

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND APARTHEID,
1948 - 1957

Garth Abraham

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in the Department of History, University of Natal,
Durban.

December 1984

PREFACE

One of the most laudable justifications for writing a history of the Catholic Church was made by Lord Macauley, who, in his review of Leopold von Ranke's Political History of the Popes declared:

There is not and never was on this earth, a work of human policy so well deserving of examination as the Roman Catholic Church... She saw the commencement of the governments and of all the ecclesiastical establishments that now exist in the world; and we feel no assurance that she is not destined to see the end of them all. She was great and respected before the Saxon had set foot on Britain, before the Frank had passed the Rhine, when Grecian eloquence still flourished in Antioch, when idols were still worshipped in the temple of Mecca. And she may still exist in undiminished vigour when some traveller from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St Paul's.(1)

While the early history of the Catholic Church in South Africa has been given a degree of 'well deserved... examination', the response of the Church to the apartheid legislation of the Nationalist government between 1948-1957 is a period which has, thus far, received little attention from church historians. The only detailed study on an aspect of the period is David Bixby's B.A. Hons dissertation, 'The Roman Catholic Church and Apartheid in Education' (1977),(2) which concentrates primarily on the Bantu Education Act of 1953. An Afrikaans thesis, 'Die geskiedenis en aksie van die Rooms-Katolieke Kerk, veral in die Unie van Suid Afrika' (1958), by Edwin Theron, while covering the period 1948-1957, is a very superficial study which completely ignores Catholic sources and is essentially polemical in tone. The period has also received scant attention in Fr W.E. Brown's The Catholic Church in South Africa

-
1. As quoted in E.E.Y. Hales, The Catholic Church in the Modern World (1958), p.i.
 2. For details of this work, and others mentioned in the preface, refer to bibliography.

(1960). While Fr Brown died before the work was actually completed, the editor, M. Derrick, presented a summary of major issues affecting the Catholic Church during the first decade of Nationalist Party rule. More recently, a number of the contributors to Andrew Prior's Catholics in Apartheid Society (1982), have traced contemporary developments in the Catholic Church back to the 1950s. Special mention must be made of Trevor Verry's contribution, entitled 'Catholic Bishops and Apartheid'. Two general works on the churches in South Africa, John de Gruchy's The Church Struggle in South Africa (1979) and The South African Churches in a Revolutionary Situation (1983) by Majorie Hope and James Young, have also been of interest.

Given this paucity of secondary sources, this thesis has relied primarily on the material available at the Bishops' Conference archives in Pretoria and the Southern Cross. While it is acknowledged that the hierarchy forms but a small part of what constitutes the Church, it is the bishops, in fulfillment of the mandate given to the apostles by Christ, who guide and teach the faithful, and it is thus they who direct developments within the Church, and have therefore been of primary concern in this thesis. In order to gain some understanding of the thinking within the hierarchy, the minutes of the plenary sessions, some of which have been published, reports, surveys, and statements made by the bishops have all been of crucial importance. Perhaps of greatest importance have been the minutes of the Administrative Board of the Bishops' Conference, for the prelates on this Board have executed policy and entered into negotiations on behalf of the entire Bishops' Conference.

The affairs of the Bishops' Conference were, however, confidential. The Church laity received its guidance through speeches, sermons, published statements, and articles - all of which were usually printed in the Southern Cross. The need for a Catholic weekly for instructive purposes was thus the most direct reason for the constitution of The Catholic Newspaper and Publishing Company, which printed the first

issue of the Southern Cross in 1919. While not strictly the official mouthpiece of the Catholic ordinaries, its views were subject to the approval of the Catholic bishops of South Africa,(3) and it therefore provides valuable insight into the many forces that were at work within the Church.

In order to facilitate the understanding of the nature and function of certain exclusively Catholic institutions and clerical personnel, and terms used to describe them, it is necessary at this stage to comment briefly on some elements of the structure and organization of the Catholic Church.

Because of the fact that the continent of Africa is deemed a 'mission territory' it is subject, with a few exceptions, to the jurisdiction of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide. This Congregation was founded in 1622, growing out of a commission for promoting reconciliation with the Eastern Churches. In mission territories it assumes most of the functions of the other congregations, without prejudice to the competence of the Holy Office.

The Congregation usually prepares the way for the establishment, or re-establishment, of an ecclesiastical hierarchy. This is usually done in a series of stages. The first is the erection of a mission, with a mission superior or prefect in control of a number of missionaries but over an area with no fixed boundaries. Once this mission has made sufficient progress it is canonically erected as a prefecture apostolic with clearly demarcated boundaries. The prefect apostolic, however, does not usually enjoy episcopal status. The third stage is the creation of a vicariate apostolic under the care of a vicar apostolic who is usually a titular bishop and is thus referred to as the right reverend. This stage is normally measured by the number of conversions and operative missionaries.

3. Southern Cross, 19 Oct. 1980, 2.

Vicars and prefects apostolic exercise their apostolic office in place of the pope. The territories over which they have control are thus theoretically regarded as "appendages of the Diocese of Rome,"⁽⁴⁾ and the pope himself is thus considered bishop of the mission territory, the vicars and prefects apostolic merely fulfilling his mandate to teach the nations. Up until 1951 this was the position in South Africa. Where possible the title 'bishop' has thus been avoided, and vicars and prefects apostolic have been collectively referred to as 'ordinaries'. According to canon law ordinaries are bishops, vicars and prefects apostolic with episcopal jurisdiction over a definite and limited territory.

It is, however, the task of these ordinaries to prepare and develop their allotted territories until such time as they can be constituted as dioceses. The fourth and final stage is thus the establishment of the ecclesiastical hierarchy which takes the form of an ecclesiastical province under an archbishop or metropolitan and a number of suffragan bishops. The archbishop's title is primarily one of honour although he does have the right of intervention in the affairs of a suffragan bishopric under certain circumstances. The hierarchy was established in South Africa in January 1951.

On a more technical level, in this thesis, the designations black, coloured, and Asian have been used to describe the various non-white race groups. When, however, a different designation has been used in legislation or quotations this has been retained. The original punctuation has also been retained in all quotations.

I wish to acknowledge the assistance of a number of people and institutions who have contributed in some way to the completion of this thesis, which, in accordance with University regulations, I hold to be my own original work. Prof. A.H. Duminy and Mr M.G. Spencer

4. J.C. Garner, 'Organization of the Church in South Africa,' in Fr Agathangelus (ed.), The Catholic Church in Southern Africa (1951), p.xiv.

were of invaluable assistance in supervising this thesis, in aiding with the development of certain ideas, and in supplying constructive and helpful criticism. Dr Rosalind Posel offered many helpful suggestions, collected a number of interesting newspaper articles for me, and gave much friendly encouragement. Sr Brigid Flanagan, associate secretary general of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, made available the material in the Bishops' Conference archives at the Conference headquarters in Pretoria. Sr Michael, also at the Conference headquarters, kindly sent me certain information requested. Fr D.H. St George, OMI, of Emmanuel Cathedral, Durban, allowed me access to his private collection of papers connected with the Church's involvement in black education in Natal. The staff of the Inter-Library Loan section of the University of Natal, Durban, were particularly attentive, and patient, in obtaining source material. The Killie Campbell Africana Library, Don Africana Library, University of Natal Library, Westville and Pinetown Municipal Libraries, and the State Library in Pretoria all provided much valuable information. The Human Sciences Research Council supplied financial assistance; while assistance, and, perhaps more importantly, sustenance of another kind was supplied by my friends over the past two years. Norma Hatcher obligingly consented to type this thesis under much pressure. To all of the above I express my sincere appreciation. Finally, I wish to thank my parents, Henry and Barbara Abraham, for their encouragement, support, and love, without which this thesis would not have been possible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Preface	ii
Abbreviations:	
a. General Abbreviations	viii
b. Abbreviations of Religious Orders	ix
Chapters of Thesis:	
1. Introduction: The Search for Relevance	1
2. The Nationalist Victory and the Need for Security	31
3. Civil Unrest and Race Relations	58
4. Black Education and the Failure of Conciliation	90
5. Grand Apartheid and Black Rejection	125
6. The Church Clause and Condemnation	152
7. Conclusion	174
Appendices:	
1. Members of the Administrative Board, 1948–1957.	181
2. Statistical Information:	
a. Catholic Membership in Racial Categories	183
b. Black Membership of Larger Christian Denominations	184
3. Ecclesiastical Map of Southern Africa, 1951.	185
4. The Plenary Sessions:	
a. Clerics attending 1952 Session.	186
b. Clerics attending 1957 Session.	187
5. Papal letter on Bishops' Mission School Campaign	189
6. Brief Biographies:	
a. Archbishop J.C. Garner	190
b. Archbishop D.E. Hurley, OMI	190
c. Archbishop O. McCann	191
d. Archbishop W.P. Whelan, OMI	192
Bibliography	193

ABBREVIATIONS

a. General Abbreviations

Admin. Board	: Administrative Board .
BBC	: British Broadcasting Corporation.
BCA	: Bishops' Conference Archives.
BNP	: Basutoland National Party.
CAU	: Catholic African Union.
CCSA	: Christian Council of South Africa.
CNO	: Christelik-Nasionale Onderwys.
DRC	: Dutch Reformed Churches.
Ds.	: Dominee.
HE	: His Excellency.
HH	: His Holiness.
JCCAE	: Joint Council of Catholic Africans and Europeans.
KCAL	: Killie Campbell Africana Library.
Mgr	: Monsignor.
Most Rev.	: Most Reverend.
NGK	: Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk.
NHK	: Nederduits Hervormde Kerk.
NNEAB	: Natal Native Education Advisory Board.
NUL	: National University of Lesotho.
OUP	: Oxford University Press.
PU vir CHO	: Potchefstroom Universiteit vir Christelike Hoër Onderwys.
Rev. Fr	: Reverend Father.
Rt Rev.	: Right Reverend.
SACBC	: Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference.
SACC	: South African Council of Churches.
SAIRR	: South African Institute of Race Relations.
Sr	: Sister.
St G.	: St George Papers
UCT	: University of Cape Town
UNESCO	: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation.
UNISA	: University of South Africa.

b. Abbreviations of Religious Orders

CMM	: Congregation of Missionaries of Mariannhill.
CR	: Community of the Resurrection (Anglican).
C.S.Sp.	: Congregation of the Holy Ghost.
CSSR	: Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer (Redemptorists).
FFJ	: Franciscan Familiars of St Joseph.
MFSC	: Missionaries, Sons of the Sacred Heart.
O.Carm.	: Carmelite Fathers.
OFM	: Franciscan Friars Minor.
O.F.M.Cap.	: Order of Franciscan Friars Capuchin.
OMI	: Oblate of Mary Immaculate.
OP	: Order of Preachers (Dominicans).
OSB	: Order of St Benedict.
OSFS	: Oblates of St Francis of Sales.
OSM	: Order of the Servants of Mary (Servites).
SAC	: Society of the Catholic Apostolate (Pallottines).
SCJ	: Congregation of the Sacred Heart.
SJ	: Society of Jesus (Jesuits).
SMB	: Missionary Society of Bethlehem.
SVD	: Society of the Divine Word.
WF	: White Fathers.

NIHIL EST QUOD ECCLESIAE AB INQUISITIONE VERI METUATUR

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: THE SEARCH FOR RELEVANCE

Catholics in South Africa had every reason to greet the Nationalist Party victory in the May 1948 elections with both fear and foreboding. The result of the elections meant the coming to power of a party which had taken on much of the content, form and motivation of the Dutch Reformed Churches (DRC),(1) indeed there appeared to be some truth in the interpretation that the Dutch Reformed Churches were merely the 'Nationalist Party at prayer'.(2) The victory might therefore have been seen by many as the apotheosis of Afrikaner nationalism and a puritanical Calvinist tradition rooted in the vehement anti-Catholicism of the religious revolution of sixteenth century Geneva. Alan Paton, in his biography of Archbishop Clayton, contended that there exists a fundamental antipathy between 'Dutch Reformed Calvinist man and Catholic' in South Africa. The two 'are different creatures with different and irreconcilable ways of looking at man and the world.'(3) The one had now emerged as undisputed master over the other.

While it is clear that the nature of this irreconcilability is essentially theological,(4) it is also manifested in social criticism of things Catholic and it is thus necessary briefly to examine the history of

-
1. The DRC is an umbrella label used to cover all three white Afrikaans churches which owe their theological and historical origins to Calvinist Holland and which are members of the Federal Council of DRC in South Africa. The largest and oldest of these churches is the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK). Following the voortrekker movement beyond the boundaries of the Cape and the jurisdiction of the NGK during the Great Trek, the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk was formed in 1853, and in 1859, as a result of theological controversy in Holland, the Gereformeerde Kerk, or 'Dopper Kerk', was established in Potchefstroom.
 2. W.A. de Klerk, The Puritans in Africa (1975), p.199.
 3. Alan Paton, Apartheid and the Archbishop (1973), p.47.
 4. Vide Oswin Magrath, An introduction to the theology of the Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa for Catholic Students (1956).

the 'Roomse-gevaar' tradition in South Africa as it had exercised, and certainly did exercise during the fifties, a profound influence on developments within the Catholic Church, affecting her very life, witness and mission.

John de Gruchy, in his important contribution to Andrew Prior's Catholics in Apartheid Society (1982), has noted that, while the brand of Calvinism which is at present practiced by the Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa today has been shaped largely by the historical experiences of the Afrikaner - his nationalism, sense of ethnicity and cultural identity - it owes much of its content to the neo-Calvinism of the eminent Dutch theologian Abraham Kuyper. In 1898 Kuyper presented his Lectures on Calvinism at Princeton University in which he stressed the all-embracing nature of the Calvinist 'life-system', thus providing a basis from which Calvinism could also involve itself in social and political developments. This involvement, however, was of a very specific kind. Kuyper developed the idea of 'sphere-sovereignty'. He held that there were three spheres of human activity - state, society and church - all of which were under the sovereignty of God. The consequence of this was that each of the three spheres must remain separate and independent and should not interfere with the affairs of another sphere. This theology therefore expected individual churchmen to involve themselves in political events but not the Church as a corporate body - a belief which does much to explain the nature of the Dutch Reformed response to political events in South Africa. A further element that was of importance to the Kuyperian 'life-system' was the belief that it was in a state of conflict with what he termed 'romanism'. This element was far from novel. Indeed de Gruchy notes that the 'idea that calvinism is in conflict with Rome has been central to Afrikaner calvinism's self-understanding.'⁽⁵⁾

5. John de Gruchy, 'Catholics in a Calvinist Country', in Andrew Prior (ed.), Catholics in Apartheid Society (1982), p.74.

This opposition to Rome accounts for the anomalous fact that, while the early history of European exploration in the African subcontinent is inextricably linked with the expansionist motives of Catholic Portugal, the Catholic Church was the last major Christian creed to begin her missionary effort in South Africa.(6) It was of course Calvinist Hollanders, recent products of the Protestant Revolution, the Thirty Years War, and the Dutch war of independence from Catholic Spain, who settled at the Cape and not the Portuguese. The natural antagonism felt by these settlers towards Catholicism was subsequently supplemented by the arrival of the French Huguenots in 1688.

On 25 July 1804 Commissioner General de Mist declared religious toleration at the Cape in terms of the Kerkenordre. This freedom was short lived - the second British occupation reversed this decision and Sir David Baird ordered the Catholic priests to leave the colony. With the moves toward Catholic emancipation in England, by 1820 Catholics were once again free to worship at the Cape and were soon integrated into the community. It was some eighteen years later, however, that the 'Catholic faith arose again in South Africa.'(7) Bishop Patrick Griffith,(8) the first resident prelate,(9) arrived in 1838.

6. For works on the early history of the Catholic Church in South Africa vide: J.E. Brady, 'Catholic Archives in South Africa', South African Archive Journal V (1963), 52-55; 'The History of the Church in South Africa', in Fr Agathangelus (ed.), The Catholic Church and Southern Africa (1951); and Trekking for Souls (1952). J.B. Brain, Catholic Beginnings in Natal and Beyond (1975); and Catholics in Natal II (1982). W.E. Brown, The Catholic Church in South Africa (1960). Marcel Dischl, Transkei for Christ (1982). P Lajeunesse, 'L'Eglise Catholique en Afrique du Sud', Revue du l'Université d'Ottawa, XXIII (1953), 157-186.

7. J.E. Brady, Trekking for Souls (1952), p.16.

8. The Rt. Rev. Patrick Raymund Griffith, OP: vicar apostolic of the Cape of Good Hope, 1837-1862.

9. The first prefect apostolic of the Cape of Good Hope, the Rev. Fr Johannes Lansink, was expelled by the British after only two years residence in 1806. Some time later, in 1818, Dom Edward Bede Slater, OSB, was appointed vicar apostolic of the Cape, the British Government, however, refused him permission to reside there. As a result his appointment was extended so that, in addition to being first vicar apostolic of the Cape, he was also first vicar apostolic of Mauritius, of Madagascar, and the neighbouring island - which initially included Australia and New Zealand!

While the Catholics might have been tolerated by the Anglo-Dutch inhabitants of Cape Town and its environs, the antipathy for Rome was preserved as an important facet of the Afrikaner mentality by the Voortrekkers who moved into the interior - the Grondwet of 1856, for example, was explicitly anti-Catholic, while laws passed by both the Transvaal and the Orange Free State excluded Catholics from positions in the civil service and education departments.(10)

Despite the fact that no explicitly anti-Catholic legislation was introduced by any Union Government, it is de Gruchy's belief that during the present century Afrikaner Calvinism has hardened in its attitude towards the Catholic Church.(11) As evidence for this Leo Marquard points to the importance of 'Reformation Sunday' - celebrating the virtues of Protestantism and the break with the Church of Rome - in the Dutch Reformed calendar.(12) Further, in the months preceeding the outbreak of the Second World War Die Kerkbode(13) clearly regarded the two great dangers confronting the world and South Africa not as Nazism and Fascism, but Communism and Catholicism.(14) With regard to Afrikanerdom, perhaps there was some truth in this belief. Both Communism and Catholicism are essentially universal or internationalist creeds advocating the brotherhood of all men and are thus a threat to the exclusivist and ethnocentric nature of Afrikaner nationalism.

Notwithstanding the hardening of anti-Catholic feeling, the Church made tremendous advances during the first half of the present century. In recognition of these advances, both in terms of

10. W.E. Brown, The Catholic Church in South Africa (1960), p.188.

11. John de Gruchy, op.cit., p.76.

12. Leo Marquard, The Peoples and Policies of South Africa (1969), p. 225.

13. Die Kerkbode (The Church Message) is the official newspaper of the NGK.

14. Alan Paton, op.cit., p.91.

organisation and of converts, Pope Pius XI(15) issued a decree erecting the Apostolic Delegation(16) in South Africa on 7 December 1922. The first apostolic delegate, Archbishop Gijswyk(17) took up residence in Bloemfontein the following year. In pursuence of his duty of encouraging contact and communication between the ordinaries in the Delegation, Archbishop Gijswyk, and his successor, Archbishop Lucas,(18) presided over a series of conventus regionis, regional assemblies or conferences. While the function of these conferences was purely advisory, they served an important task of consolidating and co-ordinating missionary activity. Prior to the arrival of the Apostolic Delegation only two such conferences had been held. After 1922, however, conferences were held at Kimberley (1927), Johannesburg (1933), Cape Town (1938) and Mariannhill (1947).

-
15. H H, Pope Pius XI: born Ambrogio Damiano Achille Ratti in 1857; ordained a priest in 1879; appointed nuncio to Poland in 1919; appointed cardinal and elected archbishop of Milan in 1921; elected pope in February 1922; died in February 1939.
 16. The Holy See is usually represented in a country in which the Church enjoys a fair degree of order and organisation. This representation may take three forms. The first is a legatus a latere who is a cardinal acting on behalf of the Pope with a definite mission to fulfil. The second alternative is a nuncio or an internuncio who represents the Holy See in countries with whom it enjoys diplomatic relations. The final alternative is an apostolic delegate in a country with whom the Holy See has no diplomatic relations. While apostolic delegates represent the pope and take precedence over all bishops, vicars and prefects apostolic, their office is almost entirely advisory. Canon law specifically notes that the apostolic delegate must leave to the ordinaries the free exercise of their jurisdiction. "In the territories assigned to them, they (the apostolic delegates) should watch carefully over the state of the Church, and keep the Holy See informed regarding the same." (Canon 267)'. Vide J.C. Garner, 'Organization of the Church in South Africa', in Fr. Agathangelus (ed.), The Catholic Church in Southern Africa (1951), p.XIX.
 17. HE, the Most Rev. Bernard Jordan Gijswyk, OP: apostolic delegate to Southern Africa, 1922-1944.
 18. HE, the Most Rev. Martin Lucas, SVD: apostolic delegate to Southern Africa, 1945-1952; later apostolic internuncio to India, and apostolic delegate to Scandinavia.

The Mariannhill conference of 1947, held under the presidency of Archbishop Lucas, who had, since 1946, moved the headquarters of the Apostolic Delegation to Pretoria, was perhaps the most important since 1922. It witnessed the establishment of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC). When announcing the formation of this Bishops' Conference, Archbishop Lucas proposed that it would be an essentially voluntary association with the aim of serving the common interests of the Church in South Africa. While the directives and resolutions of the Bishops' Conference were merely to be of a consultative nature, of themselves having no binding force on the ordinaries or their subjects, it was proposed that an executive of the Bishops' Conference would suggest and initiate activities on behalf of all the member ordinaries. The ordinaries constituting this executive, initially limited to four and known as the Administrative Board, were also to head particular departments of the Conference.⁽¹⁹⁾ In 1947 the four departments were the Church Interest Department, the Education Department, the Native Department, and the Press Department.⁽²⁰⁾ The function of the Administrative Board was further elaborated at its first meeting where the members determined that the Board would define the general policy of the entire Bishops' Conference, and carry out the decisions in detail. It also intended to give a lead and guidance in matters of common interest. If this action was to take the form of formal statements or representation it was to be the responsibility of the Board. All members of the Bishops' Conference were to be informed of the activities of the Board through the office of a General secretariate.

19. The SACBC, initially known as the Conference of the Catholic Bishops of Africa, in its structure and organisation, was based on the National Catholic Welfare Conference of the United States of America formed during the 1920s. This latter conference was so successful that the Holy See recommended that national churches throughout the Catholic world emulate the American example.
Roger Aubert (ed.), The Church in a Secularised Society (1978), p.292.

20. For changes in both the name and number of these departments, as well as members of the Admin. Board, during the period 1948-1957, vide Appendix 1.

It is indicative of the extent to which the Church had rooted herself in South Africa that two of the five members of the Board in 1948 were South African born. Indeed, when the encyclical Rerum Ecclesiae was issued in 1926, by the 'Pope of the Missions', Pius XI, extolling the need for local-born clergy and ordinaries in the mission field, two South Africans had already been elevated to the episcopacy in this country.(21) The Church had made undeniable progress in winning converts and offering candidates for the priesthood during the period 1911 to 1951. Indeed during those forty years the Catholic population of the Union increased by some 378% while the total population increased by 81% for the same period.(22) By 1948 the Church was perceptibly passing from the 'baptismal period' of her development to the 'youthful period', a period in which a definite commitment to the tenets of the Christian faith is evident.

From a structural point of view this time is vital. It is a time in which missionaries in increasing number hand over control to local personnel. It is a time in which a necessarily transferred Church becomes a rooted one.(23)

Perhaps the most striking consequences of this growth, however, was that over the period from 1911 to 1951, the Church had changed from a primarily 'white' Church to an overwhelmingly 'black' Church as far as the laity were concerned.(24) This fact leads to the second fear of Catholics concerning the Nationalist victory in the 1948 elections - what would the impact be on black Catholics in particular and race relations in general?

21. The Rt Rev. David O'Leary, OMI: vicar apostolic of the Transvaal, 1925-1950; and the Rt Rev. Cornelius Bernard O'Riley: vicar apostolic of the Cape of Good Hope, 1925-1932. (The first elevation to the episcopacy of a South African by birth had in fact taken place some time previously. The appointment however, was not in South Africa but to the diocese of Brentwood in England.)

22. Vide Appendix 2a.

23. Colin B. Collins, Catholic Bantu Education (1957), p.4.

24. Vide Appendix 2a. For a comparison with developments in the Protestant churches vide Appendix 2b.

The direction which a number of influential clerics within Church had been hoping South Africa's race policy would take had been made clear some time previously. Fr McCann⁽²⁵⁾ editor of the Southern Cross had captured the expectancy and anticipation felt by most white South Africans on the occasion of the opening of the 1948 session of Parliament of the Smuts Government. 'We are in a sense at the crossroads,' said Fr McCann referring to the future integration, or lack thereof, of the black in South African social, political and economic life. 'Either they (the Parliamentarians) will be directed towards a just solution of the problem, or they will set us on the road to civil disturbances that may well amount to civil war.'⁽²⁶⁾ Fr McCann, echoing the sentiments of the Bishops' Conference in advocating a gradualist or evolutionary solution to the problem of black integration, stressed the need for a 'well-defined and just' policy which would, in time, reconstitute the social pattern of society.

The publication of the report of the Fagan commission was thus eagerly awaited as it would, it was assumed, supply the necessary information needed for a 'just' policy. The commission, otherwise known as the Native Laws Commission, had been appointed in 1946 under the chairmanship of Justice Fagan. Its purpose was to inquire into the laws relating to blacks in urban areas, the pass laws, and the migratory labour system. Central to any meaningful dispensation, in Fr McCann's view, was the acceptance of the permanence of black urbanisation. Indeed Fr McCann could not have emphasised the Church's opinion on this point more vehemently. He indicated that 'we would insist once again that the establishment of a stabilised

25. The Rev. Fr Owen McCann: editor of the Southern Cross, 1941-1948; later vicar apostolic of Cape Town, 1950-1951; archbishop of Cape Town, 1951-1984; nominated assistant at the pontifical throne in 1960, and created cardinal in 1965. For a more detailed account of his life vide Appendix 6c.

26. Southern Cross, 14 Jan. 1948, 4.

labour force is imperative for the well-being not only of the Africans but also of the whole community... and, an abandonment of that (migratory labour) policy is absolutely necessary.'(27)

Given the fact that the Southern Cross was the official mouthpiece of the ordinaries, it is understandable that Fr McCann's editorial reflected the issues uppermost in the minds of the members of the Administrative Board of the Bishops' Conference. The problems of migratory labour and black urbanisation were obviously of vital importance to the prelates as they determined the quality of life of nearly all the black members of the Catholic Church - who then numbered about 68% of total membership. Bishop Grueter,(28) for example, as director of the Department of Native Affairs of the Administrative Board, was responsible for a survey, then being undertaken, of the conditions experienced in urban locations. The implementation of certain recommendations of the final report, compiled from replies to questionnaires circulated to missionary and town priests involved with the black laity, did much to improve the pastoral care of the migrant labourer and his family.(29)

Nevertheless, the Administrative Board did not merely address itself to the superficial symptoms of the malady, but was equally concerned with what it then saw as the cause. In a sense, the Board shared Fr McCann's sentiment that the country was at the crossroads. The apostolic delegate announced at the sixth meeting of the Administrative Board in February 1948 that he intended asking the

27. Ibid., 4.

28. The Rt Rev. Joseph Grueter, CMM: vicar apostolic of Umtata, 1941-1951; bishop of Umtata, 1951-1968.

29. BCA; AV1, meeting of 6 Nov. 1947 and 12/13 Feb. 1948,

professors at St Joseph's Scholasticate(30) to prepare a statement embodying the views and teachings of the Catholic Church, on inter alia, the colour bar and Catholic doctrine; and social justice with special reference to domestic servants and commercial employees.(31) At the May 1948 meeting of the Board the apostolic delegate indicated that a statement on the colour bar had been prepared in outline. Due, however, to his impending trip to Europe, and, doubtlessly, the forthcoming general election, he suggested that the matter be postponed for the time being.(32)

The publication in March 1948 of the Fagan report and its subsequent endorsement by Smuts and the United Party immediately prior to the May election would obviously have received the support of the Church ordinaries, given their views on the need for the stabilization of black labour and its economic development in the urban areas. However, it was the Sauer report combined with the independent spirit of the Afrikaner elite(33) which captured the imagination of a considerable sector of the white electorate. The Nationalists, under Malan, were returned to power, committed to the rejection of the Fagan report and all that it implied. The ensuing 36 years has witnessed continual struggle between the advocates and the opponents of apartheid. The Catholic Church was inevitably caught up in this contest and this thesis, which concentrates on the ensuing nine years, deals with the crucial phase during which she gradually reached the conclusion that her duty lay in opposing the state.

30. St Joseph's Scholasticate was founded in 1943 for the training of Oblate priests in Natal. While initially situated at Prestburg, it was moved to Cleland in 1947, and to Cedara in 1953.

31. BCA; AV1, meeting of 12/13 Feb. 1948.

32. Ibid., meeting of 6 May 1948.

33. Hermann Giliomee, 'The Nationalist Party and the Afrikaner Broederbond', in R.M. Price and C.G. Rosberg (eds.), The Apartheid Regime (1980), p.18.

The question of the relationship between church and state was one which had confronted the Church for centuries. St. Paul laid down what has become the textus classicus in the debate on church - state relations:

Let every person be subject to the governing authorities. For there is no authority except from God, and those that exist have been instituted by God. Therefore he who resists the authorities resists what God has appointed, and those who resist will incur judgement.(34)

An uncritical acceptance of this biblical passage has resulted in what is termed a 'reactionary' stance on church - state relations, a stance which is widely supported by white South Africans today.(35) The view holds that the jurisdiction of the church is merely over spiritual matters while the state is supreme within the political domain and invites no interference from the church in this sphere. This interpretation appears to give justification to the contention that the Christian churches are merely adjuncts of the state. A Catholic biblical scholar, Paul Mikat, in his contribution to Karl Rahner's Sacramentum Mundi, rejects this simplistic view. Rather, he holds, the passage cited above must be seen in terms of the whole spirit and content of the new Testament as well as the historical tradition of the Church. In particular he calls for a comparison with Revelation XIII - XIV which presents a picture of the material forces of evil arrayed against the church and the

34. Romans XIII, 1-2.

35. Ern  W.D. Young, 'A Theological reflection on Church/State relations in South Africa today', Journal of Theology for Southern Africa, I (1972), 38.

church's rejection of these forces. Further, Catholic tradition holds that, while civil authority is to be affirmed and respected because it comes ultimately from God, it is not supreme. The state does not have complete dominion; it is the duty of the church to forever check the state's abuse of authority.(36)

Given this mandate therefore, and given the fact that during the present century civil governments have on numerous occasions abused their authority, the Church has been forced to redefine her role and function in secular society. This need for redefinition has been most acutely felt by the Church of the Third World. Facing problems of mass exploitation, institutionalised violence and dire poverty, many within the Church have responded in a manner that is altogether different from that of their fellow Christians in the more prosperous West. In 1963, during the second session of the Vatican Council, Dom Helder Camara, one of the pioneering figures in the Church's social commitment in the Third World, characterized this new understanding of the Church's mission:

...it is imperative, in the name of the gospel, to make the underdeveloped masses aware of their human dignity, of their rights, because it is impossible to elevate them to a human level until they are conscious of living at a sub-human level, until they are aware of their right to a better life, one which is worthy of man. This is our Christian duty, quite apart from all local and contingent circumstances. It is our duty as Christians and bearers of the message of Christ, even if there were no agitation and revolutionary

36. Paul Mikat, 'Church and State', in Karl Rahner (ed.), Encyclopedia of Theology (1975), p.228.

intrigue (and there is), even if communism were not at work (and it is). We must open the eyes of the deprived masses to their misery, and tell them: No, the life you live is not just, something must be done...(37)

This charter would readily be endorsed by the Catholic Church in the South Africa of the 1980s. While it is true to say that the Church is still involved in a quest for relevance and a clearer definition of her role in a divided society, she has, in a sense, committed herself to the mission enunciated by Dom Camara. This search for relevance and definition forms the central theme of this thesis, for the need for critical self-appraisal began in earnest in the decade immediately following the Nationalist party victory in the 1948 general elections. During the following ten years the Church in South Africa was confronted with all of the dominant problems and issues which were to determine her future growth and development.

Before discussing the actual historical events themselves, however, it is necessary to provide, in broad outline, a schema of the changing relations between the Catholic Church and modern secular society, for such an overview would allow for an appreciation both of the principles which guided the Church's response to apartheid legislation during 1948-1957, and the factors which have determined the nature of the Church in contemporary South Africa.

Historians of modern Catholicism discern three clear stages which have characterized the nature of the relations between the Catholic Church and the modern world.(38) By 'modern' is meant the world after the French Revolution, for that event brought about a 'specific revolution in thought, politics, and economics which radically altered the material and social conditions and the consciousness of people

37. Helder Camara, The Church and Colonialism (1969), p.42.

38. Vide Bill McSweeney, Roman Catholicism: The Search for Relevance (1980); and Karl von Aretin, The Papacy and the Modern World (1970)

whose way of life was structured by them.'(39) The result was a disjunction between religion and the demands of everyday life. Before 1789 religion and the social order were inextricably linked, after the event, however, such relevance was seriously questioned.

Up until the death of Pope Pius IX(40) in 1878, the Church's response to this new society was one of complete rejection, and was accompanied by the development of a 'ghetto-mentality' amongst the committed Catholic populace of Europe. Catholics were to organize their lives in such a way so as to protect them from the influence of non-Catholic ideas and attitudes. The dominant sentiments of the period are best expressed by Pio Nono in the Syllabus Errorum of 1864, '"If anyone thinks that the Roman Pontiff can and should reconcile and accommodate himself to progress, liberalism and modern civilization, let him be anathema.'"(41)

The Catholicism of Pio Nono inevitably failed. Not only was the Church faced by enemies without, but the most subversive element were the Catholics within. Of necessity, Catholics living in nineteenth century Europe were forced to take account of a world of capitalism, democracy and science. As a result, Catholics were often placed in the untenable position of professing a faith and upholding religious beliefs in direct opposition to these developments. The only response of the papacy was to further the encouragement of popular religious worship and increase bureaucratic control in the person of the pope - the bull Ineffabilis proclaimed the Dogma of Immaculate Conception in

39. Bill McSweeney, op.cit., p.23.

40. H H , Pope Pius IX (Pio Nono): born Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti in 1792, elected bishop of Spoleto in 1827, and bishop of Imola in 1832; created cardinal in 1840; elected pope in 1846; died in 1878 - the longest pontificate in history.

41. Bill McSweeney, op.cit., p.22.

1854, while in 1879 the Dogma of Papal Infallibility was declared. These moves were merely the last desperate attempt to return to the world of the Middle Ages, a period which was nostalgically conceived of as having been the 'golden age' of Catholic Christendom. The attempt was in vain, the world was not reconciled to the Church and at the end of his life Pío Nono conceded "'I can see that everything has changed; my system and my policies have had their day, but I am too old to change my course; that will be the task of my successor.'"(42)

His successor did indeed change the course, and in so doing initiated the second stage of Church - world relations. This stage, which McSweeney terms the 'Leonine strategy', stretched from 1878 to 1958 and is thus of particular importance for this discussion as it provides an outline in terms of which the events described in the body of the thesis must be seen.

Pope Leo XIII(43) had a particular interest in social questions and the condition of the working class. His first encyclical letter, Quod apostolici muneris, dwelt on these issues - in particular he warned against the dangers of socialism, although failing to offer any viable alternative. In 1881, however, he willingly accepted the establishment of the Fribourg Union - a group of Catholic social leaders from several European countries under the chairmanship of the bishop of Fribourg, Mgr Mermillod - whose aim was to develop an industrial and social strategy appropriate to the Catholic Church. The milestone

42. Ibid., p.59.

43. H H , Pope Leo XIII: born Vincenzo Gioacchino Pecci in 1810; ordained a priest in 1837; appointed nuncio to Belgium 1843-46; bishop of Perugia, 1846-1878; elected pope in 1878; died in July 1903.

encyclical Rerum Novarum (1891) was based largely on discussions Leo had with this group.

The pressure within the Church for a definitive statement on the social question had been mounting for some time. Of particular influence was the work of the Frenchman Léon Harmel, who operated a spinning factory at Val-des-Bois, on lines which embodied a radical critique of economic liberalism within the framework of orthodox Catholicism. Since 1885, Harmel had been organizing pilgrimages of employers and workers to the Vatican in an attempt to influence the pope to encourage some degree of Catholic involvement in the social and economic issues facing an industrialized Europe. Further, in 1887, Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore came out in support of the American 'Knights of Labor' movement which Rome had previously suspected of fostering revolution and communism; while in 1889, Cardinal Manning of Westminster played a pivotal role in the resolution of the London dock strike.

Thus it was that Rerum Novarum, when published, was greeted by most thinking Catholics with a considerable degree of jubilation. 'For the first time', comments McSweeney, 'the world was treated with respect and its relationship with the Church was acknowledged as being problematic for both parties.'⁽⁴⁴⁾ While it is undeniable that the pope was motivated by political expediency and the assumed threat which communism presented to the Church, this does not detract from the importance of the encyclical. Although the encyclical unquestionably accepted the right to private property and an unequal distribution of wealth, what is significant about Rerum Novarum was that it introduced an element of distributive justice into Catholic teaching. No longer was social concern relegated to the sphere of human charity and alms-giving. Further, the pope held that liberal

44. Bill McSweeney, op.cit., p.75.

capitalism had certain social responsibilities which included firm state action to protect the poor and the weak. Paternalistically and conservatively the encyclical declared that 'there underlies a dictate of natural justice more imperious and ancient than any bargain between man and man, namely, that wages ought not to be insufficient to support a frugal and well-behaved wage-earner.'⁽⁴⁵⁾ Perhaps most surprisingly, the encyclical supported the right of the worker to form trade unions and to take strike action if the situation demanded it. The encyclical, contends Archbishop Hurley, 'set the tone for all subsequent Catholic social teaching.'⁽⁴⁶⁾

Rerum Novarum must be seen in terms of the Catholic Action movement inaugurated by Leo XIII in an attempt to shake off the ghetto mentality of the Pio Nono era. The movement, which received its final form under Popes Pius X and Pius XI, resulted in the formation of numerous organisations, including youth clubs, co-operatives, trade unions, and even political parties in certain European countries. Indeed the primary aim of Catholic Action was political. On the one hand, it was hoped, the Church proper would be able to distance herself from direct involvement in politics, while on the other, through clerical supervision and control over lay Catholic organisations, she would still maintain considerable indirect influence. The movement thus developed, von Aretin contends, 'into an instrument of papal absolutism and as such placed the organisation of the laity... under the hierarchy and papal control.'⁽⁴⁷⁾

45. English translation, The Workers' Charter (1910), p.33.

46. Denis E. Hurley, 'Catholic Social Teaching and Ideology', in Andrew Prior (ed.), Catholics in Apartheid Society (1982), p.26.

47. Karl von Aretin, The Papacy and the Modern World (1970), p.186.

With regard to active political participation, the pontificate of Leo XIII is also important as, for the first time, Leo laid down the principle that the Church was committed to no particular form of government. In the encyclical Immortale Dei (1885), he stated that provided justice is safe-guarded, nations are free to adopt any form of government that is appropriate to their culture and historical traditions. This view has since been theoretically upheld apart for a few notable exceptions.

Two such exceptions were papal reaction to communism and Nazism. The papacy, given its unequivocal support to the right to private property, had never condoned communism under any form. The attack against communism became increasingly vitriolic during the first few decades of the present century, reaching its climax with the proclaimed excommunication of all communists formulated by Pope Pius XII on 1 July 1949. With regard to the racist and nationalistic excesses of Nazism, Pope Pius XI, in his famous encyclical Mit brennender Sorge (1937), unreservedly denounced the Nazi regime.

The pontificate of Pius XI has a further significance as far as the social question is concerned, for on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of Rerum Novarum in 1931 the pope published the encyclical Quadregesimo anno. Although basically an extension of Leo's social teaching, there were certain major differences. Not only did Pius criticise socialism, but he also warned against the excesses of capitalism. Further, the encyclical advocated a redistribution of national wealth based on corporativist principles, and better integration of workers into their factories by means of co-partnership and profit sharing.

Pius XI's successor and namesake Pius XII⁽⁴⁸⁾ did not publish a social encyclical, and, if anything, his pontificate marks a greater caution on the socio-political level than had been the case since the death of Pius IX in 1878. Pius XII moved against communism, repudiated 'progressive Christians', was unsympathetic to co-partnership in industry, and put an end, albeit temporarily, to the worker-priest experiment in France on the grounds - which was undeniable in some cases - that there had developed, among such priests, a significant drift towards Marxism.

It was however clear that Leonine Catholicism, by the 1950s, was under severe strain. On the theological front the 'modernist' tradition was reasserting itself while important developments were taking place within the social sphere. Secular agencies were now fulfilling many of the tasks traditionally associated with the Church, ideas were being relativised by an increasingly sophisticated mass media, and social scientists were showing that there was an apparent lack of commitment amongst Catholics in Western countries. Affluence and individualism were also much in evidence in a world facing up to the consequences of the Second World War. The result was that the death of Pius XII, the last of the 'emperor-popes', in 1958 marked the end of old-style Catholicism.

On 28 October Cardinal Roncalli, a man known for his moderation and open-mindedness, was elected Pope John XXIII.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Some three months later the pope announced that he intended calling an ecumenical council of the Church. The Second Vatican Council was

48. H H , Pope Pius XII: born Eugenio Pacelli in 1876; ordained in 1899; appointed nuncio to the Bavarian court in 1917, and to Berlin in 1925; created a cardinal and appointed secretary of state in 1929; elected pope in 1939; died in October 1958.

