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DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES

**"A THEOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT OF THE SOCIO-POLITICAL ROLE OF
THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF SOUTH AFRICA (1904-1930)
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE INFLUENCE OF
ARCHBISHOP WILLIAM MARLBOROUGH CARTER"**

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Abstract

In 1870, as a consequence of Bishop Robert Gray's controversy with Bishop William Colenso, the Church of the Province of South Africa (CPSA) had declared itself an autonomous part of the Anglican Communion independent of British legal control. That was the first major paradigm shift in the life of the Church of the Province of South Africa.

After the Treaty of Vereeniging which ended the Anglo-Boer War the CPSA shared Milner's vision of a united South Africa within the British Empire. White unity and control was the political stratagem. However, the British colonial powers did not reckon with the resolve of the Afrikaner to recover political power. Afrikaner political groupings regained control of the Free State and the Transvaal and, when the union of the four provinces was enacted in 1910, a former Afrikaner general became the Prime Minister. The CPSA found itself in the unaccustomed position of no longer being the spiritual arm of the secular authority. William Marlborough Carter was elected Archbishop at the time when the CPSA was experiencing a second paradigm shift.

During the period of Carter's archiepiscopate the notorious and oppressive Land Act, the Mines and Works Act, the Colour Bar Act and the Hertzog Bills sought to entrench segregation and the economic and political subjugation of blacks. At first the CPSA welcomed some, if not all, of the legislation, but it gradually became aware of the injustice of the political system and consequently found itself at odds with the majority of whites in its criticism of government policies. A process of transformation was taking place which prepared it for its subsequent prophetic role. This was the third paradigm shift in the life of the CPSA.

The leaven in the process of transformation was the Anglo-Catholicism and Christian Socialism found in the theological formation of the leadership of the CPSA and specifically in the formation of the Archbishop. His convictions are reflected in his Charges to the provincial synods. The determinative transforming force was the challenges presented by black members of the Church. Questions were raised about the participation of blacks in the government of the Church and the need for blacks to hold positions of leadership. During this period there were concerted efforts to establish a separate black Church within the CPSA on the one hand and efforts by blacks from various denominations to form an independent black Church free from white domination. Black Anglicans took a lead in the agitation against white domination of Church structures.

Arising out of my research I assess the adequacy of the analysis of the role of the CPSA during this period made by James Cochrane in *Servants of Power - The Role of the English-speaking Churches 1903-1930*. I show that his ideological analysis is inadequate because it does not take account of the contribution of Carter and others like him. My research seeks to explain how the CPSA changed from being a servant of those in power to serving the powerless.

Preface

When I asked the lady at the information desk in St. George's Cathedral, Cape Town, whether there was a memorial to Archbishop William Marlborough Carter she said that she was sure there was but was not sure where it was. After consulting the handbook on the Cathedral we found that it was in St. John's Chapel. At the entrance to the Chapel is a screen in memory of Carter's successor Francis Robinson Phelps. To the right hand side lies the tomb of William West-Jones first Archbishop of Cape Town who preceded him. Carter's memorial is on the panelling that forms the reredos to the altar. Even on a sunny day one has to go right up to it to be able to read it because the panelling is dark and the Chapel rather gloomy. On the right-hand side is inscribed: 'In memory of Archbishop William Marlborough Carter, born 11th July 1850, died 14th February, 1941.' On the left-hand side is inscribed: 'Bishop of Zululand 1891-1902, Bishop of Pretoria 1902-1909, Archbishop of Cape Town 1909-1930.' In the middle is a painting of the Adoration of the Magi in the Renaissance style. Both the style and subject are particularly appropriate. The style, because the realism and mastery of perspective by the Renaissance painters reflect Carter's realism and attempts to interpret the Christian faith in the South African context. The subject, because central to Carter's charges to the Anglican Church was the missionary task of the Church and the need to bring all the different peoples in South Africa into unity in Jesus Christ. Even the fact that one has to search for Carter's memorial is symbolic and significant. Although he was greatly loved by bishops and clergy alike, revered within the wider Church and regarded as a Christian gentleman by his opponents, who were mainly in the Government of the time, his contribution to the life of the Church in this country has received little recognition in the current histories of the Church. In a recent analysis of the English-speaking Churches in South Africa 1903-1930 one looks in vain for his name in the index. This paper is an attempt to correct that omission.

My interest in William Marlborough Carter was stimulated when I first started researching the role of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa (CPSA) in relation to socio-political issues. His archiepiscopate covered a critical period in South African history. It began in 1909 when the formerly British-occupied Cape Colony and Natal and the conquered Afrikaner republics of the Orange Free State were negotiating to form the white-controlled Union of South Africa. It ended in 1930 with the victory of the National Party which consolidated Afrikaner power and introduced increasingly oppressive racial policies.

Carter inherited a Church which assumed the symbiotic relationship between Church and State of the colonial era would continue. But during the twenty years of his archiepiscopate the CPSA was compelled by circumstances to change from the accustomed and comfortable role of being the Church of leaders in government to the new and unaccustomed role of a Church in opposition to government. For a Church for which the erastian mind-set had been a fundamental, and indeed foundational, aspect of its formation such a conversion would not be easy.¹

When Robert Gray arrived in Cape Town on 20 February 1848 to be the first bishop of the newly created Diocese of Cape Town his diocese covered the whole of Southern Africa excluding the Afrikaner Republics. As his authority was granted in letters-patent issued by the Crown, his authority was over those who claimed allegiance to the Crown.² The ministry had previously taken the form of a chaplaincy to British settlers and therefore the Church was predominantly white and English. Before Gray's arrival the English governor at the Cape had acted as the 'ordinary', a sort of secular bishop. He had to give authority for all baptisms and marriages by

1 Avis, Paul: *Anglicanism and the Christian Church* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press 1989) Part 1, pp.23-74.

2 Hinchliff, Peter: *The Anglican Church in South Africa* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd 1963) p.34ff.

ministers of the Church of England in the Colony.³ Leaders of the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK) regarded ministry to any, other than the British colonists, as their preserve. Lewis and Edwards mention an incident in which the Ordinary had to apologise for the action of one of the chaplains in baptising "coloured adults and a slave who had been refused baptism by the Dutch".⁴

Gray sought to consolidate the life and emphasise the autonomy of the Church in the Colony by calling a Synod of clergy and laymen. A number of leading lay people and three clergy objected on the grounds that synods were illegal in England and therefore also in The Church of England in the Colony.⁵ One of the issues agreed upon at the first Synod held in 1857 was that the Church

... shall *not apply to parliament for legislative* sanction to the conclusions we have come to. We send them forth as the resolutions of a voluntary and spiritual association, needing no support but their force. (Italics in the original)⁶

Gray's determination to establish the autonomous authority of the Church was tested by Bishop Colenso's appeal to the Privy Council against Gray's authority to depose him. His distress at Colenso's appeal to the Privy Council against his deposition was because of his conviction that the State should not have authority over the Church in the ordering of its own life. He wished to uphold what Paul Avis calls the 'apostolic paradigm' within the Anglican Church.⁷ According to this paradigm the secular powers have no jurisdiction over the Church in matters pertaining to the ordering of its own life. Although the apostolic paradigm was always latent in

3 Lewis, Cecil and Edwards, G.E.: *Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa* (London: SPCK 1934), p.5.

4 Lewis and Edwards: *Historical Records*, p.5.

5 cf. discussion about synodical government in Gray's time in Hinchliff: *Anglican Church in South Africa*, pp.48-53. Also Lewis and Edwards: *Historical Records*, pp.69-77.

6 Lewis and Edwards: *Historical Records*, p.76.

7 Avis: *Anglicanism and the Christian Church*, Part 3, pp.157-236.

Anglican ecclesiology it emerged as a central tenet of the Anglo-Catholic revival in the 1830's.

Anglo-Catholicism was the most prominent component of the Churchmanship of bishops and priests in the CPSA. Gray and the other bishops of the Church at the time would not accept that a secular court, the Privy Council, could give a ruling in its controversy about the orthodoxy and authority of Colenso. In 1870, to avoid a repetition of such interference, the Anglican Church in South Africa formed itself into an autonomous ecclesiastical body, the Church of the Province of South Africa, with its own Constitution and Canons. Autonomy did not imply ecclesial separation from the Church of England as it had the support of the Mother Church in its actions. The CPSA Constitution affirms its historical links with, and doctrinal affinity to, the Church of England. Anglicans who were unable to accept the autonomy, who saw it as undermining unity with the Church of England and the imposition of Anglo-Catholic churchmanship or those who were supporters of Colenso would later form the Church of England in South Africa.⁸

When Carter was invited to become the Bishop of Zululand in 1871 he chose to serve in a part of the Anglican Communion which was regarded by many Anglo-Catholics as a Church purified of State control and free to govern its own life in accordance with the principles and theology of the Catholic reformation within the Church. Anglo-Catholic theology played a major part in Carter's response to the issues in Church and State as will be evident in the discussion of his theological and

8 The C of E and the CPSA regards the Church of England in South Africa (CESA) as a schismatic part of the Anglican Communion. Ives, Anthony: *The Church of England in South Africa* (Cape Town: Church of England Information Office 1966), is 'a study of its history and status' from CESA's point of view. The CPSA point of view, given in a booklet entitled *Anglican Division In South Africa* and prepared by the CPSA members of the now defunct CPSA/CESA Liaison Committee, was accepted by the November 1982 Provincial Synod.

During the apartheid years the CESA sought to attract members by claiming that it did not preach politics and was obedient to the governing authorities.

spiritual formation and ministry. However, Carter and the CPSA found that they had to deal with a new situation for the Church, that of opposition to the State. If the State had no right to interfere in the affairs of the Church, did the Church have a right to interfere in the affairs of State? That would prove to be one of the central challenges for the Church during Carter's archiepiscopacy.

Predominant among the socio-political issues for Church and State when Carter became Archbishop was the question of 'native policy'. Realising the urgent need for the development of a common policy in the proposed federation or union of the former Republics with the Cape Colony and Natal Milner appointed the Lagden Commission "to offer recommendation to the several governments on the question of native policy..."⁹ Columns of editorial comment as well as many articles and letters are devoted to the 'Native Question' in the pages of *The Church Chronicle*, the bimonthly CPSA newspaper at that time. Robert Gray's missionary zeal, which was shared by Carter, had led to a significant increase in the numbers of blacks in the Church. In Carter's time blacks were beginning to form a majority of the membership. Yet blacks and Indians and, to a lesser extent, 'coloureds', were segregated at parish level by a system of parish and mission churches. At diocesan and provincial level the Church sought to express its unity in Christ by having all represented at its synods and conferences. In practice, however, the Church did not differ significantly from the norms for race relations and association imposed by the white minority.

Carter and the majority of the leadership in the Church accepted a paternalistic form of segregation as an 'expedient' measure to protect blacks against the more destructive aspects of Western civilisation, an opportunity for blacks to experience and preserve their culture and language, and for blacks to be afforded the opportunity of

9 Part of the resolution of the Customs Conference held in Bloemfontein in March 1903 which became the brief of the Lagden Commission. F.E. Carter, "The Native Question" in *The Journal*, Eastern Province Illustrated Weekly Edition, (Grahamstown). [Undated]

exercising leadership without being dominated by whites. Segregation, as used and understood in CPSA circles, was significantly different from that sought by Afrikaner politicians and Church leaders. For Afrikaner and other nationalists it was separation in the interest of the preservation of white culture and power because it was believed integration would inevitably lead to conflict and dominance by the majority blacks. For the 'friends of the natives' such as the leaders of the CPSA it was a means of protecting and advancing black interests. In fact the reasons advanced by the CPSA at the time have a strong similarity to those advanced by more recent black consciousness movements in this country and elsewhere. What distinguished the Church's position and what brought it into conflict with the government was the insistence that the goal of human community is unity and not segregation. For the government segregation was the means and segregation was the end. For the Church it was the means to the end of building a common community albeit, at that stage, under continuing white control. Basically the CPSA's attitude was one of trusteeship of the blacks and protection of their interests.

Not only was the CPSA faced with new and daunting challenges in its relationship to the State, there were also attitudinal and theological challenges within its own life. Increased secularism and materialism, the challenges of scientific theories of the origin of humankind and the assumed inexorability of economic forces would raise questions about the role and relevance of the Church. Quite apart from the right to question whether the Church had any right to address the morality of the scientific, political and economic forces that governed human community, progress and welfare, secularists and some scientists were arguing that these forces were as neutral, as basic and as inexorable as the immutable laws of physics. Was it not the Church's task to minister to the soul and leave the matters of this world to the scientists, politicians and economists?

Carter would claim that all human activity had a moral dimension as part of the spiritual being of the universe. Christian socialism and the influence of F.D. Maurice are clearly discernible in his position. Structural and societal sin (although he did not call it that) was pervasive and more fundamental than individual sin. Secular authorities and agencies could not prescribe limits to the activities of the Church. The Church could not be compartmentalised or shunted onto a side line, for central to its responsibility was the moral ordering and quality of life in this world. The Church needed to tackle the authorities about the causes of injustice and not simply exercise an ambulance ministry to the victims of injustice. Its central message was the proclamation in word and deed of the Kingdom of God on earth.

Anyone who reads Carter's charges to the synods of the Church is struck by the centrality of the Kingdom of God in his theology. For Carter God was as active in the world as he was in the Church. Authentic spirituality was incarnational in the sense that God loved *the world* in Jesus Christ. In Jesus the dynamic of God's Kingdom had come into the world in the form of the Church which was called upon to proclaim God's sovereignty and rule in the world. It was incumbent upon the Church to challenge the powers of this world and seek to make them subject to God. Spiritual warfare was to be waged against those whose violence made victims. While victims had to be attended to in the pastoral ministry of the Church, its primary calling lay in dealing with the causes of the violence. During the First World War Carter would use the example of the ambulance corps as an inadequate analogy of the role of the Church. He rejected with contempt the Pope's contention at the time that the Church was powerless to have stopped the War. He was not as fiery as some of the bishops of the Province, but he was convinced and determined to seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness in the affairs of the land.

Not only was the Church to address the world in the name of God, but the world often challenged the Church in God's name. One of the instances in which the world had, in Carter's opinion, been more responsive to God than the Church was in the position and empowerment of women. He strove with limited success to get the CPSA to allow women to have the vote within its vestries and participate in the election of representatives to its councils and synods. It was this openness to the world which made him so insistent that blacks, in particular, should be listened to and not just legislated for. He attended all national conferences arranged to discuss the 'native question'. At the end of his archiepiscopate he was convinced that a National Convention with full and proper black participation was the only way in which the racial problems of the country could be solved.

In spite of the fact that he always regarded England as his home and returned there to retire he was sympathetic to the sense of South Africanism which was growing amongst English-speaking whites of the country with the growth of nationalism. In the CPSA too there was a strong move towards indigenisation. Carter exhorted the Church to become self-reliant with regard to money and ministry. He called for vocations to the ministry from among the white men of the Church and was concerned at the poor response and heavy reliance on expatriate priests. At the same time he recognised the need to raise up an indigenous ministry amongst the other population groups. To this end he started a seminary for 'coloureds' at Zonnebloem called St. Austin's College.

In spite of the exclusive ecclesiology of his Anglo-Catholic formation Carter was an ecumenist by nature and conviction. Disagreements about racial policy did not deter good relationships with the leadership of the Dutch Reformed Church. He was respected by Church leaders and on a number of occasions he led Church delegations in negotiations with the government. Christians were to set an example of unity if they

were to have any credibility in preaching about 'brotherhood'. He welcomed the Union of South Africa as an opportunity for the reconciliation of whites of English and Afrikaner stock who had been in violent conflict. For him World War I was a human tragedy which highlighted the selfishness, racism and materialism of the world and he called Christians to seek unity with a new urgency.

He was recognised as a good organiser and sound administrator. During his time the Church's organisation at Provincial level was improved by the introduction of the Provincial Standing Committee which acted as the executive of Provincial Synod. He initiated the Provincial Pension Fund to ensure that clergy could retire with some peace of mind. In the Diocese of Cape Town he centralised stipends to ensure that a basic minimum was paid and encouraged stewardship so that the mission of the Church could grow and the clergy be paid a living wage. He encouraged the division of large dioceses into smaller dioceses in which the bishops could be genuine fathers-in-God to their clergy and people. During his time as Metropolitan the number of dioceses increased from nine to fourteen. Two of the fourteen were the result of the expansion of the Church into neighbouring territories i.e. Damaraland (South West Africa/Namibia) and Lebombo (Mozambique). He regarded synods as essential to the life of the Church. He was the only Bishop of Cape Town who required that there be an annual meeting of diocesan synod so that the whole Church could meet for counsel, encouragement and communion.

It was during Carter's time too that the revision of the Prayer Book was undertaken and this resulted in *The South African Prayer Book*, a liturgy acclaimed throughout the Anglican Communion. Although he was not himself involved directly with the revision he was supportive of the endeavour as he believed that the Church needed to adapt to changing circumstances and learn to express itself in the language of the people. While *The South African Prayer Book* was more of an ecclesiastical

and doctrinal revision of the liturgy, rather than a contextual adaptation, it initiated a process of continuing revision as a principle of liturgy.

There is a richness and relevance in a study of the leadership of William Marlborough Carter. Many of the issues with which he and the CPSA wrestled remain relevant for the Church today. His ministry occurred at the time of the Church's watershed: it changed from colonial Church to Church of the poor and oppressed. At the same time the white powers of government were strengthening their position of power and privilege at the expense of the majority of the people of the country.

Carter's profile was lower than some of his successors, but his contribution was substantial and determinative: substantial in the firm and committed leadership and vision he provided; determinative because his leadership set the Church on a conflict course with the white minority government of the time and of the future. His own vision was clouded by the British imperialist perspective he had inherited which saw perfect humanity as white, English-speaking, public school and preferably British. His biographers called their book on his life *William Marlborough Carter - Eton's Gift to South Africa*. But there were forces which were changing the lenses of his perspective. One of the strongest of these was his own Anglo-Catholic and Christian Socialism. Another was his exposure to black Christians and culture through the life of the Church.

My methodology is to research the context by reference to primary sources with regard to the Church in the form of the charges of Archbishop Carter and proclamations and statements by other leaders of the Anglican Church. As far as the secular history is concerned I am reliant on secondary sources, but have sought to express the perspective of progressive historians. The purpose is primarily to analyse the theological influences expressed in Carter's charges to the synods of the Church,

but also, in the process, to present Carter as one who led the Church into a new era and set it on a course which enabled it to make a significant contribution to the struggle for justice and peace in this country. One of the central purposes of this paper is to illustrate how the socio-political realities of the Southern African experience influenced the theological, pastoral and prophetic ministry of a colonial Church. While accepting that the CPSA was culturally encapsulated it was certainly not as conforming as Cochrane argues in his analysis of the role of the English-speaking Churches in his book *Servants of Power*.¹⁰ A study of Carter provides us with another perspective and an indication of how, however reluctantly and imperfectly, the Church remained a servant of God and became a servant of the people.

10 Cochrane, James: *Servants of Power. The Role of the English-speaking Churches 1903-1930* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press 1987).

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"The Native Question" - Critical for Church and State 1904-1910

*"The Church of Christ, being Catholic and composed of all nations, cannot attain the full measure of her beauty until each race has brought to her its special gifts and graces."*¹

*"... when it suits them to say so they will say they are in the Church, or as members of the Church, one with natives and then again when it suits them to say the other thing, they will say plainly they are not one with them, that they do not wish to be one with them, and that God never meant it."*²

*"Now I never heard of a Kafir attending service with white people, and in the old government's time he would never have risked it either, but it shows how fast they are advancing in civilization since the fools of English took over the country."*³

There are two sections in this chapter. The first deals with the crucial debate within the CPSA about suggestions that it provide a separate church organisation in its ministry to blacks. Up to and including the Provincial Synod of 1909 black members and missionaries argued for the introduction of a distinct and separate ministry to the black section of the Church with its own episcopate. Had they been successful the CPSA could have developed along segregated lines with a federal relationship between its black section and the rest of the Church. In spite of cogent arguments in favour such as the evident practical advantages with improved prospects of the development of black leadership in segregated churches, the move to segregate did not succeed. It failed to gain acceptance because of the importance, stressed by theologians within the CPSA, of the preservation of Catholicity in practice as well as in principle. Those who

1 Resolution of Provincial Synod 1904 in *Constitution and Canons of the Province of South Africa with other Acts of the Provincial Synods 1870, 1876, 1883, 1891, 1898 and 1904* (Cape Town: English Church House, 1904), p.106.

2 A letter by H. Mtobi: *The Church Chronicle*, 22 January 1908, p.14.

3 A letter by 'Cosmopolite' which was printed in an unnamed newspaper and sent in by H. Mtobi with his letter as an illustration of prevailing white attitudes within the CPSA. *The Church Chronicle*, 22 January 1908, p.14.

argued against separate black Churches did so because they believed that Christian convictions had to be incarnate for them to have any credibility.

The second section considers and analyses the Report of the Lagden Commission set up by Milner in 1904 in anticipation "of a Federation of the South African Colonies". The Commission was asked "... to gather information in certain affairs connected with Natives and Native administration, and to offer recommendations to the several governments concerned, with the object of arriving at a common understanding on questions of native policy..."⁴ Although the five volume report provided a blueprint for segregating the races, CPSA reaction was predominantly favourable. An analysis of the report from an Anglican point of view was undertaken by F.E. Carter, the Dean of Grahamstown, and widely distributed. It serves to illustrate that at that stage the Church was basically in favour of segregation as the best way of advancing the position of the blacks and of preserving white standards and control.

While the Lagden Commission Report represented a type of enlightened white consensus on 'the native question' that consensus was soon to be threatened by the Act of Union which entrenched white power and effectively disenfranchised blacks.

At the very outset William Carter's leadership of the CPSA was faced with the hard political, social and economic issues of a multi-cultural and multi-racial South Africa.

4 From the wording of the resolution of the Customs Conference held at Bloemfontein in March 1903 calling for a commission in a paper "The Native Question" delivered by F.E. Carter at the Grahamstown Branch of the English Church Men's Society, September 20, 1905 and issued as a booklet reprinted from *The Journal*, Eastern Province Illustrated Weekly Edition (undated).

Tensions Within

In the first two decades of the twentieth century the Church of the Province of South Africa (CPSA) held four Provincial Synods, in 1904, 1909, 1915 and 1919. The central issue apart from those concerning Church organisation was that of the 'natives', as Africans were called in those days. Bishop Gray had made a point of extending the mission of the CPSA beyond that of a chaplaincy to the white English-speaking Colonists who were members of the Church of England to the 'coloured' and African people of the country. By the turn of the century the Diocese of St John's (Transkei), Zululand and Bloemfontein had a majority of African members. The work of the CPSA had also extended to Portuguese East Africa, known as the Diocese of Lebombo, which also had a predominance of black members. In 1911 the Diocese of George was formed and in 1912 the Diocese of Kimberley and Kuruman both with a majority of coloureds and blacks. The missionary endeavour of the CPSA had come to the fore very strongly. Between 1911 and 1921 'coloured' membership of the Anglican Church increased by twenty-five per cent while white membership increased by fourteen per cent. Unfortunately we cannot compare the figures for whites and Africans as the 1921 census did not supply the figures for the latter, but we have every reason to assume that the growth there was even greater than amongst the 'coloureds'. Consequently the Church's mind expressed at its synods and conferences during this period reflected a concern about how to organise its mission amongst the Africans. In 1904 in a lengthy 'Pronouncement upon the Church's Duty to the Native Races in South Africa' the Provincial Synod had this to say:

No Christian man can question the duty of every Christian to do his best to carry out the plain command which our Lord left in His last charge to His Church. Matt.28:19-20. Such a command is, indeed, the essential corollary of a belief in the Incarnation of our Lord, His Atonement made for all men, and the expression of His will that all should be saved;

The Church of Christ being Catholic and composed of all nations, cannot attain the full measure of her beauty until each race has brought into her its own special gifts and graces.⁵

Evangelisation, the pronouncement went on to suggest, should include education. The Church "must not only preach but also educate and her education must be the *whole man*."⁶ (italics original). The form of such education, the pronouncement stated, should inculcate industry as the 'natives' needed to learn the discipline which Western civilisation demanded. Industry for the "Bantu people ... for some years to come must be synonymous with manual labour in some form or other". But every man had a right to be helped to reach the point which God marked out for him.

The pronouncement made some further interesting observations about the social and political status of the 'Native Races'. Acceptance of Christianity, it maintained, had never involved, of necessity, social equality between all individuals in any race. Nor had it involved social equality between one race and another. A Christian was to consider what was best for himself and his children. It certainly did not positively encourage integration, but at the same time it did not positively exclude it. Reflecting the concerns and perceptions of the time and with an eye upon the prejudices of the white establishment the authors felt compelled to announce that "acceptance of Christianity does not necessarily involve the right of franchise".⁷ A man would be ready to exercise the right of franchise when he had a real stake in the country, "be his colour what it may".

The Synod asked that the pronouncement be translated into the various languages spoken in the Province, that it be distributed to "all classes of people" in the

5 *Acts and Resolutions of the Provincial Synod of 1904* (English Church House, Cape Town, 1904), p.106.

6 *Acts and Resolutions of the Provincial Synod of 1904*, p.106.

7 *Acts and Resolutions of the Provincial Synod of 1904*, p.108.

Church and that it be posted in each church building within the Province. There is no questioning the earnestness of the missionary endeavour laid upon the CPSA by its highest Council as it entered this century.

While the calling was clear, the method was not so clear. The same Synod had considered the organisation of the 'Native Church'. In particular it had asked whether the "mission church" should be a separate Church at diocesan and provincial level because of the differences in language, custom, discipline and the level of development of the people. Unable to reach a conclusion a committee of Synod had been appointed to "... take into consideration the organisation of the Native Church and congregations and to report to this Synod".⁸ In its report to Synod it in turn requested the Archbishop to appoint a Commission "to collect evidence as to the conditions and the needs of the Native Christians, with special view to the natural expansion of the Native Church and to report to the Archbishop before the proposed Missionary Conference".⁹ William Marlborough Carter, Bishop of Pretoria, was appointed President of the Commission.

