in the Cape Province, and that this franchise be given to Native women who possess similar qualifications. Also that the number of Members of Parliament for the Native people be increased so that there shall be one member for every 7,000 voters.

(c) That the number of elected Senators to represent the Native people be increased to at least six, and that they be elected by the direct individual vote of qualified native electors as specified in (b) above.

(iv) Common Electoral Roll. Finally it should be understood that though at the present time separate electoral rolls are necessary, the ultimate aim should be a common roll for all citizens, so that through common election, Members of Parliament should represent all the citizens in their constituencies. The time will come when separate representation will lead to conflict rather than union.

(v) Local Government. In the Provincial and Municipal Councils there should be direct representation for all non-Europeans.

Special Report on Coloured Affairs.

6. The Coloured Affairs Committee of the Commission has drawn up a detailed report concerning the Coloured people, and it is hoped that this report will be published separately.

F. THE CHURCH AND EFFECTIVE CHRISTIAN TEACHING.

1. To implement what is said in Section D.2 of this Report will involve securing effective Christian teaching for all children. In this land the major responsibility for this must rest upon the Church; for in our State schools, whilst there is a definite sympathy on the part of the educational authorities, Christian teaching must inevitably be so limited as

to make it inadequate.
2. The fact that the majority of children of this land does not receive effective Christian education makes us realise the urgency of the question. Every effort must be made by the Church to equip and organise itself immediately for this task.
3. The Church must therefore exert all its influence towards the production of Christian teachers for State schools, and the more effective working among its own children in Sunday Schools, children's services and youth groups.
4. The Church must urge parents to accept greater personal responsibility for the religious education of their children, and to this end must give more practical help to parents.

G. CONCLUSION.

In making public this Report we are aware that to implement its findings demands first of all a change of heart within the nation. To this end we believe it to be of the utmost importance that the nation be called back to God, and to a whole-hearted obedience to, and love for, Him and His Church. We are convinced that the need to sound clearly this evangelistic note is as great now as it has ever been. We pray that this note will be sounded by all who accept this Report.

Signed on behalf of the Commission,
+GEOFFREY JOHANNESBURG,
Chairman.

Members of the Commission who wish their names to be attached to the Report.

M. Ballinger, A.W. Blaxall, E.K. Blundell, M.H. Clack, N.E. Coaker, T.G. Comber, D.H. Darling, D.M. Denalane, J.L. Durant, A.W. Eaton, T. Heath, H.R. Higgs, E.J. Kerswill, E.K.I. le Maitre, H.P. Madibane, G.W. Nelson, *H.A. Nixon, W.A. Palmer, *C.L. Read, *E.J. Read, +V.O. Reid, R.P.Y. Rouse, J. Reedman, R.A.H. Urquhart, W.P.B. Shelley, C.E.G. Goodall, D. Maud, D. Thompson, H.H.E. Peacock.

*Do not accept Clauses D 18,19.
+Does not accept Clause E 5, c. iv.

"B" THE CHRISTIAN AND CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY.

CPSA Archive AB 191, Address by Bishop G.H. Clayton to Sacred Synod of the Diocese of Johannesburg, October 1946, repeated to the Cape Town Clerical Society 1950.

ADDRESS BY THE BISHOP ON "THE CHRISTIAN AND CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY".

What I want to do is to ask some questions, in the hope that many of you will take part in the discussion and tell me what you think are the answers. I am going to do so because I am genuinely puzzled myself, and I suspect that some of you are puzzled also. The questions relate to the attitude of Church people, and particularly of the Clergy to secular authorities.

The Anglican Communion takes its stand upon Holy Scripture, We are to be studious in reading and learning the scriptures, and in framing the manners both of ourselves and of them that specially pertain unto us, according to the rule of the same Scriptures.

I do not think that we get much help from the Old Testament. For the Old Testament sets before us a Theocracy. Yet in the Old Testament we have examples, not only of rebellion, but also of political assassination, which is represented as being suggested and approved by God Himself. Perhaps how-

ever we may get some guidance from the story of Jeremiah. Jeremiah was in the position of a man who strongly disapproved, on religious grounds, of the policy pursued by the government. He did not fail to make clear his disapproval, even though by so doing he weakened the hands of his fellow-countrymen who were engaged in war. Yet he did not separate himself from his people. He did not "fall away to the Chaldeans". He saw clearly the disaster to which the policy of the government was leading. But, if he could not persuade his people to change that policy, he was ready to share its consequences.

But it is the New Testament to which we want to turn, and it is in the teaching of the New Testament that we shall find our biggest problems. I ask you first to consider not the teaching of Our Lord as contained in the Gospels, but the way in which that teaching was understood and acted upon by the earliest Christians.

Let us begin by considering the teaching given in the First Epistle of St. Peter. I believe that the Epistle was written by St. Peter, and I shall speak of the author as St. Peter, though I don't think that the argument is affected, even if it was not written by him. (..... the possibility of persecution.)* St. Peter bids his readers "be subject to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake", and refers to the civil government, which was of course that of the Roman Emperor, as the representative of God, "sent by Him for vengence on evil doers and for praise to them that do well". But what if the government is oppressive and unjust ? St. Peter indicates what would be his answer to the question by the advice which he gives to slaves. They are to be in subjection, not only to good masters, but also to bad ones. "This is acceptable, if for conscience towards God a man endureth griefs, suffering wrongfully". "If when ye do well, and suffer for it ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God". For we are to follow the example of Christ, Who left us an example, that we should follow His steps. "Who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth, Who, when He was reviled, reviled not again; when He suffered, threatened not". That familiar passage occurs in the advice given to slaves who had bad masters. It does not seem that they are to submit because resistance would be ineffectual, but because submission is the following in the steps of Christ. Later, St. Peter gives the same advice to the whole Christian community, who are likely to have to endure persecution unjustly. If they suffer for righteousness sake they are blessed. It is better, if so be it is God's will, that ye suffer for well doing than for evil doing. I cannot resist the conclusion that the whole teaching of the Epistle is that a Christian should submit to injustice, because by so doing he is following in the steps of His Master.

The teaching of St. Paul in his Epistles is that "The powers that be are ordained of God", and that resistance to the power is resistance to God. But he does not explicitly contemplate the possibility of the secular power acting in a tyrannical way. "Rulers are not a terror to the good work, but to the evil". (Apocalypse. Bitter words against persecution there, and longing for revenge. Stands alone. Perhaps reason for doubt of ..... Compare Ep[istle] of Clement written after .....)* If we turn from the teaching of the apostles to their actions, we see that they did in fact refuse to obey the civil authorities when those civil authorities commanded them to desist from preaching the Gospel. They must obey God rather than man. And St. Paul made the fullest use of the rights that belonged to him as a Roman citizen, He obeyed the law, but he claimed all the rights which the law gave him.

*Notes added to the typescript in Archbishop Clayton's handwriting, in 1950.

You must forgive the extremely sketchy and incomplete way in which I am dealing with the evidence of the New Testament. I do not think, however, that I am misrepresenting its teaching.

Let us turn to the Gospels. And, first, there is the teaching of Our Lord about non-resistance. "Resist not him that is evil; but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. If any man would go to law with thee, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go one mile, go with him twain". I think that there is a reasonable doubt as to whether this teaching can be said to apply to the relations of one state with another. But there can be no doubt at all that it is meant to apply to the personal behaviour of an individual when confronted with injustice, and, as we have seen, it is echoed in the teaching of the first epistle of St. Peter.

Secondly, there is Our Lord's answer to the question about the tribute to be paid to Caesar. "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's". It seems to me that that means that men are to pay their taxes. I believe that St. Paul so interpreted it, when he said "For this cause ye pay tribute also; for they are ministers of God's service, attending continually upon this very thing. Render to all their dues; tribute to whom tribute is due". But that tribute must have been put to uses of which it is impossible to suppose that Our Lord approved.

And it seems to me that this conclusion is supported by the attitude of Our Lord to publicans. The publicans collected taxes on a very unjust and undesirable system. But Our Lord is markedly friendly to them. Publicans and sinners. Sinners are to sin no more. Our Lord does not tell publicans that they must cease to be publicans.

Thirdly, there is the example of Our Lord Himself in His Passion. He submits Himself to the law, as St. Paul did after Him, He claims to be dealt with lawfully. But when the High Priest, with the authority of the High Priest, questions Him, He answers. Also He recognises the authority of Pilate as given him from above. On the other hand, he bids people not to be deterred by any fear of the consequences from speaking the truth and proclaiming the Gospel. This is what the first Christians understood Our Lord to have taught, both by word and example, and they followed His teaching.

When we pass beyond the New Testament, we find that the general teaching of the Church as a whole has been something which looks different from this. It is the accepted teaching of theologians that an organised attempt to overthrow a duly constituted government by force can be justified by the fulfilment of the following conditions:- (i) That the government is guilty of grave and prolonged violation of the rights of its subjects. (ii) That all peaceable or constitutional methods of obtaining redress and reform have been honestly tried and have failed. (iii) That there be a reasonable prospect of success. For if this last condition be not fulfilled, then the certain and terrible ends of civil war should be avoided in the interests of the whole population of the state.

It seems therefore that Christian Theologians have upheld in certain circumstances the right of rebellion. On this point Anglican moral theologians seem to differ from the general view of Christendom. For instance, Jeremy Taylor denies the right of rebellion under any circumstances. Is the general teaching of Christendom on this point reconcilable with the teaching of Scripture ? That is the first question to which I should very much like to hear your answers. Can we say that the relation of a Christian citizen to the modern state of which he is a member is so different from the relation of a primitive Christian to the government under which he lived that the teaching of the New Testament

ceases to be applicable ? Can we say that a Christian man may rebel against his government, if the conditions set out above are fulfilled, in the interests of other people who are the victims of oppression, if not of his own interests ?

Secondly, putting on one side the question of an armed rebellion, is passive resistence justifiable ? In order to view this matter objectively let us consider passive resistance as it was practised by certain Non-conformist leaders in England when I was a boy. They held that the legislation which had been enacted by parliament about education grants, put as they expressed it, Church Schools on the rates. Grants were made to schools in which Church teaching was given. The leaders of Non-conformity therefore refused to pay their Rates, on the ground that, if they paid them, some part of the money which they paid would be used for the giving of religious instruction of which they disapproved; and they went to prison rather than pay their rates. Were they right ? I don't think that they were. It is difficult to see how there could be any schools at all if people followed their example. Any kind of religious teaching would inevitably be objected to by some citizens. And education without any kind of religious instruction would be offensive to the conscience of many Christians. Moreover, it seems to be that when a man has the full rights of a citizen, and is himself part of the community, the majority of which has put a government in power, his obligation is to submit to that government, until he can persuade the majority of his fellow-citizens to join him in turning it out. I can conceive of no circumstances in which part of the money which one pays in rates and taxes does not go to purposes of which one done not disapprove. The present penal system in this country seems to me to be deplorable, and contrary to Christian principles. I do not think I should be justified, for that reason, in refusing to pay taxes.

Now what about those who have not the rights of citizens ? In this country what about the Non-European ? Very many of them have no constitutional method open to them which they can use to help get rid of a government of which they disapprove. Is passive resistance a legitimate means for them to employ ? That is my second question to you. Is passive resistance legitimate (i) for those who have the rights of citizenship, (ii) for those who have not ? In answering that question you should, I think, bear in mind the teaching of Scripture about the State and the duty of obedience. For certainly those to whom the Epistles were written had no constitutional method open to them for procuring a change of government. And you should also bear in mind the condition that the Catholic Theologians regarded as necessary for the justification of rebellion, that is, that there should be a reasonable prospect of success.