49. H H , Pope John XXIII: born Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli in 1881; ordained a priest in 1904; served in the Vatican diplomatic corp in Bulgaria, 1925-1935, Greece and Turkey, 1935-1944, and France 1944-1953; created a cardinal and elected patriarch of Venice in 1953; elected pope in 1958; died in June 1963.

consequently opened in 1962 and only ended in 1965 during the pontificate of John's successor. Of the Council, Archbishop Hurley comments:

Vatican II was a watershed in the history of the Catholic Church. We leave on the far side of the watershed a church gazing heavenwards, wrapped in her isolation and identified with her bishops, priests and religions. On this side of the watershed we are swept along in a somewhat turbulent church, still gazing heavenwards but taking in as well the terrestrial scene, shedding her isolation and recognising that the bulk of herself is made up of the laity.(50)

With regard to relations between the Church and secular society, the most important production of the Council was Gaudium et Spes, the pastoral constitution of the Church in the modern world. From the rejection of the world during the Pio Nono era, and competition with the world following the pontificate of Leo XIII, there evolved the Church of John XXIII which finally 'embraces' the world. Christians, it was now held, must love the world, involve themselves with its problems, and contribute towards its achievements.

The pontificate of John XXIII was of further significance in that he published two crucial encyclicals on social questions. Mater et Magistra (1961) stressed the necessary balance required between the personal and social dimensions of property and economic activity. It encouraged worker participation in industrial management and called for a serious consideration of the economic inequality that existed between developed and underdeveloped countries. The second encyclical, Pacem in Terris (1963), laid down certain norms and rights governing relations between the individual and the society, as well as between nations in the international arena.

50. Denis E. Hurley, Op.cit., p.35.

His successor, Paul VI,(51) concerned himself with similar issues in his great social encyclical Populorum Progressio (1967) in which he called for increased aid and commitment to the problems of the Third World as well as a serious revision of some of the fundamental assumptions of liberal capitalism - he vehemently castigated a system "which considers profit as the key motive for economic progress, competition as the supreme law of economics, and private ownership of the means of production as an absolute right that has no limits and carries no corresponding social obligations."(52)

The theological and social freedom made available by the Church of the aggiornamento, however, has also served to divide modern Catholicism. These divisions, McSweeney pessimistically assumes,(53) have lead to almost irreconcilable contradictions; for others, such as Frey Betto, a liberation theologian in Sao Paulo, 'the Church is big enough to allow internal contradictions.'(54) Despite this debate it is clear that the Church is indeed divided into four distinct, although not necessarily mutually exclusive, units. The majority of Catholics, McSweeney holds, remain unattached to any particular and specialist alliance within the Church. This group, in tolerating the goals and interests of all, is essentially the product of the Second Vatican Council and is characterised by the label 'theological individualism'.

51. H H , Pope Paul VI: born Giovanni Battista Montini in 1897; ordained priest in 1920; appointed papal under-secretary of state in 1939; elected archbishop of Milan in 1954; created cardinal in 1958; elected pope in June 1963; died in August 1978.

52. Denis E. Hurley, op.cit., p.37.

53. Bill McSweeney, op.cit., pp.253-5.

54. Gaurdian, 21 October 1984.

Of the remaining three groups, all are committed to a particular line of action which they believe the Church should be following. Charismatic Catholicism aims at Christian renewal through a renewal of the liturgical life of the Church and owes much of its origins to Protestant Pentacostalism and thus neglects both traditional doctrine and social ethics. Traditionalist Catholicism aims primarily at a return to the form and content of a pre-Vatican Council Catholicism; while liberation theology is an essentially political Catholicism⁽⁵⁵⁾ which believes in a manifest social commitment by the Church. Because of the impact of the last of these groups on developments within the Church in South Africa, it deserves further discussion.

While the Catholicism of the 'old' Church had a strong political message - as indeed do the charismatic and traditionalist movements of the modern Church - this message tended to be conservative and essentially covert. The aim of liberation theology, however, is to transform the Church into a movement for the elimination of social and political injustice and thereby to effect a change in the structure of society along more or less socialist lines.

While this is not the place to discuss the motives of those who practice liberation theology, or to evaluate this brand of contemporary Catholicism, it is advantageous to the body of the thesis to make brief mention of the development of this theology in Latin America - its undisputed spawning ground.

The roots of the movement may be traced to the introduction of Catholic Action in Brazil during the 1920s. It was the social and economic consequences created by modernization in the turbulent

55. While McSweeney prefers the label 'political Catholicism' to describe this strand within contemporary Catholicism, it is felt that 'liberation theology' is more appropriate as it makes a definite differentiation from conservative brands of political Catholicism. A further label to describe the movement is 'developmental theology'.

years following the Second World War which pitched Brazil into an almost permanent crisis situation and thus alerted many of the Church authorities to the pressing need for active involvement in the social problems of the country. Shortly after this need became apparent, however, certain militant branches of the Catholic Action movement broke away from an increasingly liberal episcopacy to commit themselves unequivocally to a brand of revolutionary socialism.

During the early 1960s the movement was given further impetus on two fronts. In the first place Gaudium et Spes and the social encyclicals of Pope John XXIII, rather than condemning revolutionary Marxism out of hand, showed a remarkable willingness to identify themselves with similar problems that Marxists were attempting to solve - in particular the apparently genuine concern for the problems confronting the peoples of the underdeveloped or Third World. The second development which served further to activate the supporters of liberation theology was the conservative military coup d'etat in Brazil in 1964. This event introduced an increasingly repressive regime in that country, and many within the Catholic leadership - both lay and clerical - appeared to support it. The result was that the Catholic movement for radical change became more articulate and militant. Some became disillusioned with the role of the Church in this process, feeling that she was perhaps an inadequate vehicle for radical social change and thus abandoned their ministry. (56)

-
56. A Catholic priest ministering in South Africa who firmly supported the approach of liberation theology, and who subsequently left the ministry, was Cosmas Desmond. This priest was actively involved in the local Limehill resettlement scheme. He exposed the inequities of the whole resettlement process in his work The Discarded People (1969). For this he was banned by the Nationalist government for five years. Following this experience he returned to England, his home country, married, and took up a position with the British branch of Amnesty International - an organisation of which he became the sometime head. In 1978 he published a particularly influential work on the role of the Church in apartheid South Africa entitled Christians or Capitalists? Christianity and Politics in South Africa.

Many, however, have opted to remain within the Church. Gonzalo Arrayo, a Jesuit priest and founder member of the 'Christians for Socialism' movement started in Chile in 1972, has commented: "We aim at a Church in solidarity with the interests and struggles of the workers but without breaking with the present church."(57) Through liberation theology - a theology which is of necessity improving and changing all the time according to the experiences and needs of the people(58) - these movements within the Church have been actively calling for and involving themselves in the struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist system. This objective has, of necessity, forced many to enter into what Gustavo Gutierrez terms a 'fruitful confrontation with Marxism'(59) in order to furnish the necessary intellectual framework and methodology for the new orientation.

The impact of these developments on the Catholic Church throughout the world in the 1970s has been undeniable. The consciousness of the committed Catholic laity and clergy has become decidedly more sensitive to the political dimension of religion and now reflects an understanding of social issues that is more liberal than has even been the case in the past history of the Church.

Because of the similarity of the struggle, events in Latin America, combined with the developments in the teachings on the social question by the Vatican over the past twenty-five years, have had a profound impact on the Catholic Church in South Africa and her reaction to the apartheid policies of the Nationalist government. In

57. Bill McSweeney, op.cit., p.201.

58. This view was presented by Fr Francis Pimental Pinto, an active supporter of liberation theology, in a BBC World Service report 'The Vatican and Liberation Theology', broadcast in September 1984.

59. Gustavo Gutierrez, A Theology of Liberation (1973), p.9.

the late 1960s and early 1970s, for example, national councils of laity and priests were established in an effort seriously to attempt to apply the precepts of Catholic morality to public life. Further, the Bishops' Conference has established numerous new secretariates dealing with all aspects of life in South Africa today. The Church has involved herself in industrial relations, 'development', and the problems of 'justice and reconciliation'. She has also entered into serious ecumenical dialogue with the members of most other religious denominations involving themselves in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. Efforts are also repeatedly being made by the Church hierarchy to educate the South African laity on the need for change. In this regard, mention must be made of the pastoral letters of 1960 and 1966, and the Call to Conscience of 1972. Of supreme importance, however, is the Declaration of Commitment issued by the Catholic bishops of Southern Africa, then assembled in plenary session, to all the faithful in the country in February 1977. This Declaration was undoubtedly the climax in the thirty year history of the Church's involvement in the political environment of apartheid South Africa.

The Catholic Church, now the single largest communion or 'denomination' in the country,(60) was not merely condemning race discrimination. Rather she was calling for the restructuring of the entire society:

...Realising that South Africa has entered a critical phase in the rejection by the majority of its people of a social and political system of oppression, we add our corporate voice as leaders of the Catholic Church in this country to the cry for a radical revision of the system...

60. According to the 1980 census 9.5% of all South Africans (excluding the 'independent' homelands) were Catholic, and of this number 16.7% were white (8.7% of the white population), 71.2% black (9.9% of blacks), 11.2% 'coloured' (10.1% of 'coloureds') and 0.9% Asian (2.6% of Asians). South Africa 1984 - Official Yearbook (1984), 788-92.

We affirm that in this we are on the side of the oppressed and, as we have committed ourselves to working within our Church for a clearer expression of solidarity with the poor and deprived, so we commit ourselves equally to working for peace through justice in fraternal collaboration with all other churches, agencies and persons dedicated to this cause.

We again profess our conviction, so often repeated, that the only solution of our racial tensions consists in conceding full citizen and human rights to all persons in the Republic not by choice on the false grounds of colour, but on the common humanity of all men, taught by our Lord Jesus Christ.(61)

The implications of the Declaration for the future of the Church are not as yet clear. There remain those within the Church who are vehemently opposed to the increasing political involvement or 'materialism' of certain members of the clergy. Charismatics and traditionalists are usually implicitly conservative and thus castigate many of the clergy for abrogating the primary obligation of priesthood - to care for and nurture the spiritual capacity of each human being.* A number of these politically conservative white Catholics have actually gone so far as to organise themselves into a Catholic Defense League, described as a 'lily-white organization similar to McCarthyite groups in the United States during the 1950s.'(62) The hierarchy has come out unequivocally against these movements and appears determined to continue what it sees as an essentially 'reconciliatory' mission. The ultimate purpose or effectiveness of this mission has however been seriously criticised.

Cosmas Desmond, for one, holds that by addressing herself to the symptoms inherent within an essentially evil society, such as racial prejudice and discrimination, the Church is merely fulfilling a

61. Declaration of Commitment (1977), pp.1-2.

62. Marjorie Hope and James Young, The South African Churches in a Revolutionary Situation (1983), p.160.

reformist role and is thus no great threat to the status quo.⁽⁶³⁾ There are however some white Catholics, and most radical black clergy, according to Archbishop Hurley,⁽⁶⁴⁾ in South Africa today who readily endorse what Desmond terms the 'socialist option'. These Catholics accept that 'the Church must become the Church of the oppressed,'⁽⁶⁵⁾ in other words adopt a black understanding of the role of the Church - in short sympathize with the charter of liberation theology or its African variant, 'black theology'.

Despite confusion and debate over the reformist or revolutionary options available to the Church in the future, both in South Africa and in the world at large, it is clear that the Church in this country has, in a very limited and defined sense, adopted what José Comblin terms a strategy of liberation. Comblin, a Belgian theologian and social critic who has lived and worked in Latin America since 1958, has studied the position of the Church vis-a-vis the national security state.⁽⁶⁶⁾ In The Church and the National Security State (1979), he has suggested four possible options that might be adopted by the Church when responding to such a regime - two of which have been entertained in South Africa and shall thus be discussed.

63. Cosmas Desmond, Christian or Capitalists? (1978), p.74.

64. Southern Cross, 18 Nov. 1984, 5.

65. Cosmas Desmond, op.cit., p.150.

66. Although Comblin's study was confined to a discussion of events in Latin America, Albert Nolan, Provincial of the Dominican Order in Southern Africa, in his contribution to Andrew Prior's recently published Catholics in Apartheid Society (1982), suggests that the original Afrikaner nationalism is in the process of being transformed into a national security ideology. He notes that the following ideas form the basis of this ideology: the state is considered supreme and absolute; the enemy of the state is seen as international communism; consequently the state is understood to be facing a total onslaught and must therefore engage in total war in pursuance of her highest aim or goal, security and survival; and finally a National Security Council exists which exercises veto powers over the decisions of any government department. Albert Nolan, 'The Political and Social Context', pp.8-9.

The first option Comblin terms the conservative strategy. Salvation in terms of this strategy is seen as the Church using all means at her disposal to save the heritage of the past. What is desired is not radical change but the return to the past or the maintenance of a conservative status quo. In order to realise this aim, as well as maintaining her own security, a conservative strategy would require that the Church accepted or sought the support of a conservative state. With this aim in mind, the Church would avoid causing any problems with the government in power - unless it was absolutely necessary because of a direct and unequivocal conflict with the word of God. Further, in order to protect her secure and privileged position in the national security state, she would, of necessity, favour the upper and middle classes upon whom the support of the government rests rather than show solidarity with the lower classes.

The other strategy is the strategy of liberation. This strategy is the polar opposite of the conservative strategy, for instead of relying on the support of the upper classes and the state, the Church actively identifies with the lower classes, the oppressed people. Given the premise that Christianity as a whole is a movement towards liberation - even spiritual liberation, for liberation theologians, requires political, economic and social liberation - the aim of this strategy is twofold. Firstly, it strives to free religion from the manipulation of the upper classes so as to return it to the form and content of the ecclesia of primitive Christianity. This form, it is held, is something with which the people can immediately respond and identify. Religion is thus popularised to a far greater extent than is normally the case in the institutionalised Western Church.

Secondly, it requires that the Church actively support and work with all liberation movements without substituting for them. Given the assumption that all true liberation is inspired by a deep Christian commitment, the Church seeks to enlighten all who are involved in compatible strategies of liberation, whether of an economic, political, military or cultural kind. Her task is one of

awakening the consciousness of the group and of the individual, to act as a force of light to make people aware of their suffering and the methods by which they might remove it. She thus shares in their rebellion and their martyrdom and, by extension, their slavery and their hope.

Comblin concludes by noting that 'like all national institutions ...the Church must choose between the vested interests of a small dominating minority and the interests of the people as a whole.'

There is a place for the Christian Church within the popular liberation movements. But assuming that place will require the institutional church to make a concrete commitment to liberation and, therefore, to work out a new strategy of integration with such movements.(67)

Given the sentiments expressed in the Declaration of Commitment, it is clear that the Church in South Africa has made her choice - to champion the interests of the people. It remains to be seen whether the long term consequences of this commitment are as radical as those in Latin America or indeed Zimbabwe.(68) This choice was not sudden or impetuous. The Nationalist Party victory in the general elections of 1948 placed the Church in a serious predicament, she was very clearly at the crossroads. A decision was demanded of her - was she to opt for a conservative strategy or was she to move towards a liberating strategy? By 1957 that decision had been made. Although presented in a paternalistic and restrained manner, the 1957 Statement on Apartheid included for the first time many of the provisions which were to be voiced in the Declaration of Commitment twenty years later. It is the intention of this thesis to examine the period from 1948 to 1957 and analyse the motivation and forces at

67. José Comblin, The Church and the National Security State (1979), p.216.

68. Vide Ian Linden, The Church and the struggle for Zimbabwe (1980).

play which finally forced the Church to make the choice she did - a choice which will define and determine the future development of the Church in South Africa.

CHAPTER 2

THE NATIONALIST VICTORY AND THE NEED FOR SECURITY

The implications of a Nationalist Party victory in the 1948 elections for race relations in South Africa had been spelled out two months previously. The Sauer report, published late in March 1948 in all Nationalist Party newspapers, transformed a concept that had been of primarily academic interest to Afrikaner intellectuals in the 1930s into a political programme. D.F. Malan's party presented the racial philosophy of apartheid to a public increasingly disillusioned with the liberal tendencies of the Smuts administration and in search of security in a world that appeared unsympathetic to white hegemony in Southern Africa.

The Sauer report, which formed the essence of the Nationalist Party election manifesto, asserted that only two options lay before the country. The one was a policy of equality, a policy advocated by no party then represented in parliament. The other was a policy of apartheid, 'which had grown out of the experience of the established white population of the country, "and is based on the Christian principle of right and justice."' (1) The report continued that it was the Nationalists' intention to maintain and protect the purity of the white race by means of territorial and urban segregation, by regarding the presence of urban blacks as temporary, by labour control, by the suppression of trade unions, by separation of political representation, and finally by the application of the philosophy of Christian-National Education.

To these developments the ordinaries of the Catholic Church did not respond. Silence was clearly regarded as the best policy at this stage - besides, few believed that the Nationalists would in fact win

1. René de Villiers, 'Afrikaner Nationalism', in Wilson and Thompson, Oxford History of South Africa (1975), ii. 406.

the election; Smuts and the United Party appeared confident of victory.(2) While the ordinaries themselves did not respond, through the medium of her mouthpiece, the Southern Cross, the Church rejected the tenets of Nationalist Party thinking. In an editorial entitled 'The Colour Question', Fr McCann questioned the premise that this policy was fundamentally Christian. Nationalist Party assurances that their aims were both just and reasonable, and that oppression and exploitation were not intended, failed to mollify him. It was conceded that the Union contained certain danger points, which, if developed, might well lead to disruption and violence. For Fr McCann, however, the cause of this problem was not the race problem, but the fact that the Christian foundations of life had been abandoned in the interest of exploitation for material gain. The only valid solution, therefore, was to apply the principles of Christian social justice and fraternal charity. 'Only by recognising that all men are brothers under the fatherhood of God', Fr McCann concluded, 'can South Africa find a way out of its complex problems.'(3)

The Church reiterated, again through the medium of the Southern Cross, her opposition to the principles of the Nationalist Party in an 'Elections' editorial of 5 May 1948. In the editorial Fr McCann drew his readers attention to a recent circular published by the Sacred Consistorial Congregation in Rome on the eve of the Italian elections of April 1948.(4) The circular noted that because of the political climate in Italy at that time, and the concomitant dangers facing

2. M. Ballinger, From Union to Apartheid (1969), p.223.

3. Southern Cross, 7 April 1948, 4.

4. While the Catholic Church had been reconciled to the Italian state in terms of the Lateran Treaty of February 1929, many Italians still clung to the Pio Nono legacy of outright rejection of the secular state. Part of this rejection was Pius' decree Non expedit of February 1868 in which he had indicated that it was not expedient for Catholics to take part in elections of the new kingdom of Italy. The need for support for Luigi Gedda, leader of Catholic Action, in post-Second World War Italy, made it imperative for Catholics to exercise their vote.

religion and public welfare, "all those who have the right to vote ...are strictly and seriously bound in conscience to exercise that right." Catholics, however, "can give their vote only to those candidates ...of whom there is a certainty that they will respect and defend the observance of divine law and the rights of religion and the Church in private and public life."¹ This instruction, although initially intended only for Italians, Fr McCann felt to be equally relevant to South African voters. While he conceded that the Church did not involve herself in party politics per se, he argued that a complete division between religion and politics was impossible - given Catholic social and moral teachings. Therefore the Catholic voter was obliged to consider the directives of the Church ordinaries when casting his vote.

The Church leaves its members free to exercise that vote according to their conscience. It says that he is at liberty to join a political party and to cast his vote for a candidate of that party, provided the party or the candidate does not hold doctrines which are opposed to the teachings of Christ. No Catholic therefore can join the Communist Party or vote for a Communist. Nor can a Catholic in conscience vote for a candidate whose party advocates a policy which does injustice to a section of the people...(5)

The message was clear. While not committing the Church to any political party Fr McCann was implicitly warning Catholics of the dangers of voting for the Nationalist Party.

While it is not ascertainable whether the Catholic voter heeded Fr McCann's warning, it is clear that a considerable proportion of the electorate did not share his views. The Herenigde Nasionale Party and the Afrikaner Party coalition emerged from the election with a majority of five over the combined opposition, including the

5. Southern Cross, 5 May 1948, 4.

three 'native' representatives. A bitterly disillusioned Smuts resigned and the governor-general called upon Malan to form a cabinet. The following session of Parliament was to give substantial grounds for fears expressed about the possible consequences of a Nationalist victory.

While little was enacted in the field of apartheid legislation during the first parliamentary session, government statements on the Indians gave some inkling of the direction of its thinking. Within the sphere of political representation, in line with the Nationalist view that Indians were merely 'temporary sojourners' in South Africa who should be repatriated at the earliest convenience, the government proposed the withdrawal of Indian representation in Parliament. This move was denounced by the Southern Cross as a 'retrograde step' which would do little in helping to solve the multi-racial problems of South Africa.(6) In similar vein, Fr McCann's successor as editor, Fr Stubbs,(7) responding to the suggestion that 'native' representation in Parliament be abolished, and that the coloured people be deprived of the franchise they then possessed, questioned the supposed logic behind apartheid thinking that 'special representation and racial restrictions are necessary to safeguard European civilisation.' In his view, what was worth saving was worth sharing.(8)

Perhaps the two most significant developments during the 1948 session, however, were the enforced segregation of the Cape Town suburban train service, and the parliamentary motion, and response thereto, of the leader of the Labour Party, J. Christie.

6. Southern Cross, 25 August 1948, 10.

7. Rev. Fr Louis J. Stubbs: editor of the Southern Cross, 1948-1974.

8. Southern Cross, 8 September 1948, 4.

With regard to the first development, P.O. Sauer, as minister of Railways, declared in a proposed bill on the subject, that in the future mixed travel on trains would be terminated. This legislation was directed essentially against the coloured commuters on the Cape Town suburban trains. Against these moves the Catholic ordinary most tangibly involved, Bishop Henneman(9) of Cape Town, was quick to respond. He addressed a letter to the clergy of his vicariate entitled 'Crisis in the life of the Nation', and ordered that it be read in all parishes the following Sunday. The bishop noted that on 24 March 1939 he had addressed a similar letter to his priests condemning what was then known as 'segregation'. In recent years, however, the bishop observed that this philosophy had reappeared in a new guise and under a new name, apartheid. The recently imposed restrictions on coloured commuters in the Cape railways was seen as the beginning of the application of this 'noxious, unchristian and destructive policy'. Apart from the obvious intrusion on the liberty and dignity of non-white citizens caused by this policy, what made matters worse was that 'all this is done in the name of Christian civilisation.' The logical result of this policy was, in the opinion of the bishop - an opinion which was to be repeatedly voiced by Catholic ordinaries over the following decade - the opening of the doors of South Africa to communism, 'the most formidable enemy in the world today.' In concluding, Bishop Hennemann directed that the intention of the 'holy hour' on the following Sunday was to be 'That our country may be guided by God to find a solution of its racial problems in peace and with justice.'(10)

Such strong-worded opposition to official government policy from a prelate of the Catholic Church was far from typical. Indeed, given the traditionally conservative stance of the Catholic Church vis-a-vis church-state relations, such action might even have been considered rash. Further, the government had not yet established a modus vivendi with the 'English speaking' churches in general and the

9. The Rt Rev. Francis Hennemann, SAC: vicar apostolic of Cape Town, 1933-1950.

10. Southern Cross, 8 September 1948, 1.

Catholic Church in particular, and impulsive action might only have served to further antagonise a government which had already directed barbed threats towards the 'opposition' churches.

Perhaps the most significant of these threats, and one which boded ill for the future, was Malan's response to Christie's speech on the subject in Parliament. Christie contended that the policy of apartheid would inevitably clash with the rights and freedoms of non-white South Africans then protected by the constitution. Other rights which he feared might be interfered with were that of the freedom of the clergy to preach whatever their religious principles and their consciences dictated, the freedom of workers to organise themselves and fully to control their own organisation, the freedom of the press to report news and to comment on that news, and the freedom of educational institutions from political interference. Christie then quoted from a statement made by Malan prior to the elections that he would check 'churches and societies which undermine the policy of apartheid and propagate doctrines foreign to the nation.'⁽¹¹⁾ Christie challenged Malan to give the undertaking that he would not in any way infringe upon the rights then enjoyed.

In replying Malan declined the challenge. He indicated that while his party did recognize certain basic rights, these did not include rights for people or organisations which 'undermine the principle of apartheid, who preach equality and who propagate foreign ideologies in South Africa.'⁽¹²⁾ Such people and organisations, he contended, were either communists or communistically inspired. The label would in the future be attached to almost any person or organisation which opposed the government.

Despite her vehement antipathy for communism however, it was clear that Catholic clergy might just as easily be branded undesirable were they to alienate an already antagonistic government through adverse comment or action. Indeed, because of the 'Roomse-gevaar' tradition,

11. Hansard, LXIV. 755 et seq.

12. Hansard, LXIV. 774.

the need to tread carefully was more acute for Catholic clerics than for any other denomination.

The Church was given ample evidence of the importance the 'Roomse-gevaar' mentality was to assume under the Nationalist regime shortly after its electoral victory. One of the first acts of the new government was to terminate Smuts' immigration scheme, among its reasons being that expressed in Die Kerkbode that South Africa was a Protestant country. This move was merely the first in a series of actions by the government and its supporters inspired by the Roomse-gevaar mentality.

In 1949, for example, the Raad van die Kerke of the Federated Dutch Reformed Churches invited the Federated Churches to join the Hervormede Kerk in a deputation to the prime minister to protest against '"increasing Roman Catholic influences in South Africa which are threatening to become a danger to the Protestant cause."' (13) In the same year te Water, then South Africa's ambassador extraordinary, paid an official visit to the pope, an act which provoked strong protests from the Dutch Reformed Churches synods and from Nationalist Party congresses. Ds. J.A. Kriel, in an article published in Die Gereformeerde Vaandel, entitled 'Die Roomse Aksie in Suid-Afrika en ons roeping daarteenoor', contended that te Water's action, which included a visit to the cardinal-patriarch of Lisbon, 'kan tog alleen die uitwerking hê dat die Roomse propaganda versterk.' (14) In the same article Kriel presented figures showing the rapid increase of Catholics in South Africa and the urgent need to combat this threat. Further evidence of the alleged machinations of Rome were that the mayor of Durban was a Roman Catholic and that 'in die pers en drukkersynwerheid het Rome ook reeds 'n houvas gekry' - a reference to the Southern Cross.

13. Southern Cross, 18 May 1949, 4.

14. J.A. Kriel, 'Die Roomse Aksie in Suid-Afrika en ons Roeping daarteenoor', Die Gereformeerde Vaandel, XVII (September 1949), 10.

Indeed, in the same year anti-Catholic feeling ran so high that at a provincial congress of the Nationalist Party it was proposed to exclude Roman Catholics from holding office in the party; the proposal was subsequently withdrawn due to pressure from the party executive.⁽¹⁵⁾ While this proposal was defeated another proposal to form a committee, to investigate Catholicism in South Africa, was successful. The findings and proposals of this committee were initially published in pamphlet form and distributed by an organisation called Die Handhawers van die Protestantse Erfenis. Shortly before the April 1953 elections the proposals formed the basis of an article by one Ds. H.A. de Wet, printed in Die Kerkbode. These proposals were that all schools, hospitals, orphanages and similar institutions should come directly under government control and should be based on Protestant-Christian principles. Secondly, no more 'Roomse priesters', nuns, teachers or immigrants should be allowed to enter the country. Thirdly, any Catholic priest, teacher or lay person who attacks Protestants, 'of wat die Regering of ons Christelike onderwysstelsel probeer ondermyn, moet onmiddelik uit die land verban word.' Finally, it was suggested that 'Roomse propaganda' literature should not be allowed to enter the country, nor should such literature be printed or circulated in South Africa. Ds. de Wet concluded his article by calling the Afrikaans churches to action.

Dit is natuurlik die Regering wat hier kan optree en sulke voorstelle kan toepas. Is dit nie hoog tyd dat ons Kerk hierdie saak by the Regering sal aanroer nie? Ons volgende Sinode sal die aanstelling van 'n voltydse sekretaris vir die bestryding van die Roomse gevaar ernstig moet oorweeg; en so iemand sal sy hande vol hê om die groot saak met krag aan te pak.⁽¹⁶⁾

-
15. Leo Marquard, The Peoples and Policies of South Africa (1969), p.225.
 16. H.A. de Wet, 'Die Roomse Kerk in Suid - Afrika', Die Kerkbode, LXX (March 1953), 346.

Given these developments it is not surprising that Catholic ordinaries took anti-Catholic sentiment in South Africa seriously.(17)

Roomse-gevaar thinking and the declared threat of Malan issued to his opponents acted as the primary determinants of the Church's response to the legislation of the Nationalist government during the initial period of apartheid rule in South Africa. In the interests of security and survival the Church adopted an essentially conciliatory or conservative strategy in her relations with the government. She went out of her way to find common cause with the Nationalists and to counter any assumption of disloyalty to South Africa by means of a policy of moderation and negotiation. Indeed the apostolic delegate actually gave such an assurance to Malan. During the decisive extraordinary plenary session of the Bishops' Conference held in April 1954, to discuss the issue of the consequences of the Bantu Education Act, in his call for a policy of moderation, Bishop Whelan(18) said that he wished to quote Malan's remark to Archbishop Lucas, that "'irresponsible propaganda was not the way to achieve things, but by memoranda and consultation.'" The apostolic delegate is reported to have assured the prime minister that 'we [the Catholic Church] would always act firstly by memoranda and consultation,' and would not act in an 'underhand' manner.(19)

The sincerity of the Church's undertaking to find common cause with the government was manifested over the issue of the use of sites in

-
17. Anti-Catholic propaganda was further not merely confined to DRC journals and Nationalist Party congresses. Such sentiments were even manifested in academic theses, despite the apparent criterion of objectivity expected in this field. For example, vide; J. Cilliers, 'Die Grondbeginsels van die Rooms-Katolieke Staatsfilosofie' (Orange Free State Univ. MA thesis 1954); J. Cilliers, 'Die Rooms-Katolieke Kerk as Staatskundige Mag' (Orange Free State Univ. Ph.D. thesis 1961); E. Theron, 'Die geskiedenis en aksie van die Rooms-Katolieke Kerk veral in die Unie van Suid Afrika' (Stellenbosch Univ. M.Th. thesis 1958).
 18. The Rt Rev. William Patrick Whelan, OMI: vicar apostolic of Johannesburg, 1948-1951; bishop of Johannesburg, 1951-1954; archbishop of Bloemfontein, 1954-1966. For a more detailed account of his life vide Appendix 6d.
 19. BCA; PS1, extraordinary plenary session of 29 April 1954.

'native reserves' for church purposes in October 1948.(20) In a letter to the Department of Native Affairs the apostolic delegate, while noting Catholic opposition to the proposed legislation, expressed his understanding for the government's predicament in the following terms:

...I am aware too of the anti-European tendencies of such bodies [sectional black churches] and understand the inflammatory effect of their preaches on illicit gatherings at Native kraals. [However] the Native Affairs Department will, no doubt, be aware of the fact that the Catholic Church is one of its best allies in the matter of combatting communism amongst the Native population.(21)

Given this strategy adopted by the Church, any official statement on the political situation in South Africa might in fact have served only to harm her position. Such, at least, was the reasoning of the Administrative Board at its meeting in November 1948. As indicated previously a statement on the colour bar and apartheid had already been prepared and circulated to members of the Administrative Board. The statement, entitled 'The Rights of Man', presented in broad outline the Catholic view on these issues. After much discussion at the November meeting of the Board, it was finally resolved not to take action immediately. Rather, a deputation was proposed to meet the minister for the Interior for an informal discussion in order to ascertain government thinking on certain issues raised in the draft statement.(22) The deputation which met

20. The legislation proposed was that no school or church was to be opened in the radius of five miles distance from another school or church. This regulation, combined with the prohibition of religious services in private kraals, was interpreted by the Church as an infringement on freedom of worship.

21. BCA; M1, extract from letter of apostolic delegate to the Department of Native Affairs, quoted in letter of apostolic delegate to Bishop Riegler, 13 October 1948.

22. BCA; AV1, meeting of 9-10 November 1948.

the minister consisted of the apostolic delegate, Bishops Hurley,(23) Garner,(24) and Whelan. When considering the composition of this delegation it is perhaps significant that all three bishops were South Africans - the Church was emphasising her loyalty to South Africa, as well as obviating claims that foreign clerics had no right to comment on essentially local problems.

The adoption of this conciliatory strategy posed serious problems for the Catholic laity in search of guidance and direction on political issues from their prelates. The laity were forced to rely almost exclusively on the Catholic press. In this regard the Southern Cross was undoubtedly of prime importance. This development, however, was not without its advantages. The ordinaries opinions and concerns directed editorial policy of the newspaper without actually implicating them in its more censorious comment.

The Durban riots of January 1949 brought home to all South Africans the volatile nature of the racial tensions inherent within the society. Throughout 1948 Frs McCann and Stubbs had, through the medium of the Southern Cross, pointed to the possibility of violence as a result of the oppression suffered, and standard of living experienced, by the black majority. Calls had been made for the fulfilment of the responsibility of local authorities, the central government, and employers to provide blacks with adequate housing,(25) a just wage(26) and the vocational training needed by prospective artisans.(27) If not promptly dealt with violence was assumed to be the inevitable result. While commenting on the social and economic problems facing South Africa on the occasion of Rerum Novarum Sunday in May 1948, Fr McCann said 'South Africa has

23. The Rt Rev. Denis Eugene Hurley, OMI: vicar apostolic of Natal, 1946-1951; archbishop of Durban, 1951-present. For a more detailed account of his life vide Appendix 6b.

24. The Rt Rev. John Colburn Garner: vicar apostolic of Pretoria, 1948-1951; archbishop of Pretoria, 1951-1975. For a more detailed account of his life vide Appendix 6a.

25. Southern Cross, 3 March 1948, 10.

26. Southern Cross, 21 July 1948, 12.

27. Southern Cross, 23 June 1948, 4.

some extremely grave problems on its hands, and if they are not solved according to Christian principles they will inevitably lead to attempts to solve them by violence and revolution.'(28) The Durban riots were such an attempt. *same*

In coinciding with the opening of Parliament, Fr Stubbs held that the Durban disturbances could not have occurred at a more opportune time. They would, he hoped, bring home to the parliamentarians, and to all South Africans, irrespective of their political allegiance, the urgency of the need to apply themselves to finding a solution to the racial problem. Naively, Fr Stubbs presumed that so serious a disturbance showed 'how inevitable is the elimination of many of today's colour bars.'(29) The first full session of Nationalist Party rule would show otherwise.

Given the slender majority of his coalition, as well as the fact that he did not yet have the support of the majority of the electorate, and the reluctance of Havenga to depart radically from the political principles of his old guide and mentor, Hertzog, Malan was unable to pursue the Nationalist plan of as complete a separation of the races as possible. Further, there was still a certain vagueness about the intellectual justification of the apartheid ideal and its practical application. With regard to the former point, the Suid - Afrikaanse Buro vir Rasse-aangeleenthede had been formed the previous year in Stellenbosch. As far as the practical application was concerned, in January 1949 the government appointed the Commission on Native Education, under the chairmanship of Dr W.W.M. Eiselen, whose final report formed the basis of the Bantu Education Act. Further, in February 1949 the Government proposed setting up a commission to study the application of 'grand' apartheid. The terms of reference of both the Eiselen commission and the proposed 'apartheid

28. Southern Cross, 19 May 1948, 4.

29. Southern Cross, 19 January 1949, 10.

Dr W.W.M. Eiselen

commission' assumed that the government policy 'is the only one worth considering,' and for this reason the Southern Cross gave its editorial support to members of the United Party who were unwilling to serve on, or co-operate with, the apartheid commission.(30)

Despite the drawbacks mentioned, Malan did manage to pass an act within the sphere of 'negative' apartheid during the 1949 session. Such 'negative' measures were felt to be necessary in order to achieve the utopian goal of apartheid. This measure was the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, No. 55 of 1949. Quite simply the Act declared marriages between whites and members of other racial groups illegal.(31)

In reacting to this proposed legislation in May 1949, Fr Stubbs noted that, while mixed marriages were not desirable, 'the Catholic Church, like most other Christian bodies, holds that even ill-advised marriages may be entered into without the risk of sin.' God, certainly, did not forbid such marriages.(32) Despite Fr Stubbs' comments, and despite Margaret Ballinger's observation in Parliament that she failed 'to see how either of these two churches, the Anglican Church or the Roman Catholic Church, can possibly accept the law of the State in that regard [i.e. interference with the sacrament of marriage]',(33) the enactment received no immediate response from the Catholic ordinaries. Indeed the Church had not even commented on the question of mixed marriages in the report compiled before the bill was introduced.(34)

This lack of a formal declaration concerning the Mixed Marriages Act from the ordinaries patently invited inquiry. In an editorial in the Southern Cross in October 1949, Fr Stubbs noted that the question was often asked as to why Catholic priests did not simply ignore the

30. Southern Cross, 23 February 1949, 10.

31. For a very recently published work on the subject vide Patrick Furlong, The Mixed Marriages Act: An historical and theological study (1984).

32. Southern Cross, 11 May 1949, 10.

33. Hansard, LXVIII. 6442.

34. Hansard, LXVII, 6441.

Act and marry applicants irrespective of their race. In answering, Fr Stubbs must indeed have been expressing the sentiments of the ordinaries. He noted that a disregard of the Act might well result in the withdrawal of the authorisation of a priest as a 'marriage officer', the consequent marriages performed by the priest would thus be null and void. Further, he succinctly expressed the dominant thinking amongst the ordinaries by indicating that 'the Church preaches good citizenship, and so strives to avoid open defiance of authority even when it considers that authority is overstepping its boundaries.'⁽³⁵⁾ Heroic defiance was thus deemed out of place.

It was, however, not merely the laity that were questioning the response of the ordinaries to the Act. In a letter to the Administrative Board of the Bishops' Conference, Mgr John Morris of Cape Town asked for official directives and decisions from the ordinaries in connection with the administration of the Act. In its reply the Board indicated that, as the government was shortly to furnish marriage officers with the necessary information, it was not at present prepared to reply to queries.⁽³⁶⁾

By February 1950 the question of 'mixed' marriages was again raised at a Board meeting. The chairman, Archbishop Lucas, asked the members to carefully consider two points. Firstly, he asked whether the Church should not openly oppose the law; and secondly, he asked what action the Church should take if the state were to declare invalid a validly contracted 'mixed' marriage.⁽³⁷⁾ Again, however, the ordinaries refused to commit themselves to a definite line of action which might be taken amiss by the government. After much discussion it was resolved to await the result of a 'test case'. If widely publicised, the question would once again be considered by the Board and 'appropriate action' subsequently taken.⁽³⁸⁾

35. Southern Cross, 5 October 1949, 4.

36. BCA; AV1, meeting of 8 November 1949.

37. BCA; AV1, meeting of 17 February 1950.

38. Ibid.

When the ordinaries did finally commit themselves over the issue of 'mixed' marriages, at their August 1951 meeting, it was resolved that, 'for obvious reasons, this should not be made public.'(39) Although the ordinary should be consulted about a possible 'mixed' marriage within his area of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the Administrative Board agreed that in 'marriages of conscience of persons of different race, mutual consent of the parties would certainly be sufficient for validity.'(40)

The response of the Christian churches, or lack thereof, to the Mixed Marriages Act, must be seen in retrospect as a major failure of Christian witness in South Africa. Writing some thirteen years after the promulgation of the Act the sometime Anglican bishop of Johannesburg, Ambrose Reeves(41) commented,

Today, I believe that the crucial point for the Church in South Africa came with the passing of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act ...Perhaps at that time the churches concerned did not realize the far reaching implications of this particular piece of legislation. Certainly at that moment all the churches missed the opportunity of taking their stand on an issue of major theological and moral significance.(42)

For different reasons, the Church did not suffer the same crisis of conscience in responding to the Immorality Amendment Act, No. 21 of 1950. This measure extended to non-white people generally the provisions of the principal Act of 1927 which prohibited carnal intercourse between blacks and whites. Given the Church's teaching on sexual relations, she had little sympathy for those affected by this Act. It was stated in the Southern Cross that those charged under the Act were...

39. BCA; AV1, meeting of 8 August 1951.

40. Ibid.

41. The Rt Rev. (Richard) Ambrose Reeves, (Anglican): bishop of Johannesburg, 1949-1961; assistant bishop of London, 1962-1966; assistant bishop of Chichester, 1966-1982.