Fortunately for the researcher an 'Historical Note' was appended to the official report of the 1909 Provincial Missionary Conference "showing steps taken since 1904 in consequence of the Resolution of Provincial Synod taken in that year regarding the expansion of the Native Church ...".¹⁰ Like so many Commissions before and since it

8 It consisted of the Bishops of Pretoria (W.M.Carter), St. John's (J.W. Williams), Lebombo (W.E. Smyth), Zululand (W.L. Vyvyan) and the Co-adjutor Bishop of Cape Town (A.G.S. Gibson), the Dean of St. John's (L.P. Booth), the Archdeacon of St. Mark's in the Diocese of St. John's (E.L. Coakes), the Archdeacon of Mashonaland (J.H.Upcher), the Archdeacon of Durban (E.A. Hammick), the Revd Canons H.R. Woodrooffe (Grahamstown), W.H. Turpin (Grahamstown), E. Farmer (Pretoria) and S. Weigall (Bloemfontein) and the Revd R.B. Davies (Zululand), the Revd M.H. Davies (Lebombo), the Revd C.B. Shaw (Pretoria), the Revd S.W. Cox (Grahamstown) and Messrs J.B. Pierson and P.H. Tracey (Pretoria), R.A. Letts (Lebombo) and R.J. Dick (Grahamstown). *Acts and Resolutions of the Provincial Synod 1904*, p.111.

9 *Acts and Resolutions of the Provincial Synod of 1904*, pp.111,112.

10 L. Fuller, "Historical Note" connecting the Conference of 1906 with the Conference of 1909 appended to the *Official Report of the Provincial Missionary Conference of the Church of*

saw its first task as that of gathering information. To that end the secretaries of the Commission prepared "an exhaustive list" of questions and sent them to all clergy directly engaged in African work. By November 1906, when the Provincial Native Conference met in Johannesburg, the Commission had the results of its questionnaire to present for discussion. From the replies it became evident that three issues were considered to be paramount in African work. They were (1) the representation of African congregations in synods and conferences (2) episcopal oversight and (3) finances.

Representation caused the Conference a bit of an ecclesiastical headache. The Revd Fr Bull SSJE, who worked among the Africans of Ndabeni in Cape Town, read a most important paper which firmly and unequivocally stated the principles which were to guide the thinking of the CPSA about the issue. He argued against a separate organisation of the Church for Africans on the grounds that the Constitution of the Church as one Body precluded it. Division of the Church on racial rather than territorial lines would be a departure from Catholic custom and would impair the witness of the Church. It would extinguish the hope of the reconciliation of the world in the Church, whose well-being depended on the diversity of the life within it. The growth of unity was necessary both to Africans and Europeans.

Discussion which followed the paper revealed that there was strong support amongst the Africans for a separate Church organisation. They felt that they needed some freedom in their own organisation, that the matters nearest to their hearts did not receive attention in the councils of the Church as these were concerned with 'European' issues. They approved of the Missionary Councils which had been established in some dioceses. Some white priests supported separation on the grounds

that, unless the Africans were able to air their grievances there was the danger of discontent leading to schism. It was stressed that priests and bishops doing missionary work should acquaint themselves with the language of the people. The Missionary Conference appointed a committee to draw up a report on the matter.

The Committee consisted of the Bishop of Lebombo, Archdeacons Johnson (Zululand), Roach (Zululand) and Coakes (St John's), Canon Troughton (Natal), the Revd Fr Bull (Cape Town), the Revd E. Rose (Bloemfontein), the Revd S.W. Cox (Grahamstown), the Revd E.H. Etheridge (Mashonaland), the Revd Fr Fuller (Pretoria), the Revd H. Hlahle (Grahamstown) and the Revd J. Manelle (St John's). In a resolution prepared for the Conference the Committee gave thanks for the gradual growth and development of the African section of the Church of the Province and considered that every encouragement should be given to it to develop along Catholic lines. The time had come for the Africans to take a greater part in the synods of the Church in the discussion of those questions which essentially concerned them. Four recommendations were made.

In the first place there should be adequate representation of all the members (both lay and clerical) of the Church in every diocesan synod. Matters affecting the different racial groups at synod should be referred to committees consisting of members of that race for report to the synod. The possible alternative of giving the Native Conferences legislative power over their own affairs was rejected as this would affect the unity of the Church expressed in its synods.

Secondly the Committee proposed that there be a system of Diocesan Missionary Conferences which should be based on proportional representation according to communicants. Matters affecting the African section of the Church should be referred to these conferences.

Thirdly, Church councils should be formed in every mission district to meet at regular intervals. (Provincial Synod approved the canonical right to Church councils in 1970.)

Fourthly it recommended the appointment of assistant bishops for mission work who would not have the right of succession as was the case with co-adjutor bishops.

On the question of episcopal oversight there was "a remarkable consensus of opinion". Only three out of thirty-eight of the submissions made opposed the idea of an assistant bishop for African work in dioceses where there was a substantial African presence. The only dioceses opposed to it were St. John's and Zululand where they saw no need for it as that was the work of the bishops anyway. The predominantly black Basutoland preferred to be separate from Bloemfontein and Lebombo also saw no need for an additional bishop. In the end the consideration of a separate African organisation for the Church resulted in a submission by the Provincial Missionary Conference of 1909 that "a new Canon was to be submitted to the Provincial Synod similar to the one passed two years ago in America to provide for similar circumstances in the Church there, and making it possible where necessary, to appoint Assistant Bishops, who shall have the right to succession".¹¹ Canon XXXVIII 'Of Assistant Bishops' was added to the Canons at the Provincial Synod in 1909. The right to succession was turned down by the Synod.

A lively discussion on a distinct 'native church' was conducted in *The South African Church Quarterly Review* and *The Church Chronicle*. The April 1907 issue of *The South African Church Quarterly Review* published Fr Bull's paper in which he had identified two forces which threatened to separate the church into a white and

11 "Historical Note" - *Report of Provincial Missionary Conference 1909*, p.16.

black section. On the one hand there was the determination of certain whites "... that the Commonwealth of South Africa, which is to be, must be the Commonwealth of a white South Africa only...". On the other hand some African leaders were in favour of separation because of the need for growth, independence and self-government which was being stifled by the white dominance of the Councils of the Church. Fr Bull's reply to these forces was:

In respect of the first it may be pleaded the Gospel of the Incarnation, the revelation of the mystery, hidden from of old, of the call of the Gentiles to be fellow heirs with and of the same body as the proud, separated race of Israel, the Gospel of the One Body of the Catholic Church seems to make a distinct organisation of the Church on racial colour lines, not inexpedient, but impossible. The Church is the Commonwealth whose politics must be governed from above, in accordance with its relation to Him who is the source of all Fatherhood, whose Fatherhood is the source of all Brotherhood.¹²

Fr Bull went on to list four objections to the development of a separate, parallel organisation for the African church. It would be a new departure in Church organisation along racial lines; it would seriously impair the Catholic nature of the Church; it would dangerously weaken the sense of brotherhood and it would extinguish the hope of the world's reconciliation in the Church. "Her witness would have ceased, her light hidden, her salt savourless."¹³ What prophetic words these were. They are soundly based theologically on the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation and the Church. They also have a modern ring about them in that he speaks of the hope of reconciliation which the Church holds out for the world.

Early in 1908 the Revd W.A. Goodwin (Diocese of Pretoria) responded to Fr Bull's paper in *The South African Church Quarterly Review*.¹⁴ Support for the reply was reflected in the commendation of the article by the editors. Goodwin expressed the point of view of a sympathetic priest who was well acquainted with mission work

12 *The South African Church Quarterly Review*, April 1907, p.163.

13 *The South African Church Quarterly Review*, April 1907.

14 *The South African Church Quarterly Review*, January 1908.

and regarded the Africans' striving for separation of Church organisation as the solution to the dominance of the whites and the cultural and language difference between the two races. Even the missionary conferences, he claimed, were not sufficiently representative of African laity. He advocated the formation of 'native' conferences parallel to the diocesan synods, "the Diocesan Synod for Native Affairs". He maintained that Africans were in favour of such a development because of their inability to participate in the proceedings of the white synods and, in support of his contention, he argued that social considerations made the Africans feel uncomfortable in the synods. They were for the most part unable to participate in the debates and would be happier managing their own affairs. Racism, he contended, was a harsh reality which needed to be taken into account from the white side. "Colonists are really afraid of the swamping of the white vote." In addition the language barrier made communication difficult and hampered participation in the debates by those who were not English-speaking. Facility in English limited the lay representation of the Africans to the educated who were not necessarily in touch with the ordinary African layman. Lastly, the system of discipline which had been built up in the African Church, based on the Anglo-Catholic recovery of the discipline of the early Church, would be threatened in a unified Church organisation. So Goodwin pleaded: "Let African Christianity fenced by Catholic doctrine and discipline, expand upon its own lines, and not forever be an appendage to British Christianity, a thing patronised, coddled, managed and kept on doles to the end of time." He did not, however, call for a division of the Church into two distinct organisations with separate white and black dioceses and bishops. Rather he envisaged two separate but equal synods "side by side like two houses of parliament, with the Chapter as their common cabinet, and the Bishop as their common head ... as well matched horses, yoked together, pull the one chariot, guided by the one driver".¹⁵ A noble vision which was partly implemented in the creation of diocesan and provincial missionary conferences, but which, fortunately

15 *The South African Church Quarterly Review*, January 1908, pp.310-311.

for the Church did not materialise as it would certainly have undermined its witness in this land.

During 1908 the correspondence columns of *The Church Chronicle* reflected the extent to which the issue continued to engage the mind of the CPSA. One of the most telling of these was a letter from the Revd H. Mtobi of the Diocese of Pretoria who, as a layman, had had the unfortunate experience of being asked by a parish priest not to attend a certain church any longer because the white parishioners objected to his presence. With his letter he sent a cutting from a local newspaper. It was a letter by a white person who wrote, amongst other things: "I have never heard of a Kafir attending service with white people, and in the old Government's time he would never have risked it either, but it shows how fast they are advancing since the fools of English took over the country".¹⁶ This, the Revd Fr Mtobi pointed out, was the attitude which made the Africans wonder what the white leaders meant when they called for the unity of all races in the Church. Such unity was a fiction of the white ecclesiastical imagination and "... in the experience of many of us such 'unity of races' ... had no real existence at all in the Church in this country". Fr Mtobi wrote that white people claimed to stand for the unity of the Church when it suited them and to oppose it when it suited them. He went on to ask Fr Bull what he meant by the unity of all races in Christ and how the synodal representation showed this. What real part would Africans have in the legislative machinery of the church?

In the next issue Fr Bull replied.¹⁷ He mentioned three proposals which had been put forward at the Cape Town Diocesan Synod during discussion referred to them by the Provincial Missionary Conference. One of these was the proposal made by the Revd W. Goodwin, that of the 'Distinct Organisation of the Church', outlined

16 *The Church Chronicle*, 22 January 1908, p.14. Both letters printed in full in an Appendix to this Chapter.

17 *The Church Chronicle*, 5 February 1908.

above, that there be two synods in one diocese, one for Europeans and one for Africans. The second was the suggestion of the Co-adjutor Bishop of Cape Town, W.M. Cameron, that the African people should be formed into separate dioceses as proposed too by the Revd H. Mtobi in his letter. Thirdly there was Fr Bull's own position which had won the day at the Synod, namely, that the Church should work towards adequate representation of all the racial groups of the Church in one Diocesan Synod. In support of his position he argued as follows: Unity of all races in Christ was the fundamental truth of Christianity proclaimed and demonstrated in the life of the Church. St. Peter's vision of the Great Sheet (Acts 10:9-16) had led him to question his racial, social and religious prejudices. Spiritual unity of the Church rested upon the baptism of all into one Body of Christ which "is not invisible any more than we its members are invisible". Nevertheless, he believed that the formation of missionary councils, parish councils in mission Churches and the call for financial contributions from the African section of the Church were moves in the right direction which did not threaten the unity of the Church.

Against this background the Provincial Missionary Conference met in February 1909 in Bloemfontein and the Provincial Synod met in October of that same year. The Missionary Conference appointed a committee to collate any resolutions from the synods and missionary conferences of the dioceses.¹⁸ African priests were well represented and one can therefore assume that the resolution which was formulated and passed was in accordance with their insights and intentions. In its report the committee adopted the position which had been championed by Fr Bull. *All* members of the Church should be adequately represented at diocesan missionary conferences to provide a forum for the discussion and resolution of questions which concerned the

18 *Official Report of the Provincial Missionary Conference of the Church of the Province of South Africa* (Bloemfontein 13-15 February 1909) III, p.6. The Committee consisted of the Bishops of Natal and St John's, Archdeacons Balfour and Johnson, Fr Puller CR, Fr Bull SSJE, Fr Fuller CR, the Revd C.J. Wyche, the Revd P. Mkize, the Revd J.W. Dwane, the Revd P. Malgas, the Revd J.J. Xaba and the Revd W. Mochochoko.

African section of the Church. Resolutions adopted at missionary conferences were to be submitted to diocesan synods. Diocesan missionary conferences were to be constituted from proportionate representation based on the number of communicants. Members who had not paid their Church dues when able to do so should be excluded from Church office. Lastly, it resolved that, where the majority of the clergy in a diocese deemed additional episcopal oversight of missionary work to be necessary, they should petition the Metropolitan and the Bishops of the Province for the appointment of an assistant bishop. In such circumstances the bishop of the diocese should submit to its diocesan missionary conference the names of three priests from which it would then choose a suitable candidate for assistant bishop whose name would be submitted to the diocesan synod for approval. Such an assistant bishop would be summoned to a synod of bishops with the right to speak but not to vote. It agreed to prepare a new canon along these lines for the approval of the Provincial Synod in October 1909.

Provincial Synod (1909) approved of the report of the Missionary Conference with the exception of the final clause in the Canon on assistant bishops which ensured succession.¹⁹ Instead they affirmed the principle that the ministry of the Church was for the whole Church and not for some part of it. Mission work and workers were not to be segregated from the total life of the diocese. They went on to approve the constitution of the Provincial Missionary Conference which had been submitted by the Missionary Conference held in Bloemfontein in February 1909.²⁰ Lay representation was to be equal to clerical representation, which was one for every ten, or fraction of ten, on the roll of the diocese with a minimum representation of three from each diocese.

19 Resolution 8 in *Acts and Resolutions of the Seventh Provincial Synod of the Church of the Province of South Africa* (1909). (Cape Town: English Church House 1909), pp.20ff.

20 *Acts and Resolutions of Seventh Provincial Synod*, p.21.

So in the year 1910 when the 'Union' of South Africa came about based on the exclusion of the Africans and 'coloureds' from any effective participation in the structures of government, the Church of the Province of South Africa had set its face firmly against any form of segregation of its life along racial lines in spite of some very cogent and practical arguments in favour of such a course. Within the life of the Church provision was made for the voice of the underprivileged to be heard and heeded. Where the Church did not do this it would be denying rights which it had established as basic, not only to its own good government but for the unity and integrity of its life.

The form of its life expressed in its synods and the unity of the diocesan and provincial family would inevitably bring it into conflict with a State which was to develop more and more along racist lines. From the debate about the organisation of the 'native Church' which preceded the decisions of the Provincial Synod of 1909, it is clear that the Church was maintaining an ideal rather than claiming that it had achieved it. It did so in spite of the strong pressures from influential white laity who advocated the progressive exclusion of the Africans from the structures of government.

The reason for this is to be found in the Catholic convictions of the members of the religious communities, the leading clergy, laity and bishops of the Province who represented the Church in its highest councils. The Catholic doctrine of the Church and the sacraments withstood the onslaughts of sectional politics and racial prejudice. Where the CPSA failed in subsequent years it failed because it did not remain faithful to its deepest theological convictions.

Commenting on the Provincial Synod of 1909 the Revd Canon P.E. Pennington of Greytown, Diocese of Natal, wrote in *The Church Chronicle*²¹: "The

21 *The Church Chronicle*, 20 January 1910.

beauty and strength of our Synod, in my mind, is that it represents the varying needs of our Church, its many local sentiments and colours, its different trials and working methods, its tribal, racial, and national Catholicity." Africans were less lyrical about it, because it often failed to live up to its own truth.

The CPSA Response to the Lagden Commission

At the time when the CPSA was coming to terms with what it meant to be a Catholic Church in South Africa, Milner and his Kindergarten were attempting to bring the former Afrikaner Republics and their people into the British Empire. It was believed that Afrikaners should and could be Anglicised, but there was general uncertainty about what should be done about the 'natives'.

In October 1903 Milner appointed a Commission to consider the political and economic accommodation of the blacks within his reconstruction policy. Sir Godfrey Yeatman Lagden, Native Commissioner for the Transvaal, was appointed Chairman of the South African Native Affairs Commission, which was to draw up a 'native policy' that would be supported by all four colonies.²² Lagden had distinguished himself earlier by calling for separate trading areas for Indians. Commissioners who had "first hand knowledge of Kafir life" were appointed: nine of whom were English-speaking and two Afrikaans. Among the commissioners was the Secretary, Harry Taberer, who was the brother-in-law of the precentor of the Grahamstown Cathedral.²³ There were no black commissioners. The Commission was the outcome of the Customs Union Conference held at Bloemfontein in March 1903 at which the following resolution was passed:

22 cf Article "Every native must have a warren too..." in Oakes, Dougie (ed.) *Illustrated History of South Africa*, (Cape Town: Readers Digest 1988), pp.312-315.

23 F.E. Carter mentions this in his paper entitled "The Native Question".

That in view of the coming Federation of the South African Colonies it is desirable that a Commission be constituted to gather accurate information in certain affairs connected with Natives and Native administration and to offer recommendations to the several governments concerned, with the object of arriving at a common understanding on questions of native policy, such Commission to consist of two representatives from each of the Colonies and one each from Rhodesia and Basutoland, with the addition of a chairman nominated by the High Commissioner.²⁴

In February 1905, after two years of diligent research and careful consideration, they produced a five volume report. One of the first recommendations of the commissioners was that 'coloured' people, i.e. people of mixed European/Khoi-khoi/Malay/Indian descent, be excluded from their brief, but that those who were half-castes with a 'native' parent be included.

Amongst the main recommendations of the Commission's report, which covered twelve distinct aspects of the life and status of black people in the Colonies,²⁵ were those on land tenure, education, labour and representation. Land tenure and purchase was regarded by the Commission as "perhaps the most important item of reference". Areas occupied by blacks were to be protected from further encroachment by whites, but equally blacks would be restricted in their purchase of land outside the reserves and "purchase that may lead to tribal or communal possession should not be permitted". Individual blacks could purchase land, but very few had the means to do so. In this way pools of labour were created and the migratory labour system was born. By creating a land shortage more and more blacks would be forced to seek work in areas designated 'white'. "Natives", the Commission concluded, were

eminently educable and open to the influences of Christianity and morality ... there appears to be in the native mind no inherent incapacity to apprehend the truths of Christian teaching or to adopt Christian moral as a standard.²⁶

24 Carter F.E.: "Native Question", p.1.

25 These were Land Tenure, Tribal system and custom, Family life and habits, Christianity and morals. Marriage, The Church Separatist Movement, Native press and political Associations, Education, Liquor, Labour, Taxation and Representation.

26 Carter, F.E.: "Native Question", p.4.

While it could not support compulsory education for blacks the Report did call for increased grants for elementary education, special efforts at providing industrial training and the establishment of a central "Native College". Education was to improve the blacks usefulness as a labour force and to increase the 'wants' of the blacks which would in turn improve the economy. Local labour was to be used. The report deplored efforts to import labour such as had been done with indentured Indians in Natal and Chinese to work on the mines. It had some harsh criticism of the conditions under which blacks were expected to live and work and called for stricter controls of health and protection of the moral life of female workers in particular who were exposed to the vices of Western civilisation. Well-ordered locations were to be established near the large centres as labour pools. As to representation of blacks and by blacks in the governing bodies, provincial and colonial, it recommended a separate voters roll for blacks. Blacks could then elect representatives who would represent them in the legislatures. It was recommended that qualifications for black voters should be the same as for Europeans viz. that they should be able to write their name and address, own property worth seventy-five pounds sterling or have an annual income of at least fifty pounds sterling. On the basis of these qualifications it was noted that the Cape Colony had 20,718 'non-Europeans' on a voters role of 114,450. They would pose no threat to the Europeans, but were hardly representative of the blacks numerically. Dean F.E. Carter commented: "... considerable opposition to this proposed change has been manifested on the part of the native."²⁷ But the opposition was not only on the part of the Native as it turned out as the Afrikaners from the former Boer Republics would have none of the proposed black franchise.

It is informative to consider the Dean of Grahamstown's response to the report which was circulated as an informed and accepted assessment from a Christian point of view. Seen against the background of prevalent white prejudice it was liberal and

27 Carter, F.E.: "Native Question", p.7.

even progressive although according to present progressive political and social assessment it was "profoundly paternalistic and conservative".²⁸ "Here", commented Dean Carter, "is a document which may make us Englishmen feel that our claim to bring justice and freedom to all under our rule is not after all an idle boast."²⁹ Indeed, as he was eager to point out, the report was a vindication of the missionary work of the Churches which had often come under fire from the colonists for instilling unrealistic expectations in the 'natives' and causing them to become restless. Two fundamental principles underlay the report in Dean Carter's opinion. They were, first, that "no human being, still less an aggregate of human beings, such as a nation or a race, may be treated as a means to an end". Carter was so convinced that this principle *should* govern the attitudes of Christians that he read it into the Report. Such a slanted and unrealistic analysis was not shared by blacks. The second fundamental principle was the Christian obligation to evangelise the blacks as this was the only way in which they could be uplifted.

F.E. Carter's analysis, for all its weaknesses, does provide an insight into the theological assumptions which underlay much of Anglican witness in South Africa. Church and State were not separate spheres of operation but part of a whole. Any sound political system was to be built on Christian principles. Among these was the recognition of the potential of each person as a child of God. Baptism was the sign of that acceptance but that did not, however, imply equality. Civilisation provided the ingredient which would enable Africans to aspire to having the same rights and exercising the same political power as whites. This principle was stated in a 'Pronouncement upon the Church's Duty to the native Races in South Africa':³⁰

28 Comment in article on SANAC Report in *Illustrated History of South Africa*, p.315.

29 Carter, F.E.: "Native Question", p.8.

30 *Acts and Resolutions of the Provincial Synod 1904*, pp.106ff.

The acceptance of Christianity does not necessarily involve the right to a franchise. If a man is fit to receive a franchise because he understands how to exercise it rightly and has a real stake in the country, he has so far a claim to receive it, be his colour what it may. The mere fact that he is a Christian does not of itself imply that he is fit to take a share in the government of the country.

Black reaction to the SANAC Report was one of dismay. Educated Africans such as John Tengo Jabavu, and 'coloureds' such as Abdullah Abdurahman had hoped that their support of the Imperialist Regime would gain them recognition and acceptance as equals. Although the 'coloureds' ('Quadroons' in the Lagden Report) were considered to be a category of their own, it soon became clear to Dr Abdurahman that they would be sidelined and separated as were the blacks.

Appendix

"The Distinct* Organisation of the Native Section of the Church."

Letter to the editor of *The Church Chronicle*.

"Sir I have for some time been wishing to write something on this subject from another and a different point of view than I am at present doing, but I have been, and am still so much pressed for time, that I have not been able to give to it that attention and thought which it calls for. Besides, so many things have been done and said since this matter was discussed by the members of the Provincial Missionary Conference at Johannesburg that have darkened the intellectual atmosphere and horizon, that some of us do not understand where we are. I saw the report of the discussion of this matter by the Diocesan Synod of Cape Town in the "Church Chronicle", though I did not see it in the secular press but a friend of mine wrote to me soon after the Synod: "You cannot fail to have agreed with Bishop Cameron in his advocacy of wider latitude in native church organisation at the recent Synod of the Arch-Diocese. But, alas! the opposing forces were too strong, and he had to beat a retreat." He referred to the report in the secular press which I did not see. If this is true, I felt then as now, that, if people who often think that they know or understand enough about the native and his wishes, or about native questions, when they really do not know much more about one or the other than they do about the man (or woman?) in the moon often oppose those who like Bishop Cameron are supposed or believed not only to be authorities on such matters, but also to be the few true friends natives have. How then is the Church ever to come to a satisfactory decision and settlement of the matter. And how are people to understand that those in whose hands this matter lies are sincere about it at all? I noticed in the "Church Chronicle" (30 October 1907) that Father Bull's three proposals, which unless I am mistaken are exactly those he moved at the Provincial Missionary Conference were carried by the Cape Town Diocesan Synod. I did not understand Father Bull in Johannesburg, and I do not understand him in Cape Town. I was one of those who tried to point out to him that in the experience of many of us such "unity of races" as he pleaded for had no real or vital existence at all in the Church in this country. It has never been easy to myself to understand white people on this point, because when it suits them to say so they will say they are in the Church, or as members of the Church one with natives; and then again when it suits them to say the other thing, they will say plainly that they are not one with them, that they do not wish to be one with them, and that God never meant it. However, since Father Bull's proposals were carried by the Cape Town Diocesan Synod, and since it was the Provincial Missionary Conference that submitted this matter to the various dioceses, and therefore not a matter of diocesan but of provincial interest, might I through the columns of the "Church Chronicle" put four questions to Father Bull, and ask him to kindly say a little more and explain. My object in asking is to learn.

1. What in his first proposal does he mean by the unity of all races in the body of Christ?

2. What is the link or bond of union between individuals in the Body of Christ? What is the link or bond of union between races? And how does synodal representation bring it about, and maintain it?

3. Since Father Bull's proposals were covered by the Cape Town Diocesan Synod, and in the event of their being carried or accepted by all, or by the whole of the European section of the Church of the Province: What provision then for actual contact with the point or centre of unity will have been made or gained for the native section of the Church as far as legislative powers or legislative liberties are concerned?

4. How far do these proposals answer to the spirit of unity prayed for by the Head of the Church in His great intercessory prayer?

I subjoin a contribution which appeared some time ago in the local paper, which has some bearing on my point and which might help to show the temper and feeling of some of the white people of this country, who both in Church and State are doing a great deal of harm, not only to the natives, but also to white people themselves, I am sure, by their injudicious sayings or writings, which are seen and read by hundreds of natives in the newspapers, where natives learn to understand the feelings of some of the white people towards them. Hence complaints from natives, and white people are surprised when they wish for the distinct organisation of their section of the Church. The Kafir complained of, who should have been kicked out by the congregation and on account of whose presence in Church, it should be thoroughly fumigated before it is used again is myself. This is one instance of many others of its kind, it is not the first time I have met with the manifestation of such feelings from white people. I am sure many native Churchmen could easily give instances of the same sort of thing. I meant to repeat the offence, if offence it is to worship God and attend service with white people to hear His word. But the genial parish priest saw me soon after this appeared in the paper, and although he did not agree with its spirit and advised me to ignore it, yet asked me for his sake, not to go there again, as it would cause him trouble! People would like to understand more what this unity of races in the Body of Christ means, for, as Mr. Nazo says, once more, natives cannot live by the bread of excellent theories alone, however excellent they are. - I am, etc.,

H. MTOBI."

* 'district' in the original. A printing error.