I must apologise for the length of this paper. But there are two other things I want to say. The first is this. Granted the right of rebellion in certain instances, and granted the right in certain instances of refusing to obey the law, are these activities consistant with the special vocation of a Christian Priest ? It is tempting to say that what is right for a layman is right for a priest, and to object to anything like a double standard. And yet I think that this is an over-simplification of the problem. It has been generally agreed, though not universally that while it may be right for a layman to be a soldier, the soldier's career is inconsistant with the special vocation of a priest. And I think that the consensus of opinion is in favour of that view. It is not the business of everybody to do everything. And I believe myself that, in view of the special injunction laid upon you to frame your lives according to the rule of the Scriptures, in view of our Ordination vow to set forward quietness, peace, and love among all Christian people, and in view of the fact that the particular obligations of the Priesthood constitute in themselves a whole-time job, a Priest should not take part in these activities.

I recognise that there may be differences of opinion about this. I in no way condemn those who disagree with me. If I may do so in all humility, I would echo the words of St. Paul, when he said in another connection that he had no commandment of the Lord, but gave his judgement as one that had obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful.

Lastly, it seems to me that it is the clear duty of the Church to bear its witness both to the natural law of justice, and to specific Christian principles. There it seems to me we have the testimony of Scripture and the tradition of the Church clearly on the same side. There are the Old Testament Prophets. There is all the preaching of Our Lord, and His denunciations of those who made it difficult for other people to be good. And there is the constant example of the Church throughout the ages. Just as Socrates regarded himself as a gad-fly stinging the Athenian people by his recalling of them to think and see what they were doing, so the Church should be a gad-fly continually stinging the government or the municipality, or anyone in authority by denunciation of wickedness and injustice and exhortation to right doing. Criticism based upon insufficient knowledge of the facts, criticism which does not take into consideration all the aspects of the problem, does more harm than good. But it is here that we find the main obligation of citizenship upon Christians, clergy and laity. We are called to be the conscience of the State. That is not a popular role. The At[h]enian people put Socrates to death. Jeremiah was incarcerated in a dungeon. But our duty is clear: the duty of speaking the truth. And, because we are Christians, we have to try and do something which is very difficult:- to speak the truth in love.

"C". FOUR STATEMENTS ON DEFIANCE, NOV.-DEC. 1952.

KARIS, T. & CARTER, G.M., From Protest to Challenge, a Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1964; Vol. II, Hope and Challenge 1935-1952, Stanford California: Hoover Institution Press 1973. Document 95, pp. 486-489.

"THE ROAD TO FREEDOM IS VIA THE CROSS". STATEMENT BY CHIEF A.J. LUTULI, ISSUED AFTER THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF NOVEMBER 12, 1952, OF HIS DISMISSAL AS CHIEF.

I have been dismissed from the Chieftainship of the Abase-Makolweni Tribe in the Groutville Mission Reserve. I presume that this has been done by the Governor-General in his capacity as Supreme Chief of the "Native" people of the Union of South Africa save those of the Cape Province. I was democratically elected to this position in 1935 by the people of Groutville Mission Reserve and was duly approved and appointed by the Governor-General.

Previous to being a Chief I was a school teacher for about 17 years. In these past thirty years or so I have striven with tremendous zeal and patience to work for the progress and welfare of my people and for their harmonious relations with other sections of our multi-racial society in the Union of South Africa. In this effort I always pursued what liberal-minded people rightly regarded as the path of moderation. Over this great length of time I have, year after year, gladly spent hours of my time with such organisations as the Church and its various agencies such as the Christian Council of South Africa, the Joint Council of Europeans and Africans and the now defunct Native Representative Council.

In so far as gaining citizenship rights and opportunities for the unfet-

tered development of the African people, who will deny that thirty years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately and modestly at a closed and barred door ?

What have been the fruits of my many years of moderation ? Has there been any reciprocal tolerance or moderation from the Government, be it Nationalist or United Party ? No ! On the contrary, the past thirty years have seen the greatest number of Laws restricting our rights and progress until today we have reached a stage where we have almost no rights at all: no adequate land for our occupation, our only asset, cattle dwindling, no security of homes, no decent and remunerative employment, more restrictions to freedom of movement through passes, curfew regulations, influx control measures; in short we have witnessed in these years an intensification of our subjection to ensure and protect white Supremacy.

It is with this background and with a full sense of responsibility that, under the auspices of the African National Congress (Natal), I have joined my people in the new spirit that moves them today, the spirit that revolts openly and boldly against injustice and expresses itself in a determined and non-violent manner. Because of my association with the African National Congress in this new spirit which has found an effective and legitimate way of expression in the non-violent Passive Resistance Campaign, I was given a two week limit ultimatum by the Secretary for Native Affairs calling upon me to choose between the African National Congress and the Chieftainship of the Groutville Mission Reserve. He alleged that my association with Congress in its non-violent Passive Resistance Campaign was an act of disloyalty to the State. I did not, and do not, agree with this view. Viewing Non-Violent Passive Resistance as a non-revolutionary and, therefore, a most legitimate and humane political pressure technique for a people denied all effective forms of constitutional striving, I saw no real conflict in my dual leadership of my people: leader of the Tribe as Chief and political leader in Congress.

I saw no cause to resign from either. This stand of mine which resulted in my being sacked from the Chieftainship might seem foolish and disappointing to some liberal and moderate Europeans and Non-Europeans with whom I have worked these many years and with whom I still hope to work. This is no parting of the ways but "a launching further into the deep". I invite them to join us in our unequivocal pronouncement of all legitimate African aspirations and in our firm stand against injustice and oppression.

I do not wish to challenge my dismissal but I would like to suggest that in the interest of the institution of Chieftainship in these modern times of democracy, the Government should define more precisely and make more widely known the status, functions and privileges of Chiefs.

My view has been, and still is, that a Chief is primarily a servant of his people. He is the voice of his people. He is the voice of his people in local affairs. Unlike a Native Commissioner, he is part and parcel of the Tribe, and not a local agent of the Government. Within the bounds of loyalty it is conceivable that he may voice and press the claims of his people even if they should be unpalatable to the Government of the day.

He may use all legitimate modern techniques to get these demands satisfied. It is inconceivable how Chiefs could effectively serve the wider and common interest of their own tribe without co-operating with other leaders of the people, both the natural leaders (Chiefs) and leaders elected democratically by the people themselves.

It was to allow for these wider associations intended to promote the common national interests of the people as against purely local interests that the Government in making rules governing Chiefs did not debar them from join-

ing political associations so long as these associations had not been declared "by the Minister to be subversive of or prejudicial to constituted Government". The African National Congress - its non-violent Passive Resistance Campaign may be of nuisance value to the Government, but it is not subversive since it does not seek to overthrow the form and machinery of the State but only urges for the inclusion of all sections of the community in a partnership in the Government of the country on the basis of equality.

Laws and conditions that tend to debase human personality - a God-given force - be they brought about by the State or other individuals, must be relentlessly opposed in the spirit of defiance shown by St. Peter when he said to the rulers of his day "Shall we obey God or man ?" No one can deny that in so far as non-Whites are concerned in the Union of South Africa, laws and conditions that debase human personality abound. Any Chief worthy of his position must fight fearlessly against such debasing conditions and laws. If the Government should resort to dismissing such Chiefs, it may find itself dismissing many Chiefs or causing people to dismiss from their hearts chiefs who are indifferent to the needs of the people through fear of dismissal by the Government. Surely the Government cannot place Chiefs in such an uncomfortable and invidious position.

As for myself, with a full sense of responsibility and a clear conviction, I decided to remain in the struggle for extending democratic rights and responsibilities to all sections of the South African community. I have embraced the non-violent Passive Resistance technique in fighting for freedom because I am convinced it is the only non-revolutionary, legitimate and humane way that could be used by people denied, as we are, effective constitutional means to further aspirations.

The wisdom or foolishness of this decision I place in the hands of the Almighty.

What the future has in store for me I do not know. It might be ridicule, imprisonment, concentration camp, flogging, banishment and even death. I only pray to the Almighty to strengthen my resolve so that none of these grim possibilities may deter me from striving, for the sake of the good name of our beloved country, the Union of South Africa, to make it a true democracy and a true union in form and spirit of all the communities in the land.

My only painful concern at times is that of the welfare of my family but I try even in this regard, in a spirit of trust and surrender to God's will as I see it, to say: "God will provide".

It is inevitable that in working for Freedom some individuals and some families must take the lead and suffer: the Road to Freedom Is Via the CROSS.

MAYIBUYE !

AFRIKA ! AFRIKA !

AFRIKA !

CPSA Archive AB 191 Clayton Papers.

RESOLUTION OF EPISCOPAL SYNOD, NOVEMBER 1952.

We, Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa, while recognizing that the duty of the Government is to restore and maintain law and order in this country, desire to represent to the Honorable the Prime Minister that in view of the fact that the future peace and welfare of this country depends upon an improvement in the relations between the Europeans and Non-Europeans, it is of the first importance that care should be taken to avoid action calculated to hinder such improvement. We respectfully ask him to take steps to set in motion fresh consultations on the highest level with representatives of the various Non-European groups; and we suggest that

if these consultations are to serve a useful purpose the advice of the Non-European groups should be sought in determining the range of subjects to be dealt with in such consultations.

The Vineyard, December 1952.

ADVENT PASTORAL LETTER BY THE BISHOPS OF THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF SOUTH AFRICA.

TO THE FAITHFUL IN CHRIST JESUS:

We, the Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa, send you our greetings in the Name of the Lord. We give thanks to God that in these days of strife and contention the fellowship of the Church remains unbroken. Those to whom we write belong to many different races and the backgrounds of our lives are very different. In this our country the relations between our respective races grow daily more strained. It is difficult for us not to be affected by this increasing tension. We would remind you that we are all of us bound together by a common need for forgiveness, a common gratitude for redemption, and a common allegiance to our Lord. We are all sinners needing forgiveness. We all depend for our hope of salvation on the grace of God given to us through Jesus Christ our Lord. We are all pledged to be His faithful soldiers and servants to our life's end. If God so loved us, we also ought to love one another. There is no room among Christians for hatred, intolerance, contempt or pride. We must seek for opportunities to give expression to our unity in Christ. And above all we must be on our guard lest by word or deed we break the spiritual bonds that unite us all in the Family of God.

It is not our purpose in this letter to put before you a plan of political or social change. Such changes are bound to come in this land as elsewhere. Shall they come through hatred and violence or through love and understanding service ? It is for us to show by our example that men of different races can work together with mutual respect for the building in this land of a social order more in accordance with the mind of Christ. None of us can suppose that this is an easy task. But in the power of the Holy Spirit of love and wisdom prejudices can be overcome and difficulties conquered. But we must work together with the understanding of each other's needs that should be ours because we are members of one Body, in which wheee one member suffers all the members suffer with it.

Bear ye one another's burdens and so fulfil the Law of Christ. And so we commit you to His love.

Good Hope, Vol. II No 12, December 1952. Extract from the Archbishop's Letter, sub-titled

ON CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

In this Diocese we have had comparatively little experience of the civil disobedience movement, in which very little part has been taken by Coloured people. But I think that it is worth while to try to set out what the teaching of the Church is with regard to this and similar movements. And I propose to do my best so to do.

In the first place there is an obligation on every Churchman to be a law-abiding citizen of his country. Yet there are circumstances in which it is a man's duty as a Christian to refuse to obey a particular law. If a law were to be passed requiring you to do something which is in your belief contrary to the law of God, clearly your duty as a Christian is to obey God rather than men. When the Apostles were commanded by the magistrate to refrain from preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ, they refused to obey. And clearly they were right to do so. So far I suppose every Christian will agree.

Conscience and Unjust Laws.