42. Ambrose Reeves, South Africa (1962), banned in South Africa, quoted in Sipho E. Mzimela, Nazism and Apartheid (1984), p.138.

now paying the penalty for failing to obey God's law. If they could not marry, then they should never have so associated at all. In this case, too, they are now being punished by man for an offence against God.(43)

However, despite the Church's opposition to extra-marital sexual relations the Southern Cross expected the law to be applied with equity and justice. It opposed the practice in which the white party charged under the Act was consistently treated more leniently than the non-white party, giving the appearance that there was 'one law for one section of the community and another for the other.'(44) The Southern Cross thus suggested that in the interests of equal justice, both parties should be tried together and an appeal made by one should apply automatically to the other. It was also pointed out that the Act did not include rape. A consequence of this omission was that a case had arisen in which, after much suffering in prison by the black party, both parties had been acquitted, the white man escaping punishment because the black woman was deemed an accomplice rather than a victim. 'Good law must not only be just, but clearly just,' the Southern Cross insisted.(45)

It is clear that the passing of these laws, in particular the Mixed Marriages Act, had placed the Church in a considerable dilemma. At a time when the Anglican and Methodist Churches(46) were roundly condemning apartheid and its application, the Administrative Board of the Bishops' Conference remained conspicuously silent. The ordinaries, because of their belief that the Catholic Church was only accepted under sufferance, remained determined not to antagonise the Nationalists. For this reason, combined with the nature of ecumenical relations with Protestant groups at that time, the

43. Southern Cross, 13 December 1950, 1.

44. Southern Cross, 28 July 1954, 12.

45. Ibid., 12.

46. In 1948 the Anglican synod condemned the racial discrimination inherent within the proposed apartheid legislation, and affirmed its belief in universal human rights. The following year the synod proposed the extension of the franchise to all those with the necessary educational qualifications. In 1948 the Methodist Conference unreservedly opposed the deprivation of rights on the grounds of race.

Administrative Board, at its January 1949 meeting, declined to accept an invitation from the Christian Council of South Africa (CCS)(47) to join a delegation to the minister for Native Affairs to discuss apartheid legislation.(48) Similarly, the highly significant Rossettenville Conference of the same year,(49) and its resulting 'affirmations', attacking the 'unfolding policy of apartheid,'(50) failed to receive Catholic support.(51)

While the members of the Administrative Board of the Bishops' Conference appeared resolute to maintain a united front of silence, for some of the clergy a response of sorts was vitally necessary. Mgr Morris raised this matter in his, already mentioned, letter to the Board. The monsignor asked the Board to consider two possible proposals. The first was that the Church set aside a day of prayer "for the intention of the realisation of justice and charity and peace in the social order in the Union." His second proposal was that this day of prayer coincide with a statement, to be issued by the Board of the Bishops' Conference, on the need for a just, charitable and peaceful solution to the country's problems.(52) In the ensuing discussion, however, the ordinaries resolved that, given the precarious nature of the political situation, they were not prepared to issue a statement on apartheid. As a concession it was suggested

47. CCSA was established in 1936 by the major Protestant churches in South Africa to promote inter-church and inter-racial co-operation. The two larger DRC withdrew from the Council in 1941 because of differences in approach to relations between whites and non-whites.

48. BCA; AV1, meeting of 24 January 1949.

49. The Rossettenville Conference of 1949 was the first ecumenical conference of the Protestant churches with the exception of the DRC, since the Nationalist Party came to power. The primary purpose of the Conference was to discuss the implications of the apartheid legislation in South Africa

50. John W. de Gruchy, The Church Struggle in South Africa (1979), p.56.

51. This response of the Catholic Church must also be seen within an international context. Rome had already set the precedent in her 'negative in the extreme' response to the first meeting of the recently constituted World Council of Churches in Amsterdam in 1948.
Roger Aubert, et al, The Church in a Secularized Society (1978), p.606.

52. BCA; AV1, meeting of 8 November 1949

that it 'might not be inopportune for a statement of some kind' to be issued by the vicariate of Cape Town.(53) Mgr Morris was invited to prepare such a statement and submit it to the apostolic delegate for consideration. A month later, this offer was withdrawn, the Cape Town vicariate being informed that the Board had decided 'that no useful purpose could be served by issuing a statement on apartheid at present.'(54)

The response of the Catholic Church is perhaps more understandable if one bears in mind the type of relationship between church and state which was desired by many Catholic prelates. In this regard, at a civic reception given in his honour at Umtata, on the occasion of the feast of the Assumption, the apostolic delegate emphasised the 'happy harmony' which should exist between the authority of church and state in their different spheres. Archbishop Lucas presented the traditional Catholic teaching that, although 'independent societies in their own spheres,' church and state must of necessity collaborate since all men are subjects of both. Each must assist the other in the exercise of its duties. The closer the co-operation and mutual assistance, the archbishop held, the more easily will peace and happiness be assured in the country. In explaining the thinking of the Catholic Church the archbishop concluded that 'it is with pride I say that the State, in the exercise of its lawful authority, can always depend on the full co-operation of the Church.'(55)

While still maintaining a united front as far as formal statements on apartheid from the Bishops' Conference were concerned, it is clear that at least some prelates felt the need to familiarize the Catholic laity with the official teaching on political issues of the day. Perhaps it was because he was less directly involved with the diplomatic efforts of the Apostolic Delegation, and because he felt more secure

53. Ibid.

54. BCA; AV1, meeting of 12 December 1949.

55. Southern Cross, 17 August 1949, 1.

in his position than did foreign ordinaries, as well as his very obvious concern with developments in South Africa, Bishop Hurley assumed the offensive. He submitted a series of articles to the Southern Cross, which were printed in July 1949, under the general title of 'Catholic Action in South Africa.' These articles dealt with, inter alia, the colour bar, and the role of Catholics in public life. With regard to the colour bar Bishop Hurley clearly felt he would be betraying his mission if he did not speak out against it. His remarks were unequivocal:

There is no hiding the fact, the Colour Bar is a heavy stone tied about the neck of the Catholic Church in South Africa. There is nothing more foreign or more alien to the Catholic way of thinking than the rigid social and economic barriers erected to protect the purity of race and economic supremacy of Europeans in South Africa. I am sorry if my words are hard; many sayings of Jesus were hard too, but He said them; and we, who must give voice to His teaching, must say them too...(56)

Bishop Hurley continued by pointing to the suffering and hurt caused by the colour bar in South Africa, not only for the South African people, but for the Church herself. He noted that the Church was completely divided by the system. Physically the Church was divided by having to duplicate her schools, despite the fact that the language of instruction, method and syllabus were very often the same for different population groups. The more important division, however, was in the emotional response of the Catholic laity to the issue. Many white Catholics appeared possessed of a deeply ingrained racial prejudice. while amongst black Catholics there was a 'swelling tide of resentment.' This resentment he felt was understandable given the denial of entry to blacks into professions and trades, the only means they had to improve their quality of life.

56. Southern Cross, 20 July 1949, 3.

For Bishop Hurley, the problems created by the colour bar opened an important area of involvement and concern for Catholic Action organisations in South Africa. He encouraged all Catholics, through their various lay societies, to apply themselves to this task.

Here is a problem to test the metal of any man or woman who has gazed upon the crucified Christ and called Him Lord and Master. They once hurled at him the damning cry of Samaritan when Samaritan meant what 'kaffir-boetie' means today in South Africa, or what 'umlungu' is coming to mean on Zulu lips.(57)

Apart from the involvement of Catholic Action in charitable and humanitarian organisations, Bishop Hurley also stressed the need for the Catholic laity to involve themselves in the political sphere. The need for a strong Catholic voice in politics was keenly felt by the ordinaries. Obviously, given the small percentage of Catholics amongst the electorate, this involvement could not take the form of a Catholic political party.(58) Despite their smallness of numbers, however, Bishop Hurley stressed that through Catholic Action men and women should be prepared for the task of representation in government. A Catholic voice in the 'corridors of power' was held to be a potential benefit to church and state alike.(59)

57. Ibid.

58. The only country in Southern Africa where a Catholic political party had any chance of success at this time was Basutoland where there was a considerable Catholic population. Such a party, 'The Catholic League of Thakatsa Mesa-Mohloane,' was in fact set up following the 1960 elections. With the aid of financial support from anti-communist Canadian and German sources, the party aimed at acting as a pressure group on the Basutoland National Party (BNP). The party was short-lived, however, as the BNP broadened its appeal to include conservative Protestants and Indians - some of whom had previously supported the League - in an effort to increase its popular vote in future elections.

59. Southern Cross, 27 July 1949, 8.

This matter was given further attention five months later, at the November 1949 meeting of the Administrative Board. The apostolic delegate, as chairman of the Board, asked whether 'the time was not ripe for the Catholic Church in South Africa to draw up its own political programme.'(60) It was suggested that through influential Catholic personalities Catholic political principles would possibly gain wider currency, impressing themselves on the public-at-large, and on parliamentary leaders. Bishop Hurley was requested to take the matter further.

A number of lay Catholic organisations, however, had already involved themselves in the political issues facing the country. Indeed the Catholic Mens Society of Pietermaritzburg was the first Catholic organisation, both lay and clerical, to come out uncompromisingly against apartheid. At its August 1948 meeting, it issued a statement to the effect that,

It behoves Catholics in general and those in public life in particular, ...to take up a strong attitude against any means and methods used to apply the 'apartheid' policy, which is not consistent with Christian charity and justice.(61)

Perhaps a more practical response to Bishop Hurley's challenge to lay Catholics was that of the Joint Council of Catholic Africans and Europeans (JCCAE) in the Johannesburg vicariate.(62) According to its half-yearly report in 1949, the Joint Council, although having an official membership of only 25 whites and 40 blacks, was actively involved in organising lectures, discussion groups, adult education, and collecting used toys for black children, as well as forming a Non-European Social Amenities Committee, an employment bureau, and a black press.(63)

60. BCA; AV1, meeting of 8 November 1949.

61. Southern Cross, 11 August 1948, 2.

62. The JCCAE was a lay organisation under clerical supervision established in Johannesburg in the 1940s. Its structure and objectives were modelled on the Joint Councils of Europeans and Natives which had placed such a significant conciliatory role in the 1920s.

63. Southern Cross, 19 October 1949, 1.

As the structure of the new Apartheid South Africa began to take on a recognisable form the call was repeatedly made for the Church ordinaries to respond in a meaningful manner. In an editorial in the Southern Cross in June 1950 Fr Stubbs captured the predicament facing the Catholic Church. On the one hand, while 'many bitterly reproach the Church for "silence",' many, too, would 'howl to high heaven if the Church did give voice' in a tune not appreciated by the listener.(64)

In an address to the members of the Catholic Lunch Club in Cape Town earlier in that year, the apostolic delegate dwelt on this issue of the Church's role. In his opening remarks he commented,

...More than once I heard: Why does the Catholic Church not speak? Why does she not join other denominations in publishing statements, holding protest meetings and criticising the regulations of the Government, et cetera?(65)

In answering these charges, Archbishop Lucas did his best to defend the Church's policy. While the Church supported no political party, he argued, she was bound to respect any lawfully elected government. Her undeniable duty was to promote and protect the rights and interests of men and, the Church would remain unshakably firm in this mission but, 'like a wise mother, she must be prudent and not influenced by any momentary movement.'

As a rule, it is not by making statements and holding protest meetings that the Church expresses her attitude, but by trying as long as possible to come to a favourable settlement, discussing matters in a friendly way with those in authority. If those dealings would not be successful, the Church knows her duty and will act accordingly...(66)

64. Southern Cross, 7 June 1950, 4.

65. Southern Cross, 22 February 1950, 1.

66. Ibid.

Having given his assurance that the Catholic Church would act 'reasonably', even if he had exhibited a caution greater than that diplomacy seen by many as a 'traditional characteristic of Roman Catholics,'(67) it remained to be seen whether the archbishop would be able to sustain this stance when confronted by the apartheid legislation enacted during 1950.

With the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts on the statute book, in order to apply these laws, it was necessary to introduce a rigid system of race classification, thus the Population Registration Act, No. 30 of 1950. This act formed one of the most important building blocks of the new society. Perhaps of even more fundamental importance was Act No. 41 of 1950, the Group Areas Act. In essence this complicated legislation proclaimed certain areas for the sole use of particular races. It controlled all inter-racial property transactions throughout South Africa.

In May 1950 the Administrative Board of the Bishops' Conference received a letter from Mgr McCann of Cape Town concerning the provisions of the recently introduced Group Areas Bill. The monsignor suggested that a formal statement be issued by the Board on the bill. While the Board agreed that a statement of sorts might be appropriate, it was not prepared to issue it, but suggested that 'it should be "sponsored" by a Catholic lay organisation,'(68) thus avoiding open confrontation with the government over the issue. Such a statement was subsequently issued by the Catholic Social Guild of Cape Town. The statement, however, concerned itself with the practical application of the Act, rather than expressing opposition to its premise.(69)

On coming to power the Nationalist Party was faced with active radical opposition from many quarters. Although small in numbers when compared with the established non-white political parties, the

67. J.W. de Gruchy, op.cit., p.97.

68. BCA; AV1, meeting of 9 May 1950.

69. Southern Cross, 31 May 1950, 1-2.

Communist Party, and its sole representative in Parliament - Sam Kahn - played a significant part in opposing the new Government. This opposition, combined with that of the African National Congress and supporting organisations, reached a new peak with the May Day demonstrations of 1950. Despite a government ban on these demonstrations protestors assembled at Benoni, Sophiatown, and Orlando on the Witwatersrand. In the reaction to this defiance 13 blacks were killed and more than 24 wounded. Given its assumption that the disturbances were caused by communist agitators, on 6 May, C.R. Swart, minister of Justice, announced that the government intended outlawing communists. The Suppression of Communism Bill was thus introduced.

Not surprisingly, the response of the Church to this proposed legislation was somewhat ambivalent. In many ways the hysteria of the Afrikaans press over the issue of 'Roomse-gevaar' was paralleled by a similar hysteria directed at 'communism' in the Catholic press.(70) For the Catholic Church, however, the threat of communism was undeniable.(71) For this reason she emphatically opposed all those who professed to be communists. Thus it was that the election of Sam Kahn as a native representative in November 1948 was decried by Fr Stubbs, in the Southern Cross, as the 'worst thing' that could have been done. Fr Stubbs suggested that this choice made by the black voters might lead many to believe that blacks were 'politically immature' and 'easily misled'. Worse still, he foresaw that the choice might ultimately result in the abolition of native representation in Parliament.(72)

70. Interestingly, many Afrikaners saw both working hand in glove. At a political meeting in Natal in 1949 a member of the Government was asked whether 'the presence of Catholic missionaries among Natives was not promoting Communism?' Southern Cross, 7 September 1949, 4.

71. During the late forties and fifties the Church was being severely persecuted in the predominantly Catholic countries of Eastern Europe by their new communist overlords. Among others, in 1946 Archbishop Stepinac of Yugoslavia was arrested by the Tito regime; in 1948 Archbishop Beran of Prague was arrested; in 1949 the primate of Hungary, Cardinal Mindozenty, was imprisoned; and in 1953 Cardinal Wysznski was abducted by the communist authorities in Poland.

72. Southern Cross, 1 Dec. 1948, 4.

Despite the Church's strongly worded disapproval of and antipathy to communism, however, it could not support the Suppression of Communism Bill of 1950. The point had repeatedly been made that the only successful antidote for the 'communist menace' was the removal of social injustice in South Africa. Indeed Fr McCann, a trained economist, while editor of the Southern Cross, had stressed that in order to root out this 'noxious weed' it was necessary to purify the soil. To achieve this he proposed a wide distribution of property, the just wage, and the co-operation of management and labour.(73)

The government's response to communism, and all other 'isms' which it chose to include under the communist label, was somewhat different. As early as March 1949 it had clamped down on the Communist Party by banning a meeting at which Kahn was to have addressed an assembly of blacks. This move, in the eyes of the Southern Cross, posed a 'grave question'. Although disagreeing with Kahn's beliefs, the editor felt that as long as the Communist Party was granted legal recognition it should be allowed to organise meetings.(74)

The 'grave question' became increasingly more serious over the following months when it was noted that the government intended taking action against the disseminators of undesirable political propaganda. In presenting the Catholic attitude to such censorship Fr Stubbs again reiterated the Church's opposition to communism, but again noted that repression was not the way to meet the threat. For Fr Stubbs the proposed legislation, while directed primarily against communists, was open to grave abuse as it could, in effect, mean the silencing of any reasonable opposition by simply labelling it 'communist'. Indeed, he suggested that even a Catholic, or other

73. Southern Cross, 3 March 1948, 4.

74. Southern Cross, 23 March 1949, 4.

religious paper, 'which advocated a fairer deal for the Natives might find itself officially classed as "communist" and treated accordingly.'⁽⁷⁵⁾ While this proposed legislation did not in fact become law in 1949, it formed the basis of the Suppression of Communism Bill.

Shortly before the third reading of the bill, the Administrative Board of the Bishops' Conference submitted a memorandum to the minister of Justice in which it presented the official view of the Bishops' Conference in regard to the proposed legislation. Worded in unemotive and reasonable language, the memorandum opened by conceding that there might possibly be need for such legislation. However, the Board 'respectfully submitted' that those charged under the legislation should have recourse to a court of law. Further, the Board ventured to suggest that, as the bill was breaking new grounds, in the interests of prudence, the operation of the proposed law should be limited to a period of two years, after which the matter should again be brought before Parliament.⁽⁷⁶⁾ Shortly after the issuing of the Board's memorandum the bill became Act No. 44 of 1950 - effectually in the form in which it was originally proposed.

Despite the apparent failure of the policy of moderation and conciliation, the chairman of the Administrative Board of the Bishops' Conference, the apostolic delegate, remained convinced of its merits. Indeed, he even provided favourable publicity for the government. In a statement, issued to the State Information Office, Archbishop Lucas criticised foreign commentators who condemned South Africa without familiarizing themselves with its historic and social circumstances. He conceded that white South Africans were far from blameless, but then, he asked pedantically, 'What country is free of all social evils?' It was up to South Africans themselves to

75. Southern Cross, 25 May 1949, 4.

76. Southern Cross, 31 May 1950, 1.

find solutions to these evils, and this, he believed, was what the present government was attempting to do. In his concluding remarks he commented,

I believe that it would be untrue to say that the responsible authorities have failed either in their good will or in the determination to work honestly and prudently for the amelioration of social conditions of all races in this country.(77)

Archbishop Lucas obviously shared Cardinal Newman's view that the Christian must begin by conceding the good intentions of those with whom he deals, believing that this policy will produce the most beneficial result.(78)

At this stage it appeared that the archbishop still had the support of the ordinaries - the Administrative Board of the Bishops' Conference projected a united front. There were, however, indications that should any serious crisis confront the country this front of silence would be difficult to sustain - Bishop Hurley, for one, had already indicated that it behoved a Christian to speak out against evil.

77. Southern Cross, 14 March 1951, 1.

78. Douglas Woodruff, Church and State in History (1961), p.108.

CHAPTER THREE

CIVIL UNREST AND RACE RELATIONS

On 11 January 1951 Pope Pius XII issued the Bull Suprema Nobis, in which he erected the hierarchy in Southern Africa. While in practice the Church in South Africa remained under the jurisdiction of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, as she still manifested a 'certainty immaturity',⁽¹⁾ the event was of considerable symbolic significance for all Catholics in the sub-continent. The country now had its own dioceses, controlled by diocesan bishops - successors of the apostles. Four metropolitan archdioceses were created at Cape Town, Durban, Pretoria and Bloemfontein, each with ecclesiastical provinces following similar boundaries to those of the political provinces, apart from Bloemfontein.⁽²⁾ Rome had expressed her approval of the local Church's progress and development. The Church in South Africa had come of age - three of her four newly created archbishops were South African born⁽³⁾ - her concerns were now primarily South African concerns.⁽⁴⁾

This expression of confidence in the South African Church must have acted as an inducement of sorts for Catholics to apply themselves to gain a greater understanding of the serious political problems confronting the country. Late in July 1951 a graduate

-
1. Lesley Cawood, The Churches and Race Relations (1964), p.74.
 2. Vide ecclesiastical map of Southern Africa, Appendix 3.
 3. The majority of the hierarchy, however, remained foreign born. In 1951 of the twenty bishops serving in South Africa, seven were German (one of whom was an archbishop), and two were Irish. Austria, Belgium, Canada, Holland, Italy, and Switzerland were each represented by one bishop; only five were South Africans (three of whom were archbishops).
 4. When compared with other 'established' Commonwealth countries the hierarchy in South Africa was erected comparatively late. Due to the French presence in Canada the Church there was well established by the mid-nineteenth century. The hierarchy was erected in Australia by 1842, some eight years before it was re-erected in the United Kingdom; while New Zealand was organised into an ecclesiastical province in 1887.

conference, organised by the Kolbe Association of South Africa, was held at Mariannhill. The theme of this conference, described by the Southern Cross as 'the most important Catholic study conference ever held in South Africa,'(5) was the role which the Catholic Church should play in the country. Among the eleven papers presented perhaps the most significant was that of the newly appointed Archbishop Hurley. He outlined what he called a 'Catholic social programme' for South Africa. While noting that he was opposed to revolutionary change, he felt that the non-whites must be included in some way in the democratic process. Of further relevance was the announcement, by the archbishop, that a mission institute, for study and research in the Catholic social sphere, was soon to be set up by the hierarchy. Such an institute, the archbishop held, would be invaluable in determining and furthering the Catholic social programme for South Africa.(6)

Immediately after the Kolbe Winter School, the Administrative Board of the Bishops' Conference held a meeting at which it was resolved that Archbishop Hurley, with the aid of a sub-committee, should prepare a draft statement on race relations in South Africa from a Catholic point of view.(7) The time had clearly come for the Catholic Church to commit herself as far as the political and social issues facing the country were concerned.

The issuing of the 'Statement on Race Relations' by the South African hierarchy in June 1952 is accepted by most commentators on the period as a milestone in the church struggle in South Africa.(8)

5. Southern Cross, 1 August 1951, 1.

6. P. Holland (ed.), Kolbe Winter School Selected Papers (1953), pp.66-87.

7. BCA; AV1, meeting of 8 Aug. 1951.

8. Vide John W. de Gruchy, The Church Struggle in South Africa (1979), p.98; M. Hope and J. Young, The South African Churches in a Revolutionary Situation (1983), p.56; and Trevor Verry, 'Catholic Bishops and Apartheid' in Andrew Prior (ed.), Catholics in Apartheid Society (1982), p.54.

While 'no clarion call to revolution,'(9) it was the first of many joint statements on conditions in the sub-continent published over the next three decades. On its content, Trevor Verryyn remarks,

There is much in this cautious and paternalistic document which, thirty years later, would make some bishops blush and others shake with rage. But it needs to be evaluated against the backdrop of its age, when it could lay modest claim to being at least in the rearguard of that small band of liberals which in those days were stigmatised as kafferboeties.(10)

The 'Statement', however, was not the first Catholic response to apartheid in 1952. As the discriminatory legislation of the Nationalist government institutionalised the apartheid philosophy, and provoked increasing black resistance, it was apparent to a number of Catholic lay organisations during the first half of that year that a response of sorts was required from the Catholic Church. Convinced that race prejudice was the prime cause for the country's predicament the Johannesburg Joint Council organised an Inter-racial Justice Week during March with the aim of promoting inter-racial understanding and tolerance amongst Catholic students of the dioceses.(11) The Joint Council was convinced that white Catholics were equally guilty in perpetuating race prejudice as were other white South Africans. The chairman of the Joint Council, Adv. H.J.B. Vieyra, in an address to the Catholic Federation, called on the Catholic laity to consciously change their attitude to people of different race. He held that Christian realism, recognising as it did the dignity of all men, should determine the relations between white and black.(12)

In similar vein, a cleric, Fr D.J. Hatton, addressed a Cape Town audience, during a series of Lenten lectures, on the evils of racialism

9. Trevor Verryyn, 'Catholic Bishops and Apartheid', in Andrew Prior (ed.), Catholics in Apartheid Society (1982), p.54.

10. Ibid, p.56.

11. Southern Cross, 19 March 1952, 8.

12. Southern Cross, 7 May 1952, 9.

and the need to re-educate public opinion in an effort to break age-old race prejudices. He called on Catholics to familiarize themselves with possible solutions to the race problem, and then to attack prejudice with vigour. The task of the Catholic, he held, was to 'find light and not to generate heat.'⁽¹³⁾

The intention of the 'Statement on Race Relations' was clearly to offer such light to the Catholic laity. The matter, however, was approached with typical hesitancy and caution. Indeed, despite the original resolution to prepare such a statement, at the February 1952 meeting of the Administrative Board the question was again raised as to whether such a statement should be issued at all, and, if so, in what manner. After a lengthy discussion, it was decided that while the proposed statement 'should be forthright and comprehensive, it should not include anything that might be interpreted as partisanship or harmful criticism.'⁽¹⁴⁾ It was also agreed that it would only be courteous to inform the government of the contents of the proposed statement prior to publication. Clearly the conciliatory policy still determined the modus vivendi between the Catholic Church and the Nationalist government. Archbishop Hurley was thus directed to re-draft a statement which was to be circulated to all bishops of the hierarchy for discussion at their forthcoming plenary session.

The plenary session⁽¹⁵⁾ of the Bishops' Conference was held at Mariannhill Monastery from 23 to 29 April 1952. The apostolic delegate, who presided over proceedings, initiated the discussion on race relations by inviting opinions, from all bishops present,⁽¹⁶⁾ on the advisability of publishing a joint statement on the lines drawn up by Archbishop Hurley. After some discussion Archbishop Hurley's

13. Southern Cross, 26 March 1952, 12.

14. BCA; AV1, meeting of Feb. 1952.

15. Two 'ordinary' plenary sessions were held between 1948 - 1957. The purpose of these sessions - which all bishops, or, in exceptional circumstances, their designated representatives, were expected to attend - was to discuss the progress and state of the Church since the previous session.

16. For ordinaries in attendance at the 1952 session, vide Appendix 4a.

proposal, seconded by Bishop Boyle,(17) that a statement be issued was accepted by a two-thirds majority and thus passed.(18) Some eighteen months after the issuing of the 'Rosettenville affirmations' by the Christian Council, the Catholic Bishops' Conference released its 'Statement' in a similarly reformist and moderate tone.

The 'Statement' opened with the bishops urging that, because of the seriousness of the problem, the issue of race relations was not to be exploited for sectional interest or party gain, but should rather be of the highest possible priority for consideration by all concerned South Africans. The bishops then proceeded to contrast the inherent dignity of all men with the injustice and disparity experienced by some four-fifths of the population, and the resulting dire consequences.

For the bishops the situation was, in a sense, a vicious circle. Because of their political, economic, and, indeed, legal deprivation many whites assumed an attitude of superiority to blacks. This psychological sense of superiority only served to encourage whites to keep the blacks in a debased social position. The attitude of the whites, however, was not regarded as the sole reason for South Africa's racial problem - were this the case prejudice could simply be condemned and an effort made to modify it through education. Rather, for the bishops, the complexity of the problem arose out of the fact the great majority of non-whites, particularly blacks, had 'not yet reached a stage of development that would justify their integration into a homogenous society with the European.'(19) Indeed, a sudden attempt to achieve such an objective was held to be courting disaster. What the bishops advocated was a policy of 'gradual development and prudent adaptation.'(20) The issue, however, was further exacerbated by the fact that a minority of non-whites were

17. The Rt Rev. Hugh Boyle: vicar apostolic of Port Elizabeth, 1948-1951; bishop of Port Elizabeth, 1951-1954; bishop of Johannesburg, 1954-1976.

18. Minutes of the Bishops' Conference (1952).

19. 'Statement on Race Relations' (1952), in Pastoral Letters of the SACBC, p.3.

20. Ibid., p.3.

'cultured', and could readily be integrated into 'white' society - either due to ancestry, or because of education.

Any solution for the bishops would therefore have to take into account these problems. While not actually proposing a complete solution, the bishops noted a number of issues which should be borne in mind by the policy makers. The state, it was held, should fulfill its duties with prudence, justice, and charity. Primary amongst these duties was to recognize the fundamental rights of all men. Having consciously acknowledged these rights, certain conclusions were inevitable. Firstly, discrimination 'based exclusively on grounds of colour is an offence against the right of non-Europeans to their natural dignity as human persons.'⁽²¹⁾ Secondly, discriminatory legislation, social conventions, and inefficient administration seriously impaired the exercise of certain fundamental rights by non-whites, and should thus be dealt with. Finally, while it was accepted that non-whites must make an effort to improve themselves, 'justice demanded', that they 'be permitted to evolve gradually towards full participation in the political, economic and cultural life of the country.'⁽²²⁾ The bishops concluded by calling on all South Africans 'who earnestly desire to see justice and peace reign in this country, and who sincerely believe that it is a Christian duty to love one's neighbour as oneself,'⁽²³⁾ to support those who were attempting to apply the virtues of charity and justice to a solution to the racial issue.

Despite the moderate tone of the 'Statement', and despite the fact that neither the Nationalist government nor its policy of apartheid were explicitly mentioned and condemned, the 'Statement' was welcomed by the Catholic world, both within the country and internationally. During the following months the issue of race

21. Ibid., p.6 .

22. Ibid., p.6.

23. Ibid., p.7.

relations dominated the pages of the Southern Cross, as it attempted to foster an awareness of the matter amongst the Catholic laity.(24)

The concerns of the South African hierarchy apropos the prevailing racial circumstances were obviously transmitted to Rome. In November 1952, the pope's missionary intention to the world-wide Apostleship of Prayer was 'The Solution of the Social Problem in South Africa.' In collaboration with this campaign, the Southern Cross published a series of articles over the following weeks, written by eminent local clerics, expanding on the bishop's 'Statement' on race relations. These articles included: 'South Africa's racial problem should not be the plaything of party politics,' by Fr O. Clark;(25) 'White must help non-white to develop towards responsibility,' by Fr D.J. Hatton;(26) 'True Christian Trusteeship,' by Fr J.B. Surgeson;(27) 'Human relations in South Africa - the function of prudence,' by Fr N. Humphreys;(28) and 'The State and Human Rights in South Africa,' by Fr E. Edmonstone.(29)

Perhaps the most important comment on the bishop's 'Statement' from a local cleric came from Fr F. Synnott. In a work entitled Catholics and the Colour Problem (1953), published cum permissu superiorum, Fr Synnott presented the traditional Catholic teaching on the fundamental equality of all men. Despite the obvious transgression of this teaching in South Africa, he noted that 'Catholic political and social influence cannot go beyond Catholic moral influence.'(30) The

24. Deliberating on the publication of the 'Statement' Fr Stubbs noted that it was time 'that people realised that there is a serious moral wrong permitted when members of one race deny justice and charity to members of other ethnic groups.' He thus intended launching a campaign to make people aware of this 'wrong'.

Southern Cross, 18 June 1952, 4.

25. Southern Cross, 5 Nov. 1952, 3.

26. Southern Cross, 12 Nov. 1952, 8.

27. Ibid., 5.

28. Southern Cross, 19 Nov. 1952, 4.

29. Southern Cross, 26 Nov. 1952, 5.

30. Fynbar Synnott, Catholics and the Colour Problem (1953), p.63.

best solution the Church could offer to the 'colour-problem' in South Africa was 'full Christianity'. As this was inconceivable at the present time, she acknowledged that there were four chances available to South Africa: racial mixing, liberalism, segregation, and apartheid. In discussing this last possibility Fr Synnott reflected the thoughts uppermost in the minds of many concerned white South Africans. While questioning the possible motives of its architects, he recognised it as a valid policy if pursued to its logical and just conclusion. This, however, was not the case in South Africa for, in essence, the policy was based on race prejudice and fear. Addressing himself specifically to Catholics, he thus stressed that a change of heart was needed if there was to be any just solution in the future. While accepted that 'there is no duty on the European Catholic to go out of his way to meet and mix with African Catholics,'(31) he felt that Catholics should endeavour to improve relations with their employees by paying them a just wage and should welcome black Catholics in 'white' churches - to 'drive a man from the Sacraments is grave sin.'(32) Finally he called on the Church to provide the means for black and white Catholics to meet, he suggested joint services and processions, as well as through Catholic clubs and societies.

Internationally, the bishop's 'Statement' was given extensive coverage in The Tablet, arguably the most influential and respected Catholic weekly in the English-speaking world.(33) The following year the

31. Ibid., p.67.

32. Ibid., p.68.

33. In a leading article in The Tablet, the universal applicability of the 'Statement' was stressed. While accepting that it was directed essentially to whites, it was felt to be equally applicable to non-whites. The British newspaper called on all who opposed the incumbent regime in South Africa to "to make full allowance for past history," and for "the tenacity with which people in a numerical minority will fight to preserve their own conceptions of society." Men whose forebears have suffered the travails of the pioneering experience, and who had built a community in a new land, the article continued, "cannot be expected to accept the prospect of being one day swamped and transformed under the influence of ideas of majority rule and unchecked mass democracy." Southern Cross, 2 July 1952, 1.

'Statement' was included in a work by Fr Yves Congar, who was to exercise an increasingly significant influence over the future development of contemporary Catholicism, entitled The Catholic Church and the Race Question (1953).(34) In an historical sketch, he gave evidence to show that racism was foreign to the Catholic tradition. With regard to present day attitudes he cited the declaration of Archbishop Ireland of America in 1891, decrees concerning Nazism and anti-Semitism, and finally the 1952 'Statement' of the South African hierarchy.

Race relations also dominated the concerns of a number of lay Catholic organisations during this period. Interracial problems received particular attention at the 1952 meeting of the National Catholic Federation of Students. The executive of the Federation issued a statement expressing their determination

to draw attention of all members of the Federation, since it regards them as the future leaders of the South African laity, to the implication of the 'Statement' [of the bishops] by every means in its power and in particular by encouraging the study of South African social problems by the constituent societies.(35)

The Federation resolved that the issue of interracial justice was to be the theme of the 1953 conference.

The bishops' 'Statement' was not, however, welcomed uniformly. The political and cultural divisions within the Catholic laity were soon exposed at the 1952 Kolbe Association's Winter School. In the discussion following the key-note address of Dr H. Jowett of Pius XII

34. The work was part of a series published by UNESCO entitled 'The Race Question and Modern Thought.'

35. Southern Cross, 6 Aug. 1952, 12.

University College(36) entitled 'Responsibility and Trusteeship,'(37) an Afrikaans delegate, one S. von Arx, objected to the continual emphasis on the need for 'liberal-mindedness'. Von Arx contended that the Catholic Afrikaner was 'just as "liberal" ...as any other section' of the laity, and he resented him being singled out for special treatment. Continuing, he was perhaps expressing the sentiments of a considerable number of Catholics, laity and clergy alike, when he noted that a good case could be made out for apartheid. 'Up to now the policy had not been given a chance of being fully put into practice,' he concluded.(38)

This division between liberal and more conservative members of the Church was to become increasingly more obvious over the following years. While the division was more apparent amongst the laity, the hierarchy was to be equally divided. While some bishops, because of their own beliefs, were prepared to remain silent, accepting the divisions within the laity, others felt that an attempt should be made to bring the laity to an awareness of the evils of the apartheid system. Indeed, such prelates felt obliged to speak out as much against the ingrained prejudices of their own flock as against those who promulgated the apartheid legislation.

36. The Pius XII University College was founded at Roma, the Catholic heartland of Basutoland, on 8 April 1945 by the Roman Catholic ordinaries of Southern Africa. The decision to establish such an institution to provide black Catholics with a post-matriculation education, coupled with religious guidance, was made as early as 1938. In 1950 the Catholic University College was ceded to the congregation of OMI, who constituted the majority of the teaching staff. Pius XII College at first prepared its students for external degrees of UNISA, of whom it became an 'associate college' in 1954. During the 1960s, however, the denominational character of the college made it difficult to gain funds from international organisations. It was thus reconstituted on a non-denominational basis, resulting in the formation of the University of Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate, and Swaziland in Jan. 1964.

37. P. Holland (ed.), op.cit., pp.114-136.

38. Southern Cross, 17 Sept. 1952, 5.

The prelate who was emerging as the most outspoken advocate of the need for change, albeit of a gradual and evolutionary nature, was undoubtedly Archbishop Hurley. Perhaps because of his role in the publication of the bishops' 'Statement', and because of his known concern for improved race relations, Archbishop Hurley was invited to address the South African Institute of Race Relations in Durban on 21 August 1952. His address, which was subsequently printed in the Southern Cross, was entitled 'Human Rights in complex South Africa.'

Concerning himself primarily with the theoretical issues involved, the archbishop noted the difference between fundamental rights and, what he termed, contingent rights. Fundamental rights, he held, were rights which man possessed by reason of his very nature, rights without which human society was inconceivable. Contingent rights, contrastingly, were the product of changing interpersonal relations. They were not absolute, but dependent upon social conditions, and were conferred in accordance with social development. However, because contingent rights were the most tangible expression in a society of fundamental rights, 'it becomes evident that the latter are frequently in jeopardy when the former are denied.'(39)

To illustrate his point the archbishop said that the contingent right of belonging to a trade union might be the only means for a person to protect his more fundamental right to life and work. Similarly the right to vote was the means by which a man protected himself against tyranny, and secured his right to a home, to education for his children, and his freedom of worship. The two types of rights, therefore, although distinct in theory, were inextricably connected in practice.

39. Ibid., 8.

Applying this schema to South Africa, the archbishop conceded that while fundamental rights were not directly violated, discriminatory legislation seriously impaired the exercise of these rights. As cases in point, he cited the migratory labour system, the threat of state controlled education, and the Colour Bar Act. Yet, despite these remarks, while accepting the equality of whites and non-whites in the matter of fundamental rights, Archbishop Hurley believed that contingent rights 'must vary if levels of development vary.'⁽⁴⁰⁾ Such rights imply both duties and obligations. With regard to the franchise, therefore, the archbishop indicated that this right demands a great deal of political maturity and responsibility.

You cannot go about the world throwing democratic rights haphazardly to people unsuited to exercise them. The result is chaos, bad government, public corruption and shocking administration. Yet frequently the franchise is upheld as one of the basic rights of man. It is nothing of the sort...⁽⁴¹⁾

The issue was complicated further, the archbishop continued, by the question as to whether those members of a particular group who have developed at a greater pace than the majority should still be denied the franchise until such time as their race group reached the required level of maturity or not. For him, personally, he felt that such individuals should be enfranchised.

In order to facilitate the achievement of this objective, the archbishop said that the task of concerned South Africans was to re-educate those whites who believed that they could claim the enjoyment of rights as a monopoly. Once this was achieved, 'the

40. Southern Cross, 24 Sept. 1952, 4.

41. Ibid., 4.

non-Europeans must be carefully studied and their economic, cultural and political rights adapted accordingly,'(42) in order that they might be more readily integrated into white society.

The archbishop's address was laudably received by the secular press. The Cape Argus, for example, commented that Archbishop Hurley had set an example which, "let us hope, leaders of other churches may be prevailed upon either to emulate or to reiterate at this critical time."'(43)

Critical time it was indeed. The very obvious concern of the Church hierarchy, and lay Catholic organisations, for race relations, must be seen against the background of the attempt to remove the Cape coloureds from the common voters roll, and the defiance campaign which brought home to many South Africans - and, with the tragic death of Sr Aidan, Catholics in particular - the gravity of the situation.

From the earliest days of Nationalist Party rule, it had been made clear that in pursuance of its aim of an apartheid South Africa, the Cape coloureds were to be placed on a separate voters roll. In February 1951 an attempt was made to bring this aim to fruition with the publication of the Separate Representation of Voters Bill, the most contentious of all apartheid measures and one which mobilised liberal opinion perhaps more than any other event in South Africa's history.

Before the bill had even been proposed an important lay organisation, the Cape Town Catholic Social Guild, had issued a statement expressing the opinion that the rights of minorities must always be adequately protected. The coloured people, the statement held, had 'always shared European traditions and culture in general' and their present position should be respected. The statement

42. Southern Cross, 1 Oct. 1952, 8.

43. Southern Cross, 3 Sept. 1952, 1.

concluded with a declaration of Pope Pius XII in an urbi et orbi Christmas message' "The more conscientiously the government of the State respects the rights of minorities, the more confidently and more effectively can it demand from its members a loyal fulfilment of civil duties in common with other citizens."(44)

Despite protests such as this which should have served as a warning of what would occur, the Separate Representation of Voters Bill was formally introduced in March 1951. In the bill provision was made for a separate voters roll for white and coloured voters in the Cape and in Natal. Further, coloured voters would elect four white members of Parliament to represent them, while the governor-general would appoint one white senator who was to speak on behalf of the coloureds. Provision was also made for a Coloured Affairs Council, consisting of eight members, elected by coloured voters, and three members nominated to represent Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal. This advisory Council was to be under the control of a government appointee - the commissioner of Coloured Affairs, who was also to head the sub-department of Coloured Affairs.

The bill immediately unleashed a flood of criticism, led by Smuts' successor, J.G.N Strauss, who contended that as it infringed sections 35 and 152 of the South Africa Act - guaranteeing the coloured franchise in the Cape - it was invalid. J.H. Conradie, the speaker, deemed that the entrenched clauses were no longer effective and allowed the bill to pass in the normal manner. Despite bitter opposition, the bill became Act No. 46 of 1951.

The passing of the Act, however, motivated the formation of a number of extra-parliamentary opposition groupings. The government's gerrymandering was greeted with a one-day protest strike organised by the, recently formed, radical Franchise Action

44. Southern Cross, 18 Oct. 1950, 1.

Committee. The strike, held in April 1951, affected thousands of black and coloured workers and was particularly effective in the areas of Cape Town and Port Elizabeth. The following month the War Veterans' Association and the Springbok Legion sponsored a torch-light procession of ex-servicemen through the streets of Cape Town. Following similar protests in other major cities, the War Veterans' Torch Commando was formed with the intention of fighting the government's tampering with the constitution. Shortly thereafter, in August, four Cape coloured voters filed petitions before the Cape Division of the Supreme Court contesting the validity of the Act. The matter was then taken to the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein where a full bench of five judges, with Chief Justice Centlivres presiding, declared the Act to be invalid. The United Party thereupon allied itself with the Torch Commando and the Labour Party in a pledge to fight any future government attempt to amend the South Africa Act.