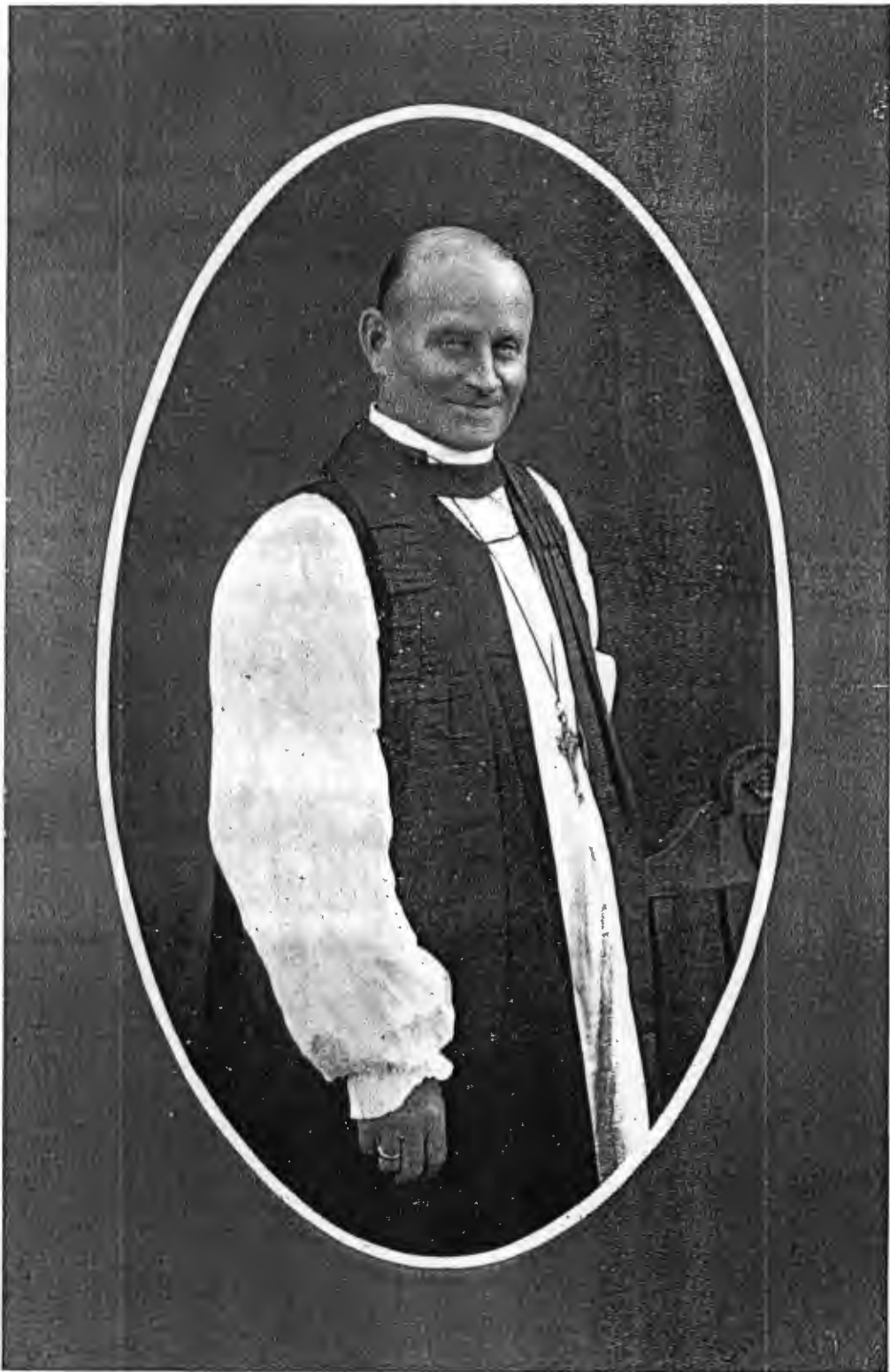
To the Editor --

"Dear Sir, - It is once in a life time that we hear of 'Auld Horney' attending a place of worship. I am told he attended the Episcopal Church last evening in the flesh. Now, I have never heard of a Kafir attending service with white people, and in the old Government's time he would never have risked it either but it shows how fast they are advancing in civilisation since the fools of English took over the country. There are not greater fools than them who have been trying to civilise Kafirs for the last 100 years, and they are worse today than they were before they started. I wonder that some of the congregation did not kick the intruder out of the church. Now some may say

that this was a Christian kafir. I myself have never come across one in my travels by flood or field. I do hope the church will be thoroughly fumigated before it is used again for worship. Kafirs attending that church will not, I think increase its membership, its attendance, or its income. I should like to ask you, Mr Editor, if Kafirs attending that church pay anything towards the parson's stipend, and if so, how much? Thanking you in anticipation. Yours very truly,

COSMOPOLITE."

[There is, we think nothing to be gained by giving the name of the paper in which the above letter was published. The cutting containing it lies before us, dated 2nd September, 1907. -- Ed., "Church Chron."]



The Most Rev. William Marlborough Carter, D.D.

BISHOP OF ZULULAND, 1881.

BISHOP OF PRETORIA, 1902.

ARCHBISHOP OF CAPE TOWN, 1909.

Cometh the Hour, Cometh the Man

Eton's Gift to South Africa¹

Carter and the largely expatriate hierarchy of the CPSA located their loyalty firmly within the British Empire. Negatively it led to an attitude of superiority towards everyone else and paternalism towards the indigenous people. Positively it enabled them to approach the problems of the land with a certain objectivity whilst encouraging a commitment to what was best in the English system of justice and democracy.

Although the Church of the Province of South Africa had established its ecclesiastical autonomy in 1870 it still came out in a rash of loyalty to 'Crown and Country' from time to time. One such occasion was when Viscount Buxton was appointed the governor-general in 1915. At the Provincial Synod held in that year a "Message of Welcome to His Excellency the Governor General, together with a Loyal Address to His Majesty the King" introduced the proceedings in the presence of State dignitaries, including members of Parliament and judges.² Even twenty years later a similar message of welcome was sent to the newly appointed Earl of Clarendon with a loyal address to His Majesty the King.³ In the 1915 Address the Synod assured the governor-general of the prayers of the Church and asked him to convey an expression

1 Subtitle of Hogarth, O.J. and White, R.L.: *The Life of William Marlborough Carter, Third Archbishop of Cape Town* (Paignton: Horsham Printers 1952).

2 At the 1915 Synod the following were present during the opening proceedings: "The Administrator of the Cape (Sir Frederick de Waal), Rear-Admiral King Hall, Major-General Thompson, the Chief Justice (the Rt Hon Sir James Rose-Innes), Sir William Solomon, Mr Justice Searle, Mr Justice Gardiner, The Speaker of the House of Assembly (Sir James Molteno) and the members of the House of Assembly for the City of Cape Town." *Acts and Resolutions of the Eighth Provincial Synod (1915), of the Province of South Africa* (Cape Town: English Church House 1915), p.18. After 1915 the Church seems to have had a less cosy relationship with the State as we do not find that dignitaries and members of Government are officially welcomed at any of the subsequent Provincial Synods.

3 cf. *Acts and Resolutions of the Twelfth Provincial Synod 1935* (Cape Town Provincial Registry 1935) pp.22,23.

of the loyal devotion of the members of Synod to the "King's Person and Throne". A growing concern for race relations in South Africa is reflected in the sentence:

It is our earnest prayer at all times that under your Majesty's rule the Church of this Province may contribute its share towards lasting union and concord among all races in this land.

Carter's election as Archbishop was a struggle which itself presaged the struggle of the CPSA with itself to accept that it was no longer the 'English' Church but the Church of the Province of South Africa. Fortunately the veil of secrecy which shrouds the election of the bishops of the Province is lifted in Carter's case by his biographers, Hogarth and White. They tell of the futile search for someone from England to succeed West-Jones as leader of the 'English' Church in South Africa.⁴ Strongest among the candidates in the first ballot were Campbell, Bishop of Glasgow and Hoskyns of Southwell. Campbell was elected, but was turned down by the bishops of the Province as too deaf for the job. Taken aback, the Assembly tried again and came up with Hoskyns. This time the election was supported by the bishops, but turned down by Hoskyns on the grounds that he was too old for the honour. Three other candidates, all from England, were then approached by the bishops to whom the task of finding an archbishop had now been delegated. They all in turn declined the offer, no doubt conscious of the distance from 'Home', the complex nature of the ex-colony and the demanding nature of the office. Finally, a month after the process began, William Marlborough Carter, who had been Bishop of Zululand (1891-1902) and Pretoria from 1902, was the unanimous choice of the bishops. He accepted and was enthroned as Bishop of Cape Town and Metropolitan of the Church of the Province of South Africa in St. George's Cathedral on the Feast of SS. Philip and James, Saturday afternoon, 1 May 1909.

4 Hogarth and White: *Life of Carter*.

For the first time the CPSA had elected one from its own ranks to the most senior position in the Church. Peter Hinchliff comments on Carter's election as Archbishop: "By this time he was no longer particularly young⁵... he was a product of a new Church life and his episcopate had made him also a product of the new South Africa."⁶ While Bishop of Zululand he had taken the trouble to learn Zulu and became the first and only archbishop before Desmond Tutu to know an African language. By choosing someone from South Africa, albeit not a South African,⁷ the CPSA, somewhat reluctantly, was forced to recognise that it was taking root in South African soil.

Bishop Gray had asserted the ecclesiastical independence of the Church from the Church of England and its link with the English State and Privy Council. In 1870, as a result of the controversy between Gray and Colenso, the Anglican Church had become 'The Church of the Province of South Africa' although it tended to use that as an alternative to the title 'English Church'. It had gained the right to organise its own life without interference from England. During Carter's time it came to realise that its life was bound up with the life of the people and the country, that it was becoming indigenous. We find then that Carter called for indigenous ministry, started a seminary for 'coloured' men (St. Austin's) in the Cape Diocese and insisted that the Church should be less dependent on financial assistance from England. 'The Church of the Province of South Africa' became its title and its calling; 'The English Church' more of a designation of its origins than of its nature. From this point of view those who wanted to remain members of 'The Church of England' in South Africa became sidelined.

5 Carter was born in 1850 so was 59 in 1909.

6 Hinchliff, Peter: *The Anglican Church in South Africa* (London: Darton Longman and Todd 1963) p.197ff.

7 In 1974 Bill Burnett would become the first South African born Metropolitan. They have all been South African born since.

In the histories of the CPSA Carter is remembered chiefly as a good administrator and unifier of the CPSA at the time of the Union of the four provinces. Peter Hinchliff devotes only one paragraph to Carter as Metropolitan in which he comments that Carter's principal contribution to the CPSA was to bring coherence.

Carter gave the Church the same enthusiastic coherence he had already brought to the dioceses of Pretoria and Zululand. It was a happy coincidence that a man with such an ideal of a united provincial life and administration should have been archbishop at the very moment when South Africa became a single state.⁸

In his history of the CPSA, B.T. Page gives even less space to Carter, dealing with his contribution in one sentence. "He ... had been responsible for sound constructive organisation in Zululand and, more particularly in the Diocese of Pretoria."⁹ Lewis and Edwards, who compiled the historical records of the CPSA, for which Carter had called, are much more fulsome in their appreciation and praise of Carter:

It is impossible to estimate what the character of Archbishop Carter has meant to the Church of the Province of South Africa - a man "greatly beloved". As the Bishop of Pretoria wrote:

He has embodied the Christian virtues implied in the Beatitudes. When that has been said there is little left to say.¹⁰

Lewis and Edwards go on to list Carter's considerable contribution in promoting Christian education, encouraging religious orders, supporting institutions for the disadvantaged and disabled and other efforts made to address the social issues in the Diocese of Cape Town.¹¹ They note the spirit of goodwill which he engendered in the

8 Hinchliff: *Anglican Church in South Africa*, p.198.

9 Page, B.T.: *The Harvest of Good Hope* (London: SPCK 1947) p.78. The book was written at the request of the bishops of the Province to commemorate the centenary of the consecration of Robert Gray. One looks in vain for 'Carter' in the index.

10 Lewis and Edwards: *Historical Records*, p.141ff.

11 Amongst the institutions started in his time were St. John's Hostel for boys, the Marion Institute for "non-European factory girls" and the Athlone School for the Blind which catered for black and 'coloured' blind children.

Diocese and the high regard in which he was held in the wider Christian community. Mention is also made of his concern for the "development of the native races".¹² Pastoral and social concerns led Carter to invite a number of religious communities to work in South Africa. These included the Community of the Resurrection, the Wantage Sisters, the Cowley Fathers and the Sisters of Bethany. He encouraged the formation of an order of deaconesses, and the training of women missionaries.

While Carter was certainly a good administrator and organiser those were by no means his most abiding contributions to the CPSA. Unity was central to Carter's concern as Archbishop. Even more central was the unity of the people of South Africa in Christ and the ordering of the life of the country in accordance with the demands of the Kingdom of God. As Archbishop he was known and has been remembered for his ecumenical heart, his eirenic spirit and his principled and persistent opposition to legislation which sought to discriminate. Regarding the latter his vision was not as clear, nor his opposition as strong, as that of a number of his successors. Initially clouded by a British imperialist perspective which saw perfect humanity as white, English-speaking and educated, preferably in a good public school, Carter's vision was slowly adjusted by forces from within and from without. From within, his Christian formation in the Anglo-Catholic mould influenced by the Christian Socialist tradition instructed his attitude to the Church's role in society. From without, his sympathy for the Afrikaner on the one hand and his attempts to seek justice for the African and other disadvantaged races on the other, helped him see more clearly what God was calling him and the CPSA to do.

Although firmly located within the Empire the CPSA had very cordial relations with the spiritual mentors of the Afrikaners, the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK). In spite of kindly criticism about the 'Englishness' of the Anglican

12 Lewis and Edwards: *Historical Records*, p.141ff.

Church on the part of the NGK, and increasing disillusionment with the Afrikaner Nationalist Party and its policies on the part of the CPSA, relations remained cordial throughout Carter's archiepiscopate. Immediately after the Act of Union there was a sincere desire on the part of the CPSA to work for the unity of the white Churches. This sentiment was expressed in the Pastoral Letter addressed to the Clergy and Faithful in February 1910. It hoped that the two bodies would co-operate

without any sacrifice of principle on either side, but with full anticipation of the possibility of opportunities arising in the future enabling us to work with them in causes which may strengthen the Christian character of our new form of government; and establish firmly those principles which we earnestly desire to see prevailing in the administration of our Country.¹³

Provincial synods of the Anglican Church were held in the NGK Synod Hall in Cape Town. Greetings and good wishes were conveyed to the Synod by representatives of the DR Church. Friendly critical comment of the Anglican Church by the NGK was printed in *The Church Chronicle*. But towards the end of the period the relationship began to sour. Political and economic self-interest, powerful as they are, were not stronger than the Christian ethical imperatives and the theological pressures. Afrikaners could and would find divine sanction for segregation in a selective usage of the Bible and a convenient interpretation of neo-Calvinism. English-speakers generally, and Anglicans in particular, had to contend with the uncomfortable and challenging tradition of liberalism, a strong stream of Christian socialism in the Church of England and the influence of High Church Incarnational theology. Such pressures were especially strong within the leadership of the Church which led to a separation of the ways of the Anglican Church and the increasingly dominant Afrikaner Nationalist and racist political policies.

13 A Pastoral Letter, "Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa to the Faithful Clergy and Laity of the Church", February 1910 (Cape Town: English Church House 1910) p.7.

But Carter did not single out Afrikaners when he reproved the legislators and disagreed with the laws. Anglicans themselves were no angels in their attitudes to the 'natives'. Self-interest and the desire for 'safety first' were identified by Carter as characteristic of many Anglicans who were also ignorantly opposed to mission work and missionaries generally. Correctly Carter castigated whites for their fear-driven politics and did not single out Afrikaners as the culprits.

In coming into conflict with the State, Carter was leading the Anglican Church into a new and unfamiliar relationship with the governing authorities. Anglican instinct, as a Church formed by an establishment mentality, was to be obedient to the governing authorities as instituted by God. Carter asserted that the Kingdom of God was the divine order which ruled over all the kingdoms of this world and it was to the Kingdom of God that the Church owed its primary allegiance.

Theological Influences

In this section I shall examine three strands in the theological formation of Carter: Anglo-Catholicism, Christian Socialism and the universalism of F.D. Maurice.

"Carter belonged very definitely to the Tractarian tradition."¹⁴ Indeed he did, both in formation and conviction, but he was not a narrow and bigoted High Churchman. In fact at times he sounded like a Broad Churchman and he was accepted as a representative of all the English-speaking Churches in their dealings with the Government. In many of his pronouncements one detects the strong influence of Christian Socialism in its milder manifestations. Another influence which is implicit in his perspective is that of F.D. Maurice which one finds reflected in the centrality of the Kingdom of God in his critique of socio-political issues. Frequently and increasingly

14 Hinchliff: *Anglican Church in South Africa*, p.190.

in the course of his term in office Carter's charges to diocesan and provincial synods showed that his point of reference for the witness and work of the Church was the Kingdom of God.

Another theme which echoed Maurice was the priority of the spiritual in which the concept of the 'brotherhood of man' was regarded as almost axiomatic. Christ was the one in whom this spiritual reality was expressed as the revelation of God's purpose and the Church was there to serve the Kingdom of God: this was central to the arguments in Maurice's two volume *The Kingdom of Christ*.¹⁵ Maurice's influence is also reflected in the eirenic ecumenism of Carter. As his ecumenical contact was mainly with Protestant churches its motivation did not emanate from his Anglo-Catholicism. Its roots lay elsewhere, partly in his personality, but also, I would suggest, in the spirituality and theology of Maurice.

A product of Eton and Oxford, Carter came with the elitist formation and credentials of those who formed the stratum just below the British aristocracy. But while this made him at ease in genteel company Carter's upper class perspective was tempered and changed by his Christian convictions, theological formation and pastoral experience. Educated at Oxford he was influenced by the Anglo-Catholic movement which strove for the renewal of the Anglican Church through the recovery of its Catholic life and doctrine. Like so many others enthused with the theological emphasis of the Church as the extension of the Incarnation and of the ministry as sharing in the sacrifice of Christ for the world, he went willingly and expectantly to work in areas which more respectable and ambitious clergy avoided, the working class districts in the East End of London. His first curacy was in one of the poor parishes in the gift of Eton in the London suburb of West Bromwich where, legend has it, he was instrumental in starting a soccer team which later became the well-known English first

15 Maurice, F.D.: *The Kingdom of Christ Vols. I & II* (London: Macmillan and Co. 1891).

division side West Bromwich Albion. Next he went to the East London parish of Hackney Wick among railway workers, dock labourers, factory workers and their families. Again he gave himself to the people and the parish with great energy and dedication. As a result of his organisational ability and leadership the mission grew. In the parishes in which he served he was greatly loved as someone who cared for all. Before his call to be Bishop of Zululand, 'Billy' Carter tested his vocation to the religious life with the Cowley Fathers. After some months at Cowley House he came to the conclusion that his vocation did not lie in a religious community.¹⁶

Carter's formation was, therefore, very much in the Anglo-Catholic tradition of involvement in the slum parishes as an expression of the Incarnation. Anglo-Catholic theology taught that the Church, as the extension of the Incarnation, was the Body of Christ in the world. Members of the Church witnessed to the dignity which God had restored to humankind in Jesus Christ. In the East End of London Anglo-Catholics conveyed this understanding of the Church as the very presence of Christ in the community by emphasising the numinous quality of worship ceremonial. Carter was part of that renewal of doctrine and life in his own ministry in West Bromwich and Hackney Wick. However he was flexible, prepared to respond to developments in theology, sensitive and, when leader of the CPSA careful not to be seen to be too one-sided. When cross-examined in the case in which the Church of England in South Africa claimed that Bishopscourt legally belonged to them and not the CPSA he upheld the Catholic nature of the Church but not in an exclusive way.¹⁷ While he was

16 Hogarth and White: *Life of Carter*, Chapter 1 'Early Days' tells of Carter's ministry in the East end of London and his testing of his vocation with the Cowley Fathers.

17 Cf. Hinchliff: *Anglican Church in South Africa*, pp.221-225. Because Phelps was consecrated bishop in South Africa and not in England, the Church of England in South Africa refused to recognise him as a successor to Bishop Gray. The congregation of Holy Trinity in Cape Town decided to test Phelps' claim to be a successor to Gray in the Supreme Court. They also contested the right of the CPSA to Bishopscourt, the dwelling of the Archbishop, and the Colonial Bishopric Fund which was established by Baroness A. Burnett-Carter to fund the new colonial bishopric. In the case to claim Bishopscourt the CESA argued that the CPSA was antagonistic towards the evangelical tradition.

not prepared to say that the Anglican Church was 'Protestant' he acknowledged that it was evangelical. Questioned about his membership of rather narrow Anglo-Catholic organisations, such as the Servants of the Sanctuary and the Church Union, he said that he had never been deeply involved in those organisations and had ended his membership when he became Archbishop. When Carter was asked to become Bishop of Zululand he was being asked to go into a missionary situation as one who had shown himself committed and competent as a missionary, not in the traditional evangelical, but in the Catholic sense of the word. Carter felt Christian mission was one of the main tasks of the Church, not only to encourage individual conversion and pious preparation for paradise, but as an expression of God's identification in Christ with the whole world and all in the world.

Closely associated with Anglo-Catholicism was the influence of Christian Socialism. Christian Socialism in the Anglican tradition can be traced back to the mid-nineteenth century when a small but active group of Anglican clergy became aware of the exploitation of labour during the Industrial Revolution.¹⁸ "Some Anglo-Catholics, especially in slum parishes, became Christian Socialists."¹⁹ The Chartist Movement drew "... a group of churchmen who realised that the Gospel of Christ must have something better to say to the working people than what the official Church was saying".²⁰ Gifted and intelligent, their writings, like those of the Tractarians, spread their message. John Malcolm Ludlow who was the activist and strategist of the movement was the one who sought to build while Frederick Denison Maurice was the one who dug the theological foundations. Ludlow had spent time with the French

18 Vidler, Alec: *The Church in an Age of Revolution: 1789 to the Present Day* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Pelican Books Ltd. 1961) has a chapter (Chapter 8) on the Christian Social Movement. Although it had support among clergy of various persuasions within the Anglican Church towards the end of the century its support came mainly from High Churchmen.

19 Vidler, A.R.: Article on "Anglo-Catholicism" in Richardson, Alan and Bowden, John (eds.) *A New Dictionary of Christian Theology* (London: SCM Press 1983).

20 Vidler: *Church in an Age of Revolution*, p.95.

socialists and social Catholics in France and supported the French revolution of 1848. With Maurice he opposed the *laissez faire* capitalist mindset of the commercial and industrial order in England and the Church's acquiescence to it.²¹ In addition to providing a theological base for Christian Socialism Maurice sought to restore dignity by offering opportunities for upliftment. Practical projects, the best known of which is Maurice's Working Men's College, sought to improve the opportunities for working men by providing them with education. Maurice's Christian Socialism did not seek to give power or equality to the people but justice, and opportunities for development.

When Carter was at Oxford, High Churchmen and Christian Socialists began to make common cause, although they were not always in agreement theologically. In 1877 Stewart Headlam founded the Guild of St. Matthew which sought to combine socially conscious Tractarians and Christian Socialists of the Maurice/Ludlow school. In 1889 the Christian Social Union (CSU) was founded to support the Christian Socialist cause, but from a more academic and less activist angle. Henry Scott Holland, one of the founders of the CSU and a contributor to the controversial book of essays *Lux Mundi*, was the most senior priest, next to the Archbishop of Canterbury, present at the consecration of William Carter as Bishop of Zululand in St Paul's Cathedral, London on Michaelmas Day (October 29) 1891.²² Scott Holland is described by R.S. Inglis in *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England* as "at the centre of the movement to make the Church of England aware of its social mission".²³

Carter expressed his admiration for and agreement with Scott Holland in his Charge to the Provincial Synod held in November 1924 when he characteristically

21 Vidler: *Church in an Age of Revolution*, p.97ff.

22 Hogarth and White: *Life of Carter*, p.6

23 Inglis, R.S.: *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England* (Routledge and Kegan, Paul 1963) p.262f.

reminded Synod that their primary task was to "seek first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness". In seeking the Kingdom the Church would rely on its own resources. He quoted Scripture, as he often did: "Let this mind be in you which was in Christ Jesus." And commented: "This must be always everywhere, the mind of the Church, and it is the mind we must try to bring to bear upon all our discussions." But he did not see that mind as static, formed and fixed by Scripture and tradition. It was a mind which "... must always be ready to meet the circumstances of the age and of the time". It is in connection with the new challenges that he quoted Scott Holland.

Forty years ago or so Henry Scott Holland wrote in the wonderful sermon of his on St. Michael, 'A whole Society is remaking itself. The life of an entire people is shifting, and resetting its assumptions, its habits, its landmarks.' If this were true forty years ago, how much more it is so now. ... We believe that the old can be brought to bear upon the new, that the Church can always adopt(sic) itself to new and changing conditions - the truth, the same always, but the truth meeting these new conditions and making use of them.²⁴

When one examines the underlying assumptions in the theology of Carter's charges one detects the influence of Maurice and the Christian Socialists. Every time Carter analysed the relationship between Church and State he used the model of the Kingdom of God, a concept central to Maurice's theology. In his two volume exposition of the Kingdom of Christ, Maurice asserted the priority of the spiritual as expressed in the "universal constitution into which men might enter" which transcended all national societies and Church organisations. Maurice came to this conclusion as a result of his experience of the divisions caused by Christianity within his own family and through his concern about the divisions of class within English society which denied the nature of the Christian ideal of the unity of humankind. In Maurice's experience, calls for the restoration of the unity of humankind came from the proletariat:

24 "Forty years ago" Carter was priest in charge of Hackney Wick in the East End of London trying to interpret the Gospel to the working classes. cf. Hogarth and White: *Life of Carter*, p.2ff.