But, further than that, it has been

the traditional teaching of the Christian Church that there is no obligation on a man as a Christian to obey unjust laws. This raises certain difficulties. Who is to decide whether a particular law is just or unjust ? A law does not become unjust because you do not agree with it. There is a good deal of confusion of thought about this. It often happens that we think a particular law unwise. But that does not entitle us to disobey it. We can only rightly do that if our conscience forbids us to obey it, or if a particular law is in our judgement inconsistent with fundamental human rights. And, in the latter case, it would be necessary that the matter should be one of real importance, and that our disobedience were not likely to produce greater evils than those against which we should be making our protest. Further, a man is not a good judge in his own cause. And we ought to hesitate a good deal before we refuse to obey a law because we think that the law is unjust to us personally. In such a case it is very difficult to take an objective view of the matter. It must also be noted that a Christian may well think it his duty to accept wrongs done to himself, on the principle that, as St. Peter says, "It is better to suffer for well-doing than for evil-doing, because Christ also suffered for sins once, the Righteous for the unrighteous". This however must not be taken as a general prohibition of all refusal to obey unjust laws. For the unjust laws may affect many other people besides oneself. If however a man does decide that he ought to refuse to obey a law, he must be prepared to take the consequences. He is setting himself up against the State, and the State will inevitably protect itself, and punish him for his transgression of the law.

It seems to me that such a decision must be a personal decision. I don't think that the Church, or any other authority, can tell a man that he ought to make such a decision. But on the other hand I do not think the Church can condemn him if he has made it. Fundamentally it is for a man's own conscience to decide. But I would repeat that a man must not break a law simply because he does not agree with it, but only if it offends against the law of justice, For instance, if it were laid down that all Europeans had to use one bus, and all Non-Europeans another bus, personally I should think that that was a stupid and inconvenient law; but if an adequate number of buses were provided for both Europeans and Non-Europeans, I don't think that the law of justice would be infringed, and I should not regard myself as justified in getting into a Non-European bus and so breaking the law.

The Present Situation.

The situation at the present time is complicated by the fact that Indians and Native Africans have no effective constitutional method open to them which they can employ to get laws changed which they regard as unjust. This makes it very easy to understand the present civil disobedience movement. I think I understand it, and I cannot see how anyone can avoid having some sympathy with it. And yet I doubt its wisdom. For I find it difficult to believe that, if the movement continues, it will be possible to keep it a movement of passive resistance. I think it is extremely likely to lead to violence. Whether it has done so already or not is a question about which one who, like myself, has no inside information, can hardly express an opinion. But if it does, my own view is that it will lead to greater evils than those against which it is a protest. Yet, though I think it unwise, I should find myself quite unable to condemn a man who was led by his conscience to take part in it. The State must of course condemn him. He must take the consequences. Presumably he will have counted the cost.

It follows from what I have said that I think it quite wrong that pressure should be brought to bear on men to constrain them to take part in the movement. The decision

must be made by a man for himself.

What the Church can do.

I have been often asked, "Why does not the Church give a lead in this matter ?" I hope I have said enough to make it clear that I do not think that the Church can give a lead. What I think the Church can do is to state clearly the moral problem and leave men to form their own personal decisions.

I was Vicar of a large coal-mining parish in England at the time of the General Strike. One of my churchwardens was a magistrate. And among my church officers were men who took part in the strike and men who on conscientious grounds refused to do so. There was a good deal of tension. I knew enough of these men to understand something of the conflict of loyalties with which they were faced. Each man had to make his own decision. But I am glad to say that their Christianity was strong enough to stand the test, and the fellowship of the Church was never broken. I don't think that the Church failed because the Church did not tell people what to do. I think the Church succeeded, because the Church provided an atmosphere in which men could make their decision according to their conscience, and could differ as they did, even in matters on which they felt very deeply, without losing respect for one another. I wish it could be so in this country.

But of course there is one thing about which we ought all to agree; and that is that laws which are unjust ought not to remain on the Statute Book. We need laws which are not only just but are obviously just. And unless and until we get them we shall never have peace. For as the Prophet says, Peace is the fruit of righteousness.

Yours sincerely in Our Blessed Lord,

+GEOFFREY CAPETOWN.

"D". BISHOPS' STATEMENT ON RACE DISCRIMINATION.

CPSA Archive AB 191 Clayton Papers, Church News Vol. XIX, No. 11, 18.11.1953, also published in Diocesan Magazines for November 1953.

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT IS ISSUED BY THE BISHOPS OF THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF SOUTH AFRICA.

In view of widespread misunderstanding both in South Africa and beyond its borders as to the attitude of the Bishops of the Province of South Africa to racial discrimination in the Union we desire to make the following statement:-

We believe that the only national policy which is morally defensible must be that which gives the fullest opportunity of development to the members of all racial groups. We believe that it is morally wrong to follow a policy which has as its object the keeping of any particular racial group in a permanent position of inferiority; and we believe that racial discrimination as it is practised in this country is directed to this end. In every racial group there are wide differences of ability between man and man, and it is wrong that the opportunities open to a man should be determined by the racial group to which he belongs and not by his own character and abilities. Such a policy seems to us to lead to a system of caste against which the Christian Church has always set its face.

It has been suggested that it would be possible to keep the different racial groups separated and yet to give to each group equal opportunities of economic and cultural development. We do not believe that this is practicable. The industrial, economic and cultural development of the country demands the co-operation of the different racial groups that make up its population. This is recognized by all parties in the state. Since the passing of legislation which absolves the state from providing equal facilities for different racial groups it is no longer legitimate to defend racial segregation by claiming that it does not involve any infringement of the principle of equality.

It has been stated that the fact that normally Europeans and Africans worship in different Church buildings is itself an acknowledgement of the principle of segregation. This is not so. Both linguistic and geographical reasons make it natural that normally Africans and Europeans should worship in different places. But an African member of the Church is at liberty to worship in any Church which he may desire, and no one has any authority to exclude any Churchman of any race from any of our Churches, if he presents himself there for the purpose of worship. And no attempt has been made by the Government to interfere in this matter.

With regard to education we believe that it is morally wrong to educate one particular racial group in such a way as to fit its members only for subordinate and inferior positions. In present circumstances it is reasonable that there should be separate schools for different races. As long as the present insistence on social segregation persists it would not be in the interest of the child to grow accustomed at school to a degree of social intimacy which would be impossible after leaving school. But we greatly desire a change in public opinion which would make it possible for some children of all racial groups to be educated together without risk of grave psychological harm. There have been instances in our schools where this has proved possible, but they are admittedly rare. We wish they could become less rare. But education for Africans should have the same aim as that for Europeans, namely to make them fit to render the best service to the common life of the country that their natural abilities make possible.

What we have said arises out of the Christian doctrine of Man, as made known to us through the teaching and practice of our Lord; and we commend it to the consideration of all who believe that in His teaching and example is to be found the key to national policy and individual conduct.

We recognize that racial discrimination, as practised in any country, raises moral issues as to which it is right that Christian opinion throughout the world should find expression. But we deprecate the tendency to isolate the Union of South Africa in this matter.

Racial discrimination does in fact occur in other parts of the world also, and expressions of moral indignation directed against this country alone are likely to arouse among South Africans, even among men of good will, a sense of unfairness which goes far to deprive such expressions of the Christian conscience of the influence which they might otherwise exercise. But it is a duty laid upon us, as the Church of the Province of South Africa, to give expression to that world-wide Christian opinion which we ourselves share in its relation to the situation in our country; and we desire to make it plain that no attempt has been made by those in authority to prevent us from doing so.

October, 1953.

"E".

TWO STATEMENTS BY THE C.P.S.A. BISHOPS, NOVEMBER 1954.

CPSA Archive AB 191.

STATEMENT BY THE BISHOPS OF THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF SOUTH AFRICA ON THE BANTU EDUCATION ACT.

We, the Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa, have repeatedly affirmed our belief that it is morally wrong to follow a policy which has for its object the keeping of a particular racial group in a permanent position of inferiority. Because we are convinced of that, we cannot but deplore the Bantu Education Act. The policy underlying this Act has been officially interpreted by the Minister of Native Affairs. It condemns the existing educational system because it produces a class which "feels that its spiritual, economic and political home is among the civilized community of South Africa, that is, the Europeans." Is civilization, then, for Europeans only ?

Large numbers of Africans must, as the Minister says, earn their living in the service of Europeans. For these large numbers there is to be no further education than is necessary to fit them for this. In the Reserves there is need for educated Africans, But the educational system envisaged, so far as can be ascertained from the time-tables already in use and from other indications, is not calculated to produce these educated Africans. And, even if it were, it is only the comparatively few that are to be developed to the fullest extent according to their aptitude and ability. The rest are to be educated as servants to the Europeans, who constitute "the civilized community of South Africa".

We believe that the object of educational policy should be to produce an educated community, and to make the best of every child according to his aptitude and ability. A policy which does not aim at this stands self-condemned.

As to religious instruction, the Bantu school is to confine itself to general biblical knowledge and the broad principles of the Christian religion. This is but a poor substitute for the indorporation of the child into a living Christian society. And the provision made for the Church to have a right of entry to teach its own children will be so difficult to work that we doubt whether it will prove practicable.

It is true that the churches are allowed to make application for permission to retain control of schools for the time being with a reduced subsidy; but, to quote the Minister, "This can only be a provisional arrangement, which may be terminated when the Department is convinced that the transfer of control to the Bantu community is desirable or

or should be begun". And training schools for teachers are excluded from this arrangement.

Both as to religious and secular teaching it is our conviction that the Bantu Education Act will retard the true education of the African, and the majority of us are of the opinion that the Church should not make itself responsible for taking part in such an educational system.

All we are prepared to do is to lease certain of our buildings to the State. The majority of us think that in many cases it would be wrong to refuse to do so. Such a refusal would throw many teachers out of employment, and leave many children without opportunity of any kind of instruction. It is incompatible with our duty to the African people to take action which might lead to such results. Here we are faced with a grievous choice of evils. We must choose the lesser. But this does not imply that we approve in any sense of an Act which will retard the progress of African education, and weaken the connection of such education with the teaching of the Christian Faith.

November, 1954.

CPSA Archive AB 191.

STATEMENT BY THE BISHOPS OF THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF SOUTH AFRICA ON THE CONDITIONS OF LEASING CHURCH SITES IN URBAN NATIVE LOCATIONS.

The Minister of Native Affairs has issued a circular to all urban Local Authorities in the Union in which it is laid down:-

1. That no sites in locations or native villages are to be leased for mission purposes without the approval of the Minister himself;
2. That all such leases are to be on a yearly basis;
3. That owing to the intervention by representatives of certain church and other bodies in matters outside the scope of the work they should undertake among Natives, leases may be cancelled if the activity of any such representative outside the scope of his work is of a subversive nature or might tend to lead to or encourage deterioration in the relationship between the Natives and governmental persons or bodies.

Of this last, the Minister of Native Affairs is to be the sole judge and there is no appeal against his judgement.

This appears to us to be a clear denial of the right to freedom of speech, an attempt to silence the Church, and a threat to our work, If it could be proved that any representative of the Church uses language that is subversive or incites persons to break the law, we should not deny the right of the State to take action against that person. But it seems to us unjust that the Church or any other body to which he belongs should be held responsible for his actions; and the terms of the circular go much further even than this. They identify the State with certain governmental persons, and appear to be an attempt to silence any criticism of the Government of the day. Against such a threat we desire to make the strongest protest. No church can admit that a particular Minister of State has the right to be the sole judge of the scope of the work it should undertake, either among Natives or any other part of the community; and we desire to call attention to the parallel between the threat contained in this circular and the threat recorded to have been made against the Apostles by the Council of the Jews. Our reply cannot be different from theirs: "We must obey God rather than men". We find it difficult to believe that such threatenings can really have the approval of any Christian people, and we greatly hope that the circular may be withdrawn.

November, 1954.

"F". THE FREEDOM CHARTER.

JOSEPH, Helen, If this be Treason, London: André Deutsh 1962, pp. 188-192, "Appendix B".

THE FREEDOM CHARTER.