Malan and his supporters, however, were determined that the setback was to be of a temporary nature only. In the midst of increasing opposition from all sides the government then passed the High Court of Parliament Act, No. 35 of 1952. It provided for the establishment of a court consisting of all members of the Senate and the House of Assembly sitting together, which, by means of a simple majority, could overrule the Supreme Court. The High Court of Parliament thereupon met on 27 August 1952 and reversed the Appellate Division's ruling.

In June, however, at the commencement of the defiance campaign, four coloured voters had again applied to the Supreme Court, this time concerning the High Court of Parliament Act. Two days after the High Court of Parliament had sat, the Supreme Court ruled that this Act was also invalid. The government unsuccessfully appealed against the decision in November of the same year.

While the agitation against the attempted removal of the coloured vote came to be led primarily by white liberal or 'mixed' organisations, the defiance campaign was largely a non-white affair. With the rapid increase in extra-parliamentary opposition to mounting apartheid legislation, a conference of the national executives of the African and Indian Congresses, as well as representatives from the recently formed Franchise Action Council, was held in late 1951 to discuss possible combined action. As a result, a Joint Planning Council was convened to co-ordinate a nation-wide campaign calling for the repeal of laws relating to passes, group areas, separate representation, Bantu Authorities, and rural 'rehabilitation' schemes. While originally intended to coincide with the tercentenary of van Riebeeck's landing at the Cape, the civil disobedience, or defiance, campaign was launched on 26 June 1952. While not attracting the considerable numbers originally aimed at, and although confined largely to the Eastern Cape and Witwatersrand, during the following six months 8 557 resisters were arrested and charged with defying various laws.(45) The campaign reached its violent zenith in October, resulting in deaths on both sides of the colour line. Amongst the dead was Sr Aidan of the St Peter Claver Mission in the East London area.(46)

The defiance campaign did not succeed in achieving its original aims. Indeed, the position of the blacks deteriorated due to the repressive nature of the governments reaction. Two Acts were passed shortly after the opening of the 1953 session of Parliament. The Public Safety Act, No. 3 of 1953, provided the governor-general with powers to proclaim a state of emergency either in the country as a

45. Wilson and Thompson (eds.), Oxford History of South Africa (1975), ii. 462.

46. Sr Aidan was reportedly the first white woman to appear at the scene of the rioting in East London on 9 Nov. While only a judicial commission could have established the facts, which the government refused to appoint, what shocked public opinion was the rumour that Sr Aidan's body had been subsequently mutilated and parts of it consumed by the rioters.

whole or within a specified area, if in his opinion, any persons were endangering public safety and the maintenance of public order, and the ordinary law of the land was inadequate to deal with the situation. The second Act, the Criminal Law Amendment Act, No. 8 of 1953, increased penalties imposed on persons found guilty of offences directed in any way against a law of the country. The outcome of the campaign did, however, kindle a considerable fear of blacks and black unity amongst the white population throughout the country.

The dread of black unity and its possible consequences had been expressed by Fr Stubbs in the Southern Cross as early as 1948, when he contended that many would greet with a sigh of relief the failure of the 'Call for African Unity' issued at Bloemfontein in October 1948. In expressing the fears of many white South Africans he noted that 'if the Natives ...become more fully race-conscious, then from their unity will be born a strength with which the white man simply will not be able to cope.'⁽⁴⁷⁾ The Catholic clergy had continually attempted to obviate radical black political unity by encouraging, sometimes unsuccessfully,⁽⁴⁸⁾ a spirit of moderation amongst the blacks. The Catholic African Union (CAU),⁽⁴⁹⁾ for example, was founded in the 1920s as a direct reaction to the supposedly 'anti-white and anti-Christian'⁽⁵⁰⁾ militancy of Clements Kadalie's Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union. It was therefore inevitable

47. Southern Cross, 22 Dec. 1948, 1.

48. The inception of the Youth League of the ANC in 1944, for example, owes much to the effort of Anton Lembede - a devout Catholic.
Tom Lodge, Black Politics in South Africa since 1945 (1983), p.21.

49. The CAU, perhaps the most influential black Catholic Action organisation in South Africa, was founded by three Mariannhill fathers, Rev. Frs Hanisch, Huss and Sauter. The movement was organised on parish, diocesan and national level, and involved itself with teachers' organisations, farmers' associations, co-operatives and savings banks. The CAU was based on a movement called Volksverein für Katholische Deutschland, founded by Abbé Hitze in 1890 in Germany. This latter movement drew its members from all social classes, and aimed at uniting all the forces of Catholicism in Germany in order to build up a democratic society based on Christian principles. These lofty ideals were also shared by the CAU.

50. J.B. Brain, Catholics in Natal II (1982), p.273.

that many within the hierarchy would respond to the defiance campaign by calling on black Catholics to dissociate themselves from the movement and to maintain a moderate stance in their relations with the government.

Bishop Whelan, in an address to the Joint Council of Catholic Africans and Europeans, attempted to underline the principles which, he felt, should govern the Catholic attitude to the defiance campaign. He stressed that any attempt to change society should be inspired by a Christlike concern for South Africa and its problems. With this aim in mind he said Catholics should cultivate the virtues of justice, charity, and prudence, as well as a sense of responsibility. Responsibility precluded indiscriminate opposition to authority. Further, opposition which aimed at replacing an imperfect government had to be convinced that it could replace it with something better, the implication being that this was not the case with the defiance campaign. Bishop Whelan also commented on the nature of the resistance. He held that if there was to be resistance, it should be according to the tenets of satyagraha - excluding the use of violence, and settled according to the law of love. The Catholic, like the Gandhian resistor, must begin by loving those whom he opposed.⁽⁵¹⁾ Again, the defiance campaign fell short of this ideal.

While not actually condemning the defiance campaign the bishop's inferences were not lost on his audience. The Joint Council considered the contents of the bishop's address a month later, and, after an exhaustive discussion, the following statement was released to the press:

This Council is presently not in agreement with the defiance campaign, as it is not satisfied that it is conducted without hatred, and because there is no strong moral probability that such a campaign will be able to achieve a new order in society, more in accord with justice and charity.⁽⁵²⁾

51. Southern Cross, 31 Dec. 1952, 1.

52. Southern Cross, 18 Feb. 1953, 1.

The decision to issue such a statement, however, was far from unanimous. It is reported that many black members of the Council felt that instead of condemning the defiance campaign, the movement should have been seen as the inevitable outcome of 'long-endured indignities, discourtesies and repression.'⁽⁵³⁾ Bishop Whelan's view, nevertheless, won the day.

One outcome of the deteriorating state of race relations during 1952 was that a number of members of the hierarchy felt that the black Catholic should be organised politically. The Catholic Church, it was argued, 'dare not neglect the political guidance of our Catholic Africans,' for fear that 'they become victims of reckless agitators.'⁽⁵⁴⁾ It was therefore suggested in the report of the Native Affairs Department to the 1952 plenary session that the white laity, because of the ban on clerical involvement in the political sphere, 'make use of the Catholic African Union to influence our African Catholics in the right way.'⁽⁵⁵⁾ By 'right way' was clearly meant an acceptance of the status quo, albeit unwillingly. Not only were the majority of prelates still determined to adopt a conciliatory policy towards the government, but it was also determined that the black laity adopt a moderate political programme. Thus the Administrative Board of the Bishops' Conference, at its November 1952 meeting, affirmed that efforts be made 'to provide guidance for its [Catholic African Union] members to view politics from a Catholic point of view and take part in them.'⁽⁵⁶⁾

With this aim in mind a number of the bishops attended the silver jubilee congress of the Catholic African Union held at Pax Training College in January 1953. Bishop Riegler,⁽⁵⁷⁾ in his capacity of

53. Ibid, 1.

54. BCA; M1, 1952 report of Native Affairs Department.

55. Ibid.

56. BCA; AV1, meeting of 10-11 Nov. 1952.

57. The Rt Rev. Johann Riegler, MFSC: prefect apostolic of Lydenburg, 1939-1948; vicar apostolic of Lydenburg, 1948-1951; bishop of Lydenburg, 1951-1955.

chairman of the Native Affairs Department of the Bishops' Conference, delivered the opening address at the congress. He stressed that the time had come for the black Catholic to 'ask himself the question "Quo Vadio?"'(58) The black, he argued, had before him two possible avenues for political development. One was the racial co-operation and goodwill as had been noted at the National Marian Congress held in Durban in May 1952, and the other was the violence of the past few months. The second alternative, the bishop continued, could not be contemplated. Rather, the black Catholic should concern himself primarily with his religion and his family. He called on the Catholic African Union to attempt to bring all blacks, regardless of their politics or religion, 'the benefit of its slogan, "better fields, better homes and better hearts."'(59)

The most significant speech at the congress was undoubtedly that of Bishop Whelan. The bishop felt that black Catholics should not necessarily attempt to improve their lot but should rather attempt to foster an inner spirituality. In his concluding remark he succinctly captured the essence of the ghetto-mentality of nineteenth century Catholicism. 'There was only one bulwark against the errors of the modern world,' the bishop said, 'and that was the Catholic Church with her discipline and moral teaching.'(60)

Such views, however, were not representative of all the hierarchy. A striking contrast is noted in the content of two speeches delivered by Archbishop Hurley during late 1952. In October of that year, in an address to the Joint Congress of the Catholic African Union Regional Council and the Catholic African Teachers' Union, he indicated that the present predicament of the black, including, as it did, the break-up of family life, was the product of 'bad laws, bad customs,

58. Southern Cross, 14 Jan. 1953, 1.

59. Ibid, 1.

60. Southern Cross, 22 Oct. 1952, 1.

and bad administration.' While noting that any response should be tempered by justice, charity, and prudence, the archbishop stated that 'the Africans themselves could do something about the present disruption of the African family, and if the complete cure was beyond them they should go on complaining and talking until the government listened to them.'(61)

A month later Archbishop Hurley delivered a provocative address to the Durbn Parents' Association. He laid much of the blame for the recent disturbances at the feet of white South Africans, whom, he held, had been 'behaving very much like children' in their relations with non-white South Africans. Whites had failed to consider the future, but had merely accepted the social customs of the past. The time had now come, the archbishop said, for South Africa to leave behind the days of its childhood, to grow up. 'Much as we would like to carry on the old way, the way of segregation, we cannot, we dare not.' He emphatically believed that 1948 was not the turning point with regard to the matter of race relations. Rather, the present situation owed its parenthood to the Native Land Act of 1913. In a sense, he said, he was grateful to the Nationalists for clearing up the situation and making people aware of the logical consequences of the policy of segregation. In the riots of 1952 South Africa was reaping the fruits of this 'ruinous harvest'. The failure of segregation, however, left South Africans, the archbishop contended, only two alternatives, either complete territorial separation or integration. While it was not his purpose or intention to commit himself to either of these policies, he accepted the responsibility to attempt, in some way, to shape public opinion. He encouraged all concerned South Africans to do likewise. Whites had to recognise the dignity and fundamental equality of the blacks, for only then could politicians legislate justly and constructively.(62)

61. Southern Cross, 22 Oct. 1952, 1.

62. Southern Cross, 3 Dec. 1952, 1.

When comparing the spirit of Archbishop Hurley's two speeches with those of Bishop Whelan it is clear that the 1952 defiance campaign had served to bring to the fore certain differences of approach within the Church hierarchy. While all the bishops still maintained a united front in supporting a conciliatory policy for the Church vis-a-vis the Nationalist government, and while the majority had supported the call of the 1952 'Statement' for improved race relations, it appears that there remained considerable debate on the extent to which the Church should involve herself in the political arena. On the one hand Bishop Whelan continually emphasised the supreme importance of maintaining and preserving the separateness of the faith. Worldly political concerns were only dealt with when they impinged on the mission of the Church or the religious life of the Christian worshipper. Contrastingly, Archbishop Hurley's was a much wider view. The priest, while remaining true to this mission, had of necessity to address himself to the social environment of his flock. It remained unclear where the sympathies of the silent majority of bishops lay.

The differences in the hierarchy were more dramatically mirrored within the Catholic laity. Shortly after the national congress of the Catholic African Union, a regional congress was held in the Durban archdiocese. Understandably, the issue of black nationalism was raised. H.J. Bhengu, vice-president of the Catholic African Union in Durban, and a member of the provincial and national executive of the African National Congress, dwelt on the matter in a speech which was subsequently printed in the Southern Cross, it being pointed out that the newspaper did not necessarily agree with his views. Bhengu quoted from a letter of Pope Pius XI to the Mexican Bishops in 1937. The letter declared:

It would be impossible to condemn a movement in which citizens were to unite to defend the nation and themselves by lawful and appropriate means, against those who use the civil power to drag the nation to ruin. It is the task of the clergy and Catholic actionists to educate the Catholics in the just use of their rights and to prepare

them for the defense of these rights by all lawful means, as required by the common good.(63)

Bhengu held that this letter was equally applicable to black nationalism in South Africa. Black nationalist politics, therefore, was a legitimate and justifiable avenue for Catholic Action and he encouraged all blacks to involve themselves in it. Their actions, he said, did not necessarily have to be political, for teachers were also needed 'to educate our mass of unlettered fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters.'(64)

Despite the surprisingly moderate tone of Bhengu's address, it invited an almost immediate response from irate white Catholics in the correspondence columns of the Southern Cross.(65) Indeed, because of this response, the editor was forced to issue a statement noting that while the views of the newspaper 'are the views of the hierarchy... this does not mean that the paper must never publish controversial articles or subjects which are not de fide, or that when it does so that the hierarchy is thereby committed...'(66)

Two months later, albeit paternalistically, Archbishop Garner gave his tacit support to black nationalist movements in South Africa. In an interview with the Dublin Catholic weekly, The Standard, during a trip to Ireland, following an ad limina visit to Rome, the archbishop stated that these movements were not to be condemned. The blacks, he contended, 'were not looking for absolute equality with whites,' but were seeking some voice in the government of the country.(67) While blacks were not yet ready to take a full part in

63. Southern Cross, 28 Jan. 1953, 4.

64. Ibid.

65. Southern Cross, 15 Feb. 1953, et seq.

66. Southern Cross, 15 Feb. 1953, 6.

67. Southern Cross, 15 April 1953, 1.

political administration, the time had come when they must be gradually introduced into those spheres of social and political life in which they were now ready to participate - he did not specify what these spheres were.

While a small minority of clerics were concerned with what Archbishop Hurley called, the 'contingent' rights of the black laity, most were familiar with the tangible hardships experienced by urban black parishioners, as this was a field in which the mission of the cleric was directly involved. Over the past five years a number of clergy, and Catholic lay organisations, had attempted to offer solutions to these problems. Perhaps the three most discernable problems to which these groups addressed themselves were those of wages, the precarious state of black housing, and the pass system.

A statement issued by the Catholic Federation of the Johannesburg diocese saw the first two issues as being inseparable. In its opening remarks, it was noted that the only permanent solution to the housing problem was to pay the black worker a wage that would allow him to provide for his own housing. This wage, the statement continued should not be paid out of charity, but on the grounds of justice. Further, due to the fact that existing labour legislation prevented the blacks from developing his talents and abilities, he was unable to demand a higher salary. The root of the problem was held to be the 'entire socio-economic structure' which had been erected and was guarded by white South Africans and which found its 'embodiment in the State.'⁶⁸ The Federation called on all employers to honour their 'strict moral obligation to pay employees a living wage. Failing this, it was the duty of the central government, with the aid of local authorities, to finance the present housing backlog and make adequate provisions for the future. Referring more specifically to possible resettlements in the newly established townships, the statement stressed that these must be handled with

68. Southern Cross, 19 Dec. 1951, 5.

care and justice, as the blacks concerned should not suffer further hardship as they were not responsible for the appalling conditions under which many of them were living.

The need for definite action with regard to black housing had been made many times before in the pages of the Southern Cross, and was to be made many times in the future. As early as 1949 Fr Stubbs had called on employers to finance housing for workers,(69) and in an article in 1952 he voiced his conditional support for a suggested move to officially levy employers of black labour to help in the housing of that labour.(70) The only alternative, he rightly noted, was to increase wages. Revealing the dominant thinking of the day, he suggested that the latter alternative might be abused by blacks who, 'through ignorance, [might] live in squalor and squander what was intended to meet housing costs.'(71)

Central to the position of the urban blacks was the pass system. In September 1951 Fr G. Coleman(72) had had an interview with P.G. Caudwell, chief native commissioner for the Witwatersrand, to ascertain the regulations governing the carrying of passes.(73) The need for clarification had come as a result of numerous complaints from black parishioners about the irregular application of the pass laws. While perhaps gaining clarity concerning the existing legislation, this was to no avail as the following year the Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act, No. 67 of 1952, was passed. This act, while doing away with unnecessary passes by replacing them with a single document, in practice served to streamline control of urban blacks, and, for the first time,

69. Southern Cross, 11 May 1949, 10.

70. Southern Cross, 16 Jan. 1952, 12.

71. Ibid, 12.

72. The Rev. Fr G. Coleman, OMI: parish priest of Alexandra township, and a member of the JCCAE.

required black women to carry passes. Despite the more rigorous application of the pass system in terms of the new Act, the Southern Cross believed this new law to be a 'modification of an embarrassing law.'(74)

Clerics, however, were aware that the hardships of the blacks were inextricably linked to the prejudices of the whites. Through the medium of the Catholic weekly, the 'Statement on Race Relations,' conferences, and speeches by prominent prelates and lay persons, the white Catholics of Southern Africa had been familiarized with the Church's teachings on race relations and the absolute necessity for all Catholics to attempt to put this theory into practice. The hierarchy itself had begun the process with the appointment of Mgr 'Mabathoana, a Basuto priest, as the bishop of the newly-constituted diocese of Leribe in Basutoland.(75) The appointment of the first black to the Southern African hierarchy(76) was interpreted by the Southern Cross as a 'milestone of incalculable importance in the history of the Church in this country.'(77)

Many in the Church, as well as in the other 'English-speaking' churches, however, were to be bitterly disappointed if they had expected the 're-education' campaign amongst the white laity to have any marked effect on the results of the April 1953 general elections.

While acting as the main vehicle for news on race relations, as early as August 1952 the managing director of the Southern Cross had

74. Southern Cross, 30 April 1952, 12.

75. The Rt Rev. Emmanuel 'Mabothoana, OMI: bishop of Leribe, 1953-1960; archbishop of Maseru, 1960-1967.

76. In 1930 the first Catholic bishop of black African descent had been consecrated in the Eastern Church in Ethiopia. By 1939 the Latin Church had two black bishops - one Ugandan and one Ethiopian. By 1961, when Vatican II was summoned, the number of black prelates had risen to 36.

77. Southern Cross, 24 Dec. 1952, 1.

been informed by Archbishop McCann that the newspaper was not to publish any advertisements in connection with the elections, or criticise any member of a political party. Rather, the task of the newspaper was simply to 'enlighten editorially the readers on the importance of voting.' Guidance and directives were to be supplied by the Press Department of the Administrative Board of the Bishops' Conference.(78) Clearly, the bishops' intention was not to show any partisanship. These instructions were closely observed by Fr Stubbs over the months leading to the 15 April elections.

However, while not actually supporting any particular political party - indeed Fr Stubbs suggested that it was perhaps a vain hope to think that a new or renewed government 'will now tackle the racial problem with the thoroughness and statesmanship that this crisis which we have reached demands'(79) - he indicated that racial antagonisms had to be combatted at all costs. The way this could best be done was by bringing people of different races 'together in every way that is reasonable and feasible.'(80)

In December 1952 a special pre-election editorial, written by Fr D.J. Hatton, was published entitled 'Election Thoughts'. It set out the official view of the Church. While not directly attacking the government, Fr Hatton stressed that families had the right to adequate housing and to decide on the best education for their children. 'Ordinary citizens', therefore, 'are not likely to cast their votes for one whose policy is not conducive to family peace and security.'(81) The implication was clearly to encourage Catholics not to vote for the Nationalist Party.

78. BCA; AV1, meeting of 19 Aug. 1952.

79. Southern Cross, 5 Nov. 1952, 6.

80. Ibid, 6.

81. Southern Cross, 3 Dec. 1952, 6.

Despite such comment, the official Church teaching was that she allied herself to no political party. This point had been emphatically stressed in an article published in the 'Van Riebeeck Festival' issue of the Southern Cross of 19 March 1952. In the article, directed at Afrikaans Catholics, and entitled 'Die Katolieke Kerk: 'n Blywende Faktor in die Suid-Afrikaanse Lewe,' Archbishop Garner noted that 'Katolieke is aan geen politieke party vasgeknoppel nie. Inderdaad kan hulle lede van enige tans bestaande politieke party in Suid-Afrika word...'(82) He was perhaps thinking of the Catholic Nationalist senator, George Wynne, who, in an address in the third of a series of Lenten lectures arranged by the Kolbe Association of Cape Town, defended his support of the government by referring to the official Church teaching as cited by Archbishop Garner.(83)

In the light of the forthcoming election, Bishop Whelan, in his Lenten pastoral of February 1953, concerned himself with Catholic political action. He conceded that Catholics must not remain indifferent to the political events then occurring in South Africa, indeed he called on Catholics to concern themselves with the economic, social and political life of their fellow countrymen. This, however, was not their first priority. Above all Catholics had to concern themselves with the salvation of their neighbour's soul.(84)

Given the sentiments voiced by Catholics in the months preceding the elections, it appeared that while the church opposed the policies of the Nationalist government, she accepted the fact that Catholic laymen might support these policies - she was certainly not prepared to commit herself uncompromisingly to calling Catholics to vote against them.

82. Southern Cross, 19 March 1952, bladsy een.

83. Ibid, 8.

84. Southern Cross, 25 Feb. 1953, 5.

Despite the apparent strength of this opposition - a united front had been formed by Strauss with the Labour Party and the recently-formed Torch Commando, tacitly supported by the United South African Trust Fund which was founded by Harry Oppenheimer in February 1952 - the Nationalists emerged from the polls in the election of April 1953 with a majority of 29 over the combined opposition. For the first time it now enjoyed the support of over half the electorate. What many liberals had regarded as a 'temporary aberration' (85) in 1948 was returned to power again.

Perhaps the most conspicuous result of the election was the disintegration of the United Party. The following month, Senator G. Heaton Nicholls announced the formation of the Union Federal Party, while almost simultaneously the Liberal Party, which declared its support for equal rights in a politically integrated society, was formed by a number of South Africa's foremost liberals, including the Ballingers, L. Marquard, Alan Paton, O. Wollheim, D.B. Molteno, and Leslie Rubin, who was the Party's first chairman. (86)

With an increased parliamentary majority and the weakening of the Opposition ranks, due to the formation of the two new political parties, a more confident government was determined to press ahead with issues like republicanism, abolition of the coloured franchise, and a new dispensation for black education. Consequently, a South Africa Amendment Bill, which aimed at obviating the two-thirds

85. M. Ballinger, From Union to Apartheid (1969), p.223.

86. The Southern Cross refused to express an opinion on the policies of the Liberal Party. A statement was issued stating that 'those who want to know what the Catholic Church thinks of the new party will have to wait, and probably a very long time indeed.'
Southern Cross, 20 May 1953 12.

majority required to alter entrenched clauses of the constitution was passed in an attempt to find a way out of the impasse over the coloured vote. It was only at this late stage that the hierarchy of the Catholic Church entered the debate. On 1 July, some two weeks prior to the third reading of the bill, Archbishop McCann delivered the opening address of the annual conference of the National Catholic Federation of Students at the University of Cape Town. Having discussed the need for all governments to respect moral law, he noted that the principal rex est sub lege should be universally applied. This principle, he held, also involved a recognition by Parliament of contracts entered into by its predecessors. If such contracts were to be broken, the deciding factor should not be political advantage or sectional benefit, but only the common good of the whole community. This, the archbishop held, was certainly not the case in the attempt to remove the coloured voters from the common roll. He noted that many had justified the action on the grounds that the old system was being abused. Were this so, he called on the government to rectify the abuses rather than deprive the coloured people of their rights.(87) Shortly thereafter, in an editorial in the Southern Cross, Fr Stubbs endorsed the archbishop's comments.(88)

At the joint session of both Houses of Parliament on 15 July the government failed to gain the required two-thirds majority, and was forced instead to turn its attention to the question of black education - a sphere within which the Catholic Church was particularly involved.

It was therefore with a sense of foreboding that Bishop Whelan opened the third Winter School of the Kolbe Association, held at St Dominic's Convent, Boksburg, in July 1953. The theme of the

87. Southern Cross, 8 July 1953, 1.

88. Southern Cross, 7 Oct. 1953, 6.

conference was 'Racial Conditions in South Africa,' and its purpose was to discuss possible future developments. Three speeches were particularly noteworthy. In a speech on the 'native' reserves, Fr G. Fortune of Cape Town concluded that the reserves, forced as they were to rely for survival on the earnings of migrant workers, were barely able to maintain the populations at a level of subsistence. What was required, Fr Fortune suggested, was to drain the surplus population off the land and give it alternative means of income. Unless farming methods were promptly improved, the situation would become progressively worse.(89)

J.E. Stewart, of Pius XII University College, delivered a speech entitled 'Non-European Reactions to Oppression.' This speech painted an equally apocalyptic picture. The oppression suffered by non-whites led to insufferable frustration which, in turn, was the catalyst for the formation of extreme and militaristic policies. It was these conditions, he demonstrated, that served as the breeding ground for Marxist-Communism - the sworn enemy of Catholicism.(90)

Despite the fact that the Catholic, and secular, press frequently printed information of this kind, the Catholics of the country failed to take cognisance of the dire nature of the present crisis in South Africa. In a challenging address J. Osborne noted that some of the blame for this crisis must be apportioned to the 'dreadful apathy and smug parochial satisfaction of the Catholics in this land.'(91) This criticism, however, might perhaps have been equally appropriately levelled at the Catholic hierarchy. Despite their repeatedly voiced concern for improved race relations, they consistently clung to a conciliatory stance vis-a-vis the Nationalists at time when the majority of South Africans were rejecting the policies being pursued

89. Southern Cross, 22 July 1953, 2.

90. P. Holland (ed.), The Kolbe Summer School Selected Papers (1958), pp.69-82.

91. Ibid, p.103.

by the government. In their quest for security, the hierarchy, with one or two possible exceptions, confined their political involvement to addressing specific problems experienced by the Catholic laity, and actively encouraged an insular parochialism. It remained to be seen how the bishops would react when the security they so cherished was directly threatened by the government's apartheid legislation.

CHAPTER FOUR

BLACK EDUCATION AND THE FAILURE OF CONCILIATION

In his account of his experiences in South Africa, Naught for Your Comfort (1956), Trevor Huddleston(1) contended that of all the apartheid legislation enacted since the Nationalist Party victory in the 1948 elections, 'the Bantu Education Act is by far the most deadly in its effect...'(2) for while being vigorously implemented then, he believed that it would take blacks a generation or two to recover from its consequences.

Emboldened perhaps by the temperate responses from the Christian churches thus far to the first five years of Nationalist rule, the government policy-makers stretched 'out their hands to grasp more important booty - the mission schools,'(3) and in so doing unleashed an unparalleled crisis in church-state relations which finally exposed the failure of the Catholic Church's policy of conciliation.

The history of Catholic education in South Africa is in fact inseparable from the history of the Church herself. Fr W.E. Brown(4) and Dr J.B. Brain(5) in their histories of the early Catholic Church in South Africa, have shown that teaching nuns were often the backbone of the young mission community, education being used as a major medium for evangelism, winning over

1. The Rev. (Ernest Urban) Trevor Huddleston, CR (Anglican): priest-in-charge Sophiatown and Orlando Anglican missions, 1943-1955; bishop of Masai, 1960-1968; bishop suffragan of Stepney, 1968-1978; bishop of Mauritius, 1978-1983; archbishop of Indian Ocean, 1978-1983.
2. Trevor Huddleston, Naught for Your Comfort (1956), p.160.
3. Trevor Verry, 'Catholic Bishops and Apartheid', in Andrew Prior (ed.), Catholics in Apartheid Society (1982), p.57.
4. Vide W.E. Brown, The Catholic Church in South Africa (1960).
5. Vide J.B. Brain, Catholic Beginnings in Natal and Beyond (1975); and Catholics in Natal II (1982).

large numbers of non-Catholics admitted to mission schools.(6) The result of this sterling effort was that the Catholic contribution to the education of blacks was far in excess of her proportion in terms of the overall population. The Catholic Directory for 1948 indicated that, within the territories of the Cape, Transvaal, Orange Free State, Natal and South West Africa, the Church controlled some 740 schools (including both state aided and unaided schools), involving 85 070 pupils.(7) Of this total, 377 schools and 36 939 pupils, that is almost half, were in the province of Natal, in the vicariates of Natal, Mariannhill, and Eshowe.(8) By 1953 the total number for South Africa had increased to 111 361 pupils, and the Catholic Church controlled 15 percent of all black schools.(9)

Education, however, was something more than a means of gaining converts, something more than mere book-learning and the acquiring of technical skills. Indeed, it occupied a vitally important position within the Catholic scheme of things. According to the editor of the Southern Cross, it was the means by which a child acquired a philosophy of life, 'a way of thinking about time and eternity, a code of values, a tradition of culture...'(10) The aim or goal of Catholic education, therefore, was seen as being inextricably linked to the Catholic philosophy of life. Thus the educational work of the teacher, it was held, should always be guided by the eternal destiny of the child, the purpose for which he was created. For Catholics this purpose was clear, man 'was created to praise, reverence, and

6. Brigid Flanagan, 'Education, Policy and Practice', in Andrew Prior (ed.), Catholics in Apartheid Society (1982), pp.86-87.

7. Catholic Directory (1948)

8. Ibid.

9. Brigid Flanagan, op.cit., 86.

10. Southern Cross, 12 April 1950, 4.

serve God, to save his immortal soul, and enjoy forever the Beatific Vision.'⁽¹¹⁾ The secondary, or proximate, aims of education were seen as the aids or means employed to realize the primary aim. This involved the use of instruction, guidance, and discipline, to prepare children to carry out their life's work with interest and dedication in conformity to unchanging moral principles.

Given these exalted aims Pope Pius XI, in his encyclical Divini Illius Magistri (1929),⁽¹²⁾ could claim with absolute conviction that education 'is first and supereminently the function of the Church.'⁽¹³⁾ While conceding that the other two societies to which man belongs, the family and the civil community, also have some claim to educational guidance of children, it is the Church, as teacher and mother, who has the ultimate right. This right is further seen as being independent of any earthly power. Quoting from the encyclical Libertas (1888) of Pope Leo XIII, Pius XI commented:

Now in all matters that come within the scope of her educational mission, that is to say, "in faith and moral instruction, God himself has given to the Church a share in the divine teaching office and endowed her with the gift of infallibility. It follows that she is the supreme and surest Teacher of men and that she possesses the inviolable right to freedom in the exercise of that office. "Independent of any earthly power in receiving her office to educate, the Church is clearly also independent of any such power in the exercise of that office. And this is true not only in regard to matters which fall directly within the scope of her function but also in regard to all that is necessary and useful for her fulfillment of it."⁽¹⁴⁾

-
11. J.D. Redden and F.A. Ryan, A Catholic Philosophy of Education (1942), p.87.
 12. In the encyclical, co-educational as well as inter-denominational schools were banned for Catholics. The encyclical was, therefore, contends von Aretin, part of the process of shielding Catholics from worldly contamination.
Karl von Aretin, The Papacy and the Modern World (1970), p.222.
 13. English translation, The Christian Education of Youth (1930), p.11.
 14. Ibid, pp.11-12.

The passing of the Bantu Education Act, No. 47 of 1953, was thus a direct challenge to the mission of the Church and her work amongst the blacks. The Act was not something suddenly imposed upon missionary organisations. The Church had been aware of Nationalist Party thinking in this regard from 1948 with the publication of the pamphlet Christelik-Nasionale Onderwysbeleid by the party-sponsored Institute vir Christelik-Nasionale Onderwys. Indeed, the Catholic Church had already come into conflict with the Transvaal Provincial Administration in the education field over the issue of mother-tongue instruction - considered to be the cornerstone of Christian National Education.(15)

The philosophy of education as presented in the Christelik-Nasionale Onderwys report was clearly diametrically opposed to all that the Catholic Church stood for. This was obvious from the opening remarks of the report which declared that the basis of education should be both Christian and national. By Christian was meant the creeds of the three Afrikaans churches, and by national was meant imbued with the love of one's own, especially one's own language, history and culture.(16)

-
15. In the provincial elections of 1949, while the government still obtained fewer votes than its opponents, in the Transvaal the National Party, for the first time, was able to take control of administration. One of the first steps of the new Council was to repeal the war-time Education Ordinance of the United Party which had introduced a system of dual-medium education. The intention, henceforth, was that mother-tongue education would be compulsory in all schools. A 'test case' was brought before the Supreme Court in 1950, in which the applicants were Bishop Garner, the principal of Loreto Convent, Pretoria, and the parents of Afrikaans pupils attending the Convent, versus the Education Department. In passing judgement, Justice John Murray declared that Ordinance 19 of 1949 was ultra vires the Provincial Council insofar as it purported to apply to private schools in the province. This decision was, however, reversed by a three to two majority in the Appeal Court in June 1951.
BCA; A4, Test Case 1950 - Parents' Rights Defence Case, re. Afrikaans home language in schools.

16. Christelik-Nasionale Onderwysbeleid (1948), article 1.

Referring some months later to the supposedly 'Christian' and 'national' aspects of this new policy, Fr Stubbs, in the Southern Cross, pertinently asked which of the two was to predominate. While he could accept a Christian brand of nationalism, there was little to be said for a national brand of Christianity. This latter version would imply the modification of Christianity to meet the needs of national tradition and patriotic feeling and, as such, was unacceptable to Catholicism.(17)

Amongst the other recommendations of the Christelik-Nasionale Onderwys report was that teachers should be Protestant Christians and bilingual South Africans.(18) The recommendations most directly concerning the Catholic Church were those dealing with black education. Black education, it was stated, should be based on the principles of trusteeship, non-equality and segregation. Its aim was held to be to inculcate the white man's view of life, especially that of the 'Boere nasie', the senior trustee. As with white education, it was agreed that the mother-tongue should be the language of instruction. Perhaps most important was the recommendation that owing to the 'cultural infancy' of the blacks, the state, in co-operation with the Protestant churches, should provide for black education. In concluding, the report stressed that black education should not be financed at the expense of white education.(19)

These views were subsequently endorsed by an Afrikaans teachers' gathering in July 1948. At the meeting it was emphasised that church control of public money, in the mission school system, had outlived its usefulness and should now be replaced by a non-white public school system under state control. Such a nationalisation of schools, Fr McCann, while still editor of the Southern Cross, was quick to retort, would be both expensive and dangerous. Expensive, because

17. Southern Cross, 6 March 1949, 4.

18. Christelik-Nasionale Onderwysbelied (1949), article 12, 7.

19. Ibid, article 15.

the state would then be obliged to pay for all of black education whereas at the time it was only subsidizing the churches' effort; and dangerous because 'it could be the thin end of the wedge of totalitarianism.'(20)

While these were the intentions of the supporters of the new government, nothing was done to carry them out immediately. Indeed, the Department of Native Affairs was controlled for some time by officials appointed by the Smuts government. The secretary, Dr Gordon Mears, and Dr Edgar Brookes, then on the Native Affairs Commission, continued to maintain the liberal policies initiated during the term of office of the previous government. All changed, however, with the appointment of H.F. Verwoerd, 'the epitome of the Promethean Afrikaner,'(21) and 'the most forceful, intelligent, and dedicated exponent of apartheid.'(22) as E.G. Jansen's successor in the Ministry of Native Affairs on 18 October 1950, and his faithful lieutenant Dr W.W.M. Eiselen as new secretary some time previously.

The government Commission on Native Education, established under Eiselen in January 1949, had among its most revealing terms of reference, to report on,

the formulation 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 aptitude, and their needs under ever-changing social conditions are taken into consideration.(23)

A second specification was that the Commission was to suggest,

20. Southern Cross, 7 July 1948, 4.

21. W.A. de Klerk, The Puritans in Africa (1975), p.234.

22. Ibid, p.276.

23. Muriel Horrell, Laws Affecting Race Relations (1978), p.297.

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 content and form of syllabuses in order to conform to the proposed principles and aims, and to prepare Natives more effectively for their future occupation.(24)

In their response to the questionnaire furnished to all organisations associated with black education, the Catholic bishops of Southern Africa presented the traditional Catholic philosophy of education. Given this philosophy, it was then stressed that there could be no true education which 'is not wholly directed to man's last end,' and further which 'artificially establishes a differentiation in the essentials of education between different groups of the human family.'(25) This latter point was more directly emphasised in the reply to questions dealing with the principles of education where it was stated that the 'same fundamental rights and obligations apply in Native as well as European education.'(26)

In November 1949 an official deputation consisting of Bishops Riegler and Whelan, as well as Advocate Vieyra, appeared before the commission in Pretoria and restated the Church's view.(27) For many, however, the die had already been cast. Fr Stubbs expressed the fears of Catholic clergymen and the laity concerning the possible findings of the commission in an editorial entitled 'Slower but Surer?' in September 1949. For Fr Stubbs the suggested moves against the mission school system was an indirect attack on the Catholic Church in South Africa. He held that as the government could not legislate directly against the Mass - for fear of alienating those who pay 'lip-service' to liberty of conscience - they had turned instead against

24. Ibid, p.297.

25. BCA: M1, Commission on Native Education.

26. Ibid.

27. BCA; Av1, meeting of 16 Aug. 1949.

the Catholic school system. From state controlled schools, without a strong Catholic presence, Fr Stubbs expected few, if any, vocations to the priesthood. Thus, with fewer priests, and fewer 'good' Catholics, the life of the Church in the country would be irreparably harmed.(28)

The findings of the Eiselen commission were published in 1951 and formed the basis for the education policy initiated in 1954. Inter alia, the report emphasised that the education of the blacks must be integrated with the entire socio-economic programme designed for blacks - that is apartheid.(29) Apart from the fact that the existing educational programme was seen as not being part of a general socio-economic development policy, other weaknesses within the system were held to be the lack of black participation in school control; the active school life of the average pupil was too short; the academic orientation of the schooling was inappropriate; and the non-involvement of teachers in the broader planning of general development schemes for blacks. Dealing specifically with mission schools, the report stated that they had "created a multiplicity of administrative units of very unequal size and efficiency, and with widely different conceptions as to the aims and practices of education."(30)

It was not surprising, therefore, that amongst its recommendations the commission stressed the necessity for the "separate existence" of black education, "because it exists and can function only in and for a particular social setting, namely Bantu society."(31) It was further recommended that the adult black population play a more active role

28. Southern Cross, 14 Sept. 1949, 4.

29. St G.4, Summary of Report of the Commission on Native Education 1949-1951, p.3.

30. A.L. Behr, New Perspectives in South African Education (1978), p.167.

31. Ibid, p.167.

in the education of its children, gradually taking over control of schools run by missionary societies or provincial administrations. While making 'grateful mention' of religious bodies, who 'have diligently acted as guardians of the Bantu,' the report held that 'this guardianship now hampers the balanced development of the Bantu community, and for that reason the guardian should stand aside if he desires to fulfil his mission.'⁽³²⁾ If missionary organisations were not prepared to hand their schools over to the government, while not being compelled to do so, they would not be entitled to full state-aid.

The Catholic Church was, because of the extent of her involvement in black education,⁽³³⁾ greatly affected by the report. She was not alone, however, in interpreting the recommendations of the commission as the death knell of the mission school system. The South African Institute of Race Relations organised a national conference, attended by 159 different educational institutions and organisations, to discuss the recommendations of the commission in July. Significantly, given the state of ecumenical relations, Catholics were well represented at this gathering. Apart from Archbishop Hurley, who chaired one of the discussions, also in attendance were Bishop Riegler and several priests as well as black and white Catholic laymen. The conference objected to much of the contents of the report and presented the government with a copy of these objections – realistically aware that its views would probably not be taken into account when legislation was framed.⁽³⁴⁾

32. St G.4, op.cit., p.12.

33. Although controlling only 15% of black schools in 1951, the Church spent £10 000 more than the Protestant societies combined.
M. Horrell, African Education (1963), p.35.

34. Southern Cross, 13 Aug. 1952, 3.

Shortly after the publication of the report, a series of articles appeared in the Southern Cross under the broad heading 'The Church and Native Education.' They were written by a regular contributor to the newspaper using the pseudonym 'N.H.' They were essentially a discussion of the report from a Catholic point of view. N.H. contended that the missionaries and the government had basically irreconcilable aims; that the black people themselves were not consulted; that it was essentially the duty of parents and the Church to provide for education, the state only being there to assist; that the report failed to guarantee religious freedom; and finally, that the proposed secularisation of schools was a fundamental invasion of parents' rights.(35) These articles were followed shortly thereafter by a further series entitled 'The Extent of Government Responsibility for Education.' The author, Fr H.J. Farrell,(36) reiterated the comments made by N.H. concerning the rights of parents, and the essentially supportive role which should be played by the government.(37)

Reaction from the hierarchy to the published report was at first somewhat guarded. A statement was issued which merely stressed the tenets of a Catholic philosophy of education.(38) Sometime later, however, once the probable intentions of the government were more readily recognised, Archbishop McCann, in an address at Christian Brothers' College, Green Point, emphatically declared that the future welfare of the country 'demands the rejection of the recommendations concerning control of Native schools contained in the report on Native Education now being considered by the authorities.'(39) Given the recent disturbances during the defiance campaign, the message was that only through a Christian education could peace and security be achieved in South Africa.