... We found the most eager and passionate demands for a universal constitution into which men as men might enter, occupying not religious, not philosophical men, but labourers, handicraftsmen, serfs.²⁵

Out of the experience of the denial of God's purpose for the unity of humankind came the affirmation of that unity. In theological language the cross of Christ experienced by the poor and oppressed was seen to confront and convert. For Maurice, unity was not created by the cross, but discovered in the cross as the denial of the unity. Opposed to the brotherhood were those who regarded the blacks as inferior and ineducable. In his first volume of *The Kingdom of Christ* Maurice wrote:

... the spiritual and universal society must be involved in the very idea of our human constitution, nay rather, must be that constitution, by virtue of which we realise that there is a humanity, that we form a kind. But supposing this to be the case, may not we suppose that this constitution has been gradually making itself known to men as civilisation has advanced; and when it has been diffused more widely, each man will feel and understand his place in it - rightly and harmoniously exercising those spiritual powers which fit him for living in it; and suffering his neighbour without molestation, nay, kindly assisting him to exercise his; that in this way, those strifes and oppositions which have hindered men from cheerfully co-operating with each other, will gradually cease, and peace and good will become general ... that the character of this constitution has been revealed to us in an inspired book; and that it is ruled over by a divine Person?²⁶

Maurice's priority of the spiritual and universal society lay very much at the heart of Carter's arguments for the Church's right to be involved in social and political issues.

Like Maurice, Carter spoke of the "brotherhood of man" as a fundamental given in the understanding of the unity of all humankind. It was not a brotherhood engineered by the Church, but one acknowledged by the Church. So in his Charge to Provincial Synod in January 1915 Carter said: "There must spring up in us a deeper and more real sense of the brotherhood of man."

25 Maurice: *Kingdom of Christ*, Vol 1, p.251.

26 Maurice: *Kingdom of Christ*, p.252.

Carter's justification for the Church's involvement in socio-political issues is perhaps most clearly stated in a letter addressed to the members of the Diocese of Cape Town before the Diocesan Synod in October 1926. One of the reasons for his comments was criticism of the intervention of English bishops and leaders of the Free Churches in England on the side of striking coal miners. He was attempting to preempt negative criticism at the forthcoming Synod. The letter was entitled 'The Church and the Body Politic'. Carter wrote:

It has been said on the one side that the Church should look after its own affairs, and not meddle with matters which do not immediately concern it, and that bishops and ministers can know little of economic matters, and consequently should abstain from interfering in them. This might be true if such questions were merely economic, but none of them are this entirely. There is a human and a spiritual side to every one of them and it is this side which it seems to me to be the duty of the Church to present and bring forward.²⁷

Carter criticised the *laissez faire* doctrine popular at the time which assumed that economic forces were as inexorable and unchangeable as the laws of physics.

For Carter, as for Maurice, the affirmation of the doctrine of the 'brotherhood of man', of the fundamental unity of humankind was forged out of the experience of the denial of that unity. One of the most sobering and shattering experiences of the denial of that unity was the First Great War. In the first provincial synod after the War Carter made an impassioned appeal for brotherhood. One of the other socio-political factors which focused the issue of unity of humankind for Carter was his wrestling with the 'Native Problem'. The 'natives' would in fact remind him of their humanity and challenge his paternalistic and class conformed attitudes.

27 Letter printed in *The Church Chronicle*, 14 October 1926.

Carter a 'Friend of the Natives'

Often in the literature and statements of this period we read of the 'natives' being referred to as 'children' by whites who have their interests at heart. Carter also regarded the 'natives' as children and he called on all Europeans to be their guardian against the corruption of their own culture and the baser elements in his own. In spite of this prejudice he believed and advocated ardently that Africans had to be heard and heeded if there was to be peace and harmony in South Africa. They should not just be told what to do, they should not be used and abused for the benefit of the European. Carter saw them as children in the sense that they were unsophisticated, uncultured, uneducated and dependent, but they were children of God.

By the 1920's Africans were becoming the largest racial component in the Anglican Church. Census figures for the year 1921 gave a numerical racial breakdown of 'Anglican Church Adherents by dioceses'.²⁸ Africans were not listed by diocese but by province. Only the Diocese of Bloemfontein had comparative figures and those reveal that in the Diocese, which included Basutoland, there were 54,059 Africans, 13,705 whites, 2,8547 'coloureds' and 65 Asiatics who were adherents. Overall, whites made up slightly more than 50 per cent of adherents in the Transvaal (98,049 to a combined non-white membership of 95,437) and in Natal (52,193 to 51,349) and less than 50 per cent in the Cape Province (127,189 to 188,335). Quoting what may be the same source, Carter gave the following figures of membership in his Charge to the Provincial Synod in 1924.

... there are in the Union about 294,000 Europeans who designate themselves in the census as belonging to the English Church, 289,573 Natives, 18,304 Asiatics,²⁹ and 127,183 of mixed race, all of these belong to our Church in name at any rate.³⁰

28 *The Church Directory of the CPSA (1928-1933)*.

29 In the text of *The Church Chronicle*, in which the charge is printed, the figure for Asiatics is given as 81,304 which is clearly erroneous.

30 *The Church Chronicle*, 13 November 1924, p.772.

In the same Charge Carter drew the attention of Synod to the fact that in terms of the general population Africans were in a proportion of four to one in relation to whites (4,697,813 to 1,1519,488). He stated that politicians would come and go, and by implication their policies were transitory, but not so the Church which was entrusted with proclaiming the Kingdom of God and his righteousness and had to be instrumental in forming "a higher public opinion" in accordance with the requirements of the Kingdom.

That Carter shared the general conviction of the leadership of bishops, clergy and leading lay people is clear from his charges. Distinctive development was seen as a necessary, but not final, step in their development. Thus Carter could say: "The fact that white and black are dependent on each other is not incompatible with the putting into effect - no doubt in a greatly modified form - of the principle of segregation or differential treatment."³¹ Carter regarded such separation as 'expedient' in the Church's ministry to the 'natives'. In his Charge to the Cape Town Diocesan Synod in 1927 he supported "distinct European and non-European congregations in which each and all take a real living interest, exercise fairly their membership of Christ, and have a real voice in the management of their own affairs".³² And so until 1995 African work in the Diocese of Cape Town was distinct even in parishes where 'coloureds' and whites shared facilities and made much of the non-racial nature of the Church.

There were two issues on which Carter, with the leadership of the Church, stood firm. These were the franchise rights and the land rights of Africans. Attempts by the Government to reduce the land which Africans could own and the votes which Africans could exercise were seen as contrary to what was just and right. If there had been enough land to share between black and white the Church and its leadership

31 "A Statement of the Episcopal Synod of the Church of the Province of South Africa concerning Native Legislation" printed in *The Church Chronicle*, 9 December 1926, pp.887.

32 Report in *The Church Chronicle*, 10 November 1927, p.355.

would almost certainly not have complained. Nor was the Church liberal enough to allow blacks to dominate the elections as the Afrikaner politicians realised with frightening clarity. Carter was in favour of a franchise of the type which was exercised in Bechuanaland and the Transkei in the election of 'Native councils'. At the same time the Church made much of black participation, on an equal footing with whites, in the synods of the Church and suggested that it provided a standard for the secular politicians to emulate.

A similar ambivalence is detected in the advocacy of separate congregations, dioceses and a separate 'native episcopate'. Often one reads of support in practice, but when it came to the principle there was hesitation. How could the Church be truly Catholic if it was divided into separate sections? In meetings of black clergy Anglican participants argued against the formation of separate Church organisations for blacks within the historic Churches. They reasoned that such Churches should be established, but that they should be open to whites! Carter reflected this ambivalence by supporting segregation in practice, but being against it in principle.

Carter was certainly not an activist or revolutionary. Benign by nature he seemed to believe that he was the leader of a benign institution which was there to benefit all humankind. For that reason Carter felt the CPSA should not get involved in party politics and he stated emphatically that no ordained person should belong to a political party. What this meant in practice was that the Church stayed out of black politics with its agitation and aligned itself with the white politics of control.

Yet, in spite of all the efforts to remain in control, Carter's position was constantly challenged by his contact with black Christians and leaders. Whenever he returned from one of the conferences organised by the Federal Council of the NGK he expressed a renewed conviction that blacks were more advanced, more moderate,

more articulate and more agitated than whites thought they were. For instance, after attending an NGK organised conference on 'the native question', he wrote to *The Cape Times*:

There are no people in the world who have a greater sense of justice, and who show a more reasonable spirit, than the native people of this country ...³³

1910-1924 - Compromised Catholicity

"It is not the one in the boot factory who knows where the shoe pinches but the one who has to wear it."

"We want to see the day when colour alone is not the only passport to places of trust, honour and emoluments. We want a man to pass for what he is worth to the community in which he lives."

Political Patterns and Programmes

When the Afrikaner Republics and the British signed the Treaty of Vereeniging they ensured that the Africans would not have any effective political power in the conquered territories. British High Commissioner Alfred Milner and his 'Kindergarten' proceeded to promote immigration from Britain to implement their policy of establishing a British controlled Dominion of South Africa. Milner's policy failed for three reasons: lack of British settler interest, a change in Government in England which brought the Liberal Party to power, and a surge of Afrikaner nationalism in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony.

While Milner tried to consolidate British dominance the Afrikaner re-grouped and consolidated politically. In the first elections in the Transvaal after the Treaty of Vereeniging the *Het Volk* party of Generals Louis Botha and Jan Christiaan Smuts won 37 of the 69 seats in the February 1907 elections for the Legislative Assembly. Afrikaner victory in the Orange River Colony, which received self-government in June 1907, was even more decisive. Of the 38 seats in the legislature, 30 went to the *Oranje Unie*. When therefore the former colonies decided to unite, the Afrikaner's aspirations would be pre-eminent. Among those was a determination to exclude the blacks from any political or economic power in the Union of South Africa. Three of the Provinces of the new Union excluded blacks from political franchise. In the Cape

Colony the franchise remained as it was before Union with a qualified franchise for blacks on a common voters' roll. Attempts by the various black congresses to influence the British Liberal Government to stem the tide of restrictive legislation and protest against the draft of the South Africa Bill would prove futile.

When the Selborne¹ Memorandum recommended that there be a unitary rather than a federal system for the union of the colonies, black and 'coloured' dismay gave way to desperation. Blacks feared that the predominance of the Afrikaner in any unitary state would lead to the exclusion of blacks from the voters' roll and therefore from having any share in political power. In November 1907 members of the South African National Native Congress (SANNC) - the forerunner of the African National Congress - and the African Political Organisation (APO) attended a protest meeting in Queenstown. John Jabavu did not participate as he regarded these organisations as too radical. He believed that the whites would not be as dastardly as the SANNC and the APO suspected, but would do the gentlemanly thing by extending the Cape franchise to the other colonies. He and his followers met in January 1908 and welcomed the proposed union or federation of the colonies, as they believed that it would bring them all under the enlightened influence of the Liberal Government in England.

White attitudes hardened. Afrikaner nationalists strengthened their power base with the formation of the National Party in 1914 and the Afrikaner Broederbond in 1918. Afrikaner business organised itself to protect Afrikaner economic interests. SANLAM (Suid Afrikaanse Nasionale Lewens Assuransie Maatskapy) was formed. English-speaking white workers sought an alliance with their white Afrikaner counterparts in opposing both English establishment capitalism and the threat which cheap black labour presented for the preservation of white jobs. So it came about that

1 Selborne was Milner's successor as High Commissioner of the Cape in 1905.

after considerable labour unrest, especially the 1922 Strike, white labourites and Afrikaner nationalists joined forces to win the 1924 elections and form the PACT Government. Ousting the white English establishment accelerated the implementation of policies of racial segregation in the political field and the control of the black labour force.

Three enactments ensured that blacks were maintained and contained as a labour force to drive the white-owned economy.² Shortly after Union the mine bosses sought to solve the difficulty of persuading blacks to leave their land and work on the mines by importing Chinese labourers. To allay the fears of white workers the Chinese were restricted to manual labour. After the repatriation of the last of the indentured Chinese labour in 1910 a legacy of control was left which was promptly applied to blacks. In 1911 the Mines and Works Act introduced job reservation in the mines and on the railways. Reservation of land for whites was the next step. Two years after the Mines and Works Act came the notorious Native Land Act of 1913 which restricted black ownership of land to 7 per cent of the surface area of South Africa. Herded together in reserves, deprived of the right to be share-croppers on white farms, blacks were compelled to become landless labourers outside the reserves. With blacks moving to the towns and cities further legislation was required to regulate their lives in white areas. Local authorities were required to provide housing in what became known as 'locations'. Passes controlled the presence of blacks in white South Africa. Blacks would only be allowed in municipal areas "for as long as their presence [was] required by the wants of the white population".³ In these and other ways the lives of black people were controlled in white areas according to the provisions of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923. Three years earlier the Natives Affairs Act had

2 Oakes, Dougie (ed.) *Illustrated History of South Africa* (Cape Town: Readers Digest 1988) p.316.

3 Recommendation contained in the Transvaal Local Government Commission's Report of 1922. The notorious Stallard Report.

established district tribal councils for blacks which consisted of government-appointed members on "the principle of separate communally-based political representation for blacks".⁴ Economic and political foundations for segregation and selective utilisation of black human resources for white economic growth had been laid.

As a result of these developments the Church of the Province and the State found themselves on separate and conflicting courses. While generally in favour of segregation the bishops and senior clergy of the CPSA were concerned about justice in dealings with the 'natives'. But even their liberal segregationism was ambiguous as is evident in an editorial in *The Church Chronicle* in reaction to legislation before the Union Parliament to pave the way for the unification of the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerke of the four colonies. "Coloured persons and natives", *The Church Chronicle* noted with deep regret,⁵ were to be excluded from the proposed union of the NGKs. It emphasised that no such segregation would be countenanced in the CPSA in spite of attempts to set up separate missionary dioceses and segregated structures for blacks.⁶

At the meetings of the missionary conferences of the CPSA the bishops, including the Archbishop, were exposed to and influenced by the opinions, protests and aspirations of the black members of the Church. For it was only the missionary conferences that had a good proportion of blacks as the synods were dominated by the whites elected from parishes and dioceses.⁷ One looks in vain for a black face on

4 The 1920 Native Affairs Act in *Illustrated History of South Africa*, p.316.

5 Editorial in *The Church Chronicle*, 2 March 1911.

6 See Chapter 2, pp.4-19.

7 At the 1913 Provincial Missionary Conference there were 75 representatives and 8 bishops. All the bishops were white. Of the 75 representatives, 37 were black and 38 white. Of the blacks 15 were clergy and 22 lay. Of the whites 35 clergy and 7 lay. *The Church Chronicle*, 13 November 1913, p.377.

At the 1923 Provincial Missionary Conference there were "nearly all the Bishops of the Province". Of the 69 representatives 34 were white and 35 black. Of the clergy 33 were white and 16 black, of the laity 1 was white and 19 black. *The Church Chronicle*, 29 November 1923, p.376.

All the white clergy at Provincial Missionary Conference came from 'missionary parishes'. By contrast there were only 7 black representatives (4 clergy, 3 lay) out of 124 bishops,

photographs of the diocesan synods of the Diocese of Cape Town and one has to look carefully to find a black face on photographs of the Provincial Synod, although blacks were already in a majority in the membership of the Church.

Co-ordination and organisation of the pleas and protests of blacks by the newly formed South African National Native Council (SANNC), the development of 'Ethiopianism' in the formation of black independent Churches,⁸ the influence of black civil rights leaders and the formation of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) through the efforts of Clements Kadalie and George Champion, were all perceived by the secular authorities as a threat to white political and economic power.⁹ To counter these emerging black aspirations and agitations first the Union Government and then the Pact Government produced the basic sketch plans for a fortress to protect white political and economic power. (When the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948 it strengthened the foundations, extended the bastions and manned the battlements with its army, police and special branch.)

The Church and the Act of Union 1910

While there were a few Anglicans among the clergy and leading laity who opposed the draft Act of Union because of the exclusion of blacks from Parliament and the restrictions on the franchise, it appears that the majority in authority within the Church believed that the advantages far outweighed the disadvantages which the blacks would experience.

clergy and laity at the 1915 Provincial Synod. *The Church Chronicle*, 14 January 1915, p.10.

8 One of these independent sects, the Israelites, led by the 'prophet' Enoch Mgijima settled at Bulhoek near Queenstown as a refuge from oppression. They were gunned down by a detachment of police on 24 May 1921. The Bulhoek Massacre resulted in the killing of 183 members of the sect. *Illustrated History of South Africa*, p.326

9 Cf. "Revolt in the Countryside" in *Illustrated History of South Africa*, pp.320ff.

Shortly after the Archbishop's consecration he addressed a letter (dated 30th April, 1910) to the President of the National Convention, the Hon Sir J.H. de Villiers, protesting at "the restrictions which had been laid down in the Draft Act as to the position and the privileges of Coloured people and the Native Races in this Land".¹⁰ He and his co-signatories sought to convey the feelings and opinions of the 'coloureds' and 'natives' about the proposed discriminatory clauses in the Draft. They stated that in discussions that followed the publication of the Act "gravest dissatisfaction" was felt amongst 'coloureds' and blacks. One of the points at issue was the limitation of membership of the future Assembly to British subjects of European descent. The letter asked "on behalf of those for whom we write" that the limitation be removed from the Draft and that 'coloureds' and blacks should be granted the franchise to elect "if they should choose to do so, representatives of their own race, and thereby at once to remove the cause of just and serious irritation". It was regretted that the "principle of discrimination as to political privileges on the sole ground of race, or colour, should be openly asserted in the proposed Constitution of South Africa".

In an address presented in October 1909, to the Hon W.P. Schreiner at his chambers in Cape Town, Archbishop William Carter and leading Anglican clergy in the Cape expressed opposition to the colour discrimination in the Draft Act of Union.¹¹ Schreiner had just returned from London where he had been a member of the South African Native National Congress' (SANNC) and the African Political Organisation's (APO) delegation to the British Parliament to protest the racial restrictions. The address was signed by the Archbishop, the Dean of Cape Town, the Archdeacon of Cape Town "and about twenty clergy of the English Church in the

10 Copy printed in *The Church Chronicle*, 13 May 1909, p.168. The co-signatories were John James McClure D.D. (Ex-Moderator of the South African Presbyterian Church); Ramsden Balmforth (Minister of the Free Protestant - Unitarian - Church); Ernest Baker (President-elect of the Baptist Union of South Africa); Alexander Pitt (Acting President of the Evangelical Church Council, Cape Town) and George Robson (Wesleyan Minister, Cape Town).

11 Report in *Cape Times*, October 1909.

Peninsula". It expressed "intense appreciation" of Schreiner's action "in visiting England to guide and enforce the appeal to the Government and Parliament of Great Britain in reference to the colour disabilities embodied in the draft Act of Union of South Africa". It claimed that he expressed "the feelings of a very large number of ... fellow Europeans, who watched with distress and apprehension the fashioning of the Act along its present lines". Such sentiments were not shared by the Archbishop of Canterbury who supported the Draft Act in the House of Lords. He argued that the restrictions placed on the 'natives' were no more than the English would place on their children and that it would take generations before the blacks would be ready for an equal place with whites in government. Dr Abdullah Abdurahman is reported to have commented: "It is the most hypocritical piece of humbug I have ever listened to!"¹²

Official Anglican reaction to the draft Act was also outlined in an editorial in *The Church Chronicle*¹³ shortly before Union. One must assume that it expressed what can be taken to be the official misgivings of the Anglican hierarchy about the proposed political exercise. While recognising that the union of the four provinces was a sensible political act there were reservations about the restrictive nature of the Act. "The Act runs definitely on narrower lines than we think just and right, on narrower lines than we believe will prove to be wise." What, it asked, should the attitude of the Church be towards the Union of South Africa? "The Church must simply strive to make the Union of South Africa ever more and more real; real between the rival white races ... real by justice to the coloured and African races, so that they may feel that they have a recognised part and lot in the country, and can rise as they prove themselves worthy to rise." The Church wanted to keep the door open for fuller participation of the 'non-whites' in the life and government of the country. The State, it noted, had sadly excluded them from avenues which had been open to

12 Quoted in the article "Clutching at Straws" in the *Illustrated History of South Africa*, p.284.

13 *The Church Chronicle*, 26 January 1910.

them previously, such as the limited, but nevertheless real, voting rights that blacks enjoyed in the Cape Province before Union. The fact that an attempt had been made to unite the two white cultures into at least some form of political, social and economic union was welcomed but the Church warned that that union had a responsibility to bring the blacks into the Councils of the Nation. In his sermon at the special service in St George's Cathedral on Union Day, 31 May 1910, Archbishop Carter, speaking of South Africa, said:

It is a country in which not merely two great white races, each proud and justly proud, of their great traditions, have to work out their own salvation, but the salvation too of a race, in, as yet, a lower scale of civilisation, a race which outstrips them both very largely in numbers, which is developing fast, different in colour and nationality, the great mass of whom has no place as yet in the Council of the Nation. This country has a problem to solve ... and it has to solve it in justice and in the sight of God.¹⁴

In his Charge delivered to the Synod of the Diocese of Cape Town on October 13, 1910 the Archbishop made reference to the Act of Union. He saw in the Act of Union a challenge for the Church to unify itself so that it could bring stronger pressure to bear upon the political powers in all matters affecting the higher welfare of the people. He was particularly concerned that "the restrictions which press hardly upon some of the members of the less civilised races among us may be gradually removed".

No one can, I think, doubt that the Union of South Africa must in the long run tend to the country's good. Individual places, individual people, may perhaps suffer to some extent for a time; but if we look at the common good we cannot but think that the country as a whole will gain; and that in the end all the peoples in this land will benefit. One strong Government must be better than four comparatively weak Governments. But it means changes. And for these changes the Church must prepare itself. One change undoubtedly will be that the Church, as a whole, will be able to take more united action on moral and social questions, about which it is the Church's duty to concern itself. It certainly must tend to the unifying of the Church in empowering it to bring stronger pressure to bear upon "the powers that be" in all matters affecting the higher welfare of the people. Again, a strong Government can certainly give a greater liberty than a weak Government, which is actuated oftentimes, and necessarily, by fear. In this respect one result of Union may be, I hope, that some of the restrictions which press hardly upon some of the members of the

14 *The Church Chronicle*, 9 June 1910.

less civilised races amongst us may be gradually removed. But it is impossible to foresee what changes may be in store for this country and its people.¹⁵

During 1911 the Bishop of St John's expressed his misgivings about the Act of Union. In the Charge he delivered to his Synod on 2 July 1911, Joseph Williams, Bishop of St John's had the following to say:

But, however, we may welcome the political union of South Africa, we cannot overlook the defective provision made for the Natives outside the Cape Colony. It is obvious to say that the Act disparages them by a specific refusal of proper representation in the Central Parliament; it is also an admission, scarcely less than degrading to the older race, to confess so deplorable a failure where other Dominions of the Empire have had courage to succeed. We at least cannot admit that a Christian Nation can acquiesce permanently in the present compromise.¹⁶

His was a diocese in which Africans enjoyed good representation and participation in the diocesan synod and where the white missionaries were acquainted with the language and aspirations of the black people. An observer remarked that "it was good to see Europeans and natives sitting side by side and carrying on the debates with friendliness".¹⁷

In contrast with the reservations expressed by the Bishop of St. John's, the Bishop of Natal, Frederick Baines, expressed total confidence in the Government and exhorted his hearers to have the same:¹⁸

But I feel we can say with certainty that the English Church in South Africa, and not least the portion of it here in Natal, will be found a loyal supporter of the new regime, and that its prayer will often ascend to Almighty God that he will bless our land and its rulers. ... their great ambition is to build a strong, united, happy nation, serving God and loyal to the Empire of which it forms a part.¹⁹

15 The Archbishop's Charge in a Supplement to *The Church Chronicle*, 13 October 1910.

16 *The Church Chronicle*, 10 August 1911, p.213.

17 *The Church Chronicle*, 10 August 1911, p.216.

18 Charge to the Synod of Natal in *The Church Chronicle*, 30 September 1909, p.356.

19 Charge of the Bishop of Natal to the Synod of the Diocese of Natal, 29 August 1909. Reported in *The Church Chronicle*, 30 September 1909, p.356.

Perhaps the rest of the bench of bishops were not as concerned as the Metropolitan and his colleague from St. John's and more in sympathy with the Bishop of Natal. At Episcopal Synod in 1911 the only reference to the social or political life of the country was the need for the observance of one day in seven as a Day of Rest.²⁰ But one would like to think that the prominence given by *The Church Chronicle* to a leader in *The Church Times* reflected the feelings of most of the Anglican Church leaders. The leader entitled 'Black and white in South Africa' was a comment on the Act of Union and the Church's responsibility in the light of it. It regarded the attempt to keep all political power solely and permanently in the hands of whites as doomed to failure. Sooner or later, it was sure to produce "some frightful internal convulsion". It considered that the merely patronising and condescending treatment of blacks by whites could not long satisfy the two nations and would eventually fail. The strict separation brought about between black and white would accentuate race prejudices on both sides and increase disunion when the very office of the Church was to promote peace and harmony. It made a plea to the CPSA not to seek segregation of the African missionary work as had been proposed. Should the Church give way to the exclusiveness of the white man, South Africa, where black outnumbered white by six to one, would be lost to Christianity. On the other hand if the Church endeavoured to secure reasonable rights for the blacks, she would suffer much contumely and hatred, and would lose the white temporarily, but would yet be working for the ultimate peace and prosperity of the country. "As the guide and champion of the Black Man, the Church may win a glorious record in South Africa; as one of the discordant expressions of white ascendancy, it can have only a passing existence."²¹

20 *The Church Chronicle*, 16 November 1911, p.341. Whether this was because of the influence of the Bishop of Natal or whether it had a profound effect upon him we do not know. What we do know is that he devoted his entire Charge to the Diocesan Synod of 1911 to the subject.

21 *The Church Times*, 20 January 1911.