We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, Black and White, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;

that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

and therefore, we, the people of South Africa, Black and White together - equals, countrymen and brothers - adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN !
Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

all people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

the rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

all bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS !
There shall be equal status in the bodies of State, in the Courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;

all people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

all national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

the preaching and practice of national, race of [sic] colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

all Apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH !
The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

the mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

all other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

all people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT !
Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;

the State shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

all shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

people shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW !
No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

no one shall be condemned by the order of any government official;

the courts shall be representative of all the people;

imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

the police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

all laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS !
The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organize, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

the privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

all shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;

Pass laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY !
All who work shall be free to form Trade Unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

the State shall recognize the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

there shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED !
The Government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

all the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

the aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of State allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

the colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT !
All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

unused housing space to be made available to the people;

rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;

a preventative health scheme shall be run by the State;

free medical care and hospitalization shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, crêches and social centres;

the aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the State;

rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

fenced locations and ghettoes shall be abolished, and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP !
South Africa shall be a fully independent State, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation - not war;

peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

the people of the protectorates - Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland - shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

the right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognized, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:

"THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY".

Adopted at the Congress of the People, Kliptown, South Africa, on 26th June 1955.

"G". THE "CHURCH CLAUSE".

CPSA Archive AB 981, and personal papers of the Right Revd. T.G. V. Inman.

AGENDA OF THE EMERGENCY COMMITTEE OF EPISCOPAL SYNOD, 5th MARCH 1957 AT BISHOPSCOURT, CAPE TOWN.

1. If the Native Laws Amendment Bill, 1957, is passed in its present form, is it the duty of the C.P.S.A. to refuse to obey it ? (Yes)*

2. What amendments to the Bill would make it possible for the authorities of the Church to obey the Bill without compromising principles ? (Withdrawal of Clause 29)*

3. Should any public statement be issued at the present time ? If so, should it be issued by this Committee ? (Yes)*

4. Should a statement to Church people be issued at the present time and sent to the Bishops with the suggestion that they should issue it to the people in their Dioceses ? (Send a letter to other Bishops [and] Minutes of [this meeting])*

5. In the event of the Archbishop and/or other Bishops being arrested for inciting people to disobey the law, what steps should be taken to carry on the ordinary business of the Church ? Should Vicars-General be appointed ?

Notes on Question 1.

The Bill as it stands at present would make it necessary to obtain the permission of the Minister of Native Affairs to establish any church or parish in an urban area in a European area unless Natives are to be explicitly excluded from it. Such permission would also have to be obtained for the continued existence of any such church or parish if it was established after January 1st, 1938. It would also be necessary to ask the permission of the Minister of Native affairs before holding any synod in an urban area if there were any Native members of such synod. The same would apply to any meeting of any Church guild.

*Hand-written notes by Bishop Inman.

CPSA Archive AB 981.

LETTER FROM THE BISHOPS OF THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF SOUTH AFRICA TO THE PRIME MINISTER.

6th March, 1957.

Dear Mr Prime Minister,

We, the Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa, are approaching you rather than the Minister of Native Affairs because we believe that the issues raised in Clause 29 (c) of the Native Laws Amendment Bill cannot be regarded merely as Native affairs. It appears to us that as far as the Anglican Church is concerned, churches and congregations in every urban area within the Union, even those mainly attended by Europeans, will be affected by this Clause, Further, it is our belief that the Clause raises the issue of religious freedom and more particularly that of freedom of worship, and we venture to submit that this is a wider issue than that of Native affairs only.

We desire to state that we regard the above mentioned Clause as an infringement of religious freedom in that it makes conditional on the permission of the Minister of Native Affairs

(a) the continuance in existence of any church or parish constituted after January 1st, 1938, in an urban area except in a location which does not exclude Native Africans from public worship;

(b) the holding of any service in any church in an urban area except in a location to which a Native African would be admitted if he presented himself;

(c) the attendance of any Native African at any synod or church assembly held in an urban area outside a location.

The Church cannot recognize the right of an official of the secular government to determine whether or where a member of the Church of any race (who is not serving a sentence which restricts his freedom of movement) shall discharge his religious duty of participation in public worship or to give instructions to the minister of any congregation as to whom he shall admit to membership of that congregation.

Further, the Constitution of the Church of the Province of South Africa provides for the synodical government of the Church. In such synods, bishops, priests and laymen are represented without distinction of race or colour. Clause 29 (c) makes the holding of such synods dependent upon the permission of the Minister of Native Affairs.

We recognize the great gravity of disobedience to the law of the land. We believe that obedience to secular authority, even in matters about which we differ in opinion, is a command laid upon us by God. But we are commanded to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's. There are therefore some matters which are God's and not Caesar's, and we believe that the matters dealt with in Clause 29 (c) are among them.

It is because we believe this that we feel bound to state that if the Bill were to become law in its present form we should ourselves be unable to obey it or to counsel our clergy and people to do so.

We therefore appeal to you, Sir, not to put us in a position in which we have to choose between obeying our conscience and obeying the law of the land.

We have the honour to remain, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed on behalf of the Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa)

Archbishop and Metropolitan.

House of Assembly.

NATIVE LAWS AMENDMENT BILL.
BILL to Amend the Native Labour Regulation Act, 1911, and the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, 1945.
(Introduced by the Minister of Native Affairs)
[A.B. 35-'57]

The Bill in its unamended form.

Amendment of section 9 of Act 25 of 1945, as amended by section 4 of Act 16 of 1955.

29. Section NINE of the Urban Areas Act is hereby amended : .....
(c) by the substitution for sub-section (7) of the following sub-section:

"(7) No church, school, hospital, club or other institution or place of entertainment which was not in existence on the first day of January, 1938, to which a native is admitted or which is attended by a native, shall be conducted by any person on premises situated within any urban area outside a location, native village, native hostel or area approved by the Minister for residence of natives in terms of paragraph (h) of sub-section (2) nor shall any meeting, assembly or gathering to which a native is admitted or which is attended by a native, be conducted or permitted by any person on such premises without the approval of the Minister given with the concurrence of the urban local authority concerned, which approval may be given subject to such conditions as the Minister may deem fit and may be withdrawn by him after consultation with the urban local authority concerned, or if he is satisfied that any such condition has not been observed."

House of Assembly.

NATIVE LAWS AMENDMENT BILL.
[A.B. 35B-'57]-[S.B. 3-'57]
CLAUSE 29 AS FINALLY PASSED.
(As amended by the Senate).

Amendment of section 9 of Act 25 of 1945, as amended by section 4 of Act 16 of 1955.

29. Section NINE of the Urban Areas Act is hereby amended-
[(a) by the substitution for sub-section (1) of the following sub-section:

"(1) Whenever the Governor-General deems it expedient, he may, by proclamation in the Gazette, in respect of any urban urban area or any specified portion thereof, declare that, from and after a date to be specified therein and subject to the provisions of this section-

(a) no native, not exempted under sub-section (2) shall reside within the limits of such urban area or such specified portion, elsewhere than in a location, native village or native hostel; and

(b) any native, not exempted under sub-section (2) and not resident in a location, native village or native hostel, shall remove from such urban area or such specified portion and take up residence in a scheduled native area or released area as defined in the Native Trust and Land Act, 1936 (Act No. 18 of 1936), specified in such proclamation."];

(a) by the addition after sub-section (1) of the following sub-section:

"(1) bis The Governor-General may, subject to the provisions of this section, declare in any proclamation referred to in sub-section (1) or any subsequent proclamation, that from and after a date to be specified therein, any native not exempted under sub-section (2) who is resident within the limits of such urban area or such specified portion, within which there is no location, native village or native hostel, or, if there is a location, native village or native hostel within such urban area or such specified portion, is resident outside that location, native village or native hostel, shall remove from such urban area or such

specified portion and take up residence in a scheduled native area or released area as defined in the Native Trust and Land Act, 1936 (Act No. 18 of 1936), specified in such proclamation."

(b) by the insertion in sub-section (3) after the word "hostel" where it occurs for the second time of the words "or in a scheduled native area or released area as defined in the Native Trust and Land Act, 1936,"

(c) by the substitution in sub-section (7) for the words "location, native village, native hostel or area approved by the Minister for residence of natives in terms of paragraph (h) of sub-section (2)" of the words "native residential area", and the deletion in that sub-section of the word "school";

(d) by the addition to the said subsection of the following paragraphs, the existing sub-section becoming paragraph (a):

"(b) The Minister may by notice in the Gazette direct that the attendance by natives at any church or other religious service or church function on premises situated within any urban area outside a native residential area shall cease from a date specified, if in his opinion -

(i) the presence of natives on such premises or in any area traversed by natives for the purpose of attending at such premises is causing a nuisance to residents in the vicinity of those premises or in such area; or

(ii) it is undesirable, having regard to the locality in which the premises are situated, that natives should be present on such premises in the numbers in which they ordinarily attend a service or function conducted thereat,

and any native who in contravention of a direction issued under this paragraph attends any church or other religious service or church function, shall be guilty of an offence and liable to the penalties prescribed by section forty-four: Provided that no notice shall be issued under this paragraph except with the concurrence of the urban local authority concerned, and that the Minister shall, before he issues any such notice, advise the person who conducts the church or other religious service or church function of his intention to issue such notice and allow that person a reasonable time, which shall be stated in that advice, to make representations to him in regard to his proposed action; and provided further that in considering the imposition of a direction against the attendance by natives at any such service or function, the Minister shall have due regard to the availability or otherwise of facilities for the holding of such service or function within a native residential area.

(c) Except with the approval of the Minister given with the concurrence of the urban local authority concerned, and subject to such conditions as the Minister may deem fit, which approval may at any time after consultation with the urban local authority concerned be withdrawn by the Minister, no person shall on premises situated within any urban area outside a native residential area, conduct any school, hospital, club or similar institution which is attended by a native or to which a native is admitted, other than a native attending in the capacity of an employee thereat, unless such school, hospital, club or institution was being so conducted on those premises at the commencement of the Native Laws Amendment Act, 1937 (Act No. 46 of 1937), or if the number of natives attending or admitted to such school, hospital, club or institution at any time exceeds the number of natives who attended or were admitted to that school, hospital, club or institution immediately prior to the commencement of that Act: Provided that this paragraph shall not apply with reference to the admission of a native to any hospital in the event of emergency.

(d) The Minister may by notice in the Gazette direct that no native shall

attend at or be admitted to any school, hospital, club or similar institution on premises situated within any urban area outside a native residential area, if in his opinion -

(i) the presence of natives on such premises or in any area traversed by natives for the purpose of attending at such premises is causing a nuisance to residents in the vicinity of those premises or in such area; or

(ii) it is undesirable,having regard to the locality in which the premises are situated, that natives should be present on such premises in the numbers in which they ordinarily attend or are admitted to such school, hospital, club or institution; or

(iii) such school, hospital, club or institution is conducted in a manner prejudicial to the public interest,

and any person who conducts, and any native who attends any school, hospital, club or similar institution in contravention of a direction issued under this paragraph, shall be guilty of an offence and liable to the penalties prescribed by section forty-four: Provided that no notice shall be issued under sub-paragraph (i) or (ii) of this paragraph except with the concurrence of the urban local authority concerned; and provided further that a direction under this paragraph shall not apply with reference to a native attending any such school, hospital, club or institution in the capacity of an employee thereat or with reference to the admission to any such hospital of a native in the event of emergency.

(e) The Minister may by notice in the Gazette direct that no native shall attend any place of entertainment on premises situated within any urban area outside a native residential area, if in his opinion -

(i) the presence of natives on such premises or in any area traversed by natives for the purpose of attending at such premises is causing a nuisance to residents in the vicinity of those premises or in such area; or

(ii) it is undesirable, having regard to the locality in which the premises are situated, that natives should be present on such premises in the numbers in which they ordinarily attend at such place of entertainment,

and any person who conducts, and any native who attends any place of entertainment in contravention of a direction issued under this paragraph, shall be guilty of an offence and liable to the penalties prescribed by section forty-four: Provided that no notice shall be issued under this paragraph except with the concurrence of the urban local authority concerned; and provided further that a direction under this paragraph shall not apply with reference to a native attending at any such place of entertainment in the capacity of an employee thereat.