35. Southern Cross, 11 June 1952 - 6 Aug. 1952.

36. The Rev. Fr H.J. Farrell, C.S.Sp.: sometime education secretary for Catholic mission schools in Kenya.

37. Southern Cross, 26 Nov. 1952 - 14 Dec. 1952.

38. Southern Cross, 12 March 1952, 11.

39. Southern Cross, 12 Nov. 1952, 12.

Perhaps because of the dire predicament facing the Church, the Administrative Board of the Bishops' Conference, at its November 1952 meeting, made the exceptional decision to enlist the co-operation of a 'vigilance committee' composed of experts drawn from the fields of education, medicine, law, accountancy, social welfare, race relations and journalism to advise the Church in the event of any serious crisis. It was also agreed to seek the co-operation of government officials in 'leading positions.' Bishop Whelan undertook to see whether he could find somebody in the government bill-drafting department.(40)

By March 1953 it was clear to most people involved in education that the Eiselen report would indeed form the basis of Nationalist Party education policy. In a highly emotive address to the Catholic Men's Society in Cape Town on 9 March 1953, Archbishop McCann laid down the reasons for Catholic opposition to the report. While it accepted that Catholic private schools would be allowed to continue, he pointed out that these would no longer receive government assistance. Further, he believed that those schools which had been receiving aid in the past would now be taken over by the new Education Department. In these schools, the appointment of teachers would be made by the Department, and the curriculum, as far as religious instruction was concerned, would have to follow an agreed syllabus. 'We protest against this proposal on the grounds that it is unjust, and also that it will be highly detrimental to the future welfare of South Africa.'(41) Perhaps exaggeratedly, the Archbishop cited the example of the Mau Mau in East Africa as showing what would happen when the control of black schools was removed from the churches. He then called on all political parties to state their attitude to the report 'so that we know where we stand.'

40. BCA; AV1, meeting of 10-11 Nov. 1952.

41. Southern Cross, 11 March 1953, 1.

If the archbishop expected the education issue to have an impact on the possible outcome of the April 1953 election, he acknowledged failure when he undertook to arrange a meeting with the government to discuss the extent to which it intended implementing the recommendations of the Eiselen report.(42)

Sometime in June, two South African-born members of the hierarchy, Bishops Whelan and Boyle - while laying foundation stones of new schools in their respective dioceses - both stressed the rights of parents to a free choice of education for their children. Both emphasised that the state was not the final arbiter in education, and that the rights of the family, the fundamental unit of society, must be respected.(43)

Despite this opposition and that of the other churches involved in black education, the Bantu Education Bill was introduced shortly thereafter in Parliament. It proposed to remove control of black education from the Provincial Councils to the central government. The minister of Native Affairs was to be given sweeping powers over all black schools, nobody being allowed to start, or even continue to conduct, black schools without his permission. Clause 9, dealing specifically with private (that is other than government) schools, stated that no such schools could be conducted unless registered in terms of the Act. This clause further noted that if, in the opinion of the minister, the existence of a school is not deemed to be in the interests of the black people, or 'is likely to be detrimental to the physical, mental or moral welfare of the pupils or students attending or likely to attend such schools,' the registration of the school could be refused or cancelled.(44) An all-embracing clause 15 gave the minister power to make regulations from time to time, providing for a disciplinary code for teachers, courses of instruction and fees, the

42. BCA; AV1, meeting of 19 May 1953.

43. Southern Cross, 24 June 1953, 1.

44. Southern Cross, 19 Aug. 1953, 1.

control of school funds, religious instruction in government black schools, and conditions under which grants-in-aid could be made.

A week later, Bishop Whelan, chairman of the Education Department of the Bishops' Conference, issued a statement to the Southern Cross on the attitude of the hierarchy to the bill. While noting that the real significance of the bill was not yet apparent - it was not yet known to what extent the government would implement the recommendations of the Eiselen commission - many viewed the contemplated transfer of control 'with regret and even dismay.'

If the new bill is meant to be more than a simple instrument for more efficient re-organisation of educational administration; if it is to be a charter for ideological experimentation in the moulds of State secularism and Bantu culturalism; if it means that the whole brave and noble structure of Christian missionary educational effort, established with great sacrifice over the past decades, is now to be demolished or abandoned; then there is every reason for serious-minded and responsible citizens to view this bill with grave misgivings.

Despite these misgivings the statement said that as all the implications of the new bill were not yet clear, and as the Church still retained 'confidence in the good conscience and Christian convictions of our statesmen', she still clung to the hope that the black youth would be protected from educational ideologies whose only result could be a form of 'civilised paganism', and increasing 'national absolutism.'⁽⁴⁵⁾

There followed in the Southern Cross a spate of articles and editorial comment dealing with education in an attempt to make Catholics aware of the issues involved. Fr G. Duffy submitted an article entitled 'Catholic Education Is not an "Extra",'⁽⁴⁶⁾ N.H. again wrote a series of articles on the Eiselen report on 'Why Catholics Must Oppose the Secularisation of Education.'⁽⁴⁷⁾ The hierarchy also contributed

45. Southern Cross, 26 Aug. 1953, 1.

46. Southern Cross, 30 Sept. 1953, 9.

47. Southern Cross, 30 Sept. 1953 - 4 Nov. 1953.

articles for print, amongst which was 'The Case for "Private" Schools,' by Bishop Whelan.(48) A lecture of Archbishop Hurley's, entitled 'Aims of Catholic Education delivered at the annual conference of the Catholic Schools Association of the archdiocese of Durban, was also printed.(49)

On 1 October 1953 the Catholic view of the education issue was repeatedly referred to during debates in the Senate on the Bantu Education Bill. Both Catholic senators, G. Wynne and E.R. Browne, although representing different political parties,(50) spoke up on behalf of the mission schools. Their reasons for doing so, however, were somewhat different. Wynne, who had recently secured an amendment in the bill to the effect that mission schools should be notified and thus response invited before action was taken, defended the Church schools on the grounds that they had made tremendous contributions in the past. They had, he said, accepted the principle of possible differences between black and white education. Furthermore, the Church was 'not unwilling that schools and institutions for the education of the laity be in keeping with the legitimate dispositions of civil authority.'(51) Browne was much more outspoken. The greatest danger, as he saw it, was the statement by Verwoerd that black education must not conflict with government policy. 'It is but one little step from there to where we shall be asked to adopt the same line of thought in regard to European education.'(52)

48. Southern Cross 30 Sept. 1953, 8.

49. Southern Cross, 25 Nov. 1953 - 23 Dec. 1953.

50. G. Wynne represented the National Party, while E.R. Browne, although appointed a Labour Party senator, joined the Union Federal Party shortly after it was organized following the 1953 election.

51. Southern Cross, 7 Oct. 1953, 2.

52. Ibid, 1.

Wynne thereupon arranged for a meeting between Bishops Riegler and Whelan and the minister and secretary for Native Affairs to discuss the ramifications of the bill. In his report on this interview Bishop Riegler noted that the most obvious fact to emerge was just how 'very little' Verwoerd knew about black education.(53) During the discussion, Bishop Whelan asked what complaints had been received against Catholic mission schools. While initially responding that this 'is an unfair question', Verwoerd proceeded to comment that, without wishing to mention any particular church, it had come to his attention that some churches 'are teaching equality and intermingling of races,' and that some 'neglected to teach Afrikaans in spite of the fact that South Africa is bilingual.'(54) He then admitted that these observations were 'just rumours' which he had yet to justify. While it is clear from these remarks that Verwoerd included the Catholic Church in this criticism 'Bishop Whelan requested the minister not to consider the Catholic Church as one of the "'English Churches"', or to associate her with them in any way whatsoever.(55)

Despite protest from the opposition political parties,(56) the Bantu Education Bill was finally passed by Parliament. The new Act dominated proceedings at the Administrative Board meeting at the Bishops' Conference held at the St John Vianney Seminary in Pretoria on 24 November 1953. After Bishop Riegler's report of the meeting with Verwoerd had been submitted, a lengthy discussion followed on how best to safeguard the rights of the Church and meet the dangers

53. BCA; A3, Interviews with minister: Report on interview between two representatives of the SACBC and the minister of Native Education concerning mission schools.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

56. The United Party's opposition, spearheaded by Dr Smit, sometime secretary of Native Affairs, was based on three points. Firstly, the move was held to be unconstitutional as it deprived the provinces of a function guaranteed them under section 85 of the Constitution; secondly, the Party opposed black education being placed under the Native Affairs Department; and finally the Party believed that the principles of education should be the same for all races. On this latter point the Labour Party and Mrs Ballinger were even more insistent.

involved. It was generally agreed that 'organised opposition could only do harm to our cause, and that collaboration with Protestant bodies would, at this stage be inadvisable.'⁽⁵⁷⁾ It was, however, regarded as being of the greatest importance to keep in contact with the secretary for Native Affairs and the newly appointed director of Native Education so that the Church's view could be conveyed to them, while timely information concerning the government's intentions could be obtained. The discussion concluded with the Board agreeing to furnish all ordinaries with copies of Bishop Riegler's report and to invite suggestions and ask for prayers.

During the following months, there was much confusion and uncertainty felt by both Church and government officials concerning the implementation of the Act. In March 1957 Frs Hoffend, J. O'Brien, L. Muldoon, and J. Ochs, visited the under-secretary for Native Affairs, F.J. de Villiers, in an attempt to gain a picture of possible future developments. De Villiers informed the clerics that, in terms of the Act, three possible options were open to mission schools. Firstly, state control of schools; secondly, the state would control the educational aspects of any given institution, while the Church controlled the boarding establishment; and, finally, the Church could control the institution completely - no mention was made about government subsidies. Expressing the fears of the Church about the new system, the clerics noted that 'agitators' might gain control of school boards, as envisaged by the Act, while the Church's control could also be undermined by the fact that she could not appoint her own teachers. Characteristically, the Catholic Church, they stressed, was totally committed to fight communism in South Africa and to stand by law and order.⁽⁵⁸⁾

Early in April, a statement was issued to the press by the Department of Native Affairs to the effect that it intended inviting the Dutch

57. BCA; AV1, meeting of 24 Nov. 1953.

58. BCA; A3, Correspondence 1953-1956: proceedings of 11 March 1954 meeting with de Villiers.

Reformed, Anglican, Lutheran, Catholic, Methodist, and Presbyterian Churches to sell their school buildings outright at a reasonable figure. If they did so, the teachers would continue to teach at the school and receive a full government subsidy. Further, the full government subsidy would also be paid if the buildings were rented to the government. While there would obviously be changes to the ordinary curriculum in schools where a certain religious dogma was preached, there was to be no interference in religious education. Missions not accepting this option would in future receive only half the government subsidy.(59)

In responding to this announcement, Archbishop McCann said 'we stand aghast at the proposal.'(60) The Eiselen commission, while agreeing to reduce the subsidy, had never given the churches to believe that this reduction would be as great as fifty percent. Further, the commission had also recommended that the mission schools should not be taken over at once. The archbishop pointed out that the Catholic church had 940 black schools containing 123 000 pupils and, should the fifty percent reduction be put into effect, hundreds of thousands of pounds would have to be found each year to make up the difference.

Given the dilemma facing the Church over how it should respond to the Act, an extraordinary plenary session of the Bishops' Conference was called in Pretoria on 29 April 1954. The aim of the meeting, according to the Administrative Board, was to gain a mandate which would empower it to act on behalf of the hierarchy and to take the lead in establishing a modus vivendi in their negotiations with the government.(61)

modus vivendi

59. Southern Cross, 14 April 1954, 1.

60. Ibid, 1.

61. BCA; AV1, meeting of 28 April 1954.

The special session, opened by the apostolic delegate, Archbishop Damiano,⁽⁶²⁾ finally brought the differences of opinion within the hierarchy out into the open. While not the direct concern of the session, it is clear that the debate revolved around the question of whether to maintain or reject a conciliatory policy towards the government. Fearful of the consequences of the government's education policy the Church's representatives had continually tried to appease the Nationalists by stressing their loyalty to South Africa, by emphasising their common concern about the dangers of communism, and by attempting to dissociate themselves from protests made by the Protestant churches. While it appeared that this approach was not reaping the desired results – the government was determined to implement a new education system – the majority of bishops clung to the maintenance of the conciliatory approach as the only means by which the Church might secure concessions. Archbishop Hurley, however, felt that the time had now come to openly defy the government's apartheid legislation and accept the consequences of the failure of attempted conciliation.

The apostolic delegate, in his decidedly guarded opening address, expressed the concerns of the majority of the bishops. He stressed the gravity of the situation facing the Church and the desire that she might overcome it while still maintaining 'the prudent manner in which the Church had so far managed her relations with the government.'⁽⁶³⁾ He then called on all bishops to consider the common good of the whole Church before the individual advantages of their particular dioceses.

In contrast, a very unguarded response was made by Archbishop Hurley, who, in his capacity of chairman of the Bishops' Conference, delivered a provocative outline on events thus far. He said that he had little hope for any success from negotiations with the government. He believed that a public opinion campaign should be

62. HE, the Most Rev. Celestine Joseph Damiano: apostolic delegate to Southern Africa, 1952-1960; archbishop of Camden, New Jersey, USA, 1960-1967.

63. BCA; PS1, extraordinary plenary session of 28 April 1954.

resorted to. While this would probably mean a clash with the government, this was bound to happen sooner or later. If the clash did not come over the Education Act, it 'would come over some other application of apartheid.' Because the Act was an application of apartheid, he felt that the Church could not compromise. 'That was out of the question,' he said. Indeed, 'the sooner we clashed the better.' He felt that it 'would be better to fight while our moral position was intact and strong instead of weakening ourselves by compromise.' Optimistically, the archbishop contended that apartheid would not last, 'it was doomed,' and if the Church wished the right to contribute to the post-apartheid South Africa 'we must oppose apartheid now.' Only those who fight apartheid now 'would have the right to speak later.' This would mean suffering, 'we should be prepared for that.' Archbishop Hurley then proposed what he termed a 'vigorous' policy, by which he meant a clear and forceful presentation of the Catholic case, consultation with non-Catholic bodies, and a strong appeal to public opinion should negotiations with the government fail.(64)

In the debate that followed, it became obvious that the hierarchy was hopelessly divided. Bishop Boyle gave his tacit support to Archbishop Hurley, while Mgr Lamont(65) agreed completely that the Act was immoral and 'should be opposed without compromise.'(66)

Many of the more conservative bishops, however, could not agree. While accepting that negotiations must be pursued, Archbishop Garner and Bishops Whelan and McBride(67) all felt these should be held

64. Ibid.

65. The Rt Rev. Mgr Donal Raymond Lamont, O.Carm.: prefect apostolic of Umtali, 1953-1957; bishop of Umtali, 1957-present. (The Rhodesian bishops were still members of the SACBC in 1954, and thus enjoyed equal voting rights at the plenary session.)

66. BCA, PS1, op.cit.

67. The Rt Rev. John Evangelist McBride, OFM: vicar apostolic of Kokstad, 1949-1951; bishop of Kokstad, 1951-1978.

independently, for they distrusted collaboration with non-Catholics, as 'dissident groups would be glad to use us.' Further, Bishop Whelan held that openly opposing the government would help the Church very little, besides being contrary to the agreement which had been reached in 1948 between Archbishop Lucas and Malan. The bishop added that, while they should not surrender principles, they must be tolerant towards others 'and take into account the situation in which we find ourselves.' In South Africa, he pointed out, the colour bar had 'existed before the idea of apartheid,' besides, it should be borne in mind, the bishop said, that 'powerful concerns throughout the country are also strongly in favour of apartheid.'(68) Bishop Bilgeri,(69) given the extensive involvement of his diocese in black education, summed up the views of many of the hierarchy in his comment that the Church was 'not concerned with the policy behind the Act, what we want to safeguard is our right to teach.'(70)

Despite these divisions, after much discussion a compromise was reached. A resolution was passed by a two-thirds majority that a memorandum be drawn up and presented to the government, and that private negotiations be pursued. The purpose of both was to 'secure financial aid sufficiently generous to maintain the present system of aided schools,'(71) over which the church enjoyed full control. It was unanimously agreed that the Administrative Board conduct the negotiations. A further resolution was passed to the effect that the Administrative Board be given a mandate to consult with non-Catholic bodies concerned in the question, and if, in the opinion of the Board, it was considered to be to the advantage of the Church, to take joint or parallel action with them.(72) Should negotiations fail, another session was to be called to decide on a line of action.

68. BCA; PS1, op.cit.

69. The Rt Rev. Aurelian Bilgeri, OSB: vicar apostolic of Eshowe, 1947-1951; bishop of Eshowe, 1951-1973.

70. BCA: PS1, op.cit.

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid.

A press statement was subsequently released expressing the Church's fear for the future of her mission schools and the hope that, through negotiations with the government, a mutually acceptable solution might be achieved. A proposal by Bishop Boyle that the statement record the Church's belief that the Bantu Education Act was not in the interests of the black people failed to gain the necessary two-thirds majority.

In pursuance of its mandate, the Administrative Board decided at its meeting the following day that members submit points for inclusion in a memorandum to be presented to the government, that a campaign of prayer for the schools be introduced,(73) and that the Southern Cross be used to keep the laity informed of developments. It was further resolved that Fr St George(74) be asked to make 'unofficial contact' with non-Catholic bodies.(75)

The memorandum was drawn up at a meeting on 2 June. It was to be accompanied by a request for a deputation of bishops to meet the minister. Efforts to gain information via Senator Wynne had so far been unsuccessful. With regard to contacts with non-Catholics, Fr St George noted that he did not expect much support over primary schools as these churches seemed more concerned about the larger institutions.(76)

73. In a circular to the priests of his archdiocese, Archbishop Hurley directed that 'in place of the oratio imperata no. 13, no. 12 will be said and that the following notice will be displayed in all sacristies of churches and oratories: Oratio Imperata N.12 pro Quacumque necessitate tamquam pro re gravi and scholas nostras missionales tuendas.' Further, 'after Mass the Memorare and invocations be said for the mission schools. St. G.1, circular to the clergy of the archdiocese of Durban, 6 May 1954.

74. The Rev. Fr D.H. St George, OMI: a cleric in the archdiocese of Durban involved with black education.

75. BCA: AV1, meeting of 30 April 1954.

76. BCA; AV1, meeting of 2 June 1954.

A long-awaited statement of policy finally came from Verwoerd during the parliamentary debate on black education in the first week of June 1954. He said that the government was now prepared to provide subsidies of up to seventy-five percent as an interim measure to mission schools wishing to maintain their independence. In the Senate debate on 7 June he went on to emphasise that this subsidy was only a temporary measure and would not apply at all to the church controlled teachers' training colleges. In an illuminating passage he then went on to clarify the thinking behind the new dispensation.

The State is taking over from the churches to prosecute the same work more effectively. The needs of religious instruction will be carefully taken into account. Indeed, they will be served more generously, because all churches, not just the ones now in possession, will be given an opportunity to co-operate in satisfying the needs of religion...

A Bantu pupil must obtain knowledge, skills and attitudes in the school which will be useful and advantageous to him and at the same beneficial to his community... The school must equip him to meet the demands which economic life in South Africa will impose upon him...

The Bantu teacher must be integrated as an active agent in the process of the development of the Bantu community. He must learn not to feel above his community, with a consequent desire to become integrated into the life of the European community.(77)

Given this declared policy, the bishops who attended the interview with Verwoerd on 2 September 1954 did not have much ground for optimism. Indeed, even prior to the meeting it was obvious to many that the hierarchy would have to opt for continued Church control even without a subsidy. Bishop Whelan had indicated as much in the Southern Cross, (78) and appeared to enjoy the support of many Catholics.

77. A.L. Behr, op.cit., p.170.

78. Southern Cross, 24 June 1954, 2.

The interview was held in the Union Buildings, Pretoria. Representing the hierarchy were Archbishops Hurley, McCann and Whelan, accompanied by Fr St George. The government's representatives consisted of Verwoerd, Eiselen, and de Villiers, as well as C.W. Prinsloo, M.D.C. de Wet Nel, and W.A. Maree of the Native Affairs Commission. The Church's alternative proposals, contained in the memorandum which had been submitted to Verwoerd, were that the Church be allowed to maintain ownership and management of schools while the state continued to subsidize them. Control of the schools themselves would be vested in school boards consisting of nominees of the Church, the Education Department, the Regional Bantu Education Board, and elected black representatives from the school committees. Schools themselves would be managed by a school committee with the local missionary as chairman.(79)

In responding to the proposals, 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,' he said, but had 'come to put their case in a reasonable manner.'(80) Regrettably, he had to 'disappoint them completely.' While accepting that Catholic schools had a good record of discipline and achievement, he regretted that he could make no exceptions to the rule. With regard to the suggestion that the Act implied religious persecution, he expressed shock and pointed to the treatment of Protestant schools in Catholic countries such as Spain and Mozambique. Referring to the seventy-five per cent subsidy, the minister stressed that it would be done away with 'as soon as possible.'

In an appeal for a compromise of sorts, Archbishop Whelan pointed out that 'as South Africans, we have no home but South Africa.' While expressing sympathy with the country's problems he emphasised

79. Southern Cross, 15 Sept. 1954, 3.

80. BCA; AV1, interview with Dr Verwoerd, report of Archbishop Hurley.

that 'we cannot divorce the duties of our ministry from the work of the schools.'(81) Such an appeal, however, left Verwoerd unmoved, while Eiselen retorted that he fully backed Verwoerd's rejection of the memorandum.(82) 'How', he argued, 'can a school receiving a hundred percent state subsidy be justified... in asking the children to pray for the defeat of Dr Malan's party?'(83)

The obvious failure of the meeting with Verwoerd was immediately reported to all ordinaries in Southern Africa who were in turn summoned to a further extraordinary plenary session to be held at the end of the month. On 29 September twenty-five bishops assembled at the St John Vianney Seminary for, what was described by Fr Stubbs as, 'one of the most important sessions ever held by the bishops.'(84) The vital decision required of the bishops was whether they would attempt to keep all their schools open, whether they would relinquish all involvement in black education, or whether they would attempt to maintain some of them as independent schools. If the bishops decided on the first option, an amount of £300 000 per annum would have to be found for the 790 schools. Commented Fr Stubbs, one only had to recall 'the effort involved in raising only £25 000 for the Regional Seminaries' fund for this year to appreciate the magnitude of the burden which will fall upon the Bishops and faithful unless many

81. BCA; AV1, interview with Dr Verwoerd, report of Fr St George.

82. Ibid.

83. An interesting parallel may be drawn with events in Czechoslovakia, and other East European countries, where six years previously, the Czechoslovakian prime minister, M.J. Zapotarcky, justified the nationalisation of Catholic schools on the grounds that while every religious denomination had the right to instruct its members in its religious ceremonies, 'these rights must not be misused, however, for attacks against the people's democracy and for appeals to citizens urging them not to fulfil their civic duties.'
Southern Cross, 15 Sept. 1948, 12.

84. Southern Cross, 22 Sept. 1954, 1.

of the Church's Bantu Schools are sacrificed.'⁽⁸⁵⁾ The possibility of closing the mission schools, however, would necessitate an entire re-orientation of mission policy, since the schools had largely been at the heart of mission activity in the hundreds of mission stations throughout the country.

Given the seriousness of the situation, the plenary session opened with telegrams being addressed to the pope, and to Cardinal Fumasoni-Biondi, prefect of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, asking for blessings and prayers. A return telegram was also read from Rome congratulating the bishops on the contents of the memorandum submitted to Verwoerd, 'the Holy See is satisfied that it is a good piece of work.'⁽⁸⁶⁾

At this meeting the divisions within the hierarchy were again obvious. A number of bishops immediately assumed that the government's actions were directed essentially against the Catholic Church. Archbishop McCann, however, disagreed. He readily accepted that the government was attempting to introduce a degree of order and uniformity into the mission school system. A further point of disagreement was the suggestion that other denominations be approached. Bishop Kelleter⁽⁸⁷⁾ noted that, according to certain newspapers, Trevor Huddleston had proposed that the Catholic hierarchy approach Malan in company with the Anglicans. Referring to this, Bishop Boyle, probably expressing the feelings of many bishops, declared that while he accepted that 'we should co-operate with good non-Catholic people for deputation to the Minister,' it would be unwise to co-operate with Huddleston, as he was 'one of the men that the Prime Minister will not see.'⁽⁸⁸⁾

85. Southern Cross, 15 Sept. 1954, 6.

86. BCA; PS1, extraordinary plenary session of 29 Sept. 1954.

87. The Rt Rev. Peter Kelleter, C.S.Sp.: vicar apostolic of Bethlehem, 1948-1951; bishop of Bethlehem, 1951-1975.

88. BCA; PS1, op.cit.

For Archbishop Hurley the issue of the Church's response to the Act was primarily one of principle. If the Church entered the new system, he argued, 'Africans would interpret this as a surrender, as collaboration with apartheid policy,' and a move designed for the 'perpetual serfdom of the Africans.'⁽⁸⁹⁾ Agreeing with the views of the archbishop, Fr St George called for total opposition to the system, even to the extent of not registering Catholic schools with the Native Affairs Department. 'Let them put us in jail for not registering,' he retorted.⁽⁹¹⁾ Further, for him the only alternatives open were either to enter the community system or to defy the government by closing the schools down.

A special committee consisting of Archbishop Whelan, Bishop Bokenfohr,⁽⁹²⁾ Bishop van Velsen,⁽⁹³⁾ and Fr McHugh was then formed to discuss the morality of possible co-operation within the proposed system of black education. The committee reached the somewhat bizarre conclusion that, due to the fact that the Church might well be forced to comply, and provided that she did nothing evil, it was permissible to 'co-operate with the evil act of another.'

Given the findings of this committee, it was eventually decided to retain control of the Catholic schools, no matter what the consequences. In a statement released subsequent to the meeting, the bishops cited four fundamental aspects governing their approach to the Bantu Education Act. Firstly, it was agreed that the Catholic Church had the right to possess and conduct her own schools. Secondly, the schools were an essential part of the Church's apostolate, indispensable in the true and proper education of her

89. Ibid.

90. Ibid.

91. Ibid.

92. The Rt Rev. John Bokenfohr, OMI: bishop of Kimberley, 1953-1974.

93. The Rt Rev. Gerard van Velsen, OP: apostolic administrator of the vicariate apostolic of Kroonstad, 1948-1951; bishop of Kroonstad, 1951-1975.

children. Thirdly, the bishops feared that any Catholic institution entering the community school system would not be able to retain its Catholic character nor provide the kind of education that accorded with Catholic principles.(94) Finally, the bishops agreed to strive to provide Catholic schools for Catholic black children, 'even if this demands exceptional sacrifices of the Church's devoted laity, religious, and clergy.'(95) Accordingly, the bishops statement concluded by stressing that Catholic schools would be retained by the Church, and that a campaign would be launched in an effort to gain funds to maintain the schools. Further, the Church intended applying for a subsidy in terms of section 8 of the Act. With regard to Catholic teachers' training colleges it was resolved that these would be made available as premises for departmental training colleges, provided that the Church 'has a satisfactory measure of control in the academic department as well as over the hostel.'(96)

In a last desperate attempt to avert the impending crisis, Archbishop Whelan appealed over Verwoerd's head directly to the prime minister.(97) Predictably, Malan's reply, via his private secretary, in refusing to take any further action, scotched any hopes the bishops might have had for modification of the Act.(98)

94. For Fr Colin B. Collins the extent to which Catholic mission schools actually had a 'Catholic character' was debatable. In a study on black Catholic education, published in 1957, he revealed that of the 2 783 teachers involved in Catholic mission schools, 2 428 were black lay persons. Although receiving their training at Catholic colleges, these teachers were often completely neglected by the clergy, thus the Catholicity of the schools usually depended on the limited sense of Catholicism of the teachers. Further, the percentage of non-Catholic students at Catholic schools was, on average, as high as 40%, while catechumens (prospective converts) amounted to only about 10%.

Colin B. Collins, Catholic Bantu Education (1957), pp.26-27.

95. BCA; A3, resolutions concerning the Bantu schools taken at the plenary session of the SACBC, 29-30 Sept. 1954.

96. Ibid.

97. BCA; A3, Archbishop Whelan to Dr Malan, 7 Oct. 1954.

98. BCA; A3, P.M. Aucamp, private sec. to the prime minister, to Archbishop Whelan, 19 Oct. 1954.

Negotiations having failed, Archbishop Whelan then drafted a pastoral letter on behalf of the Administrative Board entitled 'The future of our Mission Schools,' in which he defended the stand taken by the Bishops' Conference.

...To satisfy the demands of the Catholic Church, it is necessary that all the teaching and the whole organisation 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.(99)

Despite the obvious division amongst the bishops over their response to the Act, all accepted, albeit unwillingly, the majority decision. Even Archbishop Hurley, who had so vociferously opposed any form of compromise, defended the decision of the hierarchy. In a circular addressed to the clergy of his archdiocese he brought up the issue of whether it was possible, in conscience, to accept the seventy-five percent subsidy. The major objection, as he saw it, was that its acceptance would mean active collaboration with an inherently evil system. He noted that it was claimed that the Bantu Education Act aimed at giving an inferior education to blacks as a means of perpetuating their inferior social status. This objection he publicly rejected out of hand. While conceding that the proposed curriculum for blacks might be inferior to that of whites, he held that it, nevertheless, contained certain positive contributions. The proposed system, though limited, was better than nothing. 'It is practically impossible', he said, 'to make education serve the purposes of apartheid.'(100)

The bishops had defended their decision exclusively in terms of the needs of the Church and the spiritual welfare of black Catholic children attending the mission schools. They had intentionally divorced themselves from any political opposition to the Act. For

99. Pastoral Letters of the SACBC, p.9.

100. St. G.2, circular to clergy of the archdiocese of Durban, 24 Nov. 1954.

Huddleston this 'was the voice of Vichy.'(101) In hope of lenient treatment by the government this voice certainly prevailed over the following months, reaching its peak with Bishop Riegler's statement on the boycott of the new black schools proposed by the African National Congress for 1 April 1955. The bishop went to great lengths to point out the opportunities available to educated blacks as announced by Verwoerd and de Villiers. He concluded by noting that although he did not approve of certain provisions in the Bantu Education Act, he expected great results from the system.

Besides this, the Catholic hierarchy of South Africa - always anxious to support and to co-operate with the government as much as possible - has decided to support the new Act by accepting the conditions under which Mission schools may be maintained. Therefore, they expect that all the teachers in Catholic Mission schools accept the terms of the Act.(102)

In accepting the subsidy, the Church schools were to be tightly controlled by the Department of Native Affairs in all spheres of school life: in syllabus, medium of instruction, inspection, and examinations, even religious syllabus required government approval. Perhaps the most tragic aspect was that these proceedings had created a serious division within the hierarchy. While maintaining a united front in support of the majority decision it was clear that a minority of clerics supported Archbishop Hurley who believed that these moves had publicly compromised the Church's opposition to apartheid.

The majority of bishops, however, with the minority acquiescing, reiterated that their concerns were essentially spiritual. While many of the laity, including Protestants, supported the Church's stand for political reasons, it was repeatedly emphasised that this was not the concern of the hierarchy - in doing so the bishops exposed themselves to the danger that this would be interpreted as support

101. T. Huddleston, op.cit., p.171.

102. D. Bixby, 'The Roman Catholic Church and Apartheid in Education' (Univ. of Cape Town, B.A. Hons dissertation 1977), p.42.

for government policy. Indeed Archbishop Whelan emphatically declared, in his Lenten pastoral letter of 1955, that allegations that the Catholic Church was manifesting hostility towards the government were 'devoid of all foundations.'⁽¹⁰³⁾ Such allegations were again hotly denied some time later in the Southern Cross. In October 1955 Die Kerkbode 'revealed' that, whereas it was 'pretended' that the Catholic Church was fighting for black education, what the bishops were actually fighting for was to preserve Catholic education. An incredulous Fr Stubbs responded by noting that what the Dutch Reformed weekly alleged 'to be our real object is precisely what we ourselves have been proclaiming from the housetops.'⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Die Kerkbode was obviously under the misapprehension that the Catholics were fighting under the same banner as the Protestant churches.

Despite such very obvious willingness to comply with all government demands, the decision of the bishops to retain their schools had obviously antagonised Verwoerd. The Act, while making allowances for private schools, had not envisioned such a large percentage of mission schools remaining in the hands of the Church. Consequently, on 13 November 1954, Verwoerd delivered a speech at Olifants River in which he accused some of the 'English churches' (*sic*) of being "like wicked uncles who used their wards' wealth to make themselves popular and then objected to their wards coming into their inheritance."⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

For many, these words were interpreted as a direct reference to the decision of the Catholic bishops to retain their schools. In the interests of strength and unity the bishops had always projected a moderate and united front in their published resolutions. For some, however, Verwoerd's attack on the Church made this position increasingly untenable. A week after Verwoerd's speech, Archbishop Hurley, while still defending the non-political stand taken by the

103. Southern Cross, 2 March 1955, 1.

104. Southern Cross, 26 Oct. 1955, 6.

105. Southern Cross, 24 Nov. 1954, 6.

Church, issued a guarded attack on excessive government interference in education through the extension of apartheid into this sphere. He noted that the minister sought to replace the "'bad old uncle"' of the missions with the "'kind father"' of the Department of Native Affairs - he anticipated that the schools "'would be run with the same efficiency as the post offices and railways.'"(106)

Verwoerd responded both quickly and angrily, contending that the concession of the seventy-five percent subsidy was obviously not appreciated. Further, 'the fact that Archbishop Hurley, of the Roman Catholic Church, had now also associated himself with the attacks being made, had contributed to the realisation that the transition period of partial subsidy should be shortened.'(107)

Carrying out this threat, the government decreased the subsidy paid to the Catholic schools by twenty-five percent per annum, so that by January 1958 the subsidy had ceased altogether. To meet the financial shortfall, the pastoral letter on mission schools of 12 December 1954 had proposed a 'Catholic Mission Schools' Fund' and 'The Catholic Education Drive'. With the arrival of the official fund raising campaign organiser, Fr P.A. Riffel, the name was changed to the 'Catholic Bishops' Campaign for Mission Schools and Seminaries'. The campaign was received with great enthusiasm and diocesan and parish campaign committees were very soon established all over the Union as lay leaders responded to the call. Donations poured into the campaign offices from both Catholics and non-Catholics alike - the support of the latter was usually motivated by political objections to the Bantu Education Act. A personal letter of encouragement to the Catholics of South Africa was written by the pope himself,(108) and donations were received from throughout the Catholic world. Despite the very obvious religious and devotional spirit engendered by the campaign

106. Quoted in D. Bixby, op.cit., p.44.

107. Southern Cross, 1 Dec. 1954, 1.

108. Southern Cross, 9 Oct. 1955, 1. For a copy of this letter vide Appendix 5.

amongst the South African Catholics, and, according to the Liberal Party newsletter, Contact, the "evidence of how effective interracial effort can be,"(109) and despite the initial euphoria when the £1 000 000 mark was reached, the campaign's success was shortlived. The Church simply did not have the necessary resources to maintain the same standards and quality of education as before 1954. The hierarchy had chosen to reduce teachers' salaries by twenty-five percent without consultation, expecting them to readily accept sacrifices in the interests of Catholic education. Thus commenced a bitter conflict between the Church and black Catholic teachers which lasted for many years.(110) Further, due to the government's highhanded action over the Catholic teachers' training colleges, and reduced salaries, the academic qualifications of teachers tended to decline.

At the September 1954 plenary session it was agreed that each of the six Catholic teachers' training colleges would negotiate with the government in an attempt to gain a satisfactory measure of control for the Church over the academic departments of the colleges as well as their boarding establishments. Some time in June 1955 a government circular informed two of the colleges that they would be closed in terms of the Group Areas Act, while the future of the rest would depend on 'further developments.' Similar circulars were furnished to all training schools, Catholic and non-Catholic. However, on 9 October 1956 a further circular entitled 'Future of R.C. Training Institutions for Black Teachers' was sent only to Catholic colleges in which they were informed that none could continue to be government training schools. After a given date, they would have to register as private colleges. Where such registrations were granted, the colleges would have to accept the government syllabus for all subjects except religion. It was also made clear that the certificates of Catholic colleges would in future not be recognised outside the Catholic school system. The bishops therefore appeared to have no alternative

109. Southern Cross, 28 Dec. 1955, 12.

110. Vide D. Bixby, op.cit., pp.81-100.

but to accede to the government's wishes, feeling that any danger to the faith of Catholic students could be safeguarded through control of the boarding establishments attached to the colleges. 'It is discrimination indeed,' commented Fr St George, 'which requires strict adherence to the Government syllabus without equal recognition of the qualification obtained.'(111) Three years later the Catholic Church was again singled out for special treatment when she was debarred from maintaining boarding establishments attached to government training colleges. Such obviously anti-Catholic actions certainly validated suspicions which many bishops had voiced when the Bantu Education Act had first been passed.

By 1965 only forty-five percent of Catholic children in South Africa were at Catholic schools, despite the Church's teaching that a parent 'can choose which school to send your child to, but it must be a Catholic school.'(112) In 1966 the bishops' fund-raising campaign was finally abandoned.

It is difficult to ascertain the general feeling of Catholics over the bishops' decision to keep their schools according to the terms laid down by the government. Amongst the clergy, however, there is evidence that many might not have supported the bishops' resolution when initially passed in 1954. Before the decision was actually made, a meeting of forty-five priests from the dioceses of Durban, Mariannhill, and Eshwe, and nuns representing the Dominican sisters of Oakford, Newcastle and Montebello, and of the Precious Blood Congregation, was held in Pietermaritzburg on 30 March 1954. While accepting the need for negotiations, the resolutions passed appeared to run counter to the general direction of the Church hierarchy. In the third resolution passed, rather than compromise on principle, the meeting recommended that the hierarchy negotiate to enter the 'community school' system proposed by the Act, subject to certain

111. St G.3, proposed addendum for W.E. Brown's Catholic Church in South Africa (1960), p.20f.

112. Southern Cross, 14 Jan. 1948, 6.

conditions and safeguards.(113) Further, the meeting called for collaboration with other Christian denominations in the negotiation process. The same point had been made by the Catholic members(114) of the Natal Native Educational Advisory Board (NNEAB).(115)

Many Protestants, too, felt that some sort of united Christian front should have been formed to combat the government over the Education Act. Huddleston, for example, believed that had the churches co-operated some major concessions might have been won.(116) Unfortunately this did not occur and, through the Christian Council of South Africa, most Protestant churches handed their schools over to the government. There were dissenting voices amongst the Anglican Church. The bishop of Johannesburg, Ambrose Reeves, announced on 22 November 1954 that all Anglican schools would close in his diocese. His objection had been essentially political. He interpreted the Bantu Education Act as the "cornerstone of apartheid", (117) and could therefore have nothing to do with it. In addition, Bishop R. Selby Taylor of Pretoria ordered the closing of the 77 Anglican mission schools in the Northern Transvaal. The Catholics and Seventh Day Adventists alone decided to maintain their schools.

113. St G.5, resolutions passed at meeting of clergy and sisters held at St Mary's Hall, Pietermaritzburg, 30 March 1954.

114. Vide St G.6, letter of Fr St George to Mr Jones of the Education Department, 15 September 1953.

115. The NNEAB was a board formed in the 1940s to advise the director of Education on any matter connected with black education. The Board was limited to twenty-two members representing the various mission churches involved in black education appointed by the director of Education upon nomination. Throughout the period of the Board's existence the members included four Catholic clergymen - two representing Mariannhill, one Oblate, and one Benedictine. These Catholic members made extremely valuable contributions to the work of the Board, notably the Very Rev. Fr J. Kerautret, OMI, sometime chairman of the Board, and Fr St George. The life of the Board was finally ended with the implementation of the Bantu Education Act in 1954.

116. T. Huddleston, op.cit., p.171.

117. E. Regehr, Perceptions of Apartheid (1978), p.172.

In a sense, despite the dubious results, the bishops of the Catholic Church had had little choice. Believing in the principle of a Catholic education, the issue had already been decided for them. They had to maintain the school system no matter what the cost or the compromise. The events in South Africa were not unique. During the same decade, the church in England, and Northern Ireland, in Roumania, and Hungary, in Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria, was making the same stand over the right and obligation to provide a Catholic school system. Two decades previously Pius XI had made the Church's stand clear to all.

Let it be loudly proclaimed and generally understood when the faithful demand Catholic schools for their children, they are not raising a question of party politics but simply performing a religious duty which their conscience rigidly imposes upon them.(118)

118. English translation, The Christian Education of Youth (1930), p.11.

CHAPTER FIVE

GRAND APARTHEID AND BLACK REJECTION

The failure to gain concessions from the Nationlists for Catholic mission schools during the 1954 education crisis exposed the ineffectiveness of the conciliatory approach adopted by the Church hierarchy in its relations with the government. The Church, however, had little choice but to continue this policy for the next three years - because of the subsidy, albeit a diminishing one, paid her by the government for the maintenance of the schools. Despite this, during the period 1954-1957 the Church was in search of a new understanding of her role in an increasingly institutionalised apartheid society. Far from being united in their approach, indeed certain prelates were conspicuous by their silence, some, while still maintaining a conservatively moderate political outlook, became increasingly critical of government legislation and concerned about its impact on the social, political, economic and even spiritual life of all South Africans. Such concern, and the realisation of the need to initiate positive changes in the Church's attitude and policy led inexorably to isolated conflict with a conservative Catholic laity.