Two priests of the Province saw the implications of the racist base of the Act of Union for the State and the Church most clearly and called them to the attention of their constituency. The Revd William M. Mercer and the Revd Morris Hodson had both been missionaries, Mercer in the Diocese of Pretoria and Hodson in the Diocese of Natal. During 1911 William Mercer started a lively discussion in the correspondence columns of *The Church Chronicle* under the heading 'Limited Membership of the Church'.²² He opened it with this telling sentence in his first letter to *The Church Chronicle*: "It is pitiable to see an influential community of Christian people taking its tone from the retrograde and opportunist policy of the state". Speaking as an expatriate priest he wrote: "We have come to South Africa to learn that Christianity, in spite of its lofty idealism, has failed in its foundation doctrine, the Incarnation, to leaven any considerable body of Christians." He called upon Christians to unite in their protest against prejudice which, he was sad to see, had affected the life of the Church. Coloureds and Africans should not be debarred from churches or discriminated against. He feared that the CPSA was taking its standard from the deplorable state legislation which was based on distinctions of race and colour. He advocated inter-marriage as the solution to the racial question.²³ His cry was taken up by one who wrote under the pseudonym 'Senex'. He slammed the English for their "amazing insolence in things religious" which led them "to believe that heaven was reserved for themselves". He accused ninety per cent of Anglican clergy of being too cowardly to stand up in the pulpit and proclaim the truth that "the Catholic Church is the Mother of all nations, tongues and tribes ...".²⁴

The editor of *The Church Chronicle* commented that 'Senex' had hold of "an element of truth". The Church, he wrote, would have to choose between the praise of

22 *The Church Chronicle*, 2 March 1911, p.82.

23 *The Church Chronicle*, 2 March 1911, p.82.

24 *The Church Chronicle*, 13 April 1911, p.180.

God and the praise of man, and be content to lose the majority of the white population of the land in order to gain the dark races of Africa.²⁵

The Native Land Tenure Act

Amongst the leadership of the Church of the Province there were growing misgivings about the direction the new political dispensation in South Africa had taken. Fears that racism and exploitation of the blacks were driving the political machine were confirmed in 1913 with the promulgation of legislation entitled the Native Land Tenure Bill. It proved to be the first in a long line of legislation designed to strengthen the white man's hold on the land and to maintain blacks in a position of permanent subservience. The right to parcels of land occupied by Africans in the Free State and elsewhere was removed. It was a precursor to the Group Areas Act which had the effect of making the dispossessed Africans in the white areas utterly dependent on the farmers for a livelihood, reducing them to the status of farm labourers because they lost the right to their own land.

Some ambivalence characterised the Anglican Church's reaction to the Land Act. It did not reject it out of hand but cautiously expressed its reservations about it. Generally it was thought that there was merit in segregation. But where were the Africans ejected from the white areas to go? Restrictions placed upon the rights of Africans in white areas had to be matched with opportunities for education and development. There had been unseemly haste in implementing the provisions of the Bill before the Commission appointed to investigate its application had reported.²⁶

25 *The Church Chronicle*, 27 April 1911, p.140.

26 For the social, economic dislocation and physical suffering caused by the Act see Professor Francis Wilson's article "Farming 1866-1966" especially pp.126-131 in *The Oxford History of South Africa Vol.2* (Oxford 1975 edition). He identifies the political motivation for the Act as an attempt to ensure a cheap supply of labour for the farmers by removing farming-on-the-half, squatting and land ownership rights of Africans and, in the absence of the farmers had to any co-operation with Africans in economic enterprises and to the fear of the mixing of the races.

What, it was asked, was the Church's policy in these matters? There was clearly a need for some guide-lines.

While the white CPSA leadership was agonising over its response the African people were united in their abhorrence of the proposed legislation and turned to the Church for help. The Orange Free State African Association wrote a letter to *The Church Chronicle*²⁷ asking the Anglican Church, "as a friend of the native", to plead for them in the Houses of Parliament against the injustice of the Bill. The Bill they said "could only be intended by an evil-minded person who desires to arrest the advancement of the native by making them poor so that their services can easily be obtained at any mean rate of wages". They asked whether the the Free State formed part of the Empire noting that: "If so it is the darkest spot in that Empire." The letter was signed by John Mocher, President, and T.M. Mapikela, General Secretary of the O.F.S. Native Association.

It is therefore informative to look at the Missionary Conference which met in Johannesburg from the 5th to the 8th November, 1913.²⁸ Present at the Missionary Conference were the Archbishop and most of the bishops of the Province except the bishops of Grahamstown, George and St. Helena. Of the twenty-nine lay representatives of the dioceses no less than twenty were Africans. Fourteen of the forty-six clergy were African with the strongest representation from Grahamstown and Pretoria and one 'coloured' priest, Fr Garabedian, from Cape Town.²⁹ Two issues dominated the Conference and both were of a socio-political nature. First, as is to be expected, was the response to the Native Land Bill.

27 *The Church Chronicle*, 12 June 1913, p.195.

28 *The Church Chronicle*, 13 November 1913, pp.374,375.

29 *The Church Chronicle*, 13 November 1913, p.377.

A Committee of the Conference reported on the Native Law Act.³⁰ The Report began by acknowledging that the Act clarified which areas were set aside for whites and which for blacks. Further, the Act implied that care would be taken "to treat Europeans and natives on the same lines". However there was concern that there had not been proper consultation with blacks before the Act was promulgated:

... the Conference ... regrets that, contrary to the traditional policy of the Cape Colony, no attempt was made by the Government, before introducing the bill to disarm suspicion and opposition, by explaining its provisions and objects to natives and obtaining their opinion upon it.

Quite apart from the lack of consultation, the Conference regarded the Act as vague and its provisions harsh:

... and cannot regard the Natives Land Act of 1913 as a satisfactory solution of the land question, on the following grounds: - 1. That the areas scheduled for occupation by natives are entirely insufficient to provide for the present increase in that population, which is rapidly taking place. 2. That the Act gives no clear right to purchase to natives in those areas which are to be allotted to them. The wording of the Act (section 2, 1, sub-section b) is not sufficiently definite and positive, and the Conference desires that it should be made plain that it is the intention of the Act that in the areas referred to, natives will be allowed to purchase land. 3. That it is obviously harsh and unjust to evict natives from lands hitherto lawfully occupied by them, until adequate provision has been made by Government for the settlement of such natives with their stock. 4. Section 1, sub-section a. - The prohibition which makes it impossible during the time of the Commission's inquiries, for a native, having left one farm, to hire land on another, seems quite unnecessary, and harsh, as his doing so would not add to the difficulties of the Commission. 5. Section 1, 3. - It appears to the Conference to be a hardship that each individual case of a native removing from one farm and desiring to hire land on another farm should have to be submitted to the Governor-General, as it would have - and has had already - a tendency (owing to the delay entailed thereby), to prevent ejected natives from obtaining places of residence upon other farms, except as labourers. 6. The Conference regrets that the last three lines of section 6, sub-section (c) appear to be in conflict with the rest of the sub-section.

It asked that the enactment of the legislation be delayed until the matters raised by the Conference had been addressed:

30 *The Church Chronicle*, 13 November 1913, p.375.

This Conference therefore earnestly urges upon the Government the importance of postponing the operation of the Natives Land Act until Parliament has, after receiving the report of the Commission appointed to enquire into this matter, scheduled large additional areas for native occupation, and amended the Act in regard to the other matters to which this Conference has drawn attention.

It was decided to leave the matter of Governmental representation to his Grace the Archbishop.

Comment on the Missionary Conference from the *Johannesburg Star*³¹ recognised "the competence of the Church to speak in the name of a by no means inconsiderable portion of the Kafir population scattered throughout South Africa". It said that the resolution was liable "to run counter to the views and prejudices of a section of our readers". This section was a majority of whites because it goes on to comment: "It is not to be supposed that South Africa generally will endorse the lines of policy recommended by the Conference." ('South Africa' referred to white South Africa.) The reason for the rejection, it suggested, was to be found in the belief that the Church should not involve itself in politics and that the representatives of the missionary organisations could render no useful service in the answer to the 'Native Question'. Particularly informative and perceptive is the comment that "... General Botha and his colleagues could not have resisted the agrarian clamour for taking the first step towards a solution of the Labour Problem as it effects the farmer".³²

In the opinion of the *Star*, "Native Councils", after the pattern of those that existed in Natal, the Transkei and Bechuanaland, would be the answer to the difficulties caused by lack of consultation and explanation and would curb the "mischievous activities of agitators". Furthermore, it thought that the gulf which divided the African people from their rulers was due, in large measure, to the absence

31 Reported in *The Church Chronicle*, 27 November 1913, p.397.

32 *The Church Chronicle*, 27 November 1913, p.397.

of adequate channels through which they could communicate their grievances and aspirations to the authorities. So it was proper that the public and the authorities should look to the representatives of voluntary organisations in touch with African opinion to guide them on questions of African policy and administration. The establishment of African Councils in all the provinces would be a step in the right direction. While not fully convinced that such a council in the Orange Free State would have "resisted the agrarian clamour for taking the first step towards a solution of the Labour Problem as it affects the farmer", it believed that the Premier and the Minister of Native Affairs (of which there had been four since Union)

... ought to make provision for the creation of bodies representative of African opinion, to which the new Bill and other important legislative or administrative measures shall be referred in the first instance. We are convinced that the Native Councils are not only desirable but absolutely needful in justice to the native and in the interests of the State.³³

These and other calls by the Church on the authorities to provide a forum and a platform for black opinion and protests against unilateral and self-interested legislation by the Union Government proved fruitless. They only served to raise the suspicions of the majority of whites that the Church of the Province was sympathetic to and supportive of the forces which threatened their power and prosperity.

Some within the CPSA were distressed at the slow and cautious reaction of the Church to the legislation. William Mercer wrote to *The Church Chronicle* protesting most strongly against the Native Land Act. He called upon the Church to have a strong and brave policy "not founded on expediency but on religion".³⁴ Morris Hodson wrote in support of Mercer calling upon the Archbishop to appoint a commission representative of all Christians in the land to put the Christian point of

33 Quoted in *The Church Chronicle*, 27 November 1913, p.398.

34 *The Church Chronicle*, 12 June 1913, p.193.

view.³⁵ While not for a moment suggesting that the views of William Mercer and Morris Hodson were representative of the clergy and laity of the Anglican Church - there are too many indications that they were not - they were theologically sound and were not challenged in the correspondence columns of *The Church Chronicle*. Their viewpoint represented the informed mind of the CPSA, but this mind was not that of the majority of the white membership. We have confirmation for this view in the continued correspondence campaign of Mercer for a firm stand against segregation by the Church.³⁶ He wrote: "We have drifted into a policy of segregating white and coloured people in Church and now take it as a matter of course." Although he wrote from his experience in the Transvaal, and the Cape was generally more enlightened, his view is confirmed by a letter in the *African Political Organization (APO) Newspaper*³⁷ which details the experience of a 'coloured' man who had gone to St George's Cathedral, Cape Town. He wrote that he was shown a seat at the back of the new cathedral by "a black-gowned person who tried to segregate coloureds".

Early in 1914 a deputation of blacks went to London to protest the Native Land Act. They did not get much sympathy from Harcourt the British minister concerned who was a friend of General Botha. *The Church Times* was sensitive to the injustices in the Act and commented gloomily

the dominant religion of the country (South Africa) is based on a denial of human equality, the members of the Dutch Reformed Church are the Lord's people, and to them he has given the Land; the dark skinned children of Ham are by divine decree inferior, appointed to be hewers of wood and drawers of water.³⁸

35 *The Church Chronicle*, 26 June 1913, p.205.

36 *The Church Chronicle*, 30 October 1913, p.365.

37 *African Political Organization Newspaper*, 6 December 1913.

38 *The Church Chronicle*, 30 July 1914, p.230

Responding to this accurate but unacceptable assessment, *The Church Chronicle* devoted an editorial to it.³⁹ It made the astonishing admission that the deputation of the Anglican Church and other religious bodies which had waited upon the Minister of Native Affairs in Cape Town in May 1913 had not done so on the matter of the principle of the Bill as "it raised no objection to the implied ideal". In fact the editor believed that many interested in the Africans and their upliftment, together with some of the "best qualified natives" themselves "go so far as to approve the principle of the Act". The editorial offered four possible racial policies for the future South Africa: the mixing of races "so that everyone will be coloured"; a majority of whites obtained by massive immigration of whites and possible emigration by blacks - (this considered very unlikely); a white ruler elite such as existed in India at the time and, fourthly, "a Union of white states and African states side by side, with a minimum of individual intermingling". The fourth choice was the one envisaged by the Act and thought to be the right one by the editor. He believed that the Government was on the right track, that its intentions were fair and just and that the suffering would be minimal.⁴⁰

The APO immediately accused the Anglican Church of applying double standards, one of integration in Church life and another of segregation in the life of the land.

General Botha will be pleased and the Natives and Coloured People shocked to hear that "among those who are qualified to speak by experience and study" and who approve the principle of the Native Land Act and the Government's Policy of segregation is *The Church Chronicle*, the official organ of the Anglican Church in South Africa. Now we believe that the Anglican Church held up its hands in holy horror at the Dutch Reformed Church Bill. It also will be remembered that when the Union Parliament attempted to prohibit the marrying of black and white, the Archbishop of Cape Town declared that he would marry any two persons irrespective of their race or colour: and it was due greatly to the attitude taken up by the Church that the Bill was eventually dropped. What shall we think of all that when we find *The Church Chronicle*,

39 *The Church Chronicle*, 30 July 1914, p.230.

40 *The Church Chronicle*, 30 July 1914, p.230.

the mouthpiece of the Church of which the Archbishop is the head advocating segregation outside the Church?⁴¹

The next issue of *The Church Chronicle* meekly acknowledged that it was not the official spokesman of the CPSA, but one has more than one indication that it reflected the opinion of a good proportion of the white membership of the Church including not a few clergymen.

Singular insensitivity and painful paternalism was also evident on two occasions when Anglican dignitaries were invited to address meetings of the South African Native National Congress. Bishop Gore-Browne, Bishop of Kimberley and Kuruman, was invited to address the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) when it met in Kimberley. He demonstrated singular political obtuseness by praising General Botha as "a man who had no idea of capturing the land for the whites". The *African Political Organization Newspaper* commented that Gore-Browne spoke like a new arrival in South Africa and not like one who had had every opportunity of studying the African question on the spot. In the opinion of the editor "no oilier tyrant" than General Botha ever ruled over the coloured races.⁴²

Dean Hulme, deputising for the Bishop of Bloemfontein (who was in England), gave the opening address at the meeting of Congress which opened on the 1st August, 1914 in Bloemfontein.⁴³ Although he admitted that there were "clauses which entail hardship" he exhorted the Congress not to be too critical of the Land Act as:

It is an initial step towards a policy of what is known as segregation, or the dividing of South Africa into districts where white and black might separately have fullest scope to develop themselves on truly national lines.⁴⁴

41 *African Political Organization Newspaper*, 8 August 1914.

42 *African Political Organization Newspaper*, 7 March 1914.

43 Address printed in *The Church Chronicle*, 13 August 1914, pp.248, 249.

44 *The Church Chronicle*, 13 August 1914, p.248.

In an address which was clearly regarded by Hulme as an opportunity to lecture the rather ignorant and naive 'natives' he warned them to direct their criticisms to the Union and not the 'Home' Parliament as South Africa was self-governing and appeals to the British Parliament would only serve to annoy "the people of the Country". (As a delegation of the Congress had just returned from an unsuccessful protest to the British Parliament they must have felt duly admonished.) In spite of his support for the broad principle of the Land Act Dean Hulme indicated that his final vision was similar to that of Cecil John Rhodes: "Equal rights for every civilised man south of the Zambezi."

These two episodes give some idea of the considerable gap between the political aspirations of the blacks and the sympathetic insights of some among the CPSA leadership during this period. If this was the way some of the leadership, which had the privilege of working among and with the blacks responded one can safely assume that the attitude of most of the laity was even more reactionary. Small wonder then that it took the CPSA six years to come out firmly against the Native Land Act.

By the time the Provincial Synod met in January 1915 the spokesmen for the Church had become aware of the injustices and hardships brought about by the Act. Michael Furse, the outspoken Anglo-Catholic Bishop of Pretoria, proposed a motion calling for greater consultation between blacks and the Government on 'native' policy. He expressed the conviction that the Church had a responsibility to influence public opinion in this regard "in a different direction to which it is today".⁴⁵ Bad feeling had been caused among the blacks because legislation affecting their lives was passed without consulting them first. He was careful to point out that the councils he was

45 Report of Synod Proceedings, in *The Cape Times*, 23 January 1915.

calling for would not have legislative powers, nor was he in favour of giving the Africans the vote.

The Report containing the resolutions of the 1913 Missionary Conference was accepted at the 1915 Provincial Synod. The resolution on the Native Land Act was omitted from the list of resolutions. One assumes this is so because the matter had been referred to the Archbishop for action and not to the Synod. However, one of the matters raised by the Conference was considered by the Synod to be of sufficient urgency to call for a supportive resolution. It was the lack of consultation of the Africans by the authorities in matters concerning African policy. The resolution considered that "a more uniform and sympathetic African policy with a closer personal relationship between the governed and the governing" was essential for the well-being of the African people and the security of the country. It therefore urged:

1. That some method should be found by which African legislation and administration may be lifted above the changes and chances of party politics.
2. That African Councils should be established in every Province as a means of making known to the Government the Africans' views upon the matters affecting their welfare, and of obtaining African opinion upon the proposed legislation on African matters, of instructing them upon the existing legislation and of training them to take part in the administration of their own local affairs.⁴⁶

It requested the Archbishop to convey these resolutions to the Prime Minister in a manner "best calculated to give them effect". The Synod hoped that the unanimous opinion of a synod composed of bishops, priests and laymen representing the whole of the Union would "materially strengthen the hands of the Government".⁴⁷ The Government, however, would not deviate from its course.

46 Resolution 9. Native Policy of the Eighth Provincial Synod (1915) of the Church of the Province of South Africa. *Acts and Resolutions of the Eighth Provincial Synod (1915) of the Church of the Province of South Africa* (Cape Town: English Church House 1915) p.32.

47 *The Church Chronicle*, 28 January 1915, p.27.

It was not until the Provincial Synod of 1919 that the Church condemned the unjust Act in unambiguous terms. Resolution 13 of 1919 states:

That this Synod is of the opinion that the restrictions of the Native Land Act of 1913, which have resulted in much injustice and hardship to the natives, should be immediately removed and the Act repealed until such time as more generous and comprehensive legislation is forthcoming. And that any such legislation should not in future be passed until it has first been submitted to native opinion.⁴⁸

The Warnings of the War

In his Charge to the Synod⁴⁹ of Cape Town in September 1914 Carter was concerned to point out what he believed to be the lessons that needed to be learnt from the fact that the 'Christian' West was plunged in the greatest war in its history. Threats of civil strife in England had been averted by the unity which the common cause of war had brought. So too, he hoped, that it would "create and foster a sense of brotherhood" in South Africa. He suggested that businessmen be approached to help in an analysis of the causes of divisions in society which caused conflict. Christianity had to do with the individual, but also had to be aware of the social dimensions of sin and address unjust structures courageously, not thereby trying to identify with any political or 'economic' doctrine but by drawing attention to the imperatives of Christian morality.

And is there not one good which has already been wrought? The war has silenced our domestic feuds. It has made us a nation of one mind and conscience. At the moment when war was declared England was on the verge of civil war. And as in England, so here we in this country have been full of domestic trouble in regard to Social questions. Since our last Synod events have occurred in this land which must make us look within as well as without.

The outbreak of hostilities has made us close our ranks, and our nation is speaking with one voice and acting as one man. May we not hope that this oneness of mind and thought may be continued, and that the spirit which is actuating us all to-day may actuate still further in healing the divisions in our common brotherhood. They are silenced to-day in the face of a common foe,

48 *Acts and Resolutions of the Ninth Provincial Synod (1919) of the Province of South Africa* (Cape Town: English Church House 1920) p.40.

49 *The Church Chronicle*, 24 September 1914, p.298ff.

but this does not necessarily mean that the causes which have created these divisions have been removed.

May we not hope that we may learn to search out these causes, looking at them in the spirit of our common brotherhood, and approach them in the spirit of our common Master. "As ye would that men should do unto you, even so do unto them, remembering, sirs, ye are brethren."

What the Church can do.

It has been said that the Church might do much in this direction. It certainly can do much, and should do much in creating and fostering the spirit of brotherhood. It can do much and should do much in boldly rebuking what is wrong, and in constantly speaking the truth as to what by the Christian standard is right, and what is wrong. This it can do, and should do continually without fear. It can do much by the example which its members set in all matters of business, and in their relationship with their fellowmen.⁵⁰

These themes were repeated and expanded in his Charge to the Provincial Synod which was held in January 1915.⁵¹ The issues raised by the war were "profound for the world, for civilization and for Christianity".⁵² Materialism and self-interest needed purging from society. Carter called on the Church to renew its efforts to disseminate the teachings of Christ in a spirit of service and self sacrifice. Lessons in 'brotherhood' could be learnt from the way Indian troops were fighting for and with "our own brave soldiers" and from the way Africans were "taxing themselves so much a head to contribute to the common cause" and offering themselves for active service. He hoped that there would be social reconstruction after the war which would include the creation of councils for Africans as had been proposed at the Missionary Conference the previous year to give them "a voice in the management of their own affairs", that the gross inequalities in allocation of funds for white and black education be addressed and that a commission be set up by the Church with strong lay membership to concern itself with economic inequalities in society. In his opinion the

50 Charge delivered to the Synod of the Diocese of Cape Town at its Seventeenth Session on Saturday, 19 September 1914. Reported in *The Church Chronicle*, 24 September 1914, p.298.

51 *The Church Chronicle*, 14 January 1915, pp.6-9.

52 *The Church Chronicle*, 14 January 1915, p.7.

war led to a heightened awareness of the need to counter the divisive forces of economic and political self-interest.

In two charges immediately after the War Carter set out at some length and in some detail themes central to his theology. Christian faith for Carter was primarily and principally about the quality of human life. Although it required individual response it could not be restricted to individual life and morality. He reacted strongly against any attempts to confine Christian life and witness to the Church. It was about the world and its wholeness.

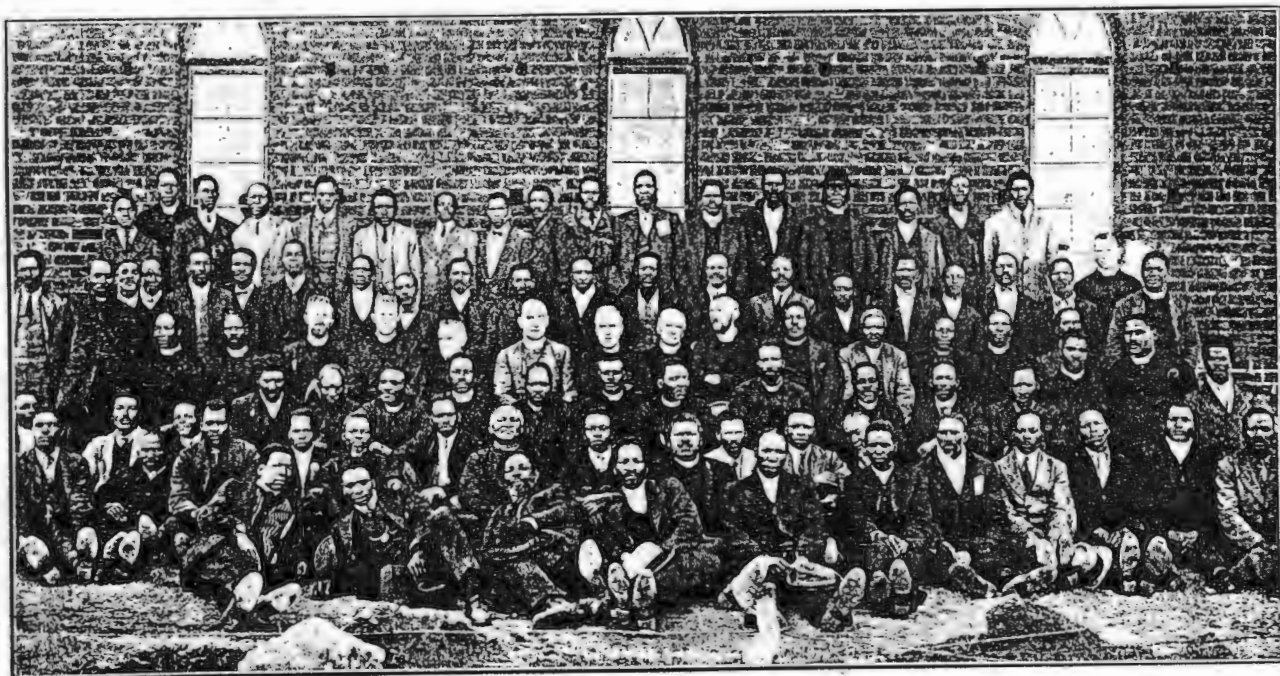
In his Charge to the Cape Town Diocesan Synod in February 1919⁵³ Carter expressed his "extreme regret" that the Synod had not been held as scheduled in 1918. The great flu epidemic of 1918 had led to its postponement. (He was one of a rare breed of bishops who genuinely missed synods). Pointing out that had the Synod been held it would have found it difficult to concentrate on its business because of the signing of the Armistice at the time, he went on to note that the war had confirmed the Christian faith in the triumph of good over evil in Jesus Christ. He maintained that Jesus Christ had come to save "men", to make them whole, and that within this context salvation had been too confined, too limited in Christian understanding. Carter believed that 'salvation' referred not only to that of individuals "but also of communities, of nations and generally of mankind".⁵⁴

And this is the message which the Church of Jesus Christ has to bear and carry to the world. This is the work - to make men "whole", to make nations "whole", to make the whole world "whole".⁵⁵

53 *The Church Chronicle*, 20 February 1919, pp.64-65.

54 *The Church Chronicle*, 20 February 1919, p.64.

55 *The Church Chronicle*, 20 February 1919, p.64.