(f) The Minister may -

(i) by notice in the Gazette prohibit the holding of any meeting, assembly or gathering (including any social gathering), which is attended by any native, in any urban area outside a native residential area either generally or within any specified portion of such urban area or in respect of specified premises or classes of premises;

(ii) by like notice prohibit any person mentioned in the notice, or by notice in writing addressed to any person prohibit that person, from holding, organizing or arranging any such meeting, assembly or gathering,

if in the opinion of the Minister the holding of such meeting, assembly or gathering is likely to cause a nuisance to persons resident in the vicinity where such meeting, assembly or gathering will be held or in any area likely to be traversed by natives proceeding to such meeting, assembly or gathering, or will be undesirable having regard to the locality in which the premises are situated or the number of natives likely to attend such meeting, assembly or gathering, and any person

who holds, organizes or arranges any meeting, assembly or gathering in contravention of a prohibition imposed under this paragraph, and any native who attends any meeting, assembly or gathering held in contravention of a prohibition imposed under this paragraph by notice in the Gazette, shall be guilty of an offence and liable to the penalties prescribed by section forty-four.

(g) (i) No notice shall be issued under paragraph (f) unless the Minister has in writing advised the urban local authority concerned of his intention to issue that notice and has invited that urban local authority to inform him within a specified period whether it has any objection to the issue of the notice, or if such urban local authority objects to the issue thereof within the period so specified.

(ii) No prohibition under paragraph (f) shall apply with reference to any meeting, assembly or gathering connected exclusively with any church or other religious service or church function or any school, hospital, club or other similar institution or any place of entertainment.

(h) In this sub-section 'native residential area' means a location, native village, native hostel or area approved by the Minister for the residence of natives in terms of paragraph (h) of sub-section (2).";

and

(e) by the addition at the end of the section of the following sub-section:

"(9) Save as is provided in this Act or any other law or when acting in the performance of his functions under any law or in the course of his duty as an employee of the state or of any urban local authority -

(a) no native shall, without the permission of the owner or the lawful occupier of any land or building within an urban area outside a location, native village or native hostel, enter upon or into or remain on or in such land or such building unless he does so in the course of his employment; and

(b) no person shall enter or remain in any location, native village or native hostel without the permission of an officer appointed or assigned for the management of that location, native village or native hostel.".

CHRONOLOGY.

1936 - 1939.

DATE.		PAGE.
7 Apr. 1936.	Joint sitting of South African Parliament passes Representation of Natives Bill by 169-11 removing Africans from Common Voters' Roll.	xlv, 13.
30 May 1938.	General Election: United Party 111, National Party 27.	
	The United Party Transvaal Leaders, General J.J. Pienaar's private member's bill to prohibit mixed marriages is defeated by 66-43.	xlvi, 201.
June 1938.	First elections for the Natives' Representative Council.	
Dec. 1938.	Chief Albert Luthuli attends International Missionary Conference at Tambaran, Madras.	361.
16 Dec. 1938.	Great Trek Centenary Celebrations, Pretoria.	
July 1939.	Die Institut vir Christelike Nasionale Onderwys (I.C.N.O.) founded by Die Federasie vir Afrikaans-kultuurverenigings (F.A.K.)	555.
	Glen Leary Commission appointed to examine the Johannesburg City Council's plans for the Western Native Areas.	683.
4 Sept. 1939.	House of Assembly votes 80-67 to sever relations with Germany and to take all necessary measures for the defence of its territory. General J.C. Smuts replaces General J.B.M. Hertzog as Prime Minister.	

1940 - 1942.

Jan 1940.	General Hertzog and Dr. D.F. Malan form Herenigde Nasionale Party.	
Apr. 1940.	N.G.K. withdraw from Christian Council of South Africa.	1023.
Jan 1941.	The Archbishop of York's Conference on Post-War Reconstruction at Malvern.	xxxiv.
14 Aug. 1941.	Signing of the Atlantic Charter.	xxxiv-xxxv.
July 1942.	Christian Council's Fort Hare Conference on Christian Reconstruction in South Africa.	xlii.

1943.

13 Jan.	Archbishop J.R. Darbyshire leads a deputation from the Christian Council to see the Prime Minister, Field Marshal Smuts, to present the findings of the Fort Hare Conference and to ask for representation in Parliament and trade union rights for Africans. Archbishop Darbyshire also writes to the Prime Minister expressing C.P.S.A. Episcopal Synod's concern over the racially discriminatory trend of legislation which also confers "large discretionary powers" on cabinet ministers.	xliii.
Jan.	Fr. Raymond Raynes elected Superior of the Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield.	689.
Apr.	Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Bill passed. "The Pegging Act" to "peg" Indian "penetration" of white residential areas.	14.
7 July.	General Election.	
30 July.	Final Result announced:	xxxi-xxxii.

United Party	89	National Party	43
Labour Party	9		
Dominion Party	7		
Independents	2		
Natives' Representatives	3		
	110		

Sept.	Fr. Trevor Huddleston replaces Fr. Raymond Raynes as Priest-in-Charge of Sophiatown.	690
15 Nov.	Synod of the Diocese of Johannesburg adopts the report of the "Bishop's Commission", "The Church and the Nation".	Appendix "A", 1108.

1944.

2 Feb.	The Cape Town Conference on Native Education agrees to transfer the financing of African Education from Department of Native Affairs (Major Piet van der Bijl) to the Ministry of Education (Mr J.H. Hofmeyr).	538.
Apr.	The Pretoria Agreement between General Smuts and Mr A.I. Kajee of the Natal Indian Congress.	15.
July.	The Inaugural Conference of the Campaign for Right and Justice.	4.
29 Sept.	F.A.K. Volkskongres at Bloemfontein lays the foundations for apartheid. Professor J.D. du Toit's paper, Die Godsdienstige Grondslag van ons Rassebeleid.	154.

Oct.	Michael Scott presents a report on Farm Labour abuses at Bethal to the Church and Nation Continuation Committee of the Diocese of Johannesburg.	8.
	Johannesburg City Council resolves to expropriate Newclare, Sophiatown and Martindale.	683.

1945.

7 May.	Germany Surrenders.	60.
25 Apr-6 June	The United Nations San Francisco Conference adopts the U.N. Charter.	60.
6 Aug.	Atomic Bomb dropped on Hiroshima.	
10 Aug.	Japanese surrender ends World War II.	
18 Sept.	Springbok Legion counter-demonstration outside Johannesburg City Hall during National Party Conference dispersed by police batons. 160 injured.	61

1946.

Jan.	Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill tabled in Parliament ("Ghetto Bill").	16,20.
Apr.	Bishop Geoffrey Clayton with Fr. Huddleston leads deputation of the Johannesburg Diocesan Synod to discuss problems of African Housing with the Non-European Affairs Department of the Johannesburg City Council.	693
2 June	"Ghetto" Bill becomes law.	21.
13 June	South African Indian Congress holds "Resistance Day" rally in Durban attended by 15 000.	21
21 June	First resisters arrested for "trespassing".	21.
	The Revd. Michael Scott sentenced to three months' imprisonment in Durban.	25-8.
12 Aug.	50 000 African mineworkers strike on the Witwatersrand.	43.
15 Aug.	Natives' Representative Council resolves to adjourn "indefinitely".	46.
5 Oct.	Bishop Geoffrey Clayton addresses Sacred Synod of his diocese on "The Christian and Civic Responsibility".	Appendix "B" 1116; pp. 32-4; 67-71.

Nov.	Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations meeting at Lake Success hears criticism of South Africa's race policies by India (Sir Maharaj Singh).	37.
	Die Federaleraad van N.G.Kerke asks Field Marshal Smuts for legislation to prohibit "mixed" marriages.	212-3.
20-26 Nov.	Mr J.H. Hofmeyr (Acting Prime Minister) addresses the Natives' Representative Council, who after further debate reaffirm their earlier decision to adjourn sine die.	47-50.

1947.

Jan.	National Party wins Hottentots Holland by-election.	41, 83.
Mar-Apr.	Royal Visit.	90, 395.
July.	The Federal Mission Council of the Afrikaans Churches holds a Volkskongres at Bloemfontein which affirms the biblical foundations of the policy of apartheid.	156.

1948.

Jan.	Alan Paton's novel Cry the Beloved Country published by Scribners, New York.	1042.
Feb.	Die Institut vir Christelike Nasionale Onderwys publishes policy statement on Christian National Education.	554 ff.
March.	Publication of the Report of the Native Laws Commission 1946-48 (The Fagan Report).	135.
29 Mar.	Publication of the Report of the Sauer Commission, The National Party's Colour Policy.	126, 130-4.
22-24 May.	The Revd. Michael Scott opens the People's Assembly organized by the A.N.C. (Transvaal) and the Transvaal Indian Congress. The People's Charter calls for equal rights for all.	64.
28 May.	General Election:	82 ff.

National Party	70	United Party	65
Afrikaner Party	9	Labour Party	6
	79		71

28 June.	Death of Archbishop John Russell Darbyshire in London.	113-5.
July.	The United Party reaffirms segregation in a re-statement of its "Native" policy.	134-6.

June-Nov.	Debate in the Correspondence Columns of Die Kerkbode on the biblical justification for apartheid.	145, 157-163.
14 July-mid Aug.	Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops declares that "discrimination on grounds of race alone is inconsistent with the principles of Christ's religion."	97-99.
23 Aug-4th Sept.	Inaugural Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam adopts Universal Declaration of Religious Liberty and condemns discrimination on the the grounds of race, colour, religion, culture or political conviction.	103-113, 828-9.
24 Aug.	Dr. D.F. Malan gives assurances to the South African Parliament that his party will uphold principles of human rights and religious liberty.	830-2.
3rd Sept.	Dr H.F. Verwoerd's speech to the Senate explains the meaning of apartheid.	136-7.
Nov.	Secret negotiations between the United and Afrikaner Parties.	93-5.
17 Nov.	Geoffrey Hare Clayton elected the sixth Archbishop of Cape Town. C.P.S.A. Episcopal Synod calls on all South Africans "to reconsider race relations in the light of the teaching of Christ".	100, 115-120.
3rd Dec.	Death of Mr J.H. Hofmeyr.	95.
	The Civil Rights League publishes pamphlet "The Churches' Judgement on apartheid."	145, 149-151.
9-10 Dec.	United Nations General Assembly adopts the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.	829.

1949.

17-18 Jan.	A Joint Conference of the South African Institute of Race Relations and the Christian Council of South Africa calls upon the National Party Government to adopt the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.	829.
13-29 Jan.	Racial riots between Indians and Africans in Durban: 142 killed, 1087 injured.	183-200.
31 Jan.	The Prime Minister, Dr. D.F. Malan, refuses to meet the heads of the member churches of the Christian Council.	152.
2 Feb.	Geoffrey Clayton enthroned as Archbishop of Cape Town.	120.
6 Feb.	Joint meeting of the National Executive Committees of the African National Congress and South African Indian Congress in Durban establishes the Congress Alliance.	193.