Some fourteen months after his appointment as apostolic delegate to Southern Africa, Archbishop Damiano witnessed the fruition of one of his major aims - the creation of the new diocese of Umzimkulu under the episcopal control of the first Zulu (and first black) South African bishop in the Southern African delegation. Prior to his appointment as apostolic delegate, this Italian American had been an official of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide in Rome, dealing specifically with Southern African affairs. In this capacity he had been sent to South Africa in 1950 to report on the state of the Church there. It was during this visit that the ambition to appoint a Zulu bishop was nurtured.⁽¹⁾ Given the fact that the Mariannhill diocese contained more Zulu Catholics than any other, and that it had the most black clergy, Archbishop Diamiano decided to create a

1. Marcel Dischl, Transkei for Christ (1982), p.315.

new diocese in that region. Going against the judgement of Bishop Streit(2) of Mariannhill, and the superior general of the Mariannhill Congregation - both of whom preferred the idea of the appointment of an auxiliary bishop at Lourdes as the first stage towards the creation of a new diocese - he pressed ahead with his plan. On 26 April 1954 Fr B. Dlamini(3) was ordained bishop of Umzimkulu at Lourdes Cathedral. Many within the Church had reservations about the extent of jurisdiction of the new diocese,(4) including as it did the white towns of Margate, Port Shepstone, and Harding.

These doubts were very soon confirmed. Immediately after the announcement of the new diocese, a circular was composed by the Catholic Church Committee of Margate and signed by its chairman, one S. Cole. It called on the white Catholics of Margate to 'Unite in Protest' in order to 'KEEP YOUR CHURCH WHITE'.(5) Reasons offered as to why the white parishioners would not accept a black bishop were that

You will kiss his ring in obedience!
He will confirm your children!
You will ask a dispensation from a Native!
We will be the laughing stock of the country!(6)

The circular called on all those who refused to accept the appointment to attend a protest meeting the following week to organise a plan of strategy. The church committee thereupon sent a telegram to the apostolic delegate and to Archbishop Hurley protesting most 'vehemently against having a non-european as Bishop of Europeans,' and requesting incorporation in the diocese of Durban.(7)

2. The Rt Rev. Alphonse Streit, CMM: vicar apostolic of Mariannhill, 1950-1951; bishop of Mariannhill, 1951-1970.

3. The Rt Rev. Pius Bonaventure Dlamini, FFJ: bishop of Umzimkulu, 1954-1967; auxilliary bishop of Mariannhill, 1968-1981.

4. M. Dischl, op.cit., p.316.

5. BCA; A3, Correspondence 1953-1956.

6. Ibid.

While the bishops understandably did not respond positively to the request of the white Catholics of Margate, the incident served to illustrate the predicament in which the hierarchy found itself. On the one hand, there was a steady increase in the number of black Catholics and an obvious need to have this majority represented in the higher echelons of the clergy, and on the other hand, it had to deal with the conservatism of the white minority. As far as the hierarchy itself was concerned, in 1954, given the prevailing education crisis, there was still a reluctance to antagonize the Nationalists. At the April 1954 meeting of the Administrative Board of the Bishops' Conference, for example, it was revealed that the United Nations was involved in a study on race relations in South Africa and was desirous of receiving authentic information from non-governmental organisations.(8) Characteristically, the Board decided that 'in view of the delicate nature of the subject, and the present situation,' only the official statement issued by the bishops in 1952 could be supplied.(9) With the continued application of apartheid philosophy, however, combined with the growing strength and determination of its opponents, it was inevitable that the Catholic Church would be forced to take a stand.

The Groups Areas Act of 1950 was, in a sense, the cornerstone of 'social' apartheid in the new South Africa. During the 1953 session of Parliament, the Act was complemented by the passing of Act No. 49 of 1953, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act. The

8. This request had originally been addressed to international Catholic organisations involved in or concerned about the situation in South Africa - these included the International Conference of Catholic Charities, Rome; the International Catholic Centre of Coordination, Paris; UNESCO, Paris; and the International Catholic Social Service Union, Brussels - who in turn had passed it on to the general secretariate of the SACBC.

9. BCA; AV1, meeting of 28 and 30 April 1954.

minister of the Interior, when introducing the measure, had declared that the government was determined to 'clear up the position now, not only for the railways but for every other body which may be endangered.'⁽¹⁰⁾ Apartheid was accordingly made compulsory in all public places. During the 1954 session this legislation was followed by the Resettlement of Natives Act. This Act resulted in 100 000 blacks being removed from the squatter camps in the western areas of Johannesburg, including Huddleston's beloved Sophiatown, and the 'black spot' of Newclare,⁽¹¹⁾ and resettled in the new area known as Meadowlands. Despite causing much resentment and invoking a considerable amount of adverse international publicity, the government pursued its policy with blind determination. The success of the operation must certainly have strengthened its resolve to extend apartheid to the economic sphere of South African life.

Government resolve was made known to friend and foe alike during the parliamentary debate on the question of economic integration in February 1954. It was the government's intention, Verwoerd stated, to fight such a trend 'in all its forms.'⁽¹²⁾ Reacting to this, the Southern Cross reflected the liberal belief in the progressive nature of the capitalist economy and how it would ultimately force a modification of the apartheid system. For the editor, the apartheid ideology was essentially the product of fear. This fear he saw as having a disastrous effect on the future economic development of the country. By creating an artificial aristocracy out of the white population, and forcing blacks into the position of an unskilled proletariat, the skilled labour force was not being permitted to increase at a natural rate. The result, he held, was that production and general development in the Union 'may never progress beyond the mediocre stage.'⁽¹³⁾

10. Hansard, LXXXIII. 2148.

11. Vide T. Huddleston, Naught For Your Comfort (1956), pp.179-194.

12. Southern Cross, 24 Feb. 1954, 12.

13. Ibid., 12.

Economic segregation as advocated by the Malan government was not really something new to South Africa. Restrictions of sorts had been an integral part of the black workers experience ever since the passing of the Masters and Servants Act in the Cape Colony in 1856. By 1904 all four colonies had similar acts, rendering a breach of an employment contract a criminal offence - thus making strikes by blacks illegal. After Union, further restrictions were placed on black workers in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924 and its amendment, Act No. 36 of 1937. In terms of these, the vast majority of blacks were excluded from the definition of 'employees' and could thus not become members of registered trade unions. Those who were allowed to join unions further had their powers restricted because strikes, for example, were prohibited in essential services and allowed only in extremely exceptional circumstances in other branches of industry. Amongst black workers, strikes were completely prohibited throughout the country as from 1942 with the passing of War Measure 145 of that year - a measure which remained in force until 1953.

After its assumption of power in 1948, the Nationalist government had appointed an Industrial Legislation Commission to examine the composition of trade unions. This commission's report, published in 1951, revealed that at the end of 1948 the registered unions had 269 397 white, 70 427 coloured (including Asian), 3 700 black members. The unregistered black unions had 11 729 paid-up members.⁽¹⁴⁾ By 1950 these unions were affiliated to three separate bodies, the South African Trade and Labour Council, which accepted the affiliation of any union; the South African Federation of Trade Unions, which debarred black unions from joining but accepted mixed unions of whites and coloureds; and the Koördinerende Raad van Suid-Afrikaanse Vakverenigings, essentially a vehicle for the promotion and protection of Afrikaners and enjoyed the support of the Malan government.

14. M. Horrell, Laws Affecting Race Relations (1978), p.280.

The government's first move towards establishing a greater degree of order and control over the trade union movement was the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950. Given the wide definition of communism which it contained, a considerable number of trade unionists were served with banning orders, thus preventing them from continuing their trade union activities. This was followed in 1953 by the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act. In terms of this act, all blacks were barred from being members of registered unions. As the Act incorporated the provisions of War Measure 145 of 1942, all strikes and lockouts by blacks were also rendered illegal.

For the Southern Cross, such measures were totally unacceptable. As early as January 1948 Fr McCann had called for the recognition of the rights of black industrial workers to organise themselves into trade unions.⁽¹⁵⁾ Discussing the issue of strikes some months later, Fr McCann, perhaps because of the increasing militancy of blacks, was somewhat more cautious. He noted that the Church would never support legislation banning all strikes indiscriminately, as this was the last weapon of the worker protecting him from enslavement. However, he said that the strike was only justified under exceptional circumstances. The strike was the last resort, something to fall back on when all other means of redress had failed. Further, the workers must be suffering a definite injustice, and must warn their employers of the intention to strike.⁽¹⁶⁾

When the Industrial Legislation Commission was established in 1949, the Southern Cross had again come out in support of black trade unions. Indeed, for Fr Stubbs, it was more important for the black workers, 'given his present economic and social status,' to acquire the protection of a trade union than for the members of any other race group. Commenting on the possible exploitation of black unions

15. Southern Cross, 21 Jan. 1948, 10.

16. Southern Cross, 14 July, 1948, 4.

he suggested that this 'problem' might be circumvented through a system of white 'trusteeship', where whites would supervise elections and meetings, scrutinise books and records and eliminate lightning strikes. 'This would be real "trusteeship" in the truly paternal sense of training people to stand on their own feet.'(17) On the question of whether blacks should be allowed to belong to 'mixed' unions or have their own, he was not prepared to commit himself, as this was 'a question of expediency upon which Catholics may hold what views they think fit within the bounds of common justice.'(18)

The views expressed by Fr Stubbs were subsequently endorsed by the members of the Catholic delegation - Bishop Whelan, Fr Synnott, and Adv. Vieyra - before the Industrial Legislation Commission. They stressed very strongly that the Church favoured trade unions for blacks.(19) As indicated previously, such measures were to no avail and the Native Labour (Settlement of Dispute) Act was passed with the minimum of opposition in 1953.

In pursuance of the aim of further segregating economic activity, the Industrial Conciliation Act Amendment Bill was introduced in Parliament in April 1954. This proposed the prohibition of any new trade union with a mixed membership of white and coloured people. Reacting to this, Senator Browne issued a statement through the Southern Cross condemning the bill as contrary to Catholic social ethics as presented in the encyclicals Rerum Novarum and Quadragesimo Anno. Further, he roundly rejected the bill, not on the grounds that it was racially biased, but because of its blatantly pro-capitalist intentions. He felt that the bill served the interests of the capitalists by splitting the power of the workers as a bargaining force.(20) The contents of the bill did indeed become law, forming the basis of the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act, No. 28 of

17. Southern Cross, 2 March 1949, 4.

18. Ibid., 4.

19. Southern Cross, 5 July 1950, 3.

20. Southern Cross, 26 May 1954, 1.

1956. Apart from advocating separate unions for whites and coloureds (in terms of the Act coloureds included Asians), it contained a completely new provision, making it possible for stated types of work to be reserved for persons of specified racial groups.

The government's hand was further strengthened by Act No. 15 of 1954, the Riotous Assemblies and Suppression of Communism Act. This empowered the minister to prohibit listed persons, or those convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act, from being members of specified organisations as well as barring all public meetings within a specified area for a stated period of time without having to furnish his reasons. It is therefore not surprising that, despite local economic boycotts and minor incidents of resistance during 1954, most opposition was effectively silenced.

It was clear to many, however, that such repression would breed nothing but resentment and frustration, thus only serving to aggravate the precarious state of race relations in the country. For the Southern Cross, South Africa's greatest problem was unquestionably the poor state of race relations. The whole structure of the society, Fr Stubbs commented in July 1954, from the organisation of industry and agriculture, and the lay-out of towns, to educational planning, was dominated by the fact that the privileged white minority controlled the non-white majority. Wealth and political power were in the hands of this minority, thus forcing the majority of non-whites into a state of dependent poverty. Such a situation was clearly undesirable. Catholics, certainly, he held, could not accept as God's will the fact that 'most of the people of the country should be permanently poor or in servile insecurity.'⁽²¹⁾

Over the following months, certain members of the Church's hierarchy made repeated calls for a change of heart amongst white South Africans. Archbishop McCann, now also emerging as an outspoken

21. Southern Cross, 21 July 1954, 6.

critic of the government's policies, for example, made several calls for the immediate application of the virtues of justice, charity, and prudence, as the only means of solving South Africa's racial problems.(22) Archbishop Hurley directed his remarks more to the government than the laity. In a controversial address to the Friends of the Sick Association in Durban in November 1954, apart from dealing with the education crisis,(23) he pointedly declared that 'the principle of apartheid was an example of what happened when a state went planning mad and set up blueprints for its subjects that did not emanate from the drawing boards of the Creator.'(24) Further, he labelled the apartheid system as 'tyrannical', as it interfered with the rights of the individual. He used the occasion once again to emphasise the balance desired by the Catholic Church between freedom and authority. When this balance was upset, he warned, the result was chaos.

In November 1954 Malan retired as prime minister, to be succeeded by the leading advocate of republicanism and close associate of Verwoerd's, J.G. Strijdom. Clearly the chances of the desirable balance spoken of by Archbishop Hurley being maintained with Strijdom and Verwoerd at the helm were somewhat slim. The Southern Cross received the news with customary caution, commenting that Strijdom 'brings an admirable patience, tenacity of purpose, a thoroughness of method, an ability to reach the heart of a question, which should serve him and South Africa in good stead.'(25) The full extent of Strijdom's 'tenacity of purpose' would be revealed to all over the following four years, for his administration proceeded to apply, to the letter, the provisions of the Group Areas Act of 1950 and the Bantu Education Act of 1953.

22. Vide Southern Cross, 28 July 1954, 1; 1 Sept. 1954, 1; 10 Nov. 1954, 3.

23. Vide p.120 of chapter 4.

24. Southern Cross, 24 Nov. 1954, 1.

25. Southern Cross, 8 Dec. 1954, 12.

Because of the multi-racial nature of the Church in South Africa, the implementation of the Group Areas Act had a direct bearing on her. As early as 1952, for example, it had been realised that the Act would have to be taken into account when drawing boundaries for parishes in urban areas.⁽²⁶⁾ In 1953 the matter was again raised at an Administrative Board meeting of the Bishops' Conference. The Board was concerned about the effects the Act might have on the missionary work of the Church. At this meeting, the Board resolved to contact Senator Wynne in order to ascertain the government's intentions and to emphasize the difficulties which the Act's enforcement were likely to create.⁽²⁷⁾ The problems confronting the Church in connection with the Act were made known to the laity the following year by Bishop Whelan in an address at the annual meeting of the Catholic Women's League of the Transvaal. Through her mission work, he said, the Church had 'helped the primitive people to develop, asked them to share our faith and given them contributions both in terms of lives offered and work done.' Now, however, this effort was threatened by the Groups Areas Act. Given the fact that, in terms of the Act, white nuns would in the future probably be debarred from fulfilling their duties adequately in black areas, the bishop felt that vocations had to be received from blacks in large numbers so that black nuns could replace the whites in the locations. The future, according to Bishop Whelan, looked bleak. He said that within the next ten years there might well be difficulties, set-backs, and even conflict with the government over existing Catholic institutions. 'We cannot say how far negotiations with the controlling powers will be successful, but we shall go ahead.'⁽²⁸⁾

Despite Bishop Whelan's emphasis upon the need for continued negotiation, the government did not make the position of the

26. Minutes of the Bishops' Conference, 23-29 April 1952.

27. BCA; AV1, meeting of 1 May 1953.

28. Southern Cross, 21 July 1954, 1.

churches any easier. In October 1954, the secretary of Native Affairs issued a circular which warned that leases of sites in urban black locations might well be cancelled if, in the opinion of the Department, the occupier or his representative, did anything to "encourage deterioration in the relationships between Natives and the Government." The reason for this proposed move, it was stated, was because the representatives of certain churches had 'intervened' in matters "outside the scope of the work they should undertake among Natives." (29)

Given such remarks it is not surprising that Catholics, as well as other Protestant Churches, were conspicuously absent from the movement which led to the formation of the Congress Alliance, and the subsequent Kliptown conference in June 1955. Following the failure of the defiance campaign of 1952, in March 1954 the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the National Union of Coloured People, and the white Congress of Democrats formed the Congress Alliance and resolved to call a 'congress of the people' to frame a 'freedom charter'. (30) This conference was attended by some 3 000 people - whites accounting for only one twenty-fifth of the delegates, of whom the majority were Jews. (31) Shortly after the Congress had set down its demands in the 'Freedom Charter', on 17 September 1955 the homes of some 400 persons and organisations actively involved in the Congress were raided on the grounds that they were suspected of engaging in treasonable activity. A full year was to elapse before 156 of them were arrested and brought to trial in Johannesburg. Among them were nearly all the prominent members of the Congress, including the president general of the African National Congress, Chief Luthuli, and Professor Z.K. Matthews. To all these developments, including the

29. Southern Cross, 13 Oct. 1954, 1.

30. Edward Roux, Time Longer than Rope (1964), p.399.

31. Fatima Meer, 'Black Nationalism - Homeland Nationalism', in T. Sundermeier (ed.), Church and Nationalism in South Africa (1975), p.138.

highly-publicised trial, the Catholic hierarchy remained unresponsive. The extent of their detachment was to be seen in their refusal to be represented on the committee headed by Anglican Bishop Reeves, which was established to collect funds to aid the defendants in the trial.(32)

When Parliament assembled early in 1956 a number of laws were speedily passed in an effort to gain greater control over black political activity. The first of these was the Riotous Assemblies Act, which consolidated all previous government legislation of this kind, and empowered the minister, or an appropriately appointed person, to prohibit any public outside gathering, if, in his opinion, these might seriously endanger the peace. This was followed by the Bantu Administration Amendment Act, which gave the government the power to serve banishment orders on 'undesirable' persons; while the Bantu (Urban Areas) Amendment Act, gave urban local authorities the power to expel black persons from the areas under their control. Confronted by such demonstrations of kragdadigheid, the Catholic Church could do little more than make her traditional call for improved race relations in South Africa, and the need to solve the 'colour problem' with equity and justice.(33) In October 1955 Archbishop Garner delivered a sermon on the subject at a Pontifical High Mass on the occasion of the centenary of Pretoria. Addressing an assembly which included more than half of the Diplomatic Corps, high-ranking members of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, as well as leading civic and government officials, he called on all to exercise that 'patriotism of which Christ was the model.' He continued, 'Christ was indeed a patriot, but a patriot who looked upon all men irrespective of colour, race, or belief as His brothers.' Only by emulating this example would Pretoria, and by extension South Africa, 'enjoy true civic happiness, peace and liberty.'(34)

32. BCA; AV2, meeting of 27-28 Aug. 1957.

33. Southern Cross, 31 Aug. 1955, 6.

34. Southern Cross, 2 Nov. 1955, 1.

In responding to the government's race policies, the Catholic Church in South Africa was forced to take into account her own position vis-a-vis the government, the possibility of retaliation, and also the conservatism of the vast majority of her white laity. The Church outside South Africa was under no such pressure. Thus it was that in October 1955 Osservatore Romano, a Vatican newspaper enjoying an extensive international circulation, published an article criticising the South African government's racial policies as 'unjust' and 'immoral'. Given the state of her relations with the government, the Catholic Church in South Africa must clearly have regarded the article as inopportune. Such sentiments were shared by the government which responded strongly by 'categorically denying' many of the charges, especially that it had shown 'contempt for the human person.' Verwoerd himself issued a detailed statement giving facts and figures showing what the government was doing for the blacks and how much it was spending on their behalf. The minister of Health, T. Naude, categorically denied the allegation that there was a plan to make birth control clinics compulsory in the reserves, while a charge directed against Eiselen that he had attempted to defend the doctrine of the basic inequality of men spiritually was also denied. For Osservatore Romano, perhaps the most serious charge was that the government had planned to '"bar European Catholics from immigration to South Africa, while it intended to import 174 000 Aryans of Protestant religion annually.'"(35) In responding to this, a spokesman for the Department of the Interior said he knew of no such plan, pointing out that Italian immigrants - most of whom were Catholics - constituted the fourth largest immigration total from the countries of Europe. It was, however, conceded that certain Cabinet ministers desired to increase the number of Protestant immigrants 'in view of the largely Protestant character of the South African white population.'(36)

35. Ibid., 2.

36. Ibid., 2.

In the face of this government reaction, Archbishop McCann, in his capacity of chairman of the Press Department of the Bishops' Conference, issued a statement which attempted to distance the local Church from the Osservatore Romano. He was quick to point out to all that the article must not be seen as the 'launching of any propaganda war' against South Africa. As it was occasioned by the recent United Nations debate on South Africa's racial policy, it was merely 'legitimate newspaper comment.'⁽³⁷⁾ Further, he stressed that the newspaper enjoyed only a semi-official status at the Vatican and had its own editorial autonomy, so that its views were not necessarily those of the pope or members of the Curia. Furthermore, he pointed out that the offending article could not be taken as reflecting the opinion of the Church in South Africa, for it contained inaccuracies.

Archbishop McCann concluded his statement by emphasising that 'criticism of the policy of this or any government does not mean disloyalty on the part of South African Catholics to their country.'⁽³⁸⁾ The need continually to stress the loyalty and patriotism of South African Catholics was particularly acute during the education crisis. This need reached a high point early the following year when, in an editorial in the Southern Cross entitled 'Critical Patriotism', Fr Stubbs declared:

In this paper, from time to time, we warn our fellow countrymen against the evils of certain opinions and certain practices that are accepted in our country by many... We do this because we love our country with a true patriotism that would have her free from evil, we do it because we love our fellowmen with a true charity that would seek to save them from the evil fruits that must inevitably be produced by evil things.⁽³⁹⁾

37. Ibid., 1.

38. Ibid., 1.

39. Southern Cross, 18 Jan. 1956, 6.

For certain clerics within the Church, the removal of the coloured vote during the 1956 session was just such an 'evil thing' against which white South Africans had to be warned.

Despite the formation of the Independent United Party, which was reconstituted as the Conservative Party, under Bailey Bekker, and its undertaking to stand by the government over the issue of the coloured vote, the Separate Representation of Voters Act Validation and Amendment Bill of 1954 again failed to gain the required two-thirds majority. Malan's successor, however, was a far more determined personality and it was clear to many that his belief in 'baasskap', or the mastery of the white man, would demand the removal of the coloureds from the voters role. In pursuance of this aim, the government, in terms of the Appellate Division Quorum Act, No. 27 of 1955, increased the quorum in the Appellate Division from four to five, with the proviso, that in cases where the validity of any act of Parliament was in question, the quorum should be eleven. By means of this device, the government anticipated securing a majority, as five National Party supporters were appointed as judges of appeal to bring the total number to eleven.

Having gained effective control over the courts, the government, after a prolonged and bitter debate, passed the Senate Act, No. 53 of 1955. The intention, according to C.R. Swart, minister of Justice, was 'to restore the sovereignty of Parliament.'⁽⁴⁰⁾ for it increased the number of National Party senators to 77, thus providing the government with a two-thirds majority in a joint sitting.

Against these developments, liberal opinion in South Africa vehemently protested. Apart from protest by political parties, a Women's Defence of the Constitution League, commonly known as the Black Sash, was formed to oppose what was seen as the 'rape' of the constitution. The Southern Cross too issued a guarded warning in an editorial entitled 'State and the Citizen'. Fr Stubbs called upon

40. D.W. Krüger, The Making of a Nation (1969), p.291.

government legislators to recognise that all authority comes from God. A consequence of this principle was that all governments were responsible to the people. Authority was therefore held to be restricted and limited - limited by both natural and divine law. 'So also we must hold that, even the most freedom-loving government, must accommodate its policy to God's will.' The Senate Act, it was implied, did not do this.(41)

Having secured the expedients with which to remove the coloured voters from the common roll, the Separate Representation of Voters Bill was reintroduced into Parliament. Archbishop McCann reacted strongly to this in a speech at the annual dinner of the Marist Old Boys' Association in Cape Town. The proposed legislation, he insisted, was an obvious diminution of the rights of the coloured people, despite government protestations to the contrary. This was clearly indicated in the government's refusal to entertain the idea that the coloureds should at least be allowed to be represented by one of their own people in Parliament. The archbishop concluded by noting that the vote meant a share in the responsibility of government, and, for the Church, all those who were capable of exercising that responsibility, no matter what the colour of their skin, should 'not be prohibited or restricted in the exercise of this right.'(42) After a two week debate, however, the government gained its two-thirds majority, three of the six Conservative Party members voting with it.

The dust had not settled on this issue when another arose, which, because of its possible impact on the future development of the country, demanded a response from the Catholic hierarchy. This arose from the publication of the summary of the findings of the Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas within the Union of South Africa, the Tomlinson commission, in March 1956. The commission had been appointed in 1948 under the chairmanship of Prof. F.R. Tomlinson. Its terms of reference were...

41. Southern Cross, 30 Nov. 1955, 6.

42. Southern Cross, 15 Feb. 1956, 1.

to conduct an exhaustive inquiry into and to report on a comprehensive scheme for the rehabilitation of the Native Areas with a view to developing within them a social structure in keeping with the culture of the Natives and based on effective socio-economic planning.(43)

All interested persons and organisations were invited to complete questionnaires and submit memoranda to the commission. The questionnaire was discussed by the Catholic bishops at the August 1952 meeting of the Administrative Board, with Bishop Riegler, in his capacity of head of the Department of Native Affairs, being asked to answer the questions along the lines suggested by the bishops.(44) With the aid of Bishop Whelan, he then drew up a memorandum and this was submitted to the commission in early November 1952. Subsequently, on 21 November 1952, Archbishops Garner and Hurley, Bishops Riegler and Whelan, and Adv. Vieyra, appeared before the commission in order to make further representation.(45)

While the major part of the memorandum was devoted to furnishing statistical information on money spent on missions within the black reserves, and on the number of clergy manning these missions, the primary concern of the bishops was that the findings of the commission would affect religious worship in the reserves. This point was most strongly made by Bishop Whelan, who contended that it was within the sphere of religion that government policy towards the blacks had, in the past, 'egregiously erred.'(46) In order to prevent the perpetuation of such errors, he suggested that three points should be constantly borne in mind. The first was that freedom of conscience should not be tampered with, not even on the pretext of social advancement or administrative efficiency. Secondly, 'religion must never be so treated as to become simply a "department of

43. BCA; M1, socio-economic commission correspondence: government notice No. 2971 of 24 Nov. 1950.

44. BCA; AV1, meeting of 19 Aug. 1952.

45. BCA; M1, op.cit., letter from Bishop Riegler to ordinaries, 26 Dec. 1952.

46. BCA; M1, Ibid, letter from Bishop Whelan to Bishop Riegler

State". Finally, he held that an delimitation of 'religious areas' in the reserves would be as 'futile in its effects' as it would be 'gratuitous in its presumptions.'⁽⁴⁷⁾ From the tenor of their submissions it is possible that the bishops might have been hoping for a relaxation of the five mile radius ruling for church sites in the reserves.

After an extensive survey of the reserves, the Tomlinson report recommended that the reserves be developed to a far greater extent in order to sustain a largely increased population. In order to achieve this, agricultural productivity had to be developed and secondary industrial enterprises established within the reserves or on their borders. If this were not done, the commission argued, the reserves would be unable to support eight million blacks twenty-five years hence; a further two million migrant workers were also expected to be supported at a push. Given its projected estimates for future growth, it was therefore envisaged that the reserves would support a maximum of sixty percent of the population, so that the remainder would have to live in the white areas. It went on to recommend that the area available for black settlement be increased to forty-five percent of the Union's area and that the reserves be consolidated into seven 'homeland' areas for the various black ethnic groups. It also submitted recommendations with regard to existing and proposed social welfare projects, health services, and educational institutions and instruction. It was conservatively estimated that implementation of the entire scheme would cost approximately £105 million.

For government supporters, the findings of the commission were something of a disappointment. The impracticability of complete territorial segregation had removed for many the foundation stone of

47. Ibid.

apartheid.(48) Formal reaction from the Catholic hierarchy came in the form of a detailed press statement released by Archbishop McCann. Perhaps of most direct interest to the Church were the seven pages of the report devoted to 'ecclesiastical developments.' While praising the Christian missions in the reserves, the report, the archbishop felt, too readily interpreted the missionary endeavour as the activity of a department of state - thus failing to pay sufficient attention to the spiritual impetus that must be present if missionary activity were to be of any value. The proposal that education and hospital services should be controlled by the state thus revealed a total misconception of the place of religion in education and of the role of charity in the community. Particularly disturbing was the commission's expressed belief that South Africa no longer needed missionary societies because church members could themselves now convert the remaining 'heathen'. This recommendation posed grave dangers for the Catholic Church, relying as it did to such a considerable extent on foreign missionary societies.(49)

Dealing more specifically with the state of the churches in the reserves, the commission recommended that direct regular financial support be supplied to accredited churches for mission work, but in proportion to the number of white adherents these churches had. The

48. Many had shared the views of Ds. Landman of Calendon, who, in the month previous to the publication of the report of the commission, had initiated a crusade for what he termed 'total apartheid' - the virtual partition of the country into a black and a white area. Indeed, even the Southern Cross expressed its admiration for this proposal as it was 'probably the only form of permanent discrimination which would obviate the likelihood or at least the suspicion, of the subjection of one race to another.' The newspaper conceded, however, that the price of such a plan would be excessive, 'and there is little evidence that even the most vocal of supporters of apartheid have the least intention of ever paying such a price.' Southern Cross, 1 Feb. 1956, 12.

49. While figures for the number of foreign Catholic missionaries working in South Africa are not readily available for the period 1948-1956, it is revealing to note that as late as 1970, of the 1354 Roman Catholic priests in South Africa and South West Africa/Namibia, 1031 were foreign born white priests, or 76% of the total. It may logically be assumed, given the limited response of local Catholics to joining the priesthood, that this percentage was even higher during the fifties.

result of this, Archbishop McCann pointed out, would be an effective subsidisation of the Dutch Reformed Churches(50) even though the commission had itself admitted that the missionary work of these churches was small in comparison with that of the Catholic Church.(51)

Concerning himself with the economic recommendations of the report, Archbishop McCann praised the suggestion that the reserves had to be developed in order to aid South Africa's economic growth. The commission had, however, failed completely to face the issue of the integration of the blacks into the whole South African community - a development which, the report conceded, had already occurred within the economic domain. Further, the archbishop noted that, while the commission estimated that some six million blacks would be living in white areas within fifty years, the matter of their social and political status had been completely ignored. He also rejected the ready acceptance by the report of the migratory labour system without questioning its consequences for family life, morality, and the general welfare of the community.

For the archbishop, the crux of the whole report was the acceptance of the dominant fact that European people would never willingly sacrifice their national and racial identity. This belief, he argued, was completely unjustifiable. 'One could not refuse people their

50. Southern Cross, 18 April 1956, 1.

51. A further recommendation dealing with the churches had been that the government attempt to preserve ecclesiastical unity by withholding recognition of any future splinter churches. In responding to this proposal the Southern Cross editorial of 11 April 1956 had laconically remarked that it was 'amusing' that a report which spoke of South Africa as a Protestant country should suggest that the government do what the 'popes have been condemned and repudiated for doing - seeking to preserve religious unity by the exercise of authority in religion.' Southern Cross, 11 April 1956, 4.

legitimate rights merely because giving them those rights would produce a situation which did not conform to a preconceived pattern.'⁽⁵²⁾ Further, the report suggested that blacks might develop to full citizenship along the lines of separate development, yet it failed to show how this development could be achieved. The commission's plea that it was only concerned with a comparatively short period of time and thus had to leave some problems to the future, was, he pointed out, contradictory in view of the fact that its recommendations might in effect hinder the solution of long-term social and political problems.⁽⁵³⁾

Finally, Archbishop McCann criticised the report for assuming that 'Western civilisation' could only be maintained in Southern Africa through a policy of separate development. Such thinking, he pointed out, failed to take cognisance of the fact that civilisation does not depend on colour. If European civilisation was worth preserving, he said, it was worth giving to others.⁽⁵⁴⁾

The discovery that much of what the Nationalist ideologues had interpreted as 'positive apartheid' was impracticable did not prevent Parliament from continuing to implement what were essentially 'negative apartheid' measures. Having segregated the Cape Town suburban railway system some time previously, in April 1956 apartheid was introduced for the Cape Town bus service. Although couched in somewhat paternalistic language, the archbishop of Cape Town expressed his formal condemnation of this in a press statement in which he noted that the move constituted a slur on the coloured people - 'who have generally conducted themselves well on public transport.'⁽⁵⁵⁾

52. Southern Cross, 18 April 1956, 4.

53. Ibid, 4.

54. Ibid, 1.

55. Ibid, 1.

Further, despite the findings of the Tomlinson commission that a certain number of blacks would have to be accommodated in the white cities, Verwoerd, when minister of Native Affairs, refused to concede the possibility of permanent residence. What he envisaged was obviously an extension of the whole migratory labour system. "We all know that for the mining labour it is the best and presumably the only practicable system," he declared. "It is my contention that the strengthening of this system and its extension to most other fields of labour would benefit the Bantu." (56) In pursuance of this aim the government passed two important pieces of legislation in 1955. The first, was the Bantu (Urban Areas) Amendment act, otherwise known as the 'Locations in the Sky Act'. This empowered the minister to abolish black locations, villages, hostels, and black accommodation in white flats, usually on the roof. The other was the General Law Amendment Act, which served to prevent blacks from illegally squatting in white areas. The enactments were followed by the forced removal of blacks from the Western Cape - despite the fact that black families had been settled in the area at least since 1879. Eiselen, when announcing the scheme, was reported to have offered the concession that migratory labour would be permitted, and this sparked off a significant debate on the subject which, because of the impact of the system on the spiritual and social life of the blacks, involved the Catholic hierarchy.

In an interview with the Southern Cross in February 1955 Archbishop McCann flatly rejected the contention that migratory labour could be justified, economically, socially or morally. 'The basis of all sound economic and social life and planning is the family.' He continued, 'If a social plan undermines family life, then it is wrong, and in the long run the community suffers both economically and socially.' The migratory labour system was held to be just such a plan. What legislators and employers had to recognise, the archbishop held, was the human dignity and position of the labourer. A labourer was therefore entitled to bring his family with him when employed in

56. M. Wilson and L. Thompson, The Oxford History of South Africa (1975), ii. 192.

the towns, and to expect a salary to support himself as well as his family. It must be realised, he concluded, 'that in social justice when a person is hired for employment, it is not merely his labour which is engaged. His whole personality, with all its rights, must be brought into the terms of the contract.'⁽⁵⁷⁾

The following year, on the occasion of the Feast of St Joseph the Worker (1 May), Archbishop McCann again dwelt on the problems confronting the migrant labourer. He called for whites to make themselves aware of this issue and for employers to pay due recognition to the nobility of labour and the dignity of the worker by paying him both a living and a family wage. He used the opportunity to criticise the Tomlinson commission for not condemning migratory labour, or at least the evils arising therefrom. In concluding his sermon he declared that South Africa had failed 'miserably' on the issue of migratory labour, 'which is crying out for a solution.'⁽⁵⁸⁾

The seriousness of the problem for the Catholic Church was further illustrated in February 1956 when the chairman of the Administrative Board of the Bishops' Conference reported that he had been asked by the National Executive of the Catholic African Union to approach some of the bishops requesting them to address a Union congress early in the following year. The theme of this congress was to be 'Problems of the Migrant Labourer'.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Thus it was that between 4 and 8 January 1957 some twelve archbishops and bishops, sixty priests and two hundred black Catholic teachers and lay leaders assembled at St Mary's Mission, Krugersdorp, to discuss the most tangible hardship experienced by the majority of South Africa's population.

57. Southern Cross, 16 Feb. 1955, 1.

58. Southern Cross, 9 May 1956, 2.

59. BCA; AV1, meeting of 27-28 Feb. 1956.

Amongst the many speeches delivered at the conference an interesting contrast is seen in those of Bishops Boyle and Streit. Bishop Boyle as head of the diocese with the greatest number of migratory labourers, was particularly conscious of the evils resulting from the system. These he summed up as the loss of all sense of responsibility, immorality and divorce, violence and drunkenness, and, in the case of many Catholic workers, the loss of contact with their Church. The migratory labour system, he warned, 'was threatening the whole structure of human society in this society and was bound to have a ruinous effect on African society.' The only just solution, he stressed, was to have a permanent better paid labour force, to allow workers to bring their families to the cities, and to provide adequate housing for labourers and their families.(60)

In contrast, Bishop Streit of Mariannhill - a diocese which supplied a considerable number of migrant labourers - dwelt on the need to establish a stable black population in the reserves, 'or, better still, on land which they own,'(61) as the only effective means of removing the worst excesses of the migratory labour system. As the bishop rightly noted, the primary problem was the agricultural underdevelopment of the reserves. For him the problem was essentially a 'vicious circle'. He held that the property in the reserves was both the cause and the result of the migratory labour system. Men left the reserves in search of labour because they could not make a living there, and yet the reserves were poor because there were no hands to improve them. There were only two possible remedies, Bishop Streit declared, the first was that already proposed by the Tomlinson commission, namely the establishment of secondary industries near the homes of the people. The second was to follow the example of the Mariatrost settlement within the Mariannhill diocese. Some years previously, the Catholic African Union, under the leadership of Fr J.B. Sauter, had bought a farm of about two thousand acres near the Mariatrost mission with the aid of the savings of black teachers and workers, deposited at the bank of the

60. Southern Cross, 9 Jan. 1957, 1.

61. Ibid, 2.

Mariannhill Bantu Welfare Association. The land was subsequently resold at moderate prices to black farmers. By the end of 1956, this settlement included 115 stably settled Catholic families. At the end of its proceedings, the conference unequivocally condemned the migratory labour system.

While the Church was prepared to condemn this aspect of South African society, she was not yet self-reliant enough, or indeed so pressed, as to condemn the entire apartheid system outright. However, in the face of the growing power of the South African state, with its apparent indifference to the rights of the individual or respect for the constitution as it hammered away at forging 'petty' and 'grand' apartheid, it was becoming more and more difficult for the Catholic Church to maintain her equivocal position on general government policy. This is not to say that all bishops passively accepted the status quo, in July and August 1956 the Church's two foremost critics of apartheid policy spoke out about the South African situation and the role of the Church. In July, in an interview with the Irish Times while in Dublin, Archbishop Hurley painted a comprehensive picture of South African affairs from a Catholic viewpoint; while in August Archbishop McCann, at a rally organised in his honour by the Catholic Men's Society, spoke on the Catholic response to recent apartheid legislation. Both singled out the Group Areas Act as a particularly distasteful piece of legislation. Archbishop McCann also made mention of the Mixed Marriages Act and the Population Registration Act, all of which, he held, were 'weighted to benefit one section of the community only,' (62) The cruelty with which these laws were implemented, he noted, were often the cause of much suffering and hardship.

One of the difficulties confronting critics of the government, including the Catholic Church, was that they could produce no counter-proposals, least of all one with popular appeal, Archbishop Hurley readily conceded. "It is a much easier job," he said, "to be a bishop or an archbishop in South Africa today than to

62. Southern Cross, 29 Aug. 1956, 1.

be a politician, it is easier to preach the principles than to know how to put them into practice." (63) Further, he pointed out that without necessarily supporting the government's policies, one could at least understand them. Blacks, he held, and in this he was supported by Archbishop McCann, were not yet ready to be granted complete political rights and responsibilities. He sincerely commented that, compared with the average white, the blacks were 'slower in every way'. If the black wished the vote, he had to earn it himself for at the present time it would be "impossible to consider granting it indiscriminately to all." (64)

In view of the inherent difficulties of the problem itself, as it affected all sectors of the population, Archbishop Hurley saw little hope in a United Party victory in a future election. As he saw it, the United Party had no real policy whatever. Some of its members favoured integration but realised that this would mean political suicide for whites. Most of the party's supporters were however probably sympathetic to many of the government's policies.

In these circumstances, the archbishop continued, the Catholic Church could not stand aside. She "could not under any circumstances admit the justice of the principle of white supremacy." Rather, it was her belief, as indeed it was of all the churches in South Africa, with the exception of the three Afrikaans churches, that all races in the country should eventually attain equality. The address of Archbishop McCann also demonstrated a new determination to adopt a stronger political stance. 'The Catholic Church', he argued, 'does not take part in politics.' She accepted, gave, and even demanded, obedience to just laws. Politics, however, were only a part of life, the Church had to take into account each individual as a human being. 'Political action therefore, in so far as it affects each individual human person and his ability to serve God, is our concern, and in this respect the Church has the right and duty to speak.' (65)

63. Southern Cross, 18 July 1956, 1.

64. Ibid, 1.

65. Southern Cross, 29 Aug. 1956, 1.

The Church was finally forced to adopt an unequivocal stand some six months later. Early in 1957 the government published the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill. As this attacked the very foundations of Christian worship in South Africa, it initiated an unparalleled conflict between the Church and the secular state which took on many of the features of a simmering Kulturkampf, as experienced in the Bismarkian Germany of the 1880s.