Diocesan Native Conference, Johannesburg, 1917

By implication then Christian witness applied to all spheres of life. In support of this contention he quoted from a report which had been issued by a committee appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to consider the subject of "Christianity and Industrial Problems":

Christians cannot allow that there is any department of human activity which falls outside the sphere of Christian teaching. Founded upon the life and example of a unique Person, the Christian Church claims, however imperfectly it may have asserted that claim in the past, it claims to offer a spiritual ideal sufficiently definite and comprehensive to supply a criterion of human conduct and institutions. It stands not only for a body of doctrine, but for a way of life.⁵⁶

Again quoting, this time from an article in *Punch*, he supported those who discerned that there was another war to be waged, a war against

poverty and sordid environment, against the disabilities of birth, against the abuse of wealth, against the mutual suspicions of Capital and Labour, against sloth, against indifference, self-complacency, short memories. It will call for heavy sacrifices, it will demand the scrapping of many prejudices.⁵⁷

Many of these themes were picked up in his Charge to Provincial Synod in November 1919.⁵⁸

Although the Synod was meeting under circumstances very different from those under which it met in January, 1915, for the War was over, Carter asserted that it was not meeting "under a cloudless sky" and that this was a time for "great searchings of the heart". He noted that Church and the Nation had been shaken, forcing people to see things from a new point of view and bringing the Church under scrutiny. Carter was critical of a perception that the Church was primarily concerned with an ambulance ministry, picking up and caring for the casualties in society and not

56 *The Church Chronicle*, 20 February 1919, p.64.

57 *The Church Chronicle*, 20 February 1919, p.64.

58 Archbishop's Charge in *The Church Chronicle*, 13 November 1919, pp. 453-457.

addressing the causes of their condition. He was also critical of those who tried to restrict the work of the Church to the saving of souls.⁵⁹

Carter was concerned to point out that the Church could not be confined or compartmentalised. It could not be regarded as one of the departments of life offering its own wares in its own designated and defined sphere. While it certainly had an independence and a specific aspect it "is a department of the world which has to do with every other department in the world's organisation".

There was a perception that the war had shown that the Church had failed in its fight against evil but Carter did not share this pessimistic assessment. In his estimation, however, it was true that the Church had lost touch with the great masses of the people "of all sorts and conditions" and that the Church had also failed to keep abreast of the times. He believed that it had become largely self-centred and self-concerned, and that its ministry was often simply that of "rendering First Aid" to the wounded of the world, whilst it failed to "attack the causes from which so much of the evil sprang". In his opinion one of the main weapons to counter the encroaching and destructive materialism of the age lay in Christian education. Materialism was fostered by secular education which paid scant attention to the spiritual side. He believed that to counter this trend instruction in the Christian faith and values should be included in the curricula of Government schools. In subsequent charges he repeated the dire need for education in Christian truth and morality.

Other issues he raised included the discrimination against women in the Canons and the councils of the Church; the need for an indigenous ministry; the re-union of Christendom which had acquired a new pertinence in the wake of the war; an indication of the need for revision to the Liturgy of Holy Communion. Not a great

59 *The Church Chronicle*, 13 November 1919, p.453.

deal of time was spent on the issue which was so central in other charges, that of the 'Native Problem'. One matter did concern him, however, and that was the need for the creation of forums and councils for the expression of black opinion. Blacks needed to stand on their own feet and work out their own salvation. Whites needed to listen to black opinions before formulating legislation affecting their lives. Organisations and councils such as existed in Bechuanaland and in the 'Native' territories of the Cape Province provided a model for such consultation.

Carter returned to this subject often over the years as the Church struggled to provide a platform for black aspirations, protestations and the struggle for justice. Synod sought to address some of the social issues: the problems of unbridled capitalism which exploited people for gain, the intermarriage of 'Europeans and natives', of which speakers did not approve, not only because of the 'black peril' posed by black men taking white women, but because of white men using black women. Mr M. Pelem, a black representative from the Diocese of Grahamstown, who was obviously very articulate and who often expressed his opinion at gatherings of the Church said: "We want to see the day when colour alone is not the only passport to places of trust, honour and emoluments. We want a man to pass for what he is worth to the community in which he lives."⁶⁰

Growing Confrontations within Church and State

Tension and a theological ambivalence between the recognition of human dignity without qualification and the requirement that only 'civilised men' be equal is evident in all the charges and debates. Class based liberalism was the way in which the CPSA interpreted the demands of the Gospel in most of its statements and resolutions. Certainly this model was the one that Carter advocated in pleas for black advancement

60 *The Church Chronicle*, 11 December 1919, pp.493-494.

and recognition in his opposition to the political trend to greater segregation and discrimination. Segregation in the interest of the 'native peoples' was, as we have seen, integral to the solution promulgated by the Church for the relationship between black and white. The Church did not absolutise the separation as essential, but as a way in which the 'child races' could be protected from the destructive influences of white 'civilisation' and exploitation.⁶¹

During the first part of the 1920's the State, the Church and the black leaders in the Church and organisations concerned with black interests were continuing to seek solutions to the problems of living together in a multi-cultural and multi-racial class structured society. It is in this period that the black voice began to be heard more clearly in the councils of the Church. Black Christians, while continuing to belong to the mainline Churches, began organising themselves to counter and challenge the power of the white ecclesiastical establishment. Black Anglican priests took a lead in organising a number of meetings of African Christians to discuss the reunion of "native Christians". The first of these conferences met in Bloemfontein in 1919 and was presided over by the Revd Jacob Manelle of the Diocese of St. John's. The second conference held in Bloemfontein on February 24, 1920 was convened by the Revd Mr Mkize of the Diocese of Pretoria and presided over by the Revd Hezekiah Mtobi of the same diocese.⁶² Mkize argued that the whites had brought the Church in a divided form, that white Christianity had failed on the whole to benefit the blacks and that if blacks were to maintain their nationality they needed to learn a lesson from America where blacks were organising themselves. Furthermore he maintained that black clergy were kept from being promoted in the white dominated Churches and that the education policy was to keep blacks in an inferior position by providing them with inferior education. While there was general support for the call

61 *The Church Chronicle*, 18 October 1923, p.334.

62 Report in *The Church Chronicle*, 1 & 15 April 1920, pp.137-8 and 156-158.

for a union of black Christians, Mtobi addressed the conference about his concern that they could not start a new Church which would be no more than a sect, but should form a "Native branch of the Catholic Church". Such a Church should be open to all nations and not restricted to blacks. In the end the Conference attempted to draw up a constitution for a united black Church which was to be submitted to the next conference planned for May 1921 at a venue in the Cape Province.

Carter addressed a number of issues affecting blacks in a lengthy letter to "Members of the English Church, Church of the Province of South Africa" dated February 1920.⁶³ In it he re-iterated much of what he had said in his Charge at the previous Provincial Synod. In an Appendix to the Letter Carter made "Some Suggestions in Connection with the Industrial and Commercial Problems of the Day".⁶⁴ He maintained that attention should be given to the grievances of the blacks on the one hand and to their aspirations for a higher standard of life on the other. Noting that tribal life had been disrupted to provide the whites with a source of cheap manual labour he went on to assert that blacks were not being paid living wages and that there had been no increase in the standard of black wages in relation to the increase in the cost of living. He asked that proper openings be created for black individuals to be employed not only in clerical jobs and teaching but "in the various industries". In addition blacks who had been uprooted by the Land Act of 1913 should be provided with decent housing in the 'locations'. He pointed out that blacks had no representation in legislative bodies and they were not benefiting even from the taxes they paid as less was spent on black education, accommodation and medical services than was collected in taxation of blacks. Carter asserted once again: "It is the

63 Letter "To the Clergy and the Faithful in Christ Jesus within the Church of the Province of South Africa" in *The Church Chronicle*, 13 May 1920, pp.187-190.

64 *The Church Chronicle*, 13 May 1920, pp.190-191.

duty of the Church to stand for principles of justice and to protest against all tendencies to serfdom and exploitation."⁶⁵

However, when in 1922 the Government indicated how it was going to deal with Africans in urban areas in the Native (Urban Areas) Bill it received favourable comment and general acceptance among many leading white Anglicans despite Carter's concern and criticisms. Prof Brookes welcomed it as "second in importance to the famous Act 23 of 1920 in its possibilities for the advancement and protection of the native".⁶⁶ According to the provisions of Act 23 of 1920 tribally based district councils were appointed consisting of chiefs and other acceptable blacks to represent their interests in the Reserves. According to the provisions of the Natives' Bill on which Brookes based his comments, Africans were to be permitted to either buy or obtain land on long lease in the urban areas. This was the provision which he welcomed as ameliorating the harsh effect of the Native Land Act of 1913. Carter, like Brookes and other leading Anglicans, saw this as a positive development.

But then in the same year as the Native (Urban Areas) Bill was published came the Transvaal Local Government Commission which produced the notorious "Stallard Report", named after the Chairman Frederick Stallard. The Report recommended a hardline segregationist approach to urban Africans. The Commission determined that the principle governing urban Africans was to retain them in urban areas for their labour and deport them if they did not supply labour. "It should be a recognised principle that natives - men, women and children - should only be permitted within municipal areas in so far and for so long as their presence is demanded by the wants of the white population ..."⁶⁷ Recognising the Africans right to be in white areas would inevitably lead to giving them the franchise with all its implications. Unfortunately, as

65 *The Church Chronicle*, 13 May 1920, p.190.

66 *The Church Chronicle*, 9 March 1922, p.67.

67 Quoted in *Illustrated History of South Africa*, p.317.

far as commentators such as Edgar Brookes were concerned, provision for selling "kaffir beer" to raise revenue for the locations was the "most contentious clause" of the Act.⁶⁸

While the government was continuing to draw legislative lines to segregate blacks and whites the CPSA was seeking to reconcile its teaching about the unity of humankind in Christ with the racial diversity in South Africa. An editorial in *The Church Chronicle* acknowledged that: "A deep-rooted instinct is opposed to the mingling of race..."⁶⁹ It noted that the well-being of the entire human race depended on the contribution of "each of the different species which are comprised in it".⁷⁰ Racial diversity, it suggested, was not only a characteristic of humanity but also of the unity which is found in Christ. The great challenge of this task for the Church was expressed in Carter's Charge to the 1923 session of the Cape Town Diocesan Synod in which he said: "Now perhaps nowhere on the face of the earth has the Church greater and more varying problems to face and to deal with than it has in this country in which our lot is cast, and in which we are called to try to do God's work."⁷¹ His comment came after his participation in the Conference on Native Affairs which was called by the Federal Council of the Dutch Reformed Church and held in Johannesburg 27-29 September 1923, "comprising all the Protestant Churches, Native Churches, Welfare Societies and experts in native affairs". Carter had led an Anglican delegation consisting of the Bishop of Pretoria, Neville Talbot, who followed the fiery and outspoken Michael Furse, Fr Hill CR, Mr J. Waldie Pierson KC, and a great champion for the black cause in the councils of the Church and the only black in the delegation, Mr M. Pelem of the Diocese of Grahamstown. All the leading Churches and Christian bodies were represented. It was claimed that fully 50 per cent of the Conference was

68 See article by Edgar Brookes in *The Church Chronicle*, 9 March 1922, pp.67-68.

69 *The Church Chronicle*, 20 April 1922, p.119.

70 *The Church Chronicle*, 20 April 1922, p.119.

71 Report of Archbishop's Charge in *The Church Chronicle*, 14 October 1923, pp.323-4.

black. Anglican opinion expressed in *The Church Chronicle* was that invitations should also have been extended to Roman Catholic missionaries.⁷² The conference concerned itself with the following subjects:

- * The Teachings of Christianity as a Basis for Native Policy;
- * The Native (Urban Areas) Act - "Problem presented by blacks living in town areas";
- * "Segregation as a fundamental plank in Native Policy" paper by Prof Edgar Brookes;
- * "How are the legitimate aspirations of the natives to be secured?" introduced by Mr M. Pelem.⁷³

From the report in *The Church Chronicle* it is evident that the Anglicans made a significant contribution in the papers presented and in comment on matters under discussion. Bishop Neville Talbot was prominent in the discussion of the basic issue of Christianity and Native Policy. He tried to bring the delegates down to earth by pointing out that the central issue was how to relate Christian principles and the great Christian watchwords to the concrete problems before them in the relationships between black and white. Was it assumed, he asked, as tests on blacks in the American Army had found, that the 'natives' were inferior in intelligence and ability? He challenged such findings by informing the delegates that tests on white American soldiers had shown that their average mentality was that of a 13 year old.

In the debate on Education there were two main issues. On the one hand concern was expressed about the inequalities in education provided for blacks in the different provinces. Facts and figures were presented to illustrate the disadvantaged state of black education. Only three pence out of every one pound sterling spent on education in the Transvaal, for instance, went on black education. It was resolved that

72 *The Church Chronicle*, 18 October 1923, p.333.

73 Report in *The Church Chronicle*, 18 October 1923, pp.333ff.

black education be placed directly under the Union Government. With this the Anglican delegates had no problem. It was the other issue which troubled them viz. the proposal that religious education be introduced as an examinable subject in government schools. The Church, they contended, could not delegate its responsibility in this regard. In the light of Carter's plea for more Christian education in government schools the opposition seems strange.

Debates about the allocation and ownership of land were the most heated. "It is not the man in the boot factory who knows where the shoe pinches but the one who has to wear it" was the typically African response by one of the delegates. Another telling black comment on the land issue was: "We want to be loyal but we have increasingly less land on which to be loyal." In a resolution reflecting resignation to the inevitability of repressive Government legislation the delegates pleaded for long leases being granted to African urban dwellers, sympathetic 'location' inspectors and proper recreational facilities. In Prof Edgar Brookes' paper on the policy of segregation he made a distinction between complete segregation of the races, which he thought would "never gain a majority in Parliament", and differential development. He considered complete segregation a completely impractical policy. On the franchise issue the delegates called for more councils for blacks. Anglican comment in *The Church Chronicle* was that "ultimately and in all important respects there can be only one legislature in the country".⁷⁴ It concluded its report on the Conference with these words: "The greatest of all South African problems should not be impossible of solution if, as the Conference well showed, black and white can sit and discuss together ..."⁷⁵

74 *The Church Chronicle*, 18 October 1923, p.335.

75 *The Church Chronicle*, 18 October 1923, p.335.

Another significant meeting of black and white Christians took place from 12 to 15 November of that year when the Eighth Provincial Missionary Conference chaired by the Archbishop met in Grahamstown. Included on its agenda was the new and burning issue of Trial by Jury which had been submitted for discussion by the Society of Women Missionaries of the CPSA (which did not have representation on the Missionary Conference.) Other matters before Conference were land tenure, education, the desirability of a native episcopate and moral issues raised by the conditions under which black women, in particular, worked in the urban areas. Comment on the official report of the Missionary Conference prepared by its permanent secretary Archdeacon Albert William Lee of the Diocese of Zululand is carried in *The Church Chronicle* of the 3rd April 1924. "Here we have the real thing; here lie exposed, for all who have eyes to see, the aspiration of native Christians, the questions that all call for immediate answers, the problems that must be solved, if the health of the whole body is to be maintained."⁷⁶ Amongst the speakers at the beginning of the Conference was a Col Kirkpatrick, the Chief of Police, who warned against the danger of "Bolshevism among the uneducated class of native". On which the paper commented "... as though our problems were not sufficiently black without having to dress them up in Bolshevik red ..."⁷⁷

The 'Native' Episcopate

Agitation and impatience was expressed by black delegates to the Missionary Conference about the delay in developing a "native episcopate" in the CPSA. The final resolution agreed to by the Conference maintained that: "The work of the Church in this country will never be adequately carried out without a Native Episcopate."⁷⁸ The editorial expressed sympathy for the impatience expressed by the

76 *The Church Chronicle*, 3 April 1924, p.515.

77 *The Church Chronicle*, 3 April 1924, p.515.

78 *The Church Chronicle*, 3 April 1924, p.515.

THE BISHOPS OF THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE, 1926



(Top row): The Bishops of Grahamstown (Phelps), Lebombo (Fisher), St John's (Etheridge), Damaraland (Fogarty), Johannesburg (Karney), Pretoria (Talbot), Bloemfontein (Carey) and the Co-adjutor Bishop of Cape Town (Nash).

(Bottom row): The Bishops of Kimberley and Kuruman (Gore-Browne), St Helena (Holbech), Natal (Baines), The Archbishop of Cape Town (Carter), The Bishops of Zululand (Vyvyan), and George (Sidwell).

"Native delegates". It asked: "How have the foundations of the Church been laid if in the third generation, after over seventy years, it is still considered inadvisable to consecrate a Native as a Bishop?"

I cannot find any comment by Carter on the matter which probably indicates that he had no strong opinion on it as he was not one to remain silent on issues which he felt were matters of principle. He was probably in line with the CPSA's general attitude at the time that the most equitable way in which to deal with black aspirations was to provide separate structures where blacks could express themselves and operate free of white domination, but under white supervision. As the synods of the Church were overwhelmingly white and all the bishops and office bearers were white it seemed right to some that black leadership and separate black Church development could and should be encouraged. This view was reflected in an editorial in *The Church Chronicle* of 12 June 1924. Arguments were prefaced by a passing acknowledgement that colour prejudice played a part in race relations, nevertheless it affirmed that "there is one body of men above all others which has fought against this prejudice: it is the English Church". Two conditions were required for the development of a 'native episcopate'. There would have to be smaller dioceses and black bishops would have to be restricted to black areas because of the perception that 'Europeans' were not ready to receive Episcopal ministrations from blacks. The editor saw another problem in that there was a tendency for blacks who got into positions of influence within their Churches to break away and form their own black Churches. Such behaviour was attributed to an unfortunate "lack of stability in the native character at present" rather than an attempt to be free of white control, as was often the case. Concern was also voiced about whether there were black clergy who were sufficiently qualified and equipped to be bishops. Should the CPSA be able to return to the primitive practice of small dioceses the editor did not foresee any problem in developing a 'native episcopate'.

Quite a debate ensued. The correspondence columns of *The Church Chronicle* carried a number of letters from missionaries and one or two from 'natives' commenting on the proposal. Isaac Moloinyane wrote an impatient letter about the delay in establishing a 'native episcopate' saying it was a reflection on the Church that, after 70 years of missionary work, it had not been able to produce men who were in its own estimation competent enough to hold such high office. He averred further that those 'native priests' who had told the Grahamstown Provincial Missionary Conference that the time had not yet come "learnt the phrase from white missionaries".⁷⁹ Archdeacon Lee, the Secretary of the Conference, wrote at some length discussing the issue: How could a black bishop function? As an assistant to a diocesan with special concern for missionary work in the diocese, or as an itinerant bishop who would visit black congregations in a number of dioceses, or as a diocesan who had only blacks under his jurisdiction? The only acceptable model, in his opinion, was that of a diocesan bishop. As the CPSA was not yet ready to accept such a person on the one hand and there was no obvious black diocese on the other, the time had not yet come for such a step. Mr Jakavula thought that the way ahead was the advancement of blacks to positions in the hierarchy such as canons, deans and archdeacons and that from their number, a suitable bishop who had gained experience in leadership within the Church could be chosen. In a very real way the debate reflected the dilemma within the Church of recognising black people as more than children of the Church.

In the midst of these debates and developments and ten years after the First World War the CPSA gathered in Cape Town for its tenth Provincial Synod which started on the 8th and ended on the 22nd November 1924. Carter sought to give substance to the complexity of the multi-racial and multi-cultural composition of South African society by quoting the results of the 1921 census which had been released.

79 Correspondence in *The Church Chronicle*, 12 June 1924, p.602

They were as follows:

Race	Population	Anglicans
Europeans	1,519,488	294,000
Natives	4,697,813	289,573
Mixed	545,548	127,183
Asiatic	165,721	18,304 ⁸⁰

Of the 'native' population 3,052,000 were not Christian which meant that only about 25% had been converted of which less than 25% were Anglican. Be that as it may, Carter's main concern in quoting the statistics was to present the complex racial composition of the country in which the Christian Church had to present an alternative to confrontation and conflict. Excluded from those figures, he reminded the Synod, were the totals for the territories outside the Union that were part of the CPSA i.e. Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Southern Rhodesia and Mozambique which had virtually totally black populations. Within this complex context the Church was to proclaim the Kingdom of God which was not *of* this world but *in* this world. The Church had the responsibility to foster a "higher public opinion", a Christian estimate of things, people and events.

In conclusion he reminded Synod that the Church was called to be the light of the world. The Church should also be "aggressive against evil". Environment was the most important factor in the analysis of evil as "environment had much more to do with the formation of man than anything hereditary".⁸¹

80 An obviously incorrect figure of 81,304 is given in the text of the Charge in *The Church Chronicle*, 13 November 1924, p.776. It is almost certain that the first two digits were transposed and that it should read 18,304.

81 See Archbishop's Charge in *The Church Chronicle*, 13 November 1924, p.776.

1924-1930 - The CPSA Faces a Choice

*"The Church must preach determinedly the human solution of the Native problem, just because this is the only and necessary Christian solution. It is in the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation that the value of human nature is asserted and the hope of human nature revealed."*¹

*"How wonderful it would be if it should be the Native Christian after all who should teach us true Christianity." Fr. Bull SSJE.*²

During the 1924 election a South African Party poster dramatically depicted Smuts trying desperately to prevent a map of South Africa from being pushed into a chasm marked 'chaos' by a two-headed man with the grimacing and determined heads of Hertzog and Cresswell.³ Economic pressures caused by a drop in the gold price drove the English-speaking leaders of the Labour movement into the arms of Afrikaner Nationalists. Uniting them was the threatening prospect of black advancement and power.⁴ Reduced income had forced mine management to propose the retrenchment of higher-paid whites on the mines. Blacks, earning half the salaries of their predecessors would be allowed to do underground work previously done by whites. Furthermore, the wages of the highest paid miners, who were all white, were to be reduced. Strike action resulted in the 1922 Miners' Strike. Efforts were made by the mine-owners to dismantle the job colour bar.⁵ 'Hoggenheimer', a caricature of a bourgeois Jewish capitalist mine owner,⁶ became the common enemy together with the black proletariat. Smuts' strong-arm tactics in putting down the revolt which

1 Fr Bull SSJE "Some Reflections on the Native Movement of Today" published in *The Church Chronicle*, 26 April 1928, p.130.

2 Letter, dated 20 March 1928, written by Fr Bull to *The Church Chronicle* while travelling on the RMS Walmer Castle, *The Church Chronicle*, 26 April 1928.

3 Oakes, Dougie (ed.): *Illustrated History of South Africa* (Cape Town: Readers Digest 1988) p.318.

4 Worden, Nigel: *The Making of Modern South Africa* (London: Blackwell 1994) pp.34-57.

5 *Illustrated History of South Africa*, p.306.

6 cf. Shain, Milton: *The Roots of Anti-Semitism in South Africa*, (Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand Press 1994).

resulted from the miners' strike were severely criticised. White reaction led to the defeat of the South African Party by the Nationalists who took 63 seats and were strengthened by their allies, the Labour Party, with 18. James Barry Munnik Hertzog, a white supremacist and Afrikaner nationalist, became Prime Minister of a government which was determined to abolish the Cape African franchise, control African political power in the reserves and limit the African presence in white areas to that of landless labourers. Total political and economic segregation of Africans and Indians was the goal and Hertzog's Native Bills were the means. It was to be a package deal with the only concession to African aspirations the offer of more land for communal settlement.

White Custodians Unmasked

White control was not always the civilising influence it was thought to be. Certainly this was shown up in the segregationist policies of the Government. It was also exposed in the legal system. Women missionaries had drawn the attention of the CPSA to glaring inequalities in justice arising from the fact that blacks were always tried in courts before magistrates, judges and juries who were all white. The Provincial Missionary Conference which met in 1923 had sent the following resolution to the Synod of Bishops:

While recognising the high standard of integrity and impartiality generally upheld by those who administer justice in this country, this Conference is forced to the conclusion that there are repeatedly grave inequalities of justice and this Conference respectfully requests the Bishops in Synod to seek the co-operation of the leaders of other religious bodies in this country with a view to approaching the Government in a common appeal.

The Conference would draw their Lordships' attention to the following points:-

1. That on occasion comparatively trivial offences by Natives are punished by sentences out of proportion to the offence committed, and that Natives are fined sums out of proportion to their earning capacity.

Furthermore, the Conference thinks that the frequent arrest of Natives for violation of the Pass Laws is one of the most fertile methods of manufacturing criminals.

2. That in cases of assault by Europeans upon Natives, Europeans frequently receive far lighter punishment than would be the case if the aggressor were a Native, and the victim a European.
3. That there is reason to believe that it is difficult to obtain a fair verdict from juries in cases where European and Native interests are in conflict.
4. That owing to the lamentable prevalence of perjury, miscarriage of justice frequently takes place.

The Conference therefore makes the following suggestions to the Bishops in Synod:-

1. That the attention of the Government be drawn to the need of a careful revision of the Pass Laws. That it be asked to consider whether harassing methods adopted by some of the police may not be one of the causes of the great increase in the number of Native criminals. And that a simple and uniform system of Pass Laws should be enacted so as to avoid the frequent arrest of Natives under the existing Pass Laws, owing to their complexity.
2. That in the higher Courts of Justice trial by a Judge with assessors should be substituted for trial by jury.
3. That wherever possible, as in some other countries, it would be well if the Government would appoint a Government official to be the advocate of those who are not in a position to obtain legal advice.
4. That prosecution should immediately follow in cases where it is evident that perjury has been committed.
5. That in each Diocese of the Province a small Committee should be appointed to collect evidence of apparent cases of miscarriage of justice, and to take such steps as may seem advisable.⁷

"Illustrations of South African Justice culled from the Public Press" were published by *The Church Chronicle*⁸ in support of the protest against the inequalities of the legal system.

A man named Stroebel, a farmer, accused a native man of stealing three buckets of meal and one of salt - apparently unjustly. To punish him he fastened him by chain to the saddle of his horse, loaded him up with four buckets of meal and one of salt and made him walk to the nearest town by the side of the horse. After travelling in this way for 12 miles, the horse it is said, took fright, threw the farmer, dragged the native, and kicked him so severely that he died soon after. The jury acquitted the accused farmer who has been charged with culpable homicide.

7 *The Anchor*, Monthly newsletter of the Diocese of Cape Town, December 1923, p.10.

8 *The Church Chronicle*, 30 April 1925, p.131.

Another incident given was the following:

At Aliwal North recently a public official who misappropriated 1,628 pounds sterling received the lenient sentence of twelve months imprisonment. At Colesberg two natives were sentenced to four years imprisonment for stealing five sheep.