24 Feb.	Canon Richard Ambrose Reeves, Vicar of Liverpool, elected third Bishop of Johannesburg.	121-5.
12 Mar.	Provincial Council election: National Party gains control of the Transvaal Provincial Council.	180.
Apr.	Unity negotiations between All African Convention and African National Congress fail.	355, 357.
	Dr. W.W.M. Eiselen's Commission on Native Education sends extensive questionnaire to Churches and Mission Schools.	545 ff.
14 May.	The General Assembly of the United Nations invites India, Pakistan and South Africa to discuss discrimination against nationals of Indian origin in South Africa.	
19 May	Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Bill (Second Reading).	200 ff.
15-25 June.	South African Citizenship Bill (Second Reading) prescribes five-year waiting period for new immigrants.	220 ff.
	Government circular insists on permits for missionaries to enter Native areas.	222 ff.
	Professor Z.K. Matthews succeeds the Revd. James Calata as President of the A.N.C. (Cape).	
July.	Christian Council holds multi-racial conference at Rosettenville: The Christian Citizen in a Multi-Racial Society.	226 ff.
Sept.	Wynberg Ring N.G. Sendingkerk records its regret over the deterioration of race relations.	
Oct.	Bishop Reeves withdraws Michael Scott's General Licence.	65.
12 Oct.	Archbishop Clayton calls for dialogue between English and Afrikaans Churches.	982.
20 Oct.	Archbishop Clayton and Bishop Lavis attend N.G.K. (Cape) Synod.	163, 982.
	C.P.S.A. Episcopal Synod issues statement on the deterioration of race relations.	234.
	Dr. D.F. Malan asks English churches to withdraw their protests against apartheid or apply their philosophy in practice by experimenting with mixed congregations.	245
	N.G.K. (Cape) Synod declares that apartheid understood as "afsonderlike eiesoortige ontwikkeling tot self-standigheid" is "scriptural", and asks the Government to amend the Immorality Act by extending the definition of illicit intercourse to include sexual relations between Europeans and all non-Europeans.	163-7.
16 Nov.	Archbishop Clayton issues a message of fellowship to the Afrikaans-speaking peoples of South Africa.	983.

16 Dec.	Opening of Voortrekker Memorial.	237.
	A.N.C. Conference adopts Youth League's Programme of Action. Dr. James Moroka, President General and Walter Sisulu, Secretary, succeed Dr. A.B. Xuma and the Revd. James Calata.	355, 237.

1950.

Jan.	Michael Scott declared a prohibited immigrant in South Africa.	65.
	Canon John Collins urges the Archbishop of Canterbury to denounce South Africa's racial policy.	769.
	Bishop Reeves joins the Johannesburg Citizens' Native Housing Committee.	698 ff.
28 Feb.	Following riots in Newclare, the Johannesburg City Council instructs its General Purposes Committee to investigate the removal of Natives from Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare.	684, 706.
1-2 Mar.	Immorality Amendment Bill (Second Reading) opposed by the United Party.	247.
8-16 Mar.	Population Registration Bill (Second Reading) opposed by the United Party.	251.
Apr.	Christian Action convenes meeting at the Central Hall, Westminster, for Michael Scott.	769.
	Dr. J.C. Hoekendijk visits South Africa as an emissary of the World Council of Churches.	169
4-6 Apr.	Church Congress of the Dutch Reformed Federated and Mission Churches at Bloemfontein endorses total apartheid as the goal of Government policy.	168
	Dr. D.F. Malan and Dr. E.G. Jansen deny that total apartheid is the National Party's policy.	170
	C.P.S.A. Episcopal Synod writes to the Prime Minister advising against passes for African women and expressing concern over problems arising from the migrant labour and service contract registration system.	246
Apr.	Bishop Reeves and Ds. C.B. Brink convene Combined Social Action Committee of the Transvaal Churches.	992 ff.
21 Apr.	Celebrations to mark Field Marshal Smuts' 80th Birthday.	257.
24 Apr.	Smuts suffers coronary thrombosis.	257.

1 May.	"Freedom Day" strikes on the Witwatersrand. Police open fire, 19 killed and 30 injured.	270.
5 May.	Unlawful Organizations Bill (First Reading) opposed by Mr Sam Kahn M.P. (Cape Western Natives' Representative).	258.
19 May.	Unlawful Organizations Bill referred to a Select Committee.	259.
29 May.	Doctors order Smuts to rest.	257.
	Group Areas Bill (Second Reading) opposed by United Party.	261.
	Dr. A.B. Xuma opposes Sophiatown survey on behalf of African Anti-Expropriation Ratepayers' Association.	697
11 June.	Nation-wide protest meetings against Suppression of Communism Bill.	266.
	Bishop Reeves' sermon on communism at St. Peter's Brakpan.	273, 285.
15 June.	Mr J.G.N. Strauss elected Leader of the Opposition.	258.
20 June.	South African Communist Party disbands.	270, 340.
25 June.	North Korean attack across the 38th parallel leads to United Nations intervention.	275.
26 June.	A.N.C. declares National Day of Protest and Mourning: one day general strike.	265.
7 July.	United Nations Security Council creates unified command under the United States to render aid to South Korea.	275.
16 Aug.	Bishop Reeves and Ds. C.B. Brink convene meeting of Afrikaans and English clergy in Johannesburg to discuss the racial question.	993.
30 Aug.	National Party wins all six seats in South West Africa elections.	272.
11 Sept.	Death of Field Marshal Smuts.	257.
Oct.	Dr. H.F. Verwoerd succeeds Dr. E.G. Jansen as Minister of Native Affairs.	139.
Nov.	C.P.S.A. Provincial Synod. Archbishop Clayton affirms, "We are a multi-racial church".	286, 292.
9 Dec.	Civil Rights League National Conference calls for church support in its campaign to oppose separate representation for Coloured people.	
Dec.	Archbishop Clayton's speech to Private Schools' Headmasters' Conference urges them to be strongholds of English culture.	985.

1951.

8 Mar.	Separate Representation of Voters Bill (First Reading) opposed by United Party.	301.
11 Mar.	Protest march of 15 000 Coloured people in Cape Town arranged by Franchise Action Council (Cape).	329.
21 Mar.	Mr C.R. Swart withdraws bill to prohibit gatherings and processions.	299.
	War Veterans Action Committee meets in Johannesburg to oppose Separate Representation of Voters Bill.	307.
4 May.	First "Torch Commando" rallies in Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth.	307.
28 May.	Torch Commando drive to Cape Town. Mass torchlight procession to House of Assembly.	308–310.
30 May.	Chief Albert Luthuli succeeds A.W.G. Champion as President A.N.C. (Natal).	229, 332.
18 June.	Bantu Authorities Bill (Second Reading) opposed by United Party.	303–4.
	Separate Representation of Voters Act receives Governor General's Assent.	302.
28 June.	Torch Commando holds first National Conference in Johannesburg.	310.
29 July.	Joint Conference of the National Executive Committees of the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, and the Franchise Action Council (Cape) elects a Joint Planning Council to plan a campaign to defy unjust laws.	327 ff.
29 Aug.	Four Coloured voters file application in the Cape Provincial Division of the Supreme Court questioning the validity of the Separate Representation of Voters Act.	302.
25 Oct.	Judge President of the Cape dismisses the above application because a decision of the Appellate Division in 1937 precluded (in his view wrongly) Coloured voters from questioning the validity of an Act of Parliament.	302.
	The Report of the Native Education Commission (Chairman Dr. W.W.M. Eiselen) is published.	549.
28 Nov.	Bishop Reeves leads deputation to the Mayor of Johannesburg on African Housing.	697–8.
15–17 Dec.	A.N.C. Conference adopts the report of the Joint Planning Council to proceed with the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign in 1952.	327 ff.

1952.

21 Jan.	A.N.C. letter to Dr. D.F. Malan.	333.
29 Jan.	Prime Minister rejects A.N.C.'s call to repeal unjust laws and hold talks.	333.
11 Feb.	A.N.C. National Executive Committee affirms intention of proceeding with its Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign and warns the Prime Minister that "any disturbances .... will not be of our own making".	334.
Mar.	Renewed rioting in Newclare. 11 killed, 95 injured. 7 000 white residents of Westdene and Newlands sign petition to Dr. Verwoerd asking that Western Areas removal scheme be implemented.	707.
20 Mar.	Chief Justice Centilivres with four judges of appeal concurring declare the Separate Representation of Voters Act (1951) "invalid, null and void and of no legal force".	302.
30 Mar.	Archbishop Clayton preaches at the Van Riebeeck Festival Stadium.	336.
Apr-May.	Dr. W.A. Visser 'tHooft visits South Africa.	995-1003.
6 Apr.	Van Riebeeck Tercentenary Celebrations in Cape Town.	
	Union-wide mass protest meetings organized by the A.N.C. and S.A.I.C. are attended by 100 000 people.	335.
17 Apr.	Mr J.G.N. Strauss announces an alliance of the United Party, the Labour Party and the Torch Commando to contest the next general election as the United Democratic Front.	312.
29 Apr.	Patrick Duncan tells Manilal Gandhi of his intention to leave the Colonial Service "to introduce your father's methods into our politics".	400.
May.	500 named as "communists" in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act. Sam Kahn M.P. and Fred Carneson M.P.C. deprived of seats in Parliament and Cape Provincial Council. The Guardian banned.	368 ff.
14 May.	Patrick Duncan announces his resignation from the Colonial Service and visits Father Huddleston.	400.
24 May.	Solly Sachs arrested for defying his ban by speaking at a Garment Workers' Union protest meeting in Johannesburg; 66 injured.	281.
June.	An ad hoc committee of the Johannesburg City Council led by Councillor G.B. Gordon begins negotiations with the Department of Native Affairs to expropriate Martindale, Newclare and Sophiatown.	684.

6 June.	20 000 at Torch Commando rally in Durban make "Natal Stand".	314.
	Wakkerstroom by-election. N.P. defeats U.P. with an increased majority in spite of vigorous Torch Commando Campaign to support the United Party candidate.	313.
22 June.	Day of Prayer for Defiance Campaign. "Volunteers Day" mass meetings in Port Elizabeth, Durban and Johannesburg.	370.
26 June.	Defiance Campaign begins.	370.
July.	S.A.I.R.R. Conference on Bantu Education rejects Eiselen Commission proposals.	549.
15-16 July.	Trial and Sentencing of communist leaders for defying bans.	
30 July.	Country-wide police raids.	
Aug.	Arrest of twenty African and Indian leaders of the Defiance Campaign: found guilty on 2nd December.	344.
25 Aug.	The Natal Conference to resolve differences between the Torch Commando and the United Party over the issue of Natal seceding from the Union, opened with prayer by Bishop T.G.V. Inman.	314-5.
27 Aug.	Joint sitting of House of Assembly and the Senate convened as the "High Court of Parliament" to declare the Separate Representation of Voters Act (1951) valid.	302.
29 Aug.	Cape Division of the Supreme Court declares that the High Court of Parliament Act (1952) is invalid.	302-3.
Sept.	Arrest of fifteen A.N.C. leaders in the Eastern Cape: found guilty in 1953.	
12 Sept.	India, Pakistan and ten other Asian and Arab countries ask U.N. General Assembly to consider racial discrimination in South Africa.	473.
	Canon John Collins supports the Defiance Campaign from the pulpit of St. Paul's Cathedral.	475.
27 Sept.	Statement by Mrs Margaret Ballinger and twenty-two white liberals calls for equal rights for all civilized people and equal opportunities for all men and women to become civilized.	390-1.
1 Oct.	Beginning of the period covered by the indictment in the Treason Trial of 1956-1961.	873.
	Johannesburg City Council accepts removal plans for the Western Areas.	684.
18 Oct.	Riots at New Brighton. 7 killed, 27 injured.	374.