CHAPTER SIX

THE CHURCH CLAUSE AND CONDEMNATION

The Nationalist Party victory at the polls in 1948 had not only invited a response from the Church because of the socio-political impact it wrought on South African society, but it also exerted an important influence on the very life and mission of the Church herself. The legislation which perhaps created the most problems for the Church was the Group Areas Act of 1950. For example, at the April 1951 meeting of the Administrative Board of the Bishops' Conference it was agreed that coloured students would, tentatively, be accepted as candidates for the priesthood at the St John Vianney Seminary in Pretoria, then under construction.(1) Shortly thereafter however, at the February 1952 meeting of the Board, Bishop Whelan reminded those attending that, under recent legislation, the admission of non-whites to a white institution in a white area might be illegal and the minister's permission would thus be required.(2)

Further, as has already been noted, due to the Group Areas and Bantu Education Acts, numerous Catholic schools and training colleges had been forced to close, while many of the Church's 91 hospitals were also threatened. According to the Group Areas Act the Church was debarred from acquiring new land in black reserves or expanding her facilities there. The primary reason for this was that the 'controlling interest' in the Church was regarded as being held by members of the 'white group'. In order to circumvent this difficulty, it was proposed to establish an 'ecclesiastical trust',(3) to be composed of black Catholic prelates. This trust would then theoretically control and administer Church property in the black reserves. Negotiations were thus entered into with the government

-
1. BCA; AV1, meeting of 20 and 26 April 1951.
 2. BCA; AV1, meeting of 19 Feb. 1952.
 3. BCA; AV1, meeting of 29 and 30 May 1956.

over the recognition of such a trust. However, despite Archbishop Hurley's belief that negotiations 'seemed to be progressing satisfactorily,'⁽⁴⁾ the Church's attorneys were informed on 17 November 1959 that the Bantu Administration Department was not prepared to recommend to the governor-general that he approve such a transaction. No reasons were offered for the Department's refusal.

While such moves struck at the property holdings of the Church in black reserves, perhaps a greater consequence was the proposal of the Tomlinson commission that white foreign missionaries be dissuaded from, or refused admission to, black reserves. Such moves would clearly have threatened the life of the Church. As early as August 1949 Archbishop Lucas informed the Administrative Board that the Nationalist government had imposed restrictions on the entry of foreign missionaries to the country.⁽⁵⁾ The only effective means therefore of transcending such restrictions was to encourage the growth of an indigenous clergy from amongst the black inhabitants of South Africa.

The need for a local black clergy was thus uppermost in the mind of the Holy See. Cardinal Fumasoni-Biondi, prefect of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, had indicated as much in his letter to the plenary session of the Bishops' Conference at Mariannhill in April 1952. 'Today', he stated, 'the Holy See exhorts strenuously the education and formation of Native vocations.'⁽⁶⁾ A similar call was issued three years later by the superior general of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Fr Leo Deschatelets, at the first meeting of the South African Oblate bishops and provincials held at the Mazenod Institute in Basutoland from 1 to 4 March 1955.⁽⁷⁾

There were however many difficulties facing the Church in South Africa in her effort to gain candidates for the priesthood and religious life. For many clerics, the most important of these was the

4. BCA; AV1, meeting of 3 and 4 Sept. 1958.

5. BCA; AV1, meeting of 16 Aug. 1949.

6. Minutes of the Bishops' Conference (1952).

7. Minutes of the First Meeting of South African Oblate Bishops and Provincials (1955). p.19.

government's attack on the mission school system and on church controlled health services. While the Catholic Church had held out as best she could against both attacks, it was becoming increasingly obvious that it would be impossible to maintain an independent mission school system and health services on the same scale as before 1953. In the years following 1954 therefore, the Church was forced to consider revising and modifying her missionary effort amongst the blacks. If blacks were to enter the religious life or become committed lay Catholics who would encourage others to convert to the Faith, what was required was a strong Christian influence on all aspects of their lives.

In March 1954 Bishop Boyle had recognised this when he declared that a Confraternity of Christian Doctrine was to be established in every mission and parish within his diocese as the first step towards providing black children with instruction in the Faith. These confraternities would cater primarily for black children who, through force of circumstances, could no longer attend mission schools and were now forced to enrol at state schools.(8)

In similar vein, dealing with the need to create a new mission field amongst black adults, and more particularly migrant workers, Archbishop Hurley, in an address to the January 1957 conference of the Catholic African Union, had called for the establishment of Young Christian Worker Organisations(9) throughout the country. These movements, he hoped, by being connected with the Catholic African Union, would provide black workers with recreational facilities, savings banks, and devotional societies, as well as paying particular attention to the spiritual and social needs of the migrant worker.

8. Southern Cross, 16 March 1955, 1.

9. The Young Christian Workers' Movement was established in the 1940s in England, and was inspired by the Belgian Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne of Cardijn. With its concern for the Catholic worker in an increasingly industrialised society, it soon became a vital force throughout the Commonwealth and in the United States.
R. Aubert, et al, The Church in a Secularized Society (1978), p.225.

Another proposal had emanated from the Joint Council for Catholic Africans and Europeans in the Johannesburg diocese which had resolved in 1957 to initiate projects of a more practical nature in the black townships, including lectures dealing with issues such as a just wage and 'How to ask for better wages.'(10)

The need for a revision of mission policy was amply reinforced in Fr Collins' study on Catholic Bantu Education (1957). In exposing the weaknesses of relying so extensively on education as the primary tool of the missionary,(11) he noted that something more was now required of the Church. If she was to achieve any lasting success in South Africa, he stressed that she must acquire both religious and lay black Catholic leaders. This, he held, could best be achieved by the Church making social presence her 'mood'. By this he meant the Church making her presence felt 'in the homes, in the country and in the cities, in factories and on farms, on the fields and in the reserves.'(12)

Given these sentiments, it was proposed, at the May 1957 meeting of the Administrative Board, that an 'apostolate of the future' be developed amongst black South Africans so that the Church might

10. Southern Cross, 17 April 1957, 14.

11. In later years a number of African prelates began to seriously question the need for the Church to maintain any mission school system whatsoever. At the Pan-African Conference of Third World Theologians in Ghana in 1977, for example, Bishop Patrick A. Kalilombe, WF, of the diocese of Lilongwe in Malawi, suggested that while the Church in the more wealthy countries of the First World found it relevant and possible to run big schools, hospitals, and other such sophisticated institutions in competition with the state, in African countries she did not necessarily have to do likewise despite the thinking of expatriate missionaries. The Church, he held, should answer local needs, and in Africa these needs were not the same as overseas. Rather the Church should attempt to involve herself at a much more basic level with the life and suffering of the people.

P.A. Kalilombe, 'Self Reliance of the African Church: A Catholic Perspective', in K. Appiah-Kubi and S. Torres (eds.), African Theology en route (1979), pp.36-58.

12. Colin B. Collins, Catholic Bantu Education (1957), p.35.

respond more directly to the problems they encountered in an apartheid society. It was envisaged that this new apostolate would include an apostolate of Christian doctrine, which would aim at increased interest and involvement of blacks in bodies such as the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, and the Legion of Mary.⁽¹³⁾ It was also hoped that greater efforts be made to develop a lay apostolate. With regard to the general social and cultural concerns of the black Catholic laity it was suggested that the Young Christian Workers' Movement be extended, and that greater attention be given to the functions and activities of the Catholic African Union and the Catholic African Womens' Union.⁽¹⁴⁾

While this change in method of missionary activity might in fact result in a greater commitment amongst black lay Catholics, which might, in turn, mean more candidates for the religious life, the state's official policy towards the blacks created serious problems for the Church once the black clergy had been ordained. In 1955, for example, Fr J. O'Brien of the Bishops' Conference secretariate received an appeal from Fr H. Wiese, of the Queenstown diocese, for aid in securing a passport for a local black priest so that he might continue his studies in Rome. In his letter of reply, Fr O'Brien observed that there was little hope. 'The Native Affairs Department', he wrote, 'do not want to allow men abroad for higher studies and are now putting all the difficulties and opposition possible in the way.' All requests for passports were now being handled by the Native Affairs

13. The Legion of Mary was founded in Ireland in 1921 and officially approved by Pope Pius XI in 1933. After the Second World War the movement spread throughout Europe and to the mission countries. It differed from classical forms of Catholic Action in that it drew its members from all social classes, and in that it was devoted to purely religious ends, not taking on the outward social, cultural, and institutional trappings of traditional religious societies.

14. BCA; AV1, meeting 14-16 May 1957.

Department before they even reached the passport office. Fr O'Brien noted that the Bishops' Conference had only recently managed to secure two passports for students after a 'long battle', and 'we are now fighting for an Oblate to go to Propaganda(15) and this case has been going on since the early part of September and no hope is in sight yet...'(16)

A further difficulty confronting black clergy was the pass-laws. Black clergy of any denomination were entitled to hold 'green' pass books which granted them certain exemptions. However, there were still a great many problems about which many Church officials were still unclear. Thus on 2 February 1956 an interdenominational group consisting of Anglican Bishop Reeves, Rev. J.B. Webb of the Methodist Church, as well as representatives from the Baptist, Presbyterian, Salvation Army, Swiss Mission, Transvaal Missionary Association, and Fr Ochs of the Catholic Bishops' Conference met members of the Native Affairs Department to discuss the problem of the 'green' reference book. Of particular concern to Catholics and Anglicans was the need for their clergy to carry wine with them for use during Mass or service. The Department's representative promised to look into the matter of providing exemption from the law which debarred blacks from being in the possession of liquor.

In a letter to Archbishop Hurley, Fr Ochs humorously noted that he had further complicated proceedings by asking what the position was vis-a-vis Bishop Dlamini. As the Act demanded that an employer sign the reference book of all employed by him, who was to sign the bishop's book?

15. The Urban College de Propaganda Fide was founded by Pope Urban VIII in 1627. This seminary caters, to a considerable extent, for candidates to the priesthood from mission countries.

16. BCA; M1, African Affairs General, correspondence prior to 1958: letter from Rev. Fr J. O'Brien to the Very Rev. Fr H. Weise, SAC, 7 Dec. 1955.

The reply was that this was a special case and must be studied. Then again, he being the employer of his African priests, is he to be allowed to sign all their books? This stopped them and was also put down for study.(17)

The position of the Church was further aggravated by the re-emergence of agitation against a 'Roomse-gevaar' in 1956 and 1957. The Southern Cross reported in September 1956 that, over a period of three weeks, Die Transvaaler had printed eleven letters and one editorial condemning the 'Roman danger'.(18) This was followed in 1957 by an article by P.C. Rule, 'namens deputate vir die bestryding van die Roomse gevaar,' printed in Die Kerkblad.(19)

All these factors militating against the proper functioning of the Church were minor compared with the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill. Up until 1957 certain government enactments had indirectly involved the Church, this proposed legislation, however, while being an integral facet of the future apartheid utopia, was a direct invasion of freedom of worship in South Africa. In such circumstances Popes Leo XIII and Pius XII had defined the manner in which a Catholic must respond. In the encyclical Sapientiae christianae (1890) Leo XIII had stated explicitly that obedience to the state ceased when the Church was victimised by the state, or when citizens were required to act contrary to the commandments of the Church.(20) Sixty years later, Pius XII declared that the "Church cannot remain silent before conditions which make difficult or practically impossible the Christian life."(21) The Catholic hierarchy in South Africa took to heart these declarations.

17. BCA; M1, Ibid., letter from Fr Ochs to Archbishop Hurley, 4 Feb. 1956.

18. Southern Cross, 26 Sept. 1956, 1.

19. P.C. Rule, 'lets oor die Roomse Gevaar', Die Kerkblad, LIX (3 July 1957), 8.

20. Karl von Aretin, The Papacy and the Modern World (1970), p.160.

21. As quoted in W.A. Purdy, The Church on the Move (1966), p.235.

In effect, the new bill laid down that in future all churches, schools, hospitals, clubs, or other institutions or places of entertainment established after 1 January 1938 and which admitted blacks to their functions would have to obtain the express permission of the minister of Native Affairs.

This move caused much astonishment throughout the country. Archbishop McCann, who in 1954 had unequivocally stated that the Catholic Church 'will not stand' for such a move,(22) now again reiterated the Church's opposition. In a statement to the press he expressed his amazement at the prohibition on churches which the bill proposed. He interpreted the move as a direct attack on the freedom of religious worship and the right of conscience of the individual. Given this opposition he emphatically declared that the churches of his archdiocese(23) would certainly remain open to all members of the Catholic Church despite the proposed legislation. 'My flock,' he said, 'composed of all sections of the population, have the obligation of worshipping God, and they have, therefore, the right to attend a Catholic Church wherever it may be.'(24) Two weeks later the archbishop was given further opportunity to voice his protest. In an address to the Kolbe Association of Cape Town University he said that the 'Church cannot and will not give way before this attack.'(25)

Similar remarks were made by Archbishop Hurley; while Archbishop Garner followed with another strongly-worded statement rejecting the proviso of the bill dealing with the churches. He said that the clergy of his archdiocese would not be deterred by the bill

22. In July 1954 Archbishop McCann had voiced the suspicion that the implementation of the apartheid system 'may even lead to an attempt to segregate us in our religious assemblies.'
Southern Cross, 28 July 1954, 1.

23. Nine churches in the archdiocese of Cape Town were affected as they were built after January 1938.

24. Southern Cross, 27 Feb. 1957, 1.

25. Southern Cross, 13 March 1957, 1.

from acting, as they always have done, in welcoming to their churches all Catholics regardless of distinction of race or nationality. In concluding, the archbishop asserted the Catholic Church's 'sole and inviolable right to speak and act for her children in all matters of faith or morals and rejects any attempt to compromise or interfere with her right.'⁽²⁶⁾ The following week the three archbishops were joined by Abbot-Bishop van Hoeck⁽²⁷⁾ of Pietersburg, who sent a telegram in Afrikaans, protesting against the 'church clause' of the bill, to Minister Naudé, who was the member of Parliament for the area.⁽²⁸⁾ The bill had therefore motivated two traditionally quiescent prelates to speak out against government policy.

The Catholic bishops, however, were far from alone in voicing their opposition to the bill. A representative of the Christian Council, the Anglican archbishop of Cape Town, the president of the Methodist Church, the moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, the president of the Baptist Union, and the president of the Seventh Day Adventist Church Conference, all responded in similar fashion. Perhaps the most poignant of these responses was that of Anglican Archbishop Clayton. Clayton was a cleric who had not always supported the political involvement of the Revv. Michael Scott, Trevor Huddleston, and Bishop Reeves,⁽²⁹⁾ yet he now felt compelled to take the step of confronting the state. On 6 March he addressed his formal protest to the prime minister, and hours later he collapsed and died in his study.

On the previous day, 5 March, Die Burger reported that Verwoerd had dismissed the opposition to the bill as being limited to "certain English church leaders,"⁽³⁰⁾ who were engaged in "propaganda teen die regeringsbeleid."⁽³¹⁾ They were, he alleged, merely using the

26. Southern Cross, 6 March 1957, 1.

27. The Rt Rev. Clemens van Hoeck, OSB: abbot-bishop of Pietersburg, 1954-1974.

28. Southern Cross, 13 March 1957, 1.

29. Alan Paton, Apartheid and the Archbishop (1973), p.371.

30. Southern Cross, 6 March 1957, 1.

31. Southern Cross, 13 March 1957, 6.

bill as a smokescreen. Before the bill was even debated in Parliament, however, Verwoerd had taken limited cognizance of this protest by tabling an amendment to the clause. The new 'church clause' provided that the minister could prevent blacks from attending religious services in white residential areas only if, in his opinion, they were causing a nuisance to white residents there, if they were causing a nuisance on the way to the service, or, if it was considered to be undesirable to have large numbers of blacks in the 'white' churches.(32) Further, it was now provided that the blacks concerned, and not the church, would be liable to prosecution. Church leaders were only to be guilty if they contravened the provisions of the 1937 Amendment Act.

This bill, in its revised form, came up for discussion at the Administrative Board meeting of the Bishops' Conference in March 1957. After much discussion Archbishop Hurley suggested that a statement be drawn up for release to the press by Archbishop McCann.(33) This statement was subsequently printed in the Southern Cross on 27 March. For the Catholic bishops concern over the bill had not abated despite the ministers modification of his proposals. 'We consider', the statement continued, 'that the Bill still constitutes a claim by the State to regulate the worship and religious practice of the individual person and we cannot admit such a claim.' The bishops pointed out that many blacks working in urban areas could often only fulfil their obligation of worship by attending church in white areas. They thus reprobated the manner in which the government had placed the onus for infringement of the law on the blacks. While the Church had always expressed her concern for the maintenance of good order in society, and had supported the state in this regard, she could not accept the proposed legislation.

32. A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa (1956-57), 19.

33. BCA; AV1, meeting of 19-21 March 1957.

We are charged with the safeguarding and the spreading of the Spirit of Christ, who came to love all men irrespective of colour. That Spirit brings men together rather than separates them. The policy of the Minister is in direct contradiction to this Spirit and we declare our opposition to it. 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.(34)

The response to the Native Laws Amendment Bill has been described as a 'turning-point for some of the churches' in South Africa.(35) This was certainly true of the Catholic Church. Apart from the strength of the rejection of the proposed legislation by the bishops, for the first time the Catholic laity played a leading role in opposing apartheid. Furthermore, the Catholic Church, both clergy and laity, were active in the interdenominational groups which were formed to combat the bill.

Early in March, an interdenominational protest committee was formed by the laity of the Anglican, Baptist, Congregational, Full Gospel, Methodist, Presbyterian and Catholic churches in Durban. The delegates elected the chairman of the Durban Catholic Federation, George Christie, to head the committee, which subsequently formulated a statement for presentation to the government.(36) The committee then organised a meeting in the Durban City Hall on 7 April. It was attended by about two thousand people and unanimously approved a resolution stating that the government had no authority to enact legislation which detracted from 'the freedom of man's converse with God.'(37) A similar meeting, attended by about one thousand Christians, both Catholic and Protestant, was held in Pietermaritzburg under the chairmanship of Councillor C.B. Downes,

34. Southern Cross, 27 March 1957, 1.

35. Meiring, van Wyk and Giddy, 'Religion', in S.T. van der Horst (ed.), Race Discrimination in South Africa : A review (1981), p.196.

36. Southern Cross, 13 March 1957, 1.

37. Southern Cross, 17 April 1957, 1.

the mayor. It too sent a 'solemn protest against the avowed intention of the Government to restrict the religious freedom of Native Christians to worship or to attend church functions on premises in urban areas.'(38)

Perhaps the most publicized of the interdenominational lay organisations which were formed to protest against the bill was the Cape Town Joint Committee of Christian Laymen. This committee included representatives of the Anglican, Congregational, Methodist, Presbyterian and Catholic churches and was under the chairmanship of Jean Pothier, a local Catholic who had been instrumental in forming the committee.(39) Having made repeated unsuccessful representations to Verwoerd's private secretary for a formal interview, the committee issued a memorandum which called on the minister to withdraw the 'church clause' in its entirety. In replying to the memorandum, not only did Verwoerd reject its appeal, but he also expressed the belief that an interview with the committee would be futile.(40)

The Christian Council of South Africa also organised a special meeting to discuss the bill - which Mgr J.P. Galvin, vicar general of the Cape Town archdiocese attended as the Catholic observer - and subsequently issued a memorandum to the government. Representations and memoranda of all such organisations, however, proved ineffectual.

38. Southern Cross, 3 April 1957, 1.

39. Members of the committee received a warning from the Protestant Association - a militantly anti-Catholic organisation - against accepting the leadership of Pothier. Pothier offered to resign, holding that the cause was much more important than his chairmanship. The committee, however, refused to hear of it. Southern Cross, 3 April 1957, 1.

40. Southern Cross, 3 April 1957, 1.

Despite his refusal to meet representatives of the 'English' churches,(41) whom Ds. J. Conradie described as "'a lot of political parsons,'" (42) Verwoerd, it was later revealed, had met a deputation from the Dutch Reformed Churches as early as 12 March. Verwoerd then announced that, at the request of the Federal Council of the Dutch Reformed Churches, the wording of the 'church clause' would be slightly modified. He stressed, however, that as the Dutch Reformed Churches had expressed no definite objections to the clause, the intention was merely to make its meaning clearer.

While this superficial change in language might have mollified some, it did not appease Archbishop McCann, who immediately drafted a statement for release to the press, a copy of which was sent to the Congregation de Propaganda Fide in order to keep Rome informed about developments in South Africa. For the archbishop the amendment to the church clause made no difference as it still constituted a claim by the state to regulate the worship and religious practice of the individual, this claim the Catholic Church could not admit.(43)

Early in May, two prominent Dutch Reformed theologians, Prof. B.B. Keet and Dr Ben Marais, publicly condemned the bill. Their opposition was, however, also brushed aside and the Native Laws Amendment Bill, including the 'church clause', was passed by the House of Assembly. While the last stage of the debate was in progress, less than two hundred metres away, in St Mary's Cathedral, Archbishop McCann, preaching at the evening mass on the

41. As was noted during the 'education crisis', many Catholic clergymen resented the Church being included as one of the 'English' churches. In May 1957 Fr Stubbs rejected this appellation, noting that 'the Catholic Church is neither English nor Afrikaans, no more than she is Roman in any geographically limited sense. The Church is universal. She is of all races and nations and tribes. Sent by Christ to preach the Gospel to every creature, she remains supranational.'

Southern Cross, 8 May 1957, 6.

42. Southern Cross, 20 March 1957, 1.

43. BCA; M6, Native Laws Amendment Bill, 1957.

Feast of St Joseph the Worker, used the occasion to condemn the move once again. The government, he held, was 'putting the things of Caesar before the things of God.' An action was being perpetrated in which the state was 'acting outside its sphere when it seeks to control the regulations of the Church.'(44)

The law was finally gazetted on 5 July, but the Catholic Church refused to accept its provisions, no matter what the consequences. This was made abundantly clear to all in a statement endorsed by the full board of bishops and read at all Masses on Sunday, 21 July 1957. The declaration read:

The Catholic Bishops having taken note of legislation enacted in the last session of Parliament through the Native Laws Amendment Act and the Group Areas Amendment Act, solemnly declare that no other authority than the Hierarchy has competence to decide on admittance of persons to Catholic places of worship, [and further] that Catholic churches must and shall remain open to all without regard to their racial origin.

In consequence the Bishops inform their Clergy and flock that there is no restriction on attendance at any Catholic church and that they, the Bishops, take full responsibility for admission to Catholic churches.(45)

Given such strong reaction, it is not surprising that the provisions of the Act concerning the churches were never strictly applied.(46) Other provisions of the Act were, however, applied, and this, for Archbishop Hurley, was an even greater tragedy. These provisions aimed at suppressing all social and cultural contacts between blacks and whites. 'There is no finer method of fostering animosity and

44. Southern Cross, 8 May 1957, 11.

45. Southern Cross, 24 July 1957, 1.

46. The state has only acted on a few occasions against black services held in 'white' areas when local white residents have complained about them being a public disturbance.

prejudice between two groups', he held, 'than by abolishing communication between them.' Speaking at a protest meeting he went on to condemn the entire apartheid system for the misery and suffering it was causing. The blacks, he held, were denied security and representation at every turn, while the only effective black political organisation, the African National Congress, was also under threat. 'Woe betide our country', he warned, 'when the full consequences of its present policies rise up to plague it.' Amongst these he prophetically suggested that white South Africa might be brought to its senses when it found itself the pariah state of the world - excluded from football federations and Olympic Games, debarred from international conferences for fear of boycotts by other nations, banned from certain harbours and airports, refused diplomatic representation, and suffering from economic disinvestment.⁽⁴⁷⁾ He concluded by observing that it was 'utterly incredible that rational human beings should plan a celestial future for a white herrenvolk in South Africa by creating the conditions of a volcano underneath it.'⁽⁴⁸⁾

There was much evidence of the rumbling of this volcano during 1957. World attention was focussed on South Africa during the first year of the 'treason trial' which must certainly have encouraged internal opposition in the country. Further, during the first half of the year the African National Congress organised a massive bus boycott in the Alexandra township near Johannesburg. This boycott was to prove equally successful to that in Everton three years previously.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Growing internal opposition and increasing external interest, however, did little to cause the government to change its policies. In March 1957, for example, a Separate University Education Bill was introduced in Parliament. It provided for separate training facilities for non-whites at universities.⁽⁵⁰⁾

47. Southern Cross, 8 May 1957, 11.

48. Ibid., 11.

49. In June 1957 the minister of Transport, B.J. Schoeman, introduced the Native Services Transport Bill which resulted in a greater transport subsidy being paid by employers of black labour.

50. M. Horrell, Laws Affecting Race Relations in South Africa (1970) - 201.

The proposal to create separate black universities had been vociferously rejected by many within the English-speaking universities. One such group was the National Catholic Federation of Students, whose executive had issued a lengthy statement in October 1954 condemning the move on the grounds that it violated academic freedom and thus impinged directly on the aims and functions of a university.⁽⁵¹⁾ The report of the Holloway commission, which had been appointed in 1953 to investigate the possibility of separate black universities, was published in February 1955. It contended that, as financial conditions made it impossible to establish new universities exclusively for blacks at that stage, black and Asian undergraduates should be encouraged to attend the universities of Fort Hare and Natal (Durban).

Despite these recommendations, however, the Separate University Education Bill of 1957 provided for the establishment of colleges for 'non-white persons'. Immediately after its first reading, Archbishop McCann, in an address to the Kolbe Society in Cape Town, roundly condemned the application of the proposed legislation to the University of Cape Town. 'I want to say here publicly that I am opposed to the application of this doctrine.' As a graduate of Cape Town University, as a South African, and as the archbishop of Cape Town, he felt he was fully entitled to speak out against a move which was a denial of the Western civilisation which it claimed to defend. The autonomy of a university, he said, demanded that its doors be opened to all who were qualified and capable of benefiting by its lectures.⁽⁵²⁾

Shortly thereafter, the National Executive of the Kolbe Association of South Africa voiced its protest to the bill in a letter to the prime minister. Separate universities, it was contended, would not only contribute to the future deterioration of race relations, they would also give rise to an international reaction which could only serve to

51. Southern Cross, 6 Oct. 1954, 12.

52. Southern Cross, 13 March 1957, 2.

damage the prestige of South African universities in the eyes of the world.(53) The government took no account of these protests. Indeed, it had already commenced with the construction of two separate universities.(54)

Given these developments on the home front, Archbishop Hurley, in an address to the National Council of Women, contended that South African politicians had no right to complain of a bad overseas press. Referring to international reaction to South Africa's policies, he said that during his recent visit overseas he had noted that 'nobody is taken in by such high-sounding euphemisms as separate development, or development along one's own racial lines.' Indeed, what struck him most while overseas was 'how completely stupid it is to advocate apartheid,' a policy which was 'merely playing into the hands of communism and setting practically the whole world against South Africa.'(55)

Some two months later, in June 1957, Archbishop Whelan, in an address to the annual meeting of the Catholic Women's League, declared that apartheid in South Africa was 'nothing less than a theological problem, a heresy.' He noted that the early Church had often been faced with similar problems. In particular, he felt that the situation in the South Africa of 1957 was not dissimilar to that presented to St Augustine when confronted by Manicheism, for apartheid, he held, was a relic of Manicheism, 'by which religion is hypocritical and man lives in two compartments.'(56)

A week after Archbishop Whelan's address, the 1957 plenary session of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference was held at St John Vianney Seminary in Pretoria.(57) In his opening chairman's

53. Southern Cross, 8 May 1957, 1.

54. Although the bill only became law in 1959, this was not due to internal opposition to the move but rather because of procedural difficulties.

55. Southern Cross, 10 April 1957, 1.

56. Southern Cross, 3 July 1957, 1.

57. For a list of ordinaries attending the 1957 plenary session, vide Appendix 4h

address, Archbishop Hurley stated that because of the importance of the subject, the issue of apartheid in South Africa would be placed first on the agenda of the plenary session. The dilemma for the Church was that while she could not agree with apartheid 'because it involved an unjust principle of discrimination from which many evils flowed as a necessary consequence,' she was not yet prepared, as had been maintained in 1952, to advocate 'perfect integration'.⁽⁵⁸⁾ What was therefore required was recognition of the right of all races to evolve towards full citizenship in the country - something which apartheid unconditionally denied. Given this scenario, he went on to note that the issues facing the Church were fourfold: Should the bishops make their position perfectly clear, however unfavourable the reaction of the government? Should action be individual or collective? Should the bishops co-ordinate their efforts with other non-Catholic interested bodies? And should a statement or pastoral letter on apartheid be issued?

In the discussion that followed, it was generally agreed that greater publicity should be given to the evils arising from apartheid and for this reason it was the Church's duty to speak out. It was, however, stressed that the bishops should avoid becoming associated with political parties. With regard to the question of co-operation with non-Catholic bodies, a number of bishops held that this contact might result in greater friendship and understanding, others stressed that there were disadvantages. All agreed that the campaign of educating the laity concerning the Christian attitude to apartheid should be more earnestly tackled, for which reason pastoral letters and statements should appear in pamphlet form for sale or distribution at church doors.⁽⁵⁹⁾

A number of the points raised in the discussion were subsequently included in the resolutions taken at the end of the session. These

58. Minutes of the Plenary Session of the SACBC (1957)

59. Ibid.

mark a definite commitment which had been absent from the 1952 plenary session of the Catholic Church. The hierarchy stressed its determination to defend vigorously the rights of the Church, and 'to labour incessantly for the recognition of the human rights of all sections of the people of the Union of South Africa.' It stated categorically that the Church would ever stand for the principles enunciated in the Gospels and their application to the lives of the people of South Africa. The hierarchy reiterated its condemnation of the policy of apartheid, on the grounds that it was essentially unchristian, and approved the publication of formal statements of condemnation, whether issued jointly or singly. All members of the hierarchy were encouraged to instruct their flocks on the teachings of the Church vis-a-vis race relations, and the obligations of justice and charity. With regard to non-Catholic bodies it was resolved that bishops should not reject 'prudent collaboration' in respect of action against unjust and discriminatory legislation. (60)

Despite this apparent unanimity, differences of opinion became immediately apparent when the question of issuing a formal statement of condemnation of apartheid was in fact discussed. (61) Archbishop Garner, in his capacity of convenor of the joint pastoral committee, recommended that there should be no declaration on apartheid as such, but rather the publication of a set of general principles based on the 1952 statement. With this, Archbishop Hurley could not agree. He advocated specific mention and condemnation of apartheid as many Catholics accepted apartheid in South Africa. (62) One delegate was, however, quick to point out that it was difficult for the Church to be forthright on the matter of apartheid 'on account of her own toleration of certain practices.' (63)

60. Ibid.

61. The need for such a statement had been voiced as early as March 1957 by Bishop van Velsen at an Admin. Board meeting of the SACBC. He suggested that all members compile notes in preparation for the May meeting of the Board, from which a statement on apartheid was to be drawn up for presentation to the plenary session. The May meeting unanimously endorsed the decision to issue a statement expanding on the 1952 'Statement on Race Relations'.

Vide BCA; AV1; meetings of 19-21 March 1957, and 14-16 May 1957.

62. Minutes of the Plenary Session of the SACBC (1957)

63. Ibid

Archbishop Hurley then proposed that a draft statement previously prepared by the Administrative Board, be read to the meeting. Among the comments that followed was that while the statement contained many good points, it was 'couched in terms which made one doubt the wisdom of its publication.'⁽⁶⁴⁾ A further criticism was that the statement did not suggest practical ways in which the social structure in South Africa could be changed, but rather sounded merely 'like an indictment of the policy of the National Party.'⁽⁶⁵⁾ While not really committing himself for or against the publication of a strongly worded statement, at this stage in the debate the apostolic delegate noted that the position of the Church in South Africa did indeed pose a serious dilemma for the bishops, for there were those who condemned the Church for her unwillingness to come out more openly against the government, while other congratulated her moderation. Further, Archbishop Damiano called on all present to consider the possible consequences of a statement of any sort being issued. In particular, he asked, whether it might not harden the government's attitude to the immigration of missionaries, and the registration of Catholic schools and hospitals. He conceded, however, that the Church might have nothing further to lose in voicing an opinion, particularly in view of the fact that she received her last subsidy for the mission schools in 1957, and that the government was 'already determined that the Church should not rise above five percent of the [total] population.'⁽⁶⁶⁾

After considerable further debate, in which Archbishop Hurley argued strongly and persuasively, a motion was carried by eighteen votes that the statement, as drawn up by the Administrative Board, be published.⁽⁶⁷⁾ This 'Statement on Apartheid' must be seen as a landmark for the Catholic Church, it marks the beginning of a new phase in the relationship between herself and the South African government. The conciliatory approach of the past had been found

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid.

wanting on many levels and was finally abandoned. For the first time, the moderately liberal prelates appeared to enjoy the support of the majority of the hierarchy.

The statement opened by noting that, since the 1952 'Statement on Race Relations,' the racial situation in South Africa had not improved. Instead, apartheid was now being more strongly enforced. This demanded severe and uncompromising condemnation. The delusive aim of apartheid was held to be the preservation of white civilisation. By this the bishops understood white supremacy which meant whites aggregating to themselves all political, social, economic, and cultural advantages. Non-whites had to be satisfied with what was conceded them without 'endangering' the 'privileged position' of the whites. White supremacy was thus an absolute, overriding justice and the teachings of Christ. The description of apartheid as 'separate development' was therefore untenable, as any development allowed the non-whites was 'subordinate to white supremacy.'(68)

From this fundamental evil of apartheid flow the innumerable offences against charity and justice that are its inevitable consequences, for men must be hurt and injustice must be done when the practice of discrimination is enthroned as the supreme principle of the welfare of the state, the ultimate law from which all other laws derive.(69)

Despite the evils, so readily condemned in the apartheid system, the bishops maintained that, in order for justice to triumph, a policy of moderation and evolution must triumph, and not one of revolutionary change. While many blacks suffering under the apartheid system might advocate the latter option, only gradual change 'is compatible with the maintenance of order, without which there is no society, no government, no justice, no common good.'(70) The task of implementing this change lay with the Nationalist government in particular, and, more generally, with all white South Africans.

68. 'Statement on Apartheid', in Pastoral Letters (1966), p.14.

69. Ibid., p.15.

70. Ibid., p.15.

The bishops then called upon the white Catholic laity to take to heart the need for change. They conceded that the practice of segregation, while not officially recognised in Catholic churches, nevertheless characterised most church societies, schools, seminaries, convents, hospitals, and 'the social life of our people.'

In the light of Christ's teaching this cannot be tolerated for ever. The time has come to pursue more vigorously the change of heart and practice that the law of Christ demands. We are hypocrites if we condemn apartheid in South African society and condone it in our own institutions.(71)

Having directed an earnest plea to all white South Africans to consider carefully what apartheid meant, the bishops prayed that God would enlighten all to see the truth, and encourage all to act without references to past prejudices. They realised that this would mean sacrifice, yet given the bravery and forbearance of the original pioneers, all should be well equipped to make these sacrifices. The purpose before white South Africans, the bishops concluded, was the noblest of causes - the triumph of Christ in the country's laws and customs, in the spirit of that hope recently expressed by Pope Pius XII,

...that a task of constructive collaboration must be carried out in Africa a collaboration free of prejudice and mutual sensitiveness, preserved from the seductions and strictures of false nationalism, and capable of extending to people rich in resources and future the true value of Christian civilisation which have already borne so many fruits in other continents.(72)

71. Ibid., p.16.

72. Ibid., p.17.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

The period 1948-1957 was a crucial one for the Catholic Church in South Africa. In 1958 Pope Pius XII died and his death ushered in the aggiornamento under Pope John XXIII.⁽¹⁾ In the same year, Strijdom died and Verwoerd, the arch-protagonist of apartheid, became prime minister. During the decade prior to these significant changes of leadership the Catholic Church in South Africa had moved from a perceptibly Leonine position to one which anticipated many of the recommendations of the pontificate of John XXIII and the Second Vatican Council.

In 1948, fearful of a government so openly espousing much of the 'Roomse-gevaar' mentality of the Dutch Reformed Churches, the Catholic Church had adopted an essentially conciliatory approach in an attempt to mollify the secular power. As early as 1950, however, Bishop Hurley had voiced his condemnation of apartheid. Yet at this stage, while it is well nigh impossible to determine the precise thinking of each individual prelate, the majority of the ordinaries favoured the maintenance of cordial relations with the Nationalists. Most of the ordinaries were foreign born, a number of whom had had first hand experience of countries which had over the past hundred years witnessed bitter conflict between Church and state. The result, in most cases, was a determination to keep the South African Church out of politics. Further, missionary prelates predominated, who were

-
1. It was at first not clear that the pontificate of John XXIII would be any different in spirit to that of his predecessors. Indeed in some respects John XXIII gave the initial appearance of being even more 'otherworldly' than Pius XII. On 3 July 1959, for example, it was resolved, despite Cardinal Feltrin's wishes to the contrary, that the French worker-priests were to be replaced by laymen. The following year the Roman synod was conducted in a dictatorial manner reminiscent of the First Vatican Council. Further, in 1961 New Testament scholars were warned to maintain respect for the advantages in Latin, while a warning was also issued against certain theological interpretations of the work of Teilhard de Chardin in 1962.

usually more politically conservative than their urban colleagues as they were not exposed to the consequences of the government's attempts to keep the cities 'white'. Another factor mitigating against a stronger line being taken towards the government, was that a number of bishops shared the view of many white South Africans that the apartheid policy must be given a fair chance to prove its worth. Perhaps most importantly, however, the Administrative Board, the primary decision making body of the Bishops' Conference, was under the chairmanship of the apostolic delegate, who, in his determination to maintain good diplomatic relations with the government, refused to initiate policy which might be adversely received.

Mounting social unrest during the early 1950s, and the positive response of the Protestant churches thereto, obliged the hierarchy collectively to make a moderate call for improved race relations within the country. The individual response, however, of certain bishops to the defiance campaign of 1952 served to expose certain divisions latent within the hierarchy. During the unrest Archbishop Hurley, in his criticism of the whites and expressed understanding for many of the issues confronting blacks, emerged as the advocate of a more liberal policy, while another South African, Bishop Whelan, tenaciously pursued a conciliatory policy and held to an otherworldly understanding of the role of the Church in society.

During the 1953 education crisis the majority of the bishops, believing the government legislation to be a direct result of the 'Roomse-gevaar' mentality, as the move constituted an attack on what the Church regarded as one of the most crucial branches of her missionary endeavour, clung to the conciliatory approach as the only means by which the Church might gain concessions from the Nationalists. In this they failed, the government's treatment of the Church was surprisingly harsh. However, given the government subsidy paid to a Catholic mission schools up until the end of 1957, the Church could still not afford to openly antagonise the government. Yet, it is clear that during the period 1954-1957 there was a growing awareness of apartheid legislation and its consequences, forcing the Church to

rethink her position vis-a-vis the Nationalists. In this situation, Archbishops Hurley and McCann took the lead in determining the Church's attitude to the apartheid legislation.

The direct interference with the life of the Christian churches in South Africa in the form of the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1957 was the final catalyst that resulted in the Catholic Church's outright condemnation of the government's policies in the 'Statement on Apartheid', issued in June 1957. While the divisions within the hierarchy had not been resolved - a number of important prelates, including Archbishop Garner, did not support the outright condemnation of the government - the majority of prelates were now prepared to give their support to the policies enunciated by Archbishop Hurley. It had become untenable for the Catholic hierarchy to tolerate apartheid at a time when it was being condemned by local Protestant churches and internationally, and rejected by most black South Africans, who, in 1958, constituted almost seventy percent of the total Catholic population. The Church thus unequivocally aligned herself with the liberal forces within the country which called for the dismantling of apartheid.

While silence had predominated in the past, after 1957 it could only be interpreted as a betrayal of the prophetic mission of the Church. The prophetic mission, José Comblin stated, has a specific aim - to save God's people.

The people of God are lost if they lose their own consciousness of being a people of God and of the possibilities of acting as a people of God. They cannot be a people if the system does not allow them to be a people. The function of prophecy is to renew this consciousness and to point the way to action.(2)

2. José Comblin, The Church and the National Security State (1979). p.116.

Comblin referred specifically to the need for the concientización of the proletariat and peasant farmers, and this label may also be applied to the mission of the South African hierarchy during the late 1950s. Conscientización is a two way process - not only must those who are suffering be made aware of their plight, but those who inflict and perpetuate this suffering must also be forced to confront the reality of their deeds and so undergo a change of heart. While, therefore, the South African bishops addressed themselves to particular problems confronting the black laity, their primary concern was undoubtedly to re-educate white Catholics. This they attempted to do through the publication of the two statements on the racial question. The question may be asked, to what extent were the bishops' statements successful in re-educating their laity? There were a number of occasions when their failure was very much in evidence. Indeed, it often appeared that the Catholics shared the prevailing racial prejudices.

It is commonly held by Afrikaner observers such as Ben Marais as well as by analysts of South African racism such as McCrone that the Calvinism of the Afrikaner was central to the development of the 'frontier' mentality. Similarly, Fr W.E. Brown, in his The Catholic Church in South Africa (1960) suggested that had the early Dutch population in South Africa been a true projection of the population in the Netherlands at that time, Catholics accounting for one third of the total, 'the approach in these recent years to the crucial problem of racial relationships might have been very different,' in that the Catholic minority amongst the boer farmers would possibly have been 'numerous enough to establish a tradition in contrast to that which is in fact so deeply entrenched and which is grounded in Calvinist thinking.'⁽³⁾

In responding to Fr Brown's hypothesis John de Gruchy questions its validity in the light of the actions and activities of European Catholic settlers in other parts of Africa and Latin America - most of whom

3. W.E. Brown, The Catholic Church in South Africa (1960), p.6.

acted in a manner not dissimilar to Protestant settlers in this country.(4) Further, in his study Ecumenism in South Africa (1974), Strassberger notes that wherever Catholics exercise 'their free choice of association, there does not seem to be any greater fellowship between black and white Christians than in other denominations.'(5) Perhaps the most severe indictment of the Catholic effort to improve race relations has come from Fr Collins, a member of the Bishops' Conference secretariate during the late 1950s and 1960s. For Fr Collins the church had failed in her Catholicity. Different race groups had different churches, and few attempts were made to 'spread the idea of racial toleration... and mutual action between Catholics of the various racial groups.'(6)

In explaining this fact, it has been noted that the white Catholic population of South Africa descends largely from working class Irish and Italian immigrants,(7) many of whom became involved in the white labour movement's racist resistance to black competition. This original mix has subsequently been supplemented by conservative French Mauritians, fleeing from the increasing numerical and commercial power of the Indians in Mauritius, and, more recently, Portuguese refugees from Angola and Mozambique.