In November 1924 Provincial Synod expressed its agreement with the report entitled "Equality of Justice for Europeans and Natives" which had been passed by the Provincial Missionary Conference.⁹ Carter wrote to the Government sending it a copy of the resolution.¹⁰ Tielman Roos, the arrogant Minister of Justice of the Pact Government, responded in a letter which showed scant respect for the office of the Metropolitan. He announced that he was not aware of any unusual judgements. He suggested sarcastically that the Anglican Church seemed to have "followed the proceedings of the courts with greater attention and more special knowledge of the administration of Justice than his Department and his officers possess".¹¹ He was adamant that he would not abolish trial by jury. In a further attack on the "High Church of England" and the "Transvaal Scottish" he accused those bodies of "making dangerous propaganda among the kaffirs".¹² He justified the inequalities which had been reported on the grounds that a white man suffered as much from a few months imprisonment as a 'native' would from two years imprisonment. In an interview with the Dean of Johannesburg *The Rand Daily Mail* remarked that, "with such inflammatory statements from Government ministers, blacks needed no stirring up by the Church".¹³ Furthermore, it suggested it was evident that without the help of the Church blacks were already seething with discontent and, even more pertinently, that the inequalities reflected badly on 'European' standards of justice.

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- 9 Resolution 8 of the Acts and Resolutions of the Tenth Provincial Synod (1924) of the CPSA.
 10 Letter dated 4 February 1925, to the Minister of Justice, the Hon T.J. Roos informing him of Resolution 8 of the Tenth Provincial Synod of the CPSA (1924), *The Church Chronicle*, 30 April 1925, p.131.
 11 Letter dated 18 February 1925 printed in *The Church Chronicle*, 30 April 1925, p.131.
 12 Article in *The Rand Daily Mail* quoted in *The Church Chronicle*, 17 September 1925, p.292
 13 *The Rand Daily Mail*, 7 September 1925. Reported in *The Church Chronicle*, 17 September 1925, p.292.

Anglican Ambivalence

The Indian Question

Indian economic and residential segregation and repatriation was included in D.F. Malan's Area Reservation and Immigration Registration (Further Provisions) Bill of 1925. Indians were understandably alarmed and an Indian Congress delegation went to India to seek the intervention of the Indian Government in opposing the Bill. India sent a delegation to meet representatives from the South African Government in Cape Town from 17 December to 12 January 1927. As a result of these lengthy discussions it was agreed that Indians who wanted to return to India voluntarily would be assisted to do so. The South African Government was persuaded to withdraw the Areas Reservation Bill and promote the upliftment of those Indians who chose to remain in the country.

It would seem that the main concern of the hierarchy of the Anglican Church was that the matter should be resolved in such a manner that relationships with India would not suffer. The Archbishop wrote to all the bishops asking that special prayers be offered on Sunday 19 December 1926 "that there may be a peaceful issue to the Conference which is to meet on the following days to discuss the settlement of the Indian justice in this country".¹⁴ There is no indication of his own position, except that he hoped the negotiations between the South African and Indian Governments should result in a settlement acceptable to the Indian Government, but we can assume that he sought to accommodate Indians and not repatriate them.

As Indians did not make up a significant proportion of the population nor the membership of the CPSA, the Indians themselves seem to have been regarded as less important than relationships within the member states of the Empire. Nevertheless, the

14 *The Anchor*, December 1926 Vol.IV No.46, p.2.

effect of the proposed legislation on the Indian population was of concern to the Church. In an article in *The Church Chronicle* the Revd G. Hibbert-Ware, Superintendent to the Indian Missions in the Diocese of Natal, attempted a critical analysis of the effect of the Bill on the Indian community.¹⁵ He started off promisingly by seeking to give the Indian point of view. He quoted from a communication to the *Natal Mercury* by the 'President of the Natal Colonial-born Indian Association' who had pointed out that the Bill affected different sections of the Indian population differently. The President isolated three distinct groups of Indians in South Africa. The largest group was the 'colonial-born' Indians who were descendants of indentured Indians. Secondly there were the 'free' Indians who had come to South Africa to farm and who made up the smallest proportion of the Indian population. A third group consisted of entrepreneurs; the businessmen who had their roots in India and had come out primarily to avail themselves of business prospects. He did not have much sympathy with the latter as their loyalty was not to South Africa, but to their homeland. They were the ones who, in his opinion, had got India embroiled in the conflict. As far as the Superintendent to the Indian Missions was concerned the trading licences issued to Indians should be curtailed and segregation was the best policy for the Indians who remained in the country. His main disagreement with the 'Asiatic Bill' was the attempt at indiscriminate repatriation.

His arguments in favour of segregation are instructive. He asked whether segregation was wrong in principle. Having posed the question of principle he proceeded to answer it from his experience of integration.

Both in Durban and on its fringe I see Whites, Coloured people, Natives and Indians all living together in a thoroughly mixed up fashion. And the mixture appears to me to be bad for all.¹⁶

15 *The Church Chronicle*, 4 February 1926, pp.35-36.

16 *The Church Chronicle*, 4 February 1926, p.35.

So he was in favour of segregation and did not believe that residential segregation, as proposed by Malan, would involve the hardships which many imagined. He did not think, for instance, that all Indians would be forced to live in one residential area and all non-Indians in that area be forced to move. He had not read that in the Bill although it appeared to be "a general opinion". What did concern him, however, was that whatever measures were taken the poorer Indians would suffer.

The Native Question - The Hertzog Bills

In July 1926 Hertzog made his intentions clear by introducing three Bills to control the lives of Africans. First, he proposed the *Union Native Council Bill* in which provision was made for a council consisting of fifty Africans, thirty-five of whom would be elected. To remove the Africans from the voters' roll in the Cape he introduced the *Representation of Natives in Parliament Bill* which allowed for a common African voters' roll for the election of seven white representatives in the House of Assembly. Thirdly, as a *quid pro quo* he proposed to amend the Native Land Act of 1913 by increasing the size of the Reserves by the *Native Land Act (Amendment) Bill*. Zeal for segregation did not end there as he turned his attention to the 'coloured' people, who were regarded as potential allies in the preservation of white rights. In the *Coloured Persons Rights Bill* it was proposed that the Cape Coloured franchise be extended to the other provinces. As any change in franchise required a two-thirds majority in the House of Assembly Hertzog was unable to achieve his aim until after the 'swart gevaar' elections in 1929 when the Fusion Government of Smuts and Hertzog provided that majority. But the intentions were clear and Carter was concerned.

An indication of the seriousness with which the Anglican Church regarded the proposed legislation is reflected in the effort made to communicate the contents of the Bills to all its members. A Xhosa translation of the Bills was published in *The Church*

Chronicle.¹⁷ It is the only occasion during the period of this research that the Anglican bi-monthly newspaper published anything in Xhosa.

At first the CPSA welcomed the Hertzog Smithfield speech in which he indicated the broad outline of his 'Native Policy'. In a thorough discussion of the Bills in *The Church Chronicle* of 24 December 1925, Nevil Stuart Talbot (Bishop of Pretoria), Revd Albert William Lee (Permanent Secretary of the Provincial Missionary Conference) and the Revd Wilfred Parker (Priest-in-Charge of St. Cyprian's 'Native Mission' in the Diocese of Johannesburg), commended Hertzog on providing political clarity on the important issue of the Africans. All were in favour of differential development, politically and socially. Talbot and Lee exhorted Africans to accept the removal of the Cape franchise because, as Talbot put it,

- (1) franchise implies political identity between black and white which is out of accord with the basic fact that the races are different.
- (2) that there is no practical possibility of getting the franchise extended to the rest of the Union.¹⁸

As, in his opinion, there was no prospect of the African franchise being extended the alternative of native Councils was of "very solid value". He acknowledged that the representation of blacks by whites was not ideal but would do as an interim solution. All were less enthusiastic about the amendment to the Land Act and were positively opposed to the Colour Bar Bill.

Wilfred Parker took a much less rosy view of the Bills. In his opinion fear was the motivation for the legislation and whilst the establishment of 'Native Councils' could be a positive step, it was evident that the legislation was intended to preserve "European civilisation" by segregating and suppressing the Africans. Educated and

17 *The Church Chronicle*, 8 July 1926, pp.214-5.

18 *The Church Chronicle*, 24 December 1925, p.407.

skilled Africans who could be assimilated would find themselves on the fringes of white society. In his estimation the policy was alienating those who should become allies. "Surely the best way to ensure the preservation of European civilisation is to encourage people to attain it, and this many of them are anxious to do." He called on whites to remember that the towns they inhabited were built by "the sweat and muscles of the natives".¹⁹ They did not have sole rights to them.

Harold Etheridge, Bishop of St. John's (Transkei), informed the readers of *The Church Chronicle* he shared the feeling of disquiet and the sense of injustice of the blacks about the proposed legislation:

I feel that the natives will lose more than they will gain by the suggested proposal of the Prime Minister, and, should they too be adopted, a sense of injustice will be created amongst most of the advanced native people.²⁰

One of the aspects of the legislation which concerned him and his "native friends" was the new electoral system for Africans which proposed that seven white men be elected to represent all the Africans in the country in parliament. In addition to the proposed limitation on representation in terms of numbers of elected representatives and the fact that they had to be white, Etheridge and his friends were disturbed by the removal of Africans in the Cape from the common voters' roll. He noted that Hertzog had offered the 'coloureds' the vote on the same basis as the 'Europeans' - while blacks would have limited franchise. He argued that in time whites might be able to accept that blacks were sufficiently civilised to be allowed similar rights and asked:

In another 15 years' time why may there not be a similar change of feelings as regards the natives, as has apparently taken place with reference to the coloured, a readiness to recognise those natives who can stand the test of

19 *The Church Chronicle*, 24 December 1925, p.408.

20 *The Church Chronicle*, 7 January 1926, p.420.

civilisation must be given the vote, and an acceptance of the famous dictum "equal rights for all civilised men"?²¹

But he discerned that the real motivation for the legislation was the fear on the parts of whites of being "swamped". In support of his assessment he quoted words used by the Prime Minister in stressing the urgency for the Bills: "If you allow the present system to continue, you will be swamped by a black vote, which will have to be extended, or you will have to face bloodshed."²² Although he felt the franchise should be extended to all who were "civilised" regardless of race, he acknowledged that there were those who thought the risk was too great. For those, he believed, the alternative was a form of segregation "which [was] both consistent with justice and also capable of freeing the European population from that fear of economic competition by which it [seemed] to be haunted".²³ Areas should be set aside, he suggested, for Africans which would be sufficient for their present and future needs. In a vision of grand apartheid worthy of Hendrik Verwoerd he envisaged that

there can be a real native country, distinct from white South Africa. ... the citizens of this native country must have the same right as South Africa now claims for itself the right, that is, to independence, if and when they are unanimously convinced that it is really for their advantage and can persuade us that they are fit for it.²⁴

He considered that such a policy required "tremendous sacrifice in the way of land" to free many Europeans from the fear of economic competition and political domination by blacks. If whites were not prepared to make the sacrifice he was convinced that the only alternative was a unified political system for South Africa based on qualified franchise.

21 *The Church Chronicle*, 7 January 1926, p.420.

22 *The Church Chronicle*, 7 January 1926, p.420.

23 *The Church Chronicle*, 7 January 1926, p.420.

24 *The Church Chronicle*, 7 January 1926, p.420.

It was becoming increasingly clear that differentiation as defined by the Pact Government was another word for repression. Crucial to just differentiation was the allocation of land and it was evident that blacks would not be given land proportionate to their numbers. While in favour of the extension of the Reserves the leadership of the Anglican Church believed the solution lay in the gradual absorption of 'civilised' blacks into the white society. "Give the rights of citizenship to those who qualify for it", summarised the attitude of the Anglican leadership.

During 1926 disillusionment about the Bills set in. In December 1926 the Synod of Bishops issued a statement concerning 'Native Legislation'.²⁵ As a general principle the statement asserted that the Church was committed to the advancement of both the 'native' and the white peoples of the country. Prosperity and peace were seen to be dependent on the development of the Africans who, on the whole, were considered backward, uneducated and undeveloped. The bishops were, however, sad to note that the Bill was aimed "to uphold white civilisation at the expense of the native peoples. It seems to be inspired by white fear of the black man". And so indeed it was, as the 'Black Peril' theme for the 1929 election would prove.

A second principle which the bishops accepted was that of differentiation. In their opinion, because the blacks were at a "different level of life from the Europeans" and could be described as a "child race" it was in the blacks own interests to be protected from all the influences of white civilisation. The bishops were not thereby endorsing the segregationist policies of the Government, which they regarded as harsh and exploitative, but an arrangement which they thought would be in the interest of the 'natives'.

25 *The Church Chronicle*, 9 December 1926, p.887.

In the rest of the statement they considered the Land Bill, the abolition of the Cape Franchise and the Union Native Council Bill. They commented that the Land Bill did not in fact *give* the Africans any more land but simply enabled them to *buy* more land in competition with Europeans. They pointed out that, as only tribal groups and not individuals could purchase land, the system did not help break the control of the chiefs which the Church regarded as a retarding influence on the Africans' progress toward 'civilisation'. They concluded that "... the Land Bill fails entirely the test of being designed to promote the progress and civilisation of the natives of South Africa. Abolition of the Cape African franchise as proposed by The Representation of Natives in Parliament Bill was a measure of retrogression rather than progress". While the bishops saw some value in establishing Native Councils the benefit that may have accrued from that legislation was being negated by the removal of the franchise. Their conclusion was that the proposed Bills were not "consistent with the principles which ought to govern legislation affecting the native peoples of South Africa".

Consultation on the Bills continued during the last years of Carter's archiepiscopate. Joint Councils of Europeans and Bantu (the new designation for 'natives') were formed on the Reef and provided a platform for Africans to voice their grievances. The Joint Council added its comments to those of the Bishops criticising the Bills. General Smuts had also voiced his SAP opposition to the Bills as they stood. Gone was the initial euphoria in liberal circles which had followed Hertzog's Smithfield speech. At this time, the beginning of 1927, the Federal Council of the Dutch Reformed Church arranged another of its consultations which sought to engage Africans and whites across a wide spectrum in debate about the issues. It appears that the Federal Council almost jettisoned the idea of having a conference because they were taken aback at the criticism which had been levelled at the Bills from liberal quarters. At the conference concerted efforts were made to be constructive. No less than six resolutions were passed on the Land Bill which, in effect, said that it was a

move in the right direction, but that much more would have to be done. The Government was also urged to make provision for Africans to lease land in white areas. Removal of repressive clauses and attempts to make the Bills more palatable to liberals were reflected in the resolutions.²⁶

Much more radical resolutions came out of the meeting of the Provincial Missionary Council which also met that year. Rheinallt Jones, who was a founder member of the Institute of Race Relations, wrote expressing the belief in "the right of the Bantu to share the fullest Christian citizenship of which South Africa is capable".²⁷ Such beliefs were recognised as "anathema to the party politician as well as to the man in the street", but were nevertheless commended as reflecting the position of the Church of the Province as a whole.

Carter wrote to *The Cape Times* expressing his conviction that the only way in which the matter of the Bills could be settled equitably would be at a national convention at which all "sections of the community" would be represented. He spoke of a European Bantu Conference which had been held in Cape Town at which there had been "reasonable speeches" by African men and women. "There are no people in the world," he wrote, "who have a greater sense of justice, and who show a more reasonable spirit, than the native people in this country, and so to settle a matter which concerns them so intimately over their heads would be, I think, not only not right but unwise."²⁸ His plea for a convention was repeated in November 1929 in his last Charge to the Provincial Synod of the Church. He hoped that Synod would pass a resolution "asking the leaders of other Churches and other men and women of goodwill to unite and approach the Government asking that such a conference be held

26 Report on The European-Bantu Conference, *The Church Chronicle*, 17 February 1927, pp.51-52.

27 Report of the Provincial Missionary Conference in *The Church Chronicle*, 29 June 1929.

28 Letter reported in *The Church Chronicle*, 28 February 1929, p.71.



THE PROVINCIAL SYNOD, 1929

with a view, if possible, to some agreement being come to, before legislation is attempted".²⁹ Provincial Synod passed a resolution in accordance with the Archbishop's concern that a fully representative conference be held to discuss the Bills. The resolution requested the Archbishop "... to approach the leaders of other religious bodies to ask them to associate themselves with the Synod's request to the Government, and to summon a conference to deal with the Native Bills".³⁰

African agitation about the Bills and the general direction of Government policy showed itself in the strengthening of the separatist movements. Inspiration and support was sought and found in similar black-consciousness movements in the United States. "Be one people and one Church" became a strong call in the late 1920's in the Transkei with the formation of a separatist movement under the leadership of the self-styled Dr Wellington Buthelezi who claimed, among other things, that the African Americans were about to liberate black South Africans by force. Fr Bull SSJE who was working in the Transkei wrote an article analysing 'Wellingtonianism', its origins and inspiration. He concluded that the segregationist policies of the Government were the cause and inspiration for black separatist movements: "... the spirit of the North is seen by those shrewd Native observers to be invading the Cape Province also, and Colour Bar restrictions, taking form in elaborate segregation laws covering all life, are doing their work. They are understood, and resented and the inevitable reaction of counter organisation begins."³¹

To counter the white-driven political forces of suppression and segregation and the separatist black reaction Fr Bull believed the Church had to preach "in season and out of season that the only way to rule men is by respect for their manhood, and that

29 Archbishop's Charge to Provincial Synod 1929 in *The Church Chronicle*, 21 November 1929, p.375.

30 *Acts and Resolutions of the Eleventh Provincial Synod (1929) of the CPSA* (Cape Town: English Church House 1930).

31 *The Church Chronicle*, 26 April 1928, p.130.

human nature has inherent rights to freedom and development to the utmost". Thus, over against the divisive and destructive policies of segregation were to be set the implications of the Christian Doctrine of the Incarnation. Fr Bull was enunciating one of the central doctrines of the Anglican Church which, for all its compromising with colonialism and assumed superiority of British civilisation would be the dominant and determinative spiritual base for its opposition to segregationist policies.

Challenges from 'Coloureds' and 'Natives'

Concurrent with the political debate around the Bills which sought to regulate the life of Indians, 'coloureds' and blacks there were debates within the CPSA about the relation of Indians, 'coloureds' and blacks. Although the CPSA was very firm in its statement of the theological principle of the unity of all in Christ, and of the ecclesiastical principle that the Catholicity should be visible in the unity of the members of the Church, it found itself making concessions to language, racial and cultural distinctions. Central to the debate and to the suggested solution to the dilemma was what was called 'The Distinct Organisation of the Church'.³² According to that view, segregation of congregations along racial lines was considered to be acceptable and indeed conducive to growth and in the best interests especially of the culturally disadvantaged in the Church. At the same time, so as not to deny the priority of the principle of Catholicity, there could and would be no exclusion of blacks from the Councils of the Church and all communicant members were to be welcome at any Anglican altar. Cracks and inconsistencies in the application of the principle resulted in blacks challenging the CPSA about its theological and ecclesiastical integrity as a body claiming to uphold the Catholicity of the Church.

32 *vide* Chapter I. "Tensions within" which presents the arguments for and against 'A distinct organisation of the Church'.

Two letters written by 'coloured' members to *The Church Chronicle* questioned the Church's claim to uphold Catholic principles in practice. Both were written under a pseudonym. 'Star' described how, after moving from a parish "where the question of colour did not prevail" to a parish "not far distant from the City" (presumably Cape Town), he had approached the Rector with a letter of commendation from his previous Parish Priest.³³ Instead of welcoming him the Rector told him that he was not welcome at the Parish Church, but should go to the Mission Church. 'Star' expressed concern that the Church claimed to be Catholic, but "had not attained to that ideal in South Africa". He went on to state,

There are signs of much dissatisfaction among the members, not least among the poor and oppressed and weaker brethren (whom she ought especially to befriend) and this seething unrest requires attention if the Church in this land is to be the Force and Power she is meant to be.³⁴

In the same edition of *The Church Chronicle* the editorial defended the Rector's action and offered an explanation of the CPSA's interpretation of the principle and practice of Catholicity in the complex racial situation in South Africa.³⁵ By way of introduction the editor contrasted the Church's position with that of the Government. He stated that unlike the Government the CPSA was not party to any attempt to prevent people of colour from advancing in the labour field as proposed in the Colour Bar Bill. The Church's response to the legislation was one of "emphatic protest and disagreement". However, he "disagreed totally" with 'Star's' desire to worship where he chose. He resented 'Star's' imputation that the CPSA was guilty of racial prejudice.³⁶ "A Church which ordains coloured and native priests on an equality with Europeans, which welcomes them to Synod, and sits side by side with them cannot be accused of racial prejudice."³⁷ Such actions he described as "the real inner

33 Letter in *The Church Chronicle*, 13 May 1926, p.152.

34 *The Church Chronicle*, 13 May 1926, p.152.

35 Editorial, *The Church Chronicle*, 13 May 1926, p.147.

36 Editorial, *The Church Chronicle*, 13 May 1926, p.147.

37 Editorial, *The Church Chronicle*, 13 May 1926, p.147.

policy of the Church" and he went on to state that on the outside, in the real world, faithfulness to Catholicity demanded that different language and cultural groups should worship separately lest they lose their distinctiveness. Catholicity was not best served by "a dull sameness" but by enhancing racial and national characteristics. Separate congregations for separate racial groups also enabled 'coloured' members to attain positions in the Church to which they would not be elected in 'European' parishes. In summary he set out the policy of the CPSA as he understood it as follows:

As a policy our Church recommends racial churches, but it holds firmly to the principle that every confirmed member may communicate at any Church altar throughout the world.³⁸

Inner principle and practical policy were in harmony with Catholic teaching to the white editor, but appeared to be evidently in conflict to the 'coloured' member.

'Star's' letter was followed by another letter from a 'coloured' member from Port Elizabeth who signed his letter 'Universality'.³⁹ He questioned the position taken by the editor of *The Church Chronicle* in response to 'Star's' letter. He wrote that Africa could not be won for Christianity with "racial churches" and noted that he had been a representative at a recent synod of the Diocese (Grahamstown?) at which there had been no indication that the church "had set aside churches for white and coloured worshippers". As a 'coloured' man he said he was quite prepared "to remain and work under the present dignitaries of the Church", in spite of the question about the absence of 'coloured' leaders raised by the visiting black American, Dr Booth. But he was utterly against the idea of the 'coloured' people being designated as a separate race.

38 Editorial, *The Church Chronicle*, 13 May 1926, p.147.

39 Letter by 'Universality' in *The Church Chronicle*, 10 June 1926, pp.185-186.

In response the editor re-iterated that separate churches for different races was not a denial of the principle of Catholicity.⁴⁰ He went further by expressing what he believed to be the attitude of those who "worship in the Mission Churches". They, he thought, would "strongly resist being called outcasts and rightly so because that is not the reason for the existence of these churches". He noted, however, that in the Cape Province it was "almost universal custom" for 'coloured' and white to worship together.

During 1926 two black Churchmen also wrote to *The Church Chronicle* challenging the Church about the advancement of blacks within the ranks of the clergy and the establishment of a black episcopate.⁴¹ Lennox Malghas wrote to question the leadership qualities of the black men who were being ordained as priests.⁴² It was pointless, he argued, to speak of a 'native episcopate' when the prospective candidates were so poor. He noticed that black priests hardly said anything at diocesan synods even on matters affecting blacks. Instead white missionaries got up and spoke on their behalf. These missionaries were well-intentioned, but often misguided because the black priests slavishly and obsequiously agreed with all they claimed the blacks thought and felt. He was, however, not opposed to having black priests serve black parishes or to the appointment or election of black bishops. But the standards of training and the selection of men were maintaining blacks in a position of subservience. He ended his letter with this rather strange and revealing sentence.

I would not blame anyone for saying I was black because I know I am black, but I would rather blame the one who made me black when there was enough white stuff to make me white.⁴³

40 Editorial in *The Church Chronicle*, 10 June 1926, p.179.

41 *The Church Chronicle*, 10 June 1926, p.186 and 24 June pp.200-201.

42 *The Church Chronicle*, 10 June 1926, p.186.

43 Letter by Lennox J. Malghas, *The Church Chronicle*, 10 June 1926, p.186.

In the next edition of *The Church Chronicle* 'Native Churchman' wrote in support of Lennox Malghas' views.⁴⁴ He too criticised the selection of candidates and their training. In particular he pointed out that, unlike white clergy, black clergy were required to remain for a period of five or more years in the diaconate. The effect of this lengthy period, in what was regarded as an inferior order, was that these men adopted "as part of his nature ... *extra humility*". They became 'Yes Father' men, agreeing with all their white superiors, even when they were claiming to give the opinions of blacks. Consequently they had nothing to say at synods. In the opinion of 'Native Churchman' such men would be unsuitable to become bishops. He was driven to the inevitable conclusion that one of the problems within the CPSA which claimed equality of membership, boasted of making no distinction in ministry and participation by all in the decisions effecting the life of the Church, was that some were more equal than others.

An illuminating editorial in the 19 August 1926 edition of *The Church Chronicle* confirmed that, while the CPSA was bound to propound the principle of Catholicity it found itself applying segregation in practice.

The Church of the Province has its own special problem not dissimilar to that of the State. Under the present system there is nothing to prevent our Provincial Synod being in the future almost entirely composed of Natives, from the Archbishop downwards. We believe that such an eventuality will not be for the good of the Church or Christianity in this Country any more than an entirely Native Parliament will make for the prosperity of the political community.

We believe that co-operation wisely applied will solve the Church as well as the State problem. Let there be Native Dioceses with native clergy in the Native Areas, and in addition Native priests to minister to native dwellers in European parts. What we plead for now is that the Church should make up its mind to-day what it believes to be best for both Natives and Europeans in this country both in the Church and in the State.⁴⁵

44 Letter in *The Church Chronicle*, 24 June 1926, pp.200-201.

45 Editorial in *The Church Chronicle*, 19 August 1926, p.263.

The difference from the State policy was that the Church was committed to "co-operation wisely applied".

Carter's understanding of Catholicity in the multiracial situation in South Africa is found in his Charge to the 1927 Synod of the Diocese of Cape Town. Under the heading 'The Clash of Colour'⁴⁶ Carter sketched the challenge to the Church's catholicity:

And here I must refer to a matter which is with me every day, and every day causes difficulty. I mean what has been called "the clash of colour". Nowhere, perhaps is this "clash of colour" more real and more definite than it is here in this country, a country where Europeans, coloured and native live together, where each and all do make their homes and bring up their families, but where these colour distinctions exist very acutely. It is no use disguising these facts; they are there and they have to be met by the Church of Christ. How is the Church to do it? That is the question that is ever before us.