22 Oct.	Archbishop Clayton writes to Patrick Duncan praising his courage and willingness to make sacrifices for Christian principles.	417-8.
28 Oct.	Christian Action launches its South African Fund for the families of those imprisoned in the Defiance Campaign.	476.
3 Nov.	Riots: Denver Hostel, Johannesburg. 3 killed, 4 injured.	376-7.
7 Nov.	Banning of 52 Congress leaders in the Eastern Cape.	
8 Nov.	Riots: Kimberley. 13 killed, 78 injured.	378-80.
10 Nov.	Riots: East London. 11 killed (including Sister Aidan) and 27 injured.	379-81.
11 Nov.	One day general strike in Port Elizabeth.	378.
12 Nov.	Albert Luthuli deposed as Chief of the Umvoti Mission Reserve.	Appendix "C", 1120.
13 Nov.	Appeal Court declares High Court of Parliament Act invalid.	303.
14 Nov.	Mr J.G.N. Strauss calls upon the Government to hold talks with "moderate Native leaders".	382.
21 Nov.	United Nations Resolution calls for Commission to enquire into the question of race conflict in South Africa.	382, 473-5.
28 Nov.	Governor General's Proclamation prescribes penalty of £300 or three years' imprisonment for incitement.	388, 454.
	Patrick Duncan annouces his intention to defy.	421.
Dec.	C.P.S.A. Bishops' Advent Pastoral Letter read in all Anglican churches. A resolution of Episcopal Synod calls for "fresh consultations on the highest level with representatives of the various non-European groups."	Appendix "C", 1123.
8 Dec.	Patrick Duncan, Manilal Gandhi and a mixed group of 38 resisters march into Germiston location without permits.	439-442.
9-11 Dec.	Federal Mission Council of the Dutch Reformed Churches holds a "Union-wide Bantu Conference of Church Leaders with European guidance".	1003-5.
18-20 Dec.	A.N.C. Conference elects ex-Chief Albert Luthuli to replace Dr. James Moroka as President-General.	360.

1953.

1-9 Jan.	World Council of Churches Central Committee at Lucknow receives Dr. W.A. Visser 'tHooft's report, A Visit to the South African Churches in April and May 1952.	996 ff, 1002.

8 Jan.	South African Congress of Democrats constituted in Johannesburg.	489.
	Archbishop Clayton elected President of the Christian Council of South Africa.	1002.
26 Jan.	Patrick Duncan, Manilal Gandhi, Betty du Toit, Freda Troup, Selma Stemalmann, Percy Cohen, Margaret Holt and Sydney Shall appear in Germiston Regional Court on charges of incitement. All eight were found guilty and convicted on 4th February.	441-2.
	Public Safety Bill (First Reading) opposed by Labour Party and Natives' Representatives.	455-6.
27 Jan.	Ex-Chief Albert Luthuli, Dr. Monty Naicker and Mr J.N. Singh arrested for addressing an "illegal" meeting in Durban.	453.
28 Jan.	Criminal Laws Amendment Bill (First Reading) opposed by Labour Party and Natives' Representatives.	457.
Jan.	Johannesburg Citizens' Native Housing Committee publishes A Place to Live.	701.
2 Feb.	Christian Action public meeting at the Central Hall, Westminster, to support Canon Collins' South African Fund.	477-80.
4 Feb.	Patrick Duncan, Manilal Gandhi and six white resisters sentenced for incitement in terms of the Governor General's Proclamation of 28 November 1952.	441-2.
11 Feb.	Public Safety Bill (Second Reading) supported by the United Party.	462.
12 Feb.	Dr. D.F. Malan announces a General Election on 15th April.	467.
15 Feb.	Fr. Trevor Huddleston tells mass conference of African and Indian Congresses in Johannesburg that he identifies totally with their struggle.	431.
19 Feb.	Minister of Labour, Mr Ben Schoeman, says that the Bishops of Johannesburg, Bloemfontein and Natal supported the Defiance Campaign.	462.
20 Feb.	Criminal Laws Amendment Bill (Second Reading) supported by the United Party.	463.
	Fr. Huddleston writes to Canon Collins: "go all-out now for publicity .... arrest is an ever-present possibility".	480-1, 482 ff.
	Purchase of land by the Department of Native Affairs at Meadowlands is finalized.	684.
23 Mar.	State loses Luso judgement.	505.

Mar.	Christian Council establishes Committee on Religious Liberty with Mr Justice Richard Feetham as Chairman.	832-4.
	C.C.S.A.-N.G.K. Federaleraad Liaison Committee established.	1024.
11 Apr.	General Election: United Party: 58 National Party: 94. Labour Party: 4	468.
9 May.	Inaugural Conference of the Liberal Party of South Africa in Cape Town elects Mrs Ballinger President, Alan Paton and Leo Marquard Vice Presidents.	393, 490.
	Senator Heaton Nicholls founds Union Federal Party.	490-1.
12 June.	Torch Commando votes to disband.	318, 489.
26 June.	Albert Luthuli calls "Day of Re-Dedication and Commemoration".	506.
28 June.	Fr. Trevor Huddleston opens Western Areas Campaign at Odin Cinema, Sophiatown. Yusuf Cachalia arrested by armed police.	432, 480-1, 725 ff, 874.
July.	Joint sitting of Parliament for South Africa Act Amendment Bill - adjourned to 1st October.	844.
29 July.	Dr. Verwoerd appoints interim board to prepare for Western Areas removals.	684.
11 Aug.	Bantu Education Bill (First Reading).	564.
15 Aug.	Professor Z.K. Matthews suggests Congress of the People to draw up a Freedom Charter in his Presidential Address to the A.N.C. (Cape).	781.
22 Aug.	South African Institute of Race Relations Conference on Western Areas removals.	713.
30 Aug.	Fr. Huddleston's first article, "For God's sake, wake up" published in The Observer, London.	483, 757 ff.
	Meeting of liberal Afrikaners and A.N.C. leaders convened by the S.A.I.R.R. at Adams College.	493.
Sept.	Separate Amenities Bill legitimates separate but unequal facilities. (see Luso judgement).	505.
6 Sept.	Canon John Collins' sermon on South Africa at St. Paul's Cathedral.	769, cf. 475.
15 Sept.	Manilal Gandhi withdraws appeal and goes to prison for 38 days.	486-7.
17-29 Sept.	Bantu Education Bill passes all its stages in Parliament with strong opposition from United Party, Labour Party and Natives' Representatives.	564 ff.

30 Sept.	Meeting of Anglican Mission School Principals at Rosettenville.	578-9.
1 Oct.	Second joint sitting to debate South Africa Act Amendment Bill. Messrs Bekker, Coetzee, Jonker and Waring vote with the Government and form Independent United Party, later Conservative Party.	491, 845.
5 Oct.	Bantu Education Act receives Governor General's assent.	568.
14 Oct.	The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Geoffrey Fisher, addresses the Convocation of Canterbury on South Africa.	597, 763.
27 Oct.	C.P.S.A. Episcopal Synod statement on Bantu Education.	Appendix "E", 1127.
31 Oct.	Patrick Duncan, Betty du Toit and Freda Troup withdraw appeals and go to gaol for 14 days.	487.
1 Nov.	All Saints' Day: The Revd. Arthur Blaxall's tribute to Patrick Duncan, Manilal Gandhi, Betty du Toit and Freda Troup for the Fellowship of Reconciliation.	526-7.
17 Nov.	Inter-Church Conference of Church Leaders (for Europeans only), Pretoria.	1005-9.
2 Dec.	Anchbishop Clayton "deprecates the assumption that the worst is bound to happen" in his charge to the Cape Town Diocesan Synod.	579-80.

1954.

Mar.	Christian Council Conference on Bantu Education meets at Pretoria and adjourns.	582.
6 Mar.	Die Volksblad publishes Archbishop Clayton's address to the Private Schools' Headmasters' Conference in 1950.	985-6.
23-6 Mar.	Natives' Resettlement Bill (Second Reading) opposed by United Party. Independent United Party vote with the Government. Bishop Reeves and Fr. Huddleston made the object of severe criticism by the National Party in Parliament for their "slandering propaganda" in English church publications and newspapers overseas.	735-8.
1 Apr.	Fr. Huddleston leads a deputation to the Mayor of Johannesburg asking him to convene a protest meeting against the Natives' Resettlement Bill.	727.
27 Apr.	Dr. Eiselen's speech on Bantu Education to the Transkei Bunga.	568.
	South African Catholic Bishops' Conference decide to negotiate separately with Dr. Verwoerd about retaining Catholic Mission Schools.	589.

2 May.	Trevor Huddleston's article "Naboth's Vineyard" published by The Observer, London.	765.
8 May.	National Executives of A.N.C., S.A.I.C., C.P.O. and S.A.C.O.D. adopt Professor Z.K. Matthews' memorandum on the Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter. The A.N.C.'s Resist Apartheid Campaigns against the Western Areas removals and Bantu Education endorsed.	726.
17 May.	Joint sitting of Parliament for the Second Reading of the Separate Representation of Voters Act Validation and Amendment Bill. Six M.P.'s of the Independent United Party vote with the National Party at the Third Reading so that the Government are only nine short of a two-thirds majority.	845.
19 May.	Christian Council Biennial Meetings, Bloemfontein. Archbishop Clayton urges Christians not to "crave the impossible" and asks the Prime Minister for an interview on matters which jeopardise religious liberty.	584.
June-July.	Canon John Collins visits South Africa.	769-778.
7 June.	Dr. H.F. Verwoerd's speech on Bantu Education to the Senate.	570.
17 June.	Archbishop Clayton leads a Christian Council delegation to see Dr. Verwoerd in Cape Town.	585-7.
26-27 June.	Second anniversary of the Defiance Campaign is declared "Western Areas Day for Campaign and Solidarity". Albert Luthuli appeals for 50 000 freedom volunteers.	726-7.
July.	The Report of the Commission on the Socio-Economic Development of the Native Areas of the Union of South Africa (the Tomlinson Commission) is referred to the Cabinet.	1057, 1033.
11 July.	10 000 assemble in Sophiatown to hear Albert Luthuli but he is banned at the airport.	727.
15-31 Aug.	Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Evanston.	1009-14.
17 Aug.	Trevor Huddleston protests to the Minister of Justice about constant police surveillance of his movements.	728.
28 Aug.	In a letter to The Times, Fr. Huddleston affirms that Canon Collins has exaggerated nothing.	777.
Aug.	Community of the Resurrection announce their refusal to hand over African Church Schools.	604.
1 Sept.	Christian Council Conference on Bantu Education reconvened in Pretoria.	588.
2 Sept.	Roman Catholic Bishops see Dr. Verwoerd about their mission schools.	591-3.

10 Oct.	Trevor Huddleston's article "The Church Sleeps on" appears in The Observer, London.	765-7.
19 Oct.	The Archbishops of Canterbury and York address their Convocations on the totalitarianism of the South African Government.	764.
14 Nov.	C.P.S.A. Episcopal Synod at Umtata decides to hand over its mission schools to the Department of Native Affairs.	Appendix "E", 1127.
15 Nov.	Bishop Reeves announces the decision of the Diocese of Johannesburg to close all its mission schools on 1st April 1955.	596-602.
24 Nov.	Archbishop Clayton's charge to the Cape Town Diocesan Synod explains the decision of Episcopal Synod on Bantu Education.	604-5.
26 Nov.	S.P.G. announces its grant from reserve funds of £25 000 to start its South African Emergency Fund.	613.
30 Nov.	Mr J.G. Strijdom succeeds Dr. D.F. Malan as Prime Minister.	838.
7 Dec.	Archdeacon Woodfield announces that Grace Dieu College will have to close.	656-662.
7-10 Dec.	The Johannesburg Inter-Racial Conference of Church Leaders.	1014-23.
12 Dec.	Roman Catholic Bishops' Pastoral Letter announces the establishment of a Catholic Mission Schools Fund.	593-4.
16-19 Dec.	A.N.C. Conference in Durban adopts plan for an indefinite boycott of Bantu Education schools, a campaign of mass resistance to the Western Areas removals, and the Congress of the People.	631 ff, 728.
27-28 Dec.	Notices issued in terms of the Natives' Resettlement Act (1954) stating that removals from Sophiatown will begin from 7-12 February 1955.	728.

1955.