Vociferous conservatism and racialism amongst white Catholics appears, however, to be more of the exception than the rule. In an interview with a lay leader involved in the ecumenical movement, Majorie Hope and James Young, authors of The South African Churches in a Revolutionary Situation (1981), were informed that 'while most South African white Catholics do not place a high value on

-
4. John De Gruchy, 'Catholics in a Calvinist Country,' in Andrew Prior (ed.), Catholics in Apartheid Society (1981), p.69.
 5. Elfriede Strassberger, Ecumenism in South Africa, 1936-1960 (1974), p.80.
 6. Lesley Cawood, The Churches and Race Relations in South Africa (1964), p.79.
 7. M. Hope and J. Young, The South African Church in a Revolutionary Situation (1981), p.154.

social change, they tend to respect authority, have a great deal of reverence for the Church, and look to their leaders for guidance.' Hence, 'when the hierarchy decrees, for example, that blacks will take higher positions in the Church - assuming authority over whites in some cases - white Catholics tend to go along with the decision.'⁽⁸⁾

These observations are reinforced by a survey conducted by Robert Buis of Stellenbosch University. In this survey, published under the title Religious Belief and White Prejudice (1975), he attempted to show that 'adherents of one religious denomination would have different attitudes towards blacks from adherents of another religious denomination.'⁽⁹⁾ In his survey, the three 'denominations' he used were the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, the Presbyterian Church, and the Roman Catholic Church - the proposition being that members of the Presbyterian Church would have a more favourable attitude towards blacks than would adherents of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, but less favourable attitude towards blacks than adherents of the Roman Catholic Church. His findings confirmed this contention. Interestingly, Buis revealed that 'committed' Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk respondents had less favourable attitudes towards blacks than did 'normal' respondents, while the opposite trend was apparent among Catholic respondents. This may provide an indication that committed Catholics have been influenced in their understanding and approach to race relations in South Africa by the 're-education' programme of the Catholic hierarchy.

While the hierarchy might have been moderately successful in influencing a certain section of the white laity, it is clear that the bishops' efforts had little, if any, impact on the policy-makers themselves, at least during the years under examination. In this the Catholic Church was not alone, for white liberal organisations all emerged battered losers from the contest with the Nationalist government. To some extent the blame for this failure might be with

8. Ibid., p.154.

9. Robert Buis, Religious Beliefs and White Prejudice (197), p.46.

the Church herself. Adhering to the precepts of the Leonine strategy, the Catholic hierarchy in South Africa consistently refused, for most of the decade, to work or act in concert with the other Christian churches. Together they might have been able to exert greater influence, as is suggested by the relative success of their united response to the Native Laws Amendment Bill.

A further reason for the government's failure to heed the calls of the Church hierarchy, as well as the protestations of other denominations, was the realisation that the churches were divided against each other, as well as being internally divided on the question of apartheid. As has been noted, there were clear divisions amongst the Catholic hierarchy, but these divisions were even more marked amongst the laity. Perhaps the primary reason for the government's disregard of the statements and depositions of the Catholic hierarchy, as well as similar moves by other churches, was therefore that the Church herself was practising race discrimination in many spheres of her daily life. In 1957 the bishops recognised this anomaly and expressed their determination to rectify it. This led, twenty years later, to a Church which was actively involved in the mission of reconciliation in an acutely divided society. By 1977 she was far stronger in the sincere knowledge that she had earned her right to add her voice, declared the Declaration of Commitment, 'to the cry for a radical revision of the system.'¹⁰ The eventual success of her struggle to change the fundamental character of the South African way of life remains to be seen.

10. Declaration of Commitment (1977), p.1.

APPENDIX 1: Members and their portfolios, of the Administrative Board of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference for the period 1948-1957.

1948:

Archbishop M.H. Lucas	-	Chairman
Bishop J.C. Garner	-	Secretary
Bishop J. Grueter	-	Native Affairs
Bishop D.E. Hurley	-	Church Affairs
Bishop J.B. Rosenthal	-	Education

1949:

Archbishop M.H. Lucas	-	Chairman
Bishop J.C. Garner	-	Secretary
Bishop D.E. Hurley	-	Church Affairs
Bishop J. Riegler	-	Native Affairs
Bishop J.B. Rosenthal	-	Social Welfare
Bishop W.P. Whelan	-	Catholic Action

1950:

Archbishop M.H. Lucas	-	Chairman
Bishop H. Boyle	-	Education
Bishop J.C. Garner	-	Secretary
Bishop D.E. Hurley	-	Church Affairs
Bishop J. Riegler	-	Native Affairs
Bishop J.B. Rosenthal	-	Social Welfare
Bishop W.P. Whelan	-	Catholic Action

1951: as for 1950

1952: as for 1951

1953:

Archbishop D.E. Hurley	-	Chairman and Church Affairs
Archbishop O. McCann	-	Catholic Action
Bishop J. Riegler	-	Native Affairs
Bishop J.B. Rosenthal	-	Social Welfare and Secretary

1954: as for 1953

(Bishop Rosenthal lost portfolio of secretary, as a General Secretariate was constituted)

1955:

Archbishop D.E. Hurley	-	Chairman and Church Affairs
Archbishop O. McCann	-	Catholic Action
Bishop J. Riegler	-	African Affairs
Bishop N.G. van Velsen	-	Social Welfare
Archbishop W.P. Whelan	-	Education

1956:

Archbishop D.E. Hurley	-	Chairman and African Affairs
Archbishop J.C. Garner	-	Church Affairs
Archbishop O. McCann	-	Catholic Action
Bishop N.G. van Velsen	-	Social Welfare
Archbishop W.P. Whelan	-	Education

1957: as for 1956

		1911			1921			1936			1946			1951			
Black	C	24 058	a 0.6	b	63 179	1.3	44.1	232 905	3.5	63.6	373 252	4.8	67.6	462 130	5.4	67.5	d 1821
	T	4 019 006		c 67.3	4 697 813		67.3	6 596 689		68.8	7 831 915		68.6	8 560 083		67.6	d 113
White	C	53 793	4.2		61 246	4.0	42.8	92 453	4.6	25.2	117 890	5.0	21.3	141 330	5.4	20.6	d 163
	T	1 276 242		21.4	1 519 488		21.8	2 003 857		20.9	2 372 690		20.8	2 641 689		20.8	d 107
Coloured	C				13 410	2.5	9.4	36 093	4.7	9.9	56 157	6.0	10.2	73 288	6.6	10.7	e 447
	T	525 466		8.8	545 548		7.8	769 661		8.0	928 484		8.1	1 103 016		8.7	e 102
Asian	C				5 419	3.3	3.8	4 775	2.2	1.3	5 249	1.8	0.9	7 666	2.1	1.1	e 41
	T	152 094		2.5	165 731		2.4	219 691		2.3	285 260		2.5	366 664		2.9	e 121
Total	C				143 254	2.1		366 226	3.8		552 548	4.8		684 414	5.4		e 378
	T	5 972 808			6 982 540			9 589 898			11 418 349			12 671 452			e 81

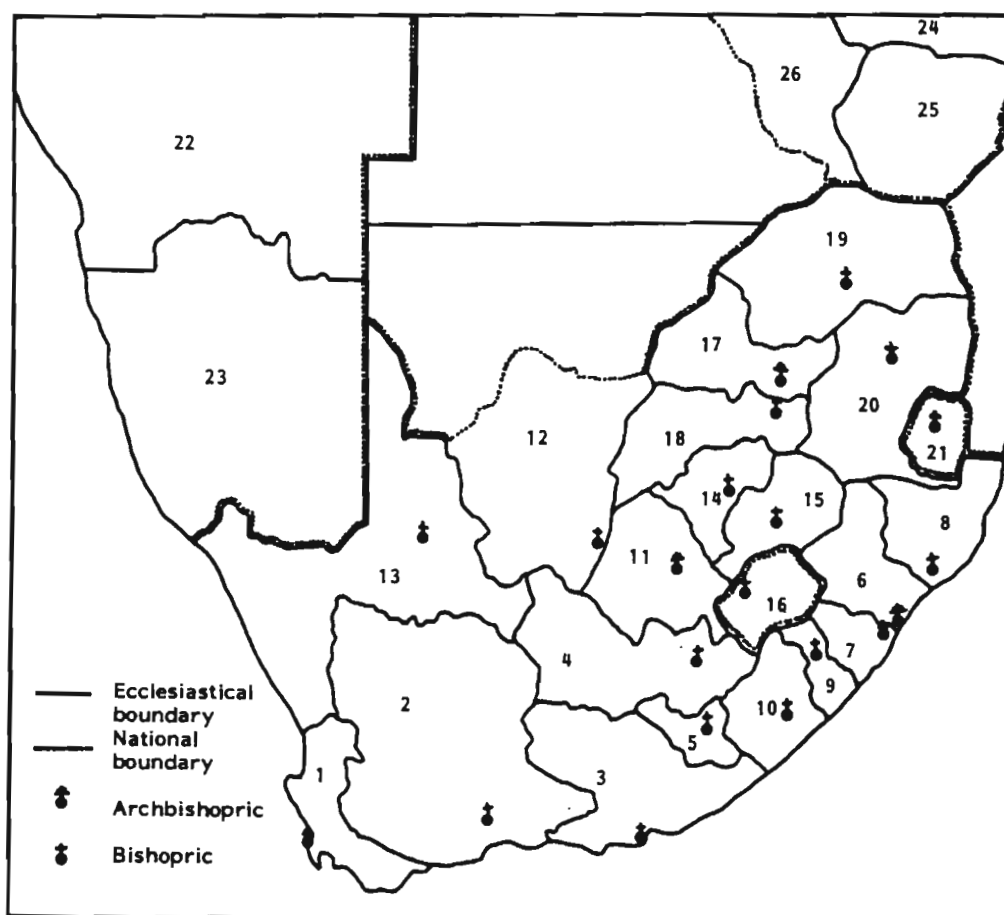
KEY: a. % of group which is Catholic.
b. % of Catholic group in terms of total Catholic population.
c. % of race group in terms of total population..
d. % increase for period 1911-1951.
e. % increase for period 1921-1951.

N.B. Religious affiliation figures not available for Coloureds and Asians in 1911.
C = Catholic
T = Total

	1911			1921			1936			1946			1951		
		a	b		a	b		a	b		a	b		a	b
Roman Catholic	24 058	-	0.6	63 179	44.1	1.3	232 905	63.6	3.5	373 252	67.6	4.8	462 130	67.5	5.4
Anglican	170 704	-	4.2	289 573	40.6	6.2	407 528	44.4	6.2	552 633	49.5	7.1	579 647	47.1	6.8
Apostolic Faith Mission													149 789	68.1	1.7
Baptist	9 559	-	0.2	22 100	56.2	0.5	32 960	57.6	0.5	70 866	70.2	0.9	76 780	67.7	0.9
Church of Christ							3 156	50.8	0.05	9 760	70.7	0.1	6 250	53.3	0.07
Congregational	95 706	-	2.4	84 998	54.4	1.8	57 054	17.4	0.9	112 668	50.0	1.4	121 053	49.0	1.4
Full Gospel							1 636	13.6	0.02	7 975	34.2	0.1	2 829	12.3	0.03
Lutheran	144 244	-	3.6	195 313	74.9	4.2	307 387	78.3	4.7	394 307	84.8	5.0	415 548	83.2	4.9
Methodist	451 746	-	11.2	661 548	79.4	4.1	795 369	78	12.1	1 008 344	78.7	12.9	1 041 656	76.4	12.2
Nederduitse Gereformeerde							150 398	11.2	2.3	248 699	15.5	3.2	297 382	17.5	3.5
Gereformeerde	71 422	-	1.8	109 888	9.9	2.3	2 542	4.0	0.04	5 304	6.3	0.07	8 019	5.6	0.09
Nederduitsch Hervormde							1 240	2.1	0.02	12 731	8.9	0.2	20 889	9.8	0.2
Presbyterian	68 211	-	1.7	108 819	62.4	2.3	108 094	55.0	1.6	163 572	62.2	2.1	172 415	62.2	2.0
Black Separatist							1 089 479	100	16.5	758 810	100	9.7	1 593 939	100	18.6
Total of the above	1 035 650		25.8	1 535 418		32.7	3 189 748		48.4	3 718 621		47.5	4 948 326		57.8
Other	2 983 356		74.2	3 162 395		67.3	3 406 941		51.6	4 113 294		52.5	3 611 757		42.2
TOTAL	4 019 006			4 697 813			6 596 689			7 831 915			8 560 083		

KEY: a. % of particular group/denomination (Total religious affiliation figures not available for 1911)
b. % of total black population

APPENDIX 3: Ecclesiastical Map of Southern Africa at the establishment of the hierarchy, January 1951.



Province of Cape Town

1. Archdiocese of Cape Town
2. Diocese of Oudtshoorn
3. Diocese of Port Elizabeth
4. Diocese of Aliwal
5. Diocese of Queenstown

Province of Durban

6. Archdiocese of Durban
7. Diocese of Mariannhill
8. Diocese of Eshowe
9. Diocese of Kokstad
10. Diocese of Umtata

Province of Bloemfontein

11. Archdiocese of Bloemfontein
12. Diocese of Kimberley
13. Diocese of Keimoes
14. Diocese of Kroonstad
15. Diocese of Bethlehem
16. Diocese of Maseru

Province of Pretoria

17. Archdiocese of Pretoria
18. Diocese of Johannesburg
19. Abbey Nullius of Pietersburg
20. Diocese of Lydenburg
21. Diocese of Breimersdorp

INDEPENDENT VICARIATES

22. Vicariate of Windhoek
23. Vicariate of Keetmanshoop
24. Vicariate of Salisbury
25. Vicariate of Fort Victoria
26. Vicariate of Bulawayo

APPENDIX 4a: Clerics in attendance at the 1952 plenary session of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference.

His Excellency, Archbishop M.H. Lucas, SVD, the apostolic delegate.

The Most Rev. J.C. Garner, archbishop of Pretoria.

The Most Rev. D.E. Hurley, OMI, archbishop of Durban.

The Most Rev. O. McCann, archbishop of Cape Town.

The Most Rev. H.J. Meysing, OMI, archbishop of Bloemfontein.

The Most Rev. J. Gotthardt, OMI, vicar apostolic of Windhoek.

The Right Rev. A. Bilgeri, OSB, bishop of Eshowe.

The Right Rev. H. Boyle, bishop of Port Elizabeth.

The Right Rev. J.D. Des Rosiers, OMI, bishop of Maseru.

The Right Rev. J. Grueter, CMM, bishop of Umtata.

The Right Rev. B. Hippel, SAC, bishop of Oudtshoorn.

The Right Rev. P. Kelleter, CSSp, bishop of Bethlehem.

The Right Rev. J. Lueck, SCJ, bishop of Aliwal.

The Right Rev. J.E. McBride, OFM, bishop of Kokstad.

The Right Rev. D.F. Osterrath, OSB, abbot bishop of Pietersburg.

The Right Rev. J. Riegler, MFSC, bishop of Lydenburg.

The Right Rev. J.B. Rosenthal, SAC, bishop of Queenstown.

The Right Rev. H.J. Thunemann, OSFS, bishop of Keimoes.

The Right Rev. G.N. van Velsen, OP, bishop of Kroonstad.

The Right Rev. W.P. Whelan, OMI, bishop of Johannesburg.

The Right Rev. A. Chichester, SJ, vicar apostolic of Salisbury.

The Right Rev. A. Haene, SMB, vicar apostolic of Fort Victoria.

The Right Rev. A. Schmitt, CMM, vicar apostolic of Bulawayo.

Procurators:

Very Rev. Fr A. Botta, OSM, for the bishop of Breimersdorp.

Very Rev. Fr T. Wiescholek, CMM, for the bishop of Mariannhill.

Very Rev. Fr J. Zettle, OSFS, for the vicar apostolic of Keetmanshoop.

Secretaries:

Rev. Fr V.E. O'Sullivan.

Rev. Fr M. Verbaarschot, SVD.

Rev. Fr C.G. Watkins.

APPENDIX 4b: Clerics in attendance at the 1957 plenary session of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference.

His Excellency, Archbishop C.J. Damiano, the apostolic delegate.

The Most Rev. J.C. Garner, archbishop of Pretoria.

The Most Rev. D.E. Hurley, OMI, archbishop of Durban.

The Most Rev. O. McCann, archbishop of Cape Town.

The Most Rev. W.P. Whelan, OMI, archbishop of Bloemfontein.

The Most Rev. J. Gotthardt, OMI, vicar apostolic of Windhoek.

The Right Rev. J. Bokenfohr, OMI, bishop of Kimberley.

The Right Rev. J.D. Des Rosiers, OMI, bishop of Maseru.

The Right Rev. B. Dlamini, FFJ, bishop of Umzimkulu.

The Right Rev. F.X. Esser, OSFS, bishop of Keimoes.

The Right Rev. E. Green, bishop of Port Elizabeth.

The Right Rev. J. Grueter, CMM, bishop of Umtata.

The Right Rev. B. Hippel, SAC, bishop of Oudtshoorn.

The Right Rev. P. Kelleter, CSSp, bishop of Bethlehem.

The Right Rev. J. Lueck, SCJ, bishop of Aliwal North.

The Right Rev. E. 'Mabathoana, OMI, bishop of Leribe.

The Right Rev. J.E. McBride, OFM, bishop of Kokstad.

The Right Rev. A. Reiterer, MFSC, bishop of Lydenburg.

The Right Rev. J. Rosenthal, SAC, bishop of Queenstown.

The Right Rev. A. Streit, CMM, bishop of Mariannhill.

The Right Rev. C. van Hoeck, OSB, abbot bishop of Pietersburg.

The Right Rev. G.N. van Velsen, OP, bishop of Kroonstad.

The Right Rev. E.J. Schlotterback, OSFS, vicar apostolic of Keetmanshoop.

The Right Rev. A. Dettmer, SCJ, prefect apostolic of De Aar.

Procurators:

Very Rev. Fr W. Dryzyzza, OSB, for the bishop of Eshowe.

Very Rev. Fr G. O'Callaghan, OMI, for the bishop of Johannesburg.

Very Rev. Fr S.M. Papini, OSM, for the bishop of Bremersdorp.

Consultors:

Rev. Fr J. Jansen, OP, diocese of Kroonstad.

Rev. Fr L. Muldoon, OMI, diocese of Johannesburg.

Rev. Fr D.H. St George, OMI, archdiocese of Durban.

Rev. Fr R. Studerus, OSB, diocese of Eshowe.

Secretaries:

Rev. Fr C. Collins.

Rev. Fr J. O'Brien.

Rev. Fr E. O'Callaghan, OFM.

Rev. Fr D.H. St George, OMI.

Rev. Fr S. White, OFM.

APPENDIX 5: Letter of Pope Pius XII to Archbishop Hurley concerning the bishops' campaign to maintain the Catholic mission school system.



*To Our Venerable Brother
 Denis E. Hurley
 Archbishop of Durban*

In Our abiding solicitude for the spiritual welfare of the souls whom Divine Providence has entrusted to Our care, We cannot but take a keen interest in everything that concerns the Christian education of youth and the formation of candidates for the sacred priesthood.

It was a source of much satisfaction to Us, therefore, to learn that you, Venerable Brother, and the Hierarchy of South Africa had organized a special campaign to meet the newly-arisen necessity of providing financial support for the mission schools and to secure adequate funds for the education of seminarians. We are gratified to know that your appeal is already receiving an encouraging response, and We cherish the confident hope that the faithful people of South Africa will appreciate ever more vividly this twofold urgent need of the Church in their beloved country, and that they will therefore give whole-hearted support to such a vital and well-deserving cause.

We feel sure that Our Divine Lord, Who so frequently manifested His special affection for youth, will reward in countless measures all those who contribute generously in order that the mission schools and the seminarians may be enabled to continue their all-important work. As an earnest of that heavenly recompense and in token of Our paternal interest, We impart from Our heart to you, Venerable Brother, to the members of the Hierarchy, and to the clergy and faithful who co-operate with this very necessary and praiseworthy undertaking, Our particular Apostolic Benediction.

From the Vatican, September 16, 1955

Pius XII

APPENDIX 6; Brief biographies of the first four South African born archbishops.

6a. Archbishop John Colburn Garner

J.C. Garner was born at Zumbu in Griqualand East in 1907. His father was a local magistrate in the Transkei. He received his secondary education at Christian Brothers' College in Kimberley. Having completed his schooling he worked for the government's Department of Native Affairs for a few years. When the opportunity arose, however, he went to the Urban College de Propaganda Fide in Rome to study for the priesthood. He was ordained at the mother church of Rome, St John Lateran's, on 23 December 1933. On returning to South Africa Bishop Henneman of Cape Town appointed him to be his secretary. He held this position for six years. In 1940 he was made priest-in-charge of St Mary's Cathedral in Cape Town. By a papal decree dated 9 April 1948 the vicariate apostolic of Pretoria was erected. On 31 May 1948 Fr J.C. Garner, DD, Ph.D., was appointed the first vicar apostolic and consecrated titular bishop of Tracula. With the establishment of the hierarchy in January 1951, Bishop Garner was elevated to archbishop of Pretoria, the metropolitan see of the province of Pretoria. He held this position until his retirement in 1975, and was succeeded by Archbishop George Francis Daniel.

6b. Archbishop Denis Eugene Hurley, OMI

D.E. Hurley was born in Cape Town in November 1915. He received his schooling from St Thomas' School in Newcastle and St Charles College, Pietermaritzburg. In 1932 he entered the Oblate novitiate in Ireland. While in Ireland, Bishop Delalle, of the vicariate apostolic of Natal, decided to send him to Rome. In Rome he attended both the Angelicum Institute (the Pontifical University of St Thomas Aquinas) and the Gregorian University. From the latter he obtained the Licentiate in Philosophy and Theology. On the 9 July 1939 he was

ordained priest at the Leonine College in Rome. The following year he returned to South Africa and was immediately appointed to the staff of Emmanuel Cathedral in Durban. In 1944 he succeeded Fr Viallard as superior of St Joseph's Scholasticate in Pietermaritzburg. Meanwhile, due to ill health, Bishop Delalle had expressed his intention to resign his position and had suggested that Mgr Hurley succeed him. Thus on 12 December 1946 Mgr Hurley was appointed fourth vicar apostolic of Natal. In March 1947 this position was formally bestowed upon him when he was consecrated titular bishop of Turuzi by Archbishop Lucas, the apostolic delegate, in Emmanuel Cathedral. In 1951 he was appointed archbishop of Durban, the metropolitan see of the province of Durban.

6c. Archbishop Owen McCann

O. McCann was born in Cape Town in June 1907. He was educated at St Joseph's College, Rondebosch. While working in the administrative section of the South African Railways, he completed his B.Comm. degree through the University of Cape Town. It was, however, his intention to study for the priesthood, and after a few years he went to Rome. While on the Urban College de Propaganda Fide he obtained his STL and Ph.D. degrees. In 1936 he was ordained and returned to South Africa. After serving for a period as secretary to Bishop Henneman, he succeeded Dr Colgan as editor of the Southern Cross. In 1948 he gave up this position to become administrator of St Mary's Cathedral. In 1950 he was appointed seventh vicar apostolic of the Western Vicariate and consecrated titular bishop of Stettorio. The following year he became the first archbishop of Cape Town. In 1960 Pope John XXIII named him an assistant at the papal throne, and Pope Paul VI created him a cardinal in 1965. He retired from his position in 1984 and was succeeded by Archbishop Stephen Naidoo, CSSR.

6d. Archbishop William Patrick Whelan, OMI

W.P. Whelan was born in Wakkerstroom in the Transvaal in 1907. He received his primary education from Loreto Convent in Pretoria, and his secondary schooling at St Aidan's College, Grahamstown. In 1924 he joined the Oblate novitiate in Ireland, continued his studies at the National University of Ireland in Dublin and the Oblate Scholasticate. He was ordained a priest in June 1937. For fifteen years he was on the staff of the Johannesburg Pro-Cathedral, and for the last three of these years he was parish priest. During this time he was editor of the Catholic News. In May 1948 he was consecrated titular bishop of Legia and appointed coadjutor to Bishop O'Leary, whom he succeeded as the fourth vicar apostolic of the Johannesburg vicariate in December 1950. The following year he became first bishop of Johannesburg. On the resignation of Archbishop Herman Meysing, OM, he was appointed archbishop and metropolitan of Bloemfontein in July 1954. He died in February 1966 and was succeeded by Archbishop Joseph Patrick Fitzgerald, OMI.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bibliographical Structure

- I. Bibliographical Apparatus.
- II. Primary Material.
 - A. Unpublished Primary Material and Private Collections.
 - B. Published Primary Material
 - i. Minutes of Meetings.
 - ii. Newspapers and Newspaper Collections.
 - iii. Periodicals.
 - iv. Government Publications.
 - v. Published Works
- III. Secondary Material.
 - i. Published Books.
 - ii. Published Articles.
 - iii. Published Theses.
 - iv. Unpublished Theses and Dissertations.
 - v. Audio Material.

I. Bibliographical Apparatus

- Malan, S.I. Union Catalogue of Theses and Dissertations of South African Universities, 1948-1958.
Potchefstroom: PU vir CHO; 1959.
- Meyer, Paul Michael. The Roman Catholic Church in South Africa : A Select Bibliography.
Cape Town: UCT Libraries; 1979.
- Muller, C.F.J. et al. A Select Bibliography of South African History : A Guide for Historical Research.
Pretoria: UNISA; 1966.

South African History and Historians : A Select Bibliography.
Pretoria: UNISA; 1979.

Pollack, O.B. et K. Theses and Dissertations on Southern Africa : An International Bibliography.
Boston: G.K. Hall; 1976.

II. Primary Material

A. Unpublished Primary Material and Private Collections

Private Papers of Rev. Fr D.H. St George, OMI, Emmanuel Cathedral, Durban.

Ref. St G.1. : Circular to the clergy of the archdiocese of Durban, 6.5.54/4.

Ref. St G.2. : Circular to the clergy of the archdiocese of Durban, 24.11.54/15.

Ref. St G.3. : Proposed addendum to W.E. Brown's Catholic Church in South Africa.

Ref. St G.4. : Summary of the Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-51.

Ref. St G.5. : Resolutions passed at a meeting of clergy and sisters held in St Mary's Hall, Pietermaritzburg, on Thursday, March 30th, to discuss the implementation of the Bantu Education Act of 1953.

Ref. St G.6. : Selected papers of the Natal Native Education Advisory Board, 1944-1954, including correspondence and minutes.

Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference Archives, Pretoria.

Ref. A3. : Bantu Education Act.
File: Interview with Minister.

____ : Bantu Education Act, Correspondence, 1953-1956.

____ : (2) Bantu Education Act.

____ : (3) Bantu Education Act.

Ref. A4. : Bantu Education Policy.
File: Bantu Education Act - 1956, and Religious Education.

____ : Test Case 1950, Parents' Rights Defence Case, re: Afrikaans home language in schools.

Ref. A5. : Bantu Education Policy.
File: Bantu Education Act 1953, re. Registration.

Ref. AV1. : Administrative Board Minutes, 1947-1957.

Ref. AV2. : Administrative Board Minutes, 1948-1963.

Ref. B1. : Catholic Education.

File: Two talks given by Fr Collins on Education in 1963, Crisis in Education in the Republic of South Africa, Catholic Education in this Country.

Ref. M1. : African Affairs Department.

File: Socio-Economic Commission Correspondence.

____: Church Sites in Native Areas.

____: Commission on Native Education.

____: Native Affairs Department, General.

____: African Affairs General, Correspondence prior to 1958.

Ref. M6. : Legislation.

File : Native Laws Amendment Bill, 1957.

Ref. M7. : Race Relations.

File : The Question of Colour and Race, by C.B. Collins.

Ref. M8. : Race Relations.

File : Statements of the SACBC on Race Relations.

Ref. PS1. : Plenary Sessions, April 1952 - July 1963.

File : Plenary Sessions 1952, 1954, 1956, 1957.

B. Published Primary Material

i. Minutes of Meetings

First Meeting of South African Oblate Bishops and Provincials.

Maseru: Mazenod Institute; 1955.

Minutes of Bishops' Conference (1952), no other details available.

Minutes of Plenary Session of SACBC (1957), no other details available.

ii. Newspapers and Newspaper Collections

Guardian, 21 Oct. 1984.

Derek Nicholls Papers, presscuttings collected by R. Hughes Mason for Federal Party. (KCAL)

Southern Cross, 1948-1958, 1980, 1984.

iii. Periodicals

Catholic Directory of Southern Africa, 1948-1966.
Cape Town: Salesian Institute.

National University of Lesotho Calendar, 1984.
Maseru: NUL.

A Survey of Race Relations, 1948-1958.
Johannesburg: SAIRR.

iv. Government Publications

Hansard (selected), 1948-1957.

Report of the Native Laws Commission. UG28 of 1948.

Report of the Industrial Legislation Commission of Enquiry, UG62 of 1951.

Summary of the Report of the Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas Act, UG61 of 1955.

Official Yearbook of the Union, No. 27, 1952/53.
Pretoria: Bureau of Census and Statistics; 1953.

South Africa 1984 : Official Yearbook of the Republic of South Africa.
Johannesburg: Chris van publications; 1984.

Union Statistics for Fifty Years, 1910-1960.
Pretoria: Bureau of Census and Statistics; 1960.

v. Published Works

Agathangelus, O.F.M.Cap. (ed.). The Catholic Church and Southern Africa : A series of essays published to commemorate the establishment of hierarchy in South Africa.
Cape Town: Catholic Archdiocese of Cape Town; 1951.

Collins, Colin B. Catholic Bantu Education.
Pretoria: the author; 1957.

Congar, Yves M.-J. The Church and the Race Question.
Paris: UNESCO; 1953.

Holland, P., OMI, (gen. ed.). Kolbe Winter School Selected Papers
Mariannhill: Kolbe Association; 1953.

Kolbe Summer School Selected Papers
Mariannhill: Kolbe Association; 1958.

Christelik-Nasionale Onderwysbeleid
Johannesburg: Instituut vir CNO; 1948.

Pecci, V.G. (Pope Leo XIII). Rerum Novarum.
London: Catholic Truth Society; 1960.

Ratti, A.D.A. (Pope Pius XI). Divini Illius Magistri.
London: Catholic Truth Society; 1930.

The Bishops Speak, Volume I.
Pretoria: SACBC; 1966.

Declaration of Commitment.
Pretoria: SACBC; 1977.

Christian National Education - A Critical Commentary.
Cape Town : South African Teachers' Association; 1949.

Synnott, Finbar. Catholics and the Colour Problem.
Maseru: Mazenod Institute; 1953.

III. Secondary Material

i. Published Books

Aubert, Roger et al. The Church in a Secularised Society.
London: Darton, Longman and Todd; 1978.

Appiah-Kubi, Kofi et Torres, Sergio. African Theology en route.
Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books; 1979.

Ballinger, Margaret. From Union to Apartheid : A Trek to Isolation.
Cape Town: Juta; 1969.

Barry, C.J. (ed.) Readings in Church History : The Modern Era.
Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press; 1965.

Behr, A.L. New Perspectives in South African Education.
Durban: Butterworth; 1978.

Brady, J.E. Princes of his people : the Story of our Bishops, 1800-1951.
Maseru: Mazenod Institute; 1952.

_____. Trekking for Souls
Cedara: Missionary Assoc. of Mary Immaculate; 1952.

Brain, J.B. Catholic Beginnings in Natal and Beyond.
Durban: T.W. Griggs; 1975.

_____. Catholics in Natal II.
Durban: Archdiocese of Durban; 1982.

Brookes, Edgar H. Apartheid: A documentary study of Modern South Africa
London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; 1968.

- Brown, W.E. The Catholic Church in South Africa from its origins to the present day.
London: Burns and Oates; 1960.
- Buis, Robert. Religious Beliefs and White Prejudice.
Johannesburg: Ravan Press; 1975.
- Camara, Helder. The Church and Colonialism.
Denville: Dimension Books; 1969.
- Carter, Gwendolen M. The Politics of Inequality : South Africa Since 1948.
New York: Frederick A. Praeger; 1958.
- Cawood, Lesley. The Churches and Race Relations in South Africa
Johannesburg: SAIRR; 1964.
- Comblin, José. The Church and the National Security State.
Maryknoll: Orbis Books; 1979.
- Davenport, T.R.H. South Africa.
London: Macmillan; 1978.
- De Gruchy, John. The Church Struggle in South Africa.
Cape Town: David Philip; 1979.
- De Klerk, W.A. The Puritans in Africa.
London: Rex Collings; 1975.
- Desmond, Cosmas. Christians or Capitalists? : Christianity and Politics in South Africa.
London: Bowerdean Press; 1978.
- Dischl, Marcel. Transkei for Christ.
Umtata: the author; 1982.
- Grant, E.W. South Africa : what of the Church?
London: Cargate Press; 1952.
- Hales, E.E.Y. The Catholic Church in the Modern World.
London: Eyre and Spottiswoode; 1958.
- Hope, Marjorie et Young, James. The South African Churches in a Revolutionary Situation.
Maryknoll: Orbis Books; 1981.
- Horrell, M. African Education : Some Origins and Developments until 1953.
Johannesburg: SAIRR; 1963.
- _____. Laws Affecting Race Relations in South Africa.
Johannesburg: SAIRR; 1978.
- Huddleston, Trevor. Naught for Your Comfort.
Johannesburg: Hardingham and Donaldson; 1956.

- Krüger, D.W. The Making of a Nation.
Johannesburg: Macmillan; 1969.
- Linden, Ian. The Catholic Church and the struggle for Zimbabwe.
London: Longman; 1980.
- Lodge, Tom. Black Politics in South Africa since 1945.
Johannesburg: Ravan Press; 1983.
- Magrath, Oswin. An introduction to the theology of the Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa for Catholic Students.
Stellenbosch: St Nicholas' Priory; 1956.
- Marquard, Leo. The People and Policies of South Africa.
Oxford: OUP; 1969.
- McSweeney, Bill. Roman Catholicism.
Oxford: Basil Blackwell; 1980.
- Nolan, Albert, Jesus before Christianity : the Gospel of Liberation.
Cape Town: David Philip; 1976.
- Parsons, Neil. A New History of Southern Africa.
London: Macmillan; 1982.
- Paton, Alan. Apartheid and the Archbishop.
Cape Town : David Philip; 1973.
- Price, Robert M. et Rosberg, Carl G. The Apartheid Regime.
Cape Town : David Philip; 1980.
- Prior, Andrew (ed.). Catholics in Apartheid Society.
Cape Town: David Philip; 1982.
- Purdy, W.A. The Church on the Move : The Characters and Policies of Pius XII and Johannes XXIII.
London: Hollis and Carter; 1966.
- Rahner, Karl (ed.). Encyclopedia of Theology : A Concise Sacramentum Mundi.
London: Burns and Oates; 1975.
- Redden, J.D. et Ryan, F.A. A Catholic Philosophy of Education.
Milwaukee : Bruce Publishing Co.; 1942.
- Regehr, Ernie. Perceptions of Apartheid.
Scottsdale, Pennsylvania : Herald Press; 1979.
- Rhodie, N.J. South African Dialogue.
Johannesburg: McGraw-Hill; 1972.
- Robertson, I. et Whitten, P. Race and Politics in South Africa.
New Brunswick, New Jersey : Transaction Books; 1978.

- Roux, Edward, Time Longer than Rope.
Wisconsin: Univ. of Wisconsin; 1964.
- Strassberger, Elfriede. Ecumensim in South Africa.
Johannesburg: SACC; 1974.
- Sundermeier, Theo (ed.). Church and Nationalism in South Africa.
Johannesburg: Ravan Press; 1975.
- Thom, H.B. D.F. Malan
Cape Town: Tafelberg; 1980.
- Thompson, Leonard et Prior, Andrew. South African Politics.
Cape Town : David Philip; 1982.
- Van der Horst, S.T. (ed.). Race Discrimination in South Africa : A Review.
Cape Town : David Philip; 1981.
- Vekemans, Roger. Caesar and God.
Maryknoll: Orbis Books; 1972.
- Vidler, A.R. The Church in an Age of Revolution : 1789 to the Present Day.
Middlesex: Penguin Books; 1961.
- Von Aretin, K.O. The Papacy and the Modern World.
London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson; 1970.
- Wilson, Monica et Thompson, Leonard (eds). The Oxford History of South Africa, Volume II.
Oxford: OUP; 1975.
- Woodruff, D. Church and State in History.
London: Burns and Oates; 1962.

ii. Published Articles

- Brady, J.E. 'Catholic Archives in South Africa.'
South African Archive Journal: V; 1963.
- De Wet, H.A. 'Die Roomse Kerk in Suid-Afrika.'
Die Kerkbode : LXXI (No. 11); March 1953.
- De Wet, J.I. 'Die Roomse Indringing in Suid Afrika.'
Almanak (NHK): LIV; 1960.
- Du Plooy, J.M. 'Gevare wat ons bedreig.'
Die Gereformeerde Vroueblad : X (Nos. 7, 8, 9); Dec. 1955,
Feb. 1956.
- Engelbrecht, B.J. 'Rome in Suid-Afrika.'
Die Gereformeerde Vroueblad : XVI (nos. 6-10); Nov. 1961 -
March 1962.

- Hastings, Adrian. 'The Christian churches and liberation movements in southern Africa.'
African Affairs: LXXX (No. 320); 1981.
- Jubber, K. 'Roman Catholic Church and Apartheid.'
Journal of Theology for Southern Africa : XV; June 1976.
- Kriel, J.A. 'Die Roomse aksie in Suide-Afrika en ons roeping daarteenoor.'
Die Gereformeerde Vaandel : XVII (No. 9); Sept. 1949.
- Lajeunesse, P. 'L'Église catholique en Afrique du Sud.'
Revue du l'Université d'Ottawa : XXIII (No. 2); April-June 1953.
- Limagne, Joseph. 'Les Églises et l'apartheid en Afrique du Sud.'
Etudes (Paris): Oct. 1977.
- Moodie, T.D. 'Dutch Reformed Churches as vehicles of political legitimization in South Africa.'
Social Dynamics: 1; 1975.
- Pont, A.D. 'Die Gevaar van die Rooms-katolisisme.'
Die Christelike Vrou: XIX (No.8); July, Aug. 1962.
- Potgieter F.J.M. 'Roomse bedreiging in Suid-Afrika.'
Die Kerkbode : LXXXI (No. 5); Jan. 1958.
- Rule, P.C. 'Iets oor die Roomse gevaar.'
Die Kerkbode : LIX (No. 1403); July 1957.
- Van Bergen, J. 'Die bedreiging van die Roomse stelsel in die wêreld en in die besonder in Suid-Afrika.'
Die Gereformeerde Vroueblad : XV (No. 1-3); June-Aug. 1960.
- Van Ryssen, J.W.J. 'Rome en die Rasseverhoudinge.'
Die Kerkblad : LXI (No. 1520); Oct. 1959.
- Van Lucius, R. 'Church and State in South Africa.'
South Africa International : VI (No. 2); Oct. 1975.
- Young, Ernle W.D. 'A Theological reflection on Church/State relations in South Africa today.'
Journal of Theology for Southern Africa : 1; 1972.

iii. Published Theses

- Furlong, Patrick. The Mixed Marriages Act : An historical and theological study.
(Univ. of Cape Town: Ph.D. thesis; 1983)
Cape Town: UCT Centre for African Studies; 1984.
- Mzimela, Sipho Elijah. Nazism and Apartheid: The Role of the Christian Churches in Nazi Germany and Apartheid in South Africa.
(New York Univ.: Ph.D. thesis; 1981)
Michigan: Ann Arbor; 1984.

iv. Unpublished Theses and Dissertations

Bixby, David. 'The Roman Catholic Church and Apartheid in Education.'
UCT: B.A. Hons dissertation; 1977.

Cilliers, Jacobus. 'Die grond beginsels van die Rooms-Katolieke staats-
filosofie.'
Orange Free State Univ.: M.A. thesis; 1954.

_____ 'Die Rooms-Katolieke Kerk as staatkundige mag.'
Orange Free State Univ.: D.Phil. thesis; 1961.

Lombard, R.T.J. 'Die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerke en rassepolitiek,
met spesiale verwysing na die jare 1948-1961.'
UNISA: D.Litt. et Phil. thesis; 1974.

Theron, Edwin. 'Die geskiedenis en aksie van die Rooms-Katolieke Kerk,
veral in die Unie van Suid Afrika.'
Stellenbosch Univ.: M.Th. thesis; 1958.

v. Audio Material

BBC report: 'The Vatican and Liberation Theology,'
broadcast on the World Service, Sept. 1984.