Carter averred that unity in Christ was a matter of principle for the Church and it was expressed in practice in its Synods:

There is one thing that is quite evident, if we are to be true to our Master, and that there can be no distinction in the ministrations and the work of the Church. The message of the Gospel is to all. There is, and there can be, no division of opinion about this. The Church's aim, must be for all, for all are one in Jesus Christ. It is when we come to the practical details that the difficulties arise.

Now, of course, it must be the aim of the Church to give to all the opportunity of taking a real living interest in the work of the Church and so of Christ, as things are today. In our Church organisation in the Province, the foundations are laid by which all communicants of the Synods, no matter what their race or their colour may be. These, of course, are the foundations on which Church organisation can alone be based, inasmuch as they are the only right and true foundations. This, of course, must and will continue.

However, he saw "other difficulties" which made the application of the principle of catholicity problematic in practice:

46 Report of the Charge to the Cape Town Diocesan Synod is found in *The Anchor*, November 1927 and in *The Church Chronicle*, 10 November 1927, p.355.

But there are not only difficulties of colour, there are differences of language, and differences in scales of education and civilisation, which must be considered. I was at a meeting three or four months ago, when it was said to me quite publicly that the aspect of the man of European birth is different to that of the man of non-European birth - that the European cannot really understand the aspect of the non-European, any more than the non-European can understand the aspect of the European. And I suppose this must be largely true. It was said to me by a well-educated non-European man.

In the light of these practicalities he considered it was expedient to have distinct congregations:

St. Paul tells us, "All things are lawful, but all things are not expedient," and the question which has to be considered as things are is whether it is not expedient, where it is possible, and it is not possible everywhere, that there should be distinct European and non-European congregations in which each and all take a real living interest, exercise fairly their membership of Christ, and have a real voice in the management of their own affairs. I have noticed where this is the case, and these congregations each stand on their own feet, there is life among all sections of the Church which under other conditions is sometimes wanting.

The distinctions are not of our making, but there they are. It would, I think, be helpful if there could be a meeting, when this subject could be discussed freely and frankly, from the point of view not only of what is good for the Church, but also what is for the good of the members of Christ individually - a meeting for European and non-European members of the Church of Christ.⁴⁷

Although this all sounds eminently sensible in practice it did not work out as smoothly as it sounded. An example of this is the interpretation of segregation by some of the white clergy and laity which amounted to a form of ecclesiastical 'apartheid'. Even in cases where there were mixed congregations, mainly white/coloured in Cape Town and other cities in the Cape Province, 'coloureds' were not elected to offices within the CPSA. Also, although, white and black sat at the same synods blacks had hardly any say in the affairs of the Church. They were poorly represented and cowed by the whites.

47 Archbishop's Charge to the Twenty-Sixth Synod of the
Church Chronicle, 10 November 1927, p.355.

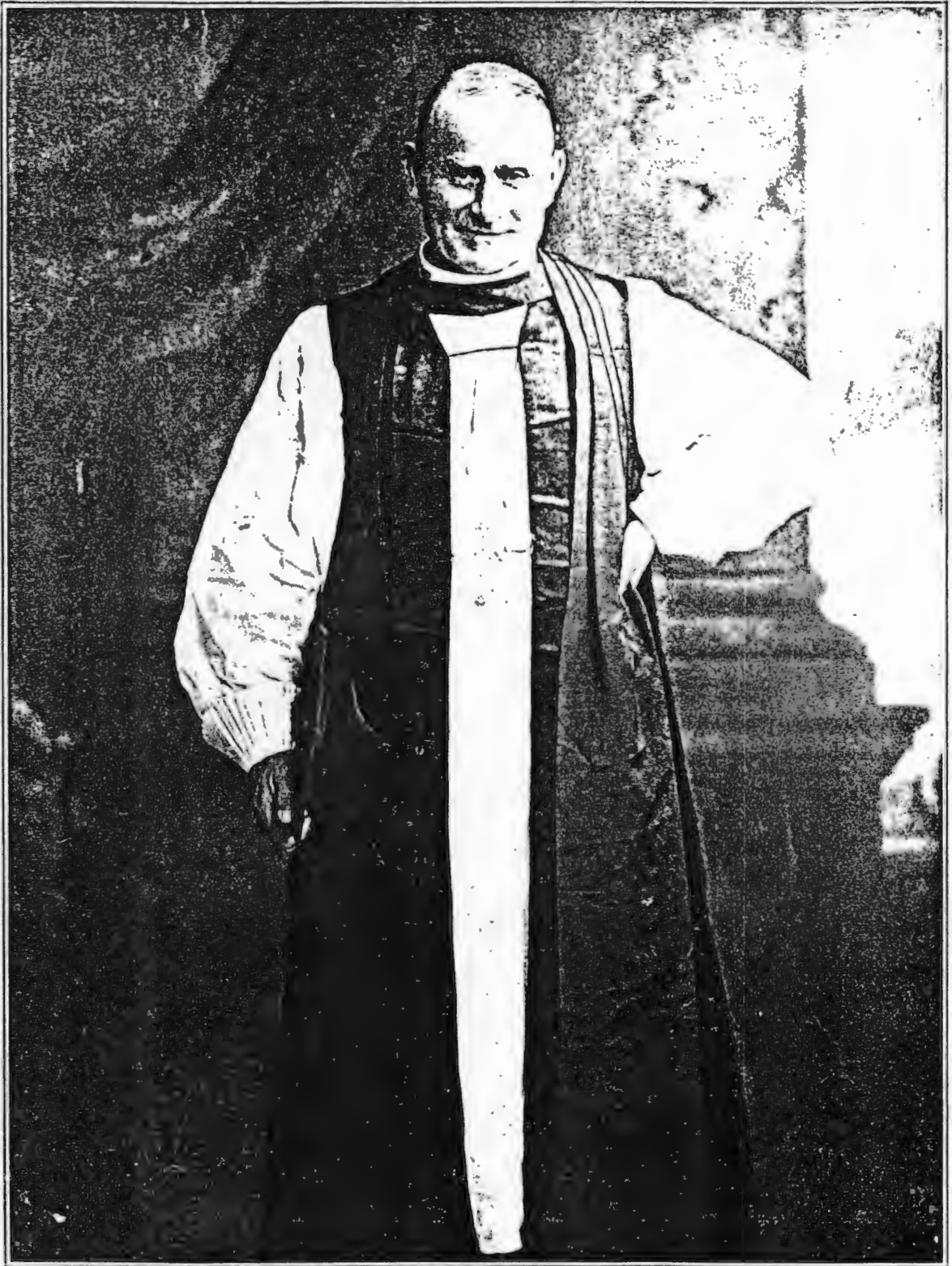
With few exceptions white Anglican leaders supported segregation of Africans until they had reached a level of education and 'civilisation' which would entitle them to be assimilated into the white controlled society. According to this principle Africans should be permitted to take part in the Councils of the Church and the land, but they should not be senior to whites. Much was made of the fact that in synods blacks and whites sat and deliberated together. Such taking of counsel together, it was suggested, was a model for the country. That was the way in which blacks could take their place in white councils. Ideally, however, the vast majority of blacks should be ministered to by black priests in separate black dioceses with their own 'native episcopate'.⁴⁸ Absolute segregation was quite out of the question. While it was theoretically possible for the Church to have a black Archbishop that would not be in the interests of the Church.⁴⁹

By the time Carter resigned the CPSA was finding that it was caught between two fires. On the one hand there was the determination of the Afrikaner nationalists to maintain political and economic power for the whites by their policy of racial segregation. On the other hand there was the rising African nationalism which sought to gain political participation with whites in government and in the social and economic structures of society. With the African membership of the CPSA growing to the extent that it was outstripping the white membership, Anglican support for white segregationist policies was coming under increasing pressure. Carter found himself heeding and being impressed with black protestations against the suffering and injustice experienced by those who were at the receiving end of oppressive legislation. With the rest of the white leadership in the Church he had argued that racial differentiation was in the interests of the Africans. At the same time he was totally opposed to absolute segregation as contrary to the Catholic nature and teaching of the

48 Editorial in *The Church Chronicle*, 13 May 1926, p.147.

49 Editorial in *The Church Chronicle*, 19 August 1926, p.263.

Church. This form of compromised Catholicism was challenged by the black members who called upon the Church to be true to its calling. One of the strengths of Carter was that he was willing to listen to that call and called the Church of the Province to heed it.



William M Capetown

THE MOST REV. WILLIAM MARLBOROUGH CARTER, D.D.

Carter's Challenges to the Church

One of the most penetrating analyses of the role of the CPSA and the Methodist Church in South Africa during the period 1903-1930 was made in a doctoral thesis by James Cochrane published as a book entitled 'Servants of Power'.¹ In it he concludes that the Methodist and Anglican Churches had been so conformed to the socio-political powers that they had failed to provide an effective Christian witness. They had become like salt that had lost its savour.² Cochrane's view is blinkered by his historical analysis which only sees the loaf and not the theological leaven. He misses the leaven which was present in the incarnational theology of Anglicans like Bull and others of the religious communities who worked mainly among and with Africans. In his charges Carter used the images of the Church as the salt, light and leaven of the earth. Cochrane, however, totally ignores Carter. There is no mention of the Metropolitan of the CPSA from 1909 to 1930 in the index of *Servants of Power*. There are no quotations from any of his statements on socio-political issues. Consequently Cochrane produces a skewed analysis of the socio-political role of the CPSA. Virtually every one of Carter's charges begins with reference to the calling of the Church to seek God's Kingdom and righteousness here on earth. An investigation of the Kingdom of God for Carter is the subject of the first section of this chapter. To use Cochrane's own terms, it is precisely the Kingdom as "the sign of deep contradiction" which for Carter would "define the Church in full acceptance of its historical material reality".³

Two other issues concerned with the transformation of the Church which feature prominently in Carter's charges to synods are considered in this Chapter. The

1 Cochrane, James: *Servants of Power, The role of the English-speaking Churches 1903 - 1930* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press 1987).

2 Cochrane: *Servants of Power*, p.242.

3 Cochrane: *Servants of Power*, p.223.

first was his call to the CPSA to become self-sufficient in funding and in the provision of ordained ministry, to become an indigenised Church. Changing from the English Church to the Church of the Province of South Africa began in 1870, but it was only under Carter's leadership that the Church began to become aware more fully of the implications of the name change. Political events such as the Union in 1910 were catalysts in the process. The second issue was his campaign to get women accepted as 'communicants' with the right to vote in the council of the Church and to serve as representatives in those councils. In campaigning for a change in the position of women in the CPSA Carter initiated and supported the process of transformation which would take many years.

The Kingdom of God on Earth

Carter was an enthusiastic supporter of the synodical structure of the Church. Within two years of his enthronement, the Diocese of George was separated from the Diocese of Cape Town. As it became easier and more practical for the laity and clergy in the smaller Diocese of Cape Town to gather for meetings, he advocated the holding of annual synods of the diocese. It took some ten years before he got his wish. For eight years, from 1921 until the year before he retired, the Diocesan Synod met annually. Phelps, his successor, found that all too much and reverted to a synod every second year.

For Carter the primary purpose of the Church and, consequently, of all the synods of the Church was the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth. In his Charge to his first Provincial Synod in October 1909 he reminded the representatives of the dioceses of the Province that the first and foremost task of the Church was to "seek the Kingdom of God and his righteousness".

We are here as chosen representatives of the Church, chosen in accordance with present and old Church custom, to "speak together of the things pertaining to the Kingdom of God" in this land.⁴

God's kingdom and his righteousness were not for Carter primarily transcendent concepts, but the righteousness which was to be sought *on earth* as a reflection of the divine purpose for this world. Carter derived his 'Kingdom of God' language from his incarnational and Christian socialist convictions. He quoted the Archbishop of York:

The Church has to be the interpreter of Christ to the country in which it works and to the generation in which it works and to this end the Church must know the minds of the men among whom it works, and "discern the signs of the times in which it lives".⁵

In the course of his Charge he did just that, speaking about the pending Union of South Africa with the opportunities and new possibilities that would bring. In conclusion he reminded Synod of the petition in the Lord's Prayer:

With this belief, in this faith, we will now proceed to the work of our Synod, and pray that in it and through it all, "Thy Kingdom come, thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven".⁶

So too, the following year, in his first Charge to his new Diocese of Cape Town he prefaced his remarks with the reminder that the purpose of the Church was to do God's work "until the Kingdoms of this world become the Kingdom of God and his Christ".⁷ He anticipated that the establishment of the Union of South Africa would enable the CPSA to take more united action on moral and social problems which would give expression to the Church's proclamation of the Kingdom of God. In

4 *The Church Chronicle*, 14 October 1909, p.381.

5 *The Church Chronicle*, 14 October 1909, p.381.

6 *The Church Chronicle*, 14 October 1909, p.384.

7 *The Church Chronicle*, 13 October 1910, p.369.

particular he hoped that "some of the restrictions which press hardly upon some of the members of the less civilised races among us may be gradually removed".⁸

Because of the outbreak of the First World War the Provincial Synod due to be held in 1914 was postponed to January 1915. Carter delivered his Charge in the recently completed portion of the new Cathedral which had not been consecrated. He started by saying that profound issues for civilisation and Christianity were raised by the war. It was a time of particular importance for the Church to meet and speak together.

It appears to us that it is especially a time when the representatives of the Church should meet, if in any way possible, and speak together of the things pertaining to the Kingdom of God. It is a time when the world is being turned upside down, when great issues are at stake. It is also a time when the character of nations and of men is being tested; a time of great 'searching of heart,' a time for 'looking well if there be any way of wickedness in us.' That this testing, terrible though it be in what it entails, will be for the good of the world and of men, I believe most firmly:....⁹

Carter considered "pathetic" a remark made by the Pope which implied that the Church had lost its power to influence the affairs of this world. In his opinion Christianity had never been stronger. People everywhere were seeking "the Kingdom of God and his righteousness". Everywhere the Spirit of God was being expressed in a spirit of service and self-sacrifice.

Ranged against the Spirit of God was the materialism of the nations.

It has been a time when materialism has crept largely into the life of the world, but it is a time when men are realising that materialism does not and cannot satisfy...¹⁰

8 *The Church Chronicle*, 14 January 1915, p.369.

9 *The Church Chronicle*, 14 January 1915, p.6.

10 *The Church Chronicle*, 14 January 1915, p.7.

But the war had exposed that spirit and called forth an urgent need for a different approach to the problems facing society. Amongst the most serious of these was the 'racial question'.

The cold indifferent attitude which we have adopted towards men of other race and colour to ourselves must surely be changed There must spring up in us a deeper and a more real sense of the brotherhood of man. That man would surely be unworthy of this country, who allowed the prejudice to remain, which has so marred our relationship with such a race - and this applies to other races - and must apply to other races in this land.¹¹

He was convinced that one of the "crying needs" in the country to deal with the prejudice would be to establish means whereby blacks could "at least be given a voice in the management of their own affairs". In addition he maintained that urgent attention needed to be given to education, as blacks were paying more in taxes than they were receiving back in education, and social issues, of which economic issues should also be addressed and challenged with courage. After the war the Church would have to get involved in reconstruction.

Most important, for Carter, was the need for the Church to acquaint itself fully with any socio-political or economic issue before it addressed it. But that it had the right and duty to do so was, for him, beyond question. He looked to the lay people in Synod to help the Church with that analysis but as the lay people were virtually all white capitalists it resulted in a very one-sided analysis. Nevertheless the theory had much to commend it. He did not believe that the Church had all the answers or that there were any easy answers. About one thing he was perfectly clear and that was that the Church could not and should not be inhibited in its criticism by loyalty to any political party, it should not be a servant of those in power. Furthermore, not only should the Church be critical of political parties, it should also be critical of itself.

11 *The Church Chronicle*, 13 November 1919, p.7.

At the next Provincial Synod in 1919 he repeated that the time had come for 'great searchings of heart'.¹² In a hard-hitting criticism of the Anglican Church he said that the great outside world was stirring and to a large extent the Church was apart from it. Here and there were voices crying in the wilderness, but the Church as a whole was unmoved. It was self-centred and was immersed in the discussion of its own details, many of them completely immaterial. It had lost touch or failed to keep in touch with what was going on around it. It seemed to take for granted that what had been always would be. It did not sufficiently realise that much of the evil in the world was due to causes which were removeable, if there was the will to remove them. The Church did much in relieving, in picking up the wounded and tending them, rendering first aid, but it did not sufficiently attack the causes from which much of the evil sprang.

Carter continued:

In all warfare, of course, there must be ambulance work. And this must always be an important part of the Church's work. "He hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor, to heal the brokenhearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised." But it is not its only work. There is the warfare itself, the attacking of evil in its stronghold. Years ago in the seventies of the last century it was written by one lately taken from our midst

'Do men who live in sore need, in oppression, in social degradation look to the Church to be to them as their St. Michael, to save and deliver? Do men in the pride of selfish power, in the lust of reckless success fear the Church? Do they hear its loud judgements, its fierce denunciation? Do they fear its victorious spear as Satan feels the onset of St. Michael?'¹³

The sermon from which he quoted was one preached by Henry Scott Holland on the Feast of St. Michael and All Angels. For Carter it was one of the most important statements of the Church's duty in his day. Henry Scott Holland and the Christian Social Union together with Anglo-Catholicism had been, as we have seen, the most

12 *The Church Chronicle*, 13 November 1919, p.453. Report of Archbishop's Charge.

13 *The Church Chronicle*, 13 October 1919, p.453f.

significant elements in Carter's theological formation. Continuing, he acknowledged that the Christian was called to be a sufferer in the service of the Lord, but the Christian was also called to be a soldier. In the world the Church was active in every "department of life" as leaven. Although Carter had not made any reference to the Kingdom of God in a far-ranging and incisive analysis of the role of the Church in the post-war period, he ended with this exhortation:

In conclusion I recommend to your consideration the many subjects which are to be brought before our Synod in the prayer that guided by the Holy Spirit we may seek with a single eye the Glory of God and the extension of his Kingdom.¹⁴

Carter concluded his Charge to the 1924 Provincial Synod with what had become his characteristic reminder about the aim and purpose of synods: "Seek first the Kingdom of God". Christians were called to be the light of the world. Once again he quoted Henry Scott Holland: "The Church cannot stand aside, it cannot shrink from touching the large issues of social order." It was called to preach deliverance to the captives.¹⁵

As in his charges to provincial synods so too in his charges to synods of the Diocese of Cape Town the establishment of the Kingdom of God here on earth was Carter's clarion call to the Church. Frequently he reminded the representatives of the parishes that matters such as finance and administration were there as an infrastructure to the true calling of the Church. They were not to get involved so much in erecting the scaffolding as to forget about the building. At the 1919 Diocesan Synod he seemed to have been particularly burdened by the need to reconstruct society after the devastation of the war. He quoted from one of the Reports commissioned by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York:

14 *The Church Chronicle*, 13 November 1919, p.457.

15 *The Church Chronicle*, 13 November 1924, p.776.

The Church is not only a body of doctrine, but a way of life. The war is over; another war has yet to be waged against poverty and a sordid environment, against the disabilities of birth, against the abuse of health, against the mutual suspicions of capital and labour, against sloth, indifference, self-complacency and short memories. It will call for heavy sacrifices, it will demand the scrapping of many prejudices.¹⁶

Earlier in his Charge, after characteristically setting the context of the Synod as taking counsel about the work of the Church of Jesus Christ - the Kingdom of God here on earth, his Father's business, he expounded his understanding of salvation.

Have we not perhaps been apt to limit that word 'salvation' too rigidly, and to use it in far too confined a sense? It is true, of course, of the individual with regard to sin, but it is true also of communities of nations and generally mankind.¹⁷

Salvation is the "work to make men whole". So he ended the Charge with the prayer that Synod would "be guided by the Holy Spirit in our work of strengthening and extension of the Kingdom of God".¹⁸

At the Synods in 1922 and 1923 the refrain is repeated. In his Charge to the Twenty-first Synod of the Diocese of Cape Town in May, 1922¹⁹ his opening remarks included the following:

We are come "to speak together about the things pertaining to the Kingdom of God". It is true that our Lord has said, "My Kingdom is not of this world", but at the same time his Kingdom is in this world, and as such we have to deal with it from the world's point of view, aiming in every way to make it more efficient and so better to do its work without hindrance. "Whatever ye do, do all to the glory of God." This is to be our aim, and to bear it constantly in mind will be our purpose. And through all our discussions we shall try to pray that He in Whose name we meet may guide us into all truth - that He may give us the spirit of wisdom and understanding, and then we can go forward in confidence that "where he is guide no ill can come".²⁰

16 *The Church Chronicle*, 20 February 1919, p.64.

17 *The Church Chronicle*, 20 February 1919, p.64.

18 *Charge of the Archbishop of Cape Town at the Cape Town Diocesan Synod, 1919*, p.14. Published separately. Publisher unknown. Copy obtained from the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. (Historical Papers: William Cullen Library).

19 Archbishop's Charge to the Cape Town Synod, 1922 in *The Church Chronicle*, 18 May 1922, pp.148-148.

20 *The Church Chronicle*, 18 May 1922, p.148.

Leaders were needed, Carter continued, who were imbued with a "spirit of service and sacrifice" to tackle the problems facing the world.²¹ Chief among the problems in the aftermath of the Great War, he emphasised, was the re-union of Christendom as had been recognised at the Lambeth Conference in 1920. (That historic Conference had issued an Appeal for Christian unity based on "The Lambeth Quadrilateral" passed at the 1888 Lambeth Conference.)

With a persistence which comes from deep conviction Carter began his Charge to the Cape Town Diocesan Synod in October, 1923 with these words:

My right Rev. brethren; my brethren of the clergy and the laity - Once again we are together to speak of the things "pertaining to the Kingdom of God".²²

After expressing his satisfaction that the diocesan synod would be meeting annually, he continued:

May I just ask you to think about this first? And how can I put it better than in our Lord's own words, in which He taught us to pray: "Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven." God's Kingdom set up here on earth and His will done. This is the purpose, the one great aim that we must always set before ourselves in His Church - in all its work, all its many plans, all its many meetings about various phases of that work, all our efforts both Province, Diocese and Parish, all its discussions, all our deliberations here in this Synod, all our controversies, all with the one great end in view that "His Kingdom may come, that His will may be done in earth as it is in heaven."²³

To effect the transformation of the world, for which the Kingdom called, Christians had to be leaven, salt and light in the world. He continued, almost apologising for speaking so frequently of the kingdom of God, but feeling that he needed to remind them constantly of it:

Forgive me, my brethren for speaking of this; you know it - I am speaking to the converted - and yet, necessarily I cannot think that it is out of place that we

21 *The Church Chronicle*, 18 May 1922, p.149.

22 Archbishop's Charge to the Cape Town Diocesan Synod, 13 October 1923. *The Church Chronicle*, 18 October 1923, pp.323-324.

23 *The Church Chronicle*, 18 October 1923, pp. 323-324.

should remind ourselves of this, as in the matters of our discussion there will be much which will be of the earth earthly, of the world worldly - and yet through it all there must be a single eye "looking unto Jesus the Author and perfecter of our Faith", "working until the kingdoms of this world become the Kingdom of God and His Christ".²⁴

Having just returned from the Conference on Native Affairs organised by the Federal Council of the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerke from 27 to 29 September of that year, Carter had been made aware by African participants in particular of the challenge which race relations in South Africa presented to Church and State.²⁵ "Nowhere on the face of the earth" was the Church faced with more complex problems in human relations than in South Africa:

Now nowhere on the face of the earth has the Church greater and more varying problems to deal with than it has in this country in which our lot is cast, and in which we have been called to try to do God's work....

Here with a European, nominally Christian, population of about a million and a half - and consisting of about one half English and one half Dutch, each with their own language - and then between five and six millions of an altogether different race, of another colour, and great masses of whom are as yet living on a much lower scale of civilisation, and with practically no religion. And in addition a considerable number of men and women of mixed blood, this more particularly in our part of the Union.²⁶

The only solution, he believed, lay in the teaching of Jesus Christ.

His charge to the Cape Town Synod in October 1924 was devoted entirely to the theme of the Kingdom.²⁷ The Charge was divided into three sections each introduced by a question about the Kingdom of God. The sections were: The Kingdom of God, what it is; The kingdom of God, what is its work?; the Kingdom of God, how it is to work. In the first section he started by reminding Synod that whatever else the business of synods may be, their main business was to speak of "the

24 *The Church Chronicle*, 18 October 1923, p.324.

25 A Report of the Conference is published in *The Church Chronicle*, 18 October 1923, pp.332-335.

26 Archbishop's Charge, *The Church Chronicle*, 18 October 1923, p.324.

27 *The Anchor*, Vol II, No. 20, October 1924.

things pertaining to the Kingdom of God".²⁸ Synods were to see to it that God's will was done on earth as it is in heaven as Christians prayed in the Lord's Prayer. In his analysis he lost the focus of his discussion by talking about the purpose of the Kingdom when he had offered to tell the Diocese "what it is". Church and Kingdom came very close to being identified. While it was true that Jesus had said that his Kingdom was not of this world, it was in this world. As members of Christ the Church was to be the instrument of and witness to the Kingdom.

Now the Synod consists of the representatives of other members of Christ in this Diocese who have been called together to consider under God the work of His Kingdom, His Body here on earth.²⁹

Identifying the Church and the Kingdom was not typical of Carter. It is clearly a theological slip on the part of someone who would not have regarded himself as a theologian. In other Charges he made it perfectly clear that the Kingdom is more comprehensive than the Church and was the greater rule of God that encompassed all creation.

Secondly, he asked, 'What is its work?' Here again his exposition is rather mixed and muddled, but nevertheless the point is made. Using the parable of the one who sows good seed in the ground he connected the work of the Kingdom with Jesus' sermon in Nazareth at the beginning of his ministry recorded in Luke chapter four. Works of mercy and love were the seed of the Kingdom. Such works were not just to do 'ambulance work', but would include "fighting and witnessing against evil in every form and shape".³⁰ The Church was to be "aggressive" in its denunciation of evil of every kind. But ultimately it needed to be positive in preaching the way of salvation, which was the power of God to set men free from every form of sin.

28 *The Anchor*, Vol II, No. 20, October 1924, p.1.

29 *The Anchor*, Vol II, No. 20, October 1924, p.1.

30 *The Anchor*, Vol II, No. 20, October 1924, p.2.

Thirdly, he asked how the Kingdom of God was to work. Again he turned to the parables for an illustration and saw the working of the Kingdom of God in the image of the net which was cast into the sea and all manner of fish were caught.³¹ Unfortunately he found that the Church was often self-concerned and self-centred, seeking to