5 Jan.	Bishop Reeves starts furlough in England. Speaks against Western Areas removals and Bantu Education.	614.
9 Jan.	Trevor Huddleston's article "The Point of no Return" published by The Observer, London.	768.
4 Feb.	Christian Action and Africa Bureau launch joint African Schools and Families Fund.	613-4.
7 Feb.	Patrick Duncan, Alan Paton and Trevor Huddleston speak at a well-publicised exhibition on the Western Areas in a Johannesburg store.	730, 744.

9 Feb.	2000 armed police supervise the removal of the first 152 families from Sophiatown to Meadowlands.	678.
	Parliament adjourns normal business for special debate. Mr Swart and Dr. Verwoerd allege that A.N.C. volunteers and tsotsis incited by Fr. Huddleston planned to use fire-arms, stone-throwing, explosives, feigned uprisings .... to thwart the removals.	740-744.
Feb.	Holloway Commission reports that separate university education is impracticable on financial grounds.	864.
5 Mar.	Professor Z.K. Matthews and Albert Luthuli meet in Durban and decide to defer the start of the schools boycott until a date to be fixed by the A.N.C.'s National Executive.	633.
23 Mar.	Departure from the Union Regulation Bill (Second Reading) opposed by the United Party.	871.
1 Apr.	The Diocese of Johannesburg, Society for the Sacred Mission and Community of the Resurrection close their schools.	596, 603, 639.
	The Department of Native Affairs assumes control of church schools in terms of the Bantu Education Act.	573.
9-10 Apr.	A.N.C. Conference in Port Elizabeth decides to implement a schools boycott in selected areas only.	634.
10 Apr.	St. Cyprian's School Sophiatown re-opens as a private school under the new name of Christ the King.	640.
22 Apr.	Department of Native Affairs issues regulations for "Bantu" teachers in Government schools.	625 ff.
28 Apr.	Archbishop Clayton addresses S.P.G. rally at the Albert Hall, London, and receives a gift of £30 000.	617-620.
	Patrick Duncan joins the Liberal Party.	393, 842.
May.	Christian Council issues statement condemning migrant labour, following a decision to declare the Western Cape a Coloured Labour Preference Area.	868.
21 May.	Fr. Huddleston protests at banning of Helen Navid.	720, 753.
25 May.	First Black Sash march in Johannesburg to protest against the Quorum and Senate Bills.	849.
June.	Police Amendment Bill and Criminal Procedure Bill free police from obligation to obtain a search warrant.	872.
	Senate Bill and Appellate Division Quorum Bill pass all stages in Parliament.	845 ff.
June.	Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Amendment Bill excludes "Natives" from Trade Unions.	865.
	Customs Bill permits political censorship of literature.	871.

10 June.	Archbishop Clayton and Dr. J.B Webb address protest meeting in Cape Town City Hall.	855-8.
25-6 June.	Congress of the People adopts the Freedom Charter at Kliptown. Trevor Huddleston, Albert Luthuli and Yusuf Dadoo recive the Isitwalandwe Award.	778-791.
27 June.	Dr. Bernard Friedman resigns from the United Party and as M.P. for Hillbrow.	847.
July.	The Governors of Grace Dieu decide to accept state subsidy.	658.
7 Sept.	Christian Council delegation sees Mr Strijdom and Dr. Verwoerd about migrant labour policy.	869.
11 Sept.	Bishop Inman assures Natal Diocesan Synod that the handover of mission schools is proceding well.	663.
	Canon Collins' sermon at St. Paul's Cathedral criticises the Archbishop of Canterbury for his complicity with racialism in Africa.	778.
14 Sept.	Dr. Bernard Friedman narrowly defeated in by-election for Hillbrow by Dr. Louis Steenkamp.	847.
27 Sept.	Nationwide police raids and house searches.	791.
4 Nov.	The Senate is dissolved.	856, 850.
Nov.	Archbishop Clayton's charge to Provincial Synod addresses the threat to civil liberty.	881-3.
	Fr. Raymond Raynes announces Fr. Huddleston is to be recalled to Mirfield as Novice Master.	793 ff.
Dec.	Professor Z.K. Matthews appointed Acting Principal of Fort Hare University.	358.

1956.

Jan-Mar.	Industrial Conciliation Bill passes all its stages in Parliament with consistent opposition from United Party, prescribing job reservation and racial separation for registered trade unions.	865-6.
6 Feb.	Riotous Assemblies Bill (Second Reading) supported by the United Party.	870.
7 Feb.	Fr. Sidebotham told by Bantu Education Department to close Christ the King School "forthwith".	641.
9 Feb.	The Great Black Sash Trek to Cape Town sets out.	850.

10 Feb.	Dr. Verwoerd tells parliament that Christ the King School is a "protest school" and must close at the end of the present term. He then refuses to see a Christian Council delegation to discuss the issue.	642-3.
17 Feb.	Joint sitting of re-constituted Senate and the House of Assembly passes a new Separate Representation of Voters Act.	846.
29 Feb.	Fr. Huddleston leaves Rosettenville for a lecture tour of the U.S.A. and Britain. Naught for your Comfort published.	800.
Mar.	The Report of the Commission on the Socio-Economic Development of the Native Areas of the Union of South Africa (Tomlinson Report) tabled in Parliament.	867-8, 1057.
27 Mar.	Christian Council delegation sees Dr. Verwoerd and learns that Adams College and Grace Dieu cannot be registered as private schools.	650-2.
31 Mar-1 Apr.	Special A.N.C. Conference in Orlando adopts the Freedom Charter without revision.	788.
16-18 Apr.	Bantu Education Amendment Bill (Second Reading) frees the Minister of any obligation to follow the recommendations of the Native Affairs Commission regarding the registation of "private" schools.	645-6.
18 Apr.	Fr. Huddleston addresses 7000 at S.P.G. rally in the Albert Hall, London.	800 ff.
26 Apr.	Native Administration Amendment Bill (Second Reading) opposed by United Party. Removes the right to seven days notice for Africans who are compulsorily resettled.	870.
30 Apr.	Minister of Justice, Mr Swart, warns of impending arrests for treason.	874.
Apr.	Nationalist cabinet ministers attack Huddleston as a troublemaker who deserves to be deported.	804-5.
23 May.	Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts) Bill (Second Reading) opposed by United Party.	870.
May.	Naught for your Comfort receives wide acclaim.	806-7.
	Professor B.B. Keet's Suid Afrika Waarheen ? published in English translation.	843, 1041.
	Die Federaleraad's ad hoc commission for race relations publishes its report.	1027-9.
June.	Grace Dieu College celebrates its jubilee.	659.
July.	S.A.B.R.A. - F.A.K. Volkskongres at Bloemfontein endorses the findings of the Tomlinson Commission.	1033, 1057.

24 July.	Adams College Governing Council hand over their buildings to the American Board of Foreign Missions, who begin negotiations with the Government to transfer them to the Department of Native Administration.	655.
9 Aug.	100 000 African women gather in the grounds of the Union Buildings, Pretoria, to protest against passes for women.	1034-5.
Aug.	You are wrong, Father Huddleston published.	804.
1 Oct.	Archbishop Clayton writes to Bishop Cullen as Dean of the Province stating his intention to resign.	914.
4-6 Oct.	I.D.A.M.(F.) Conference at Bloemfontein rejects the findings of the Tomlinson Commission.	1031-3.
24 Oct.	C.P.S.A. Episcopal Synod. Archbishop Clayton withdraws his resignation at the request of the bishops.	914.
21 Nov.	Sir de Villiers Graaf replaces Mr J.G.N. Strauss as Leader of the Opposition.	847.
5 Dec.	In nationwide dawn raids 140 Congress leaders are arrested on charges of high treason.	808.
19 Dec.	Preparatory examination of 156 accused of treason or as co-conspirators begins in the Drill Hall, Johannesburg.	808 ff.
	Bishop Reeves and Alexander Hepple initiate Treason Trial Defence Fund with Archbishop Clayton as its patron.	812.
21 Dec.	Bishop Reeves and Alexander Hepple M.P. interpose themselves between police and the crowd outside the court. Five injured by police batons.	811.

1957.

15 Jan-15 Apr.	Witwatersrand bus boycott.	889-96.
19 Feb.	Native Laws Amendment Bill (First Reading).	917-9, 1133.
4 Mar.	The Christian Council's Action Committee says that the Bill would impose a demand which must be disobeyed.	924.
5-6 Mar.	The Emergency Committee of C.P.S.A. Episcopal Synod meets at Bishopscourt.	925.
7 Mar.	Archbishop Clayton signs letter to the Prime Minister stating that the C.P.S.A. bishops would be unable to obey the Clause 29 (c) of the Native Laws Amendment Bill or to counsel their clergy and people to do so either.	925-9.
	Death of Archbishop Clayton.	929.

12 Mar.	Dr. H.F. Verwoerd meets the Executive Committee of the N.G.K. Federal Mission Council, who seek an assurance that freedom of worship and the sovereignty of the church would be guaranteed by the Government.	930-2.
19 Mar.	Christian Council Conference in Cape Town associates itself fully with the C.P.S.A. bishops' statement in Archbishop Clayton's letter to the Prime Minister.	938-40.
21 Mar.	Native Laws Amendment Bill, as amended, (Second reading) opposed by all opposition parties.	940-3, 1133.
Mar.	Separate University Education Bill referred to a select committee after vigorous opposition from all opposition parties.	864.
24-25 Apr.	C.P.S.A. Episcopal Synod rejects the Native Laws Amendment Bill in its amended form.	951.
	Bishop Joost de Blank of Stepney elected Archbishop of Cape Town.	950-1.
7 May.	Joost de Blank accepts election as Archbishop of Cape Town.	951.
17 May	The Native Laws Amendment Bill (as amended) passes all its stages in Parliament.	954, Appendix "G", 1133.
18 May.	3000 join protest march in Cape Town organized by the Christian Council's Action Committee.	954-5.
4 June.	Native Transport Services Bill passes all its stages in Parliament with the support of all political parties, giving the Minister of Transport power to subsidize bus fares.	894, 896.
26 June.	Fifth anniversary of the Defiance Campaign. Stay-at-home protest call by A.N.C. widely observed.	
	Disorders in the Zeerust area of the Western Transvaal over passes for African women.	1084.
21 June-3 July.	Joost de Blank visits South Africa.	957-9.
14 July.	In all ten South African dioceses of the C.P.S.A. the Bishop issues a Pastoral Letter to be read in every congregation solemnly refusing to obey Clause 29 (c) of the Native Laws Amendment Act.	959-61.
21 July.	Roman Catholic Bishops' Pastoral Letter declares that apartheid is a "blasphemy".	961-2.
25 Oct.	Joost de Blank enthroned as the seventh Archbishop of Cape Town.	962.

3 Nov.	500 groups and congregations of the Episcopal Church in the U.S.A. join day of prayer for South Africa.	955.
Nov.	Grace Dieu Governing Council decides to hand over the College to the Bantu Education Department. Archdeacon Woodfield records the only dissenting vote.	660-1.
3-5 Dec.	The Multi-Racial Conference of South Africa at the University of the Witwatersrand condemns all forms of racial discrimination.	1035-9.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE BIBLIOGRAPHY & FOOTNOTES.

(omitting abbreviations listed on pages x and xi)

Conference of British Missionary Societies.	C.B.M.S.
Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George.	C.M.G.
Central News Agency (South Africa).	C.N.A. (S.A.).
Christelike Studente Vereeniging.	C.S.V.
Cambridge University Press.	C.U.P.
Congregational Union of South Africa.	C.U.S.A.
Edited by	ed.
Edition.	edn.
Natal Indian Congress.	N.I.C.
Oxford University Press.	O.U.P.
Society of the Catholic Apostolate.	S.A.C.
South African Council of Churches.	S.A.C.C.
Student Christian Movement.	S.C.M.
Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.	S.P.C.K.
Society of St. John the Evangelist.	S.S.J.E.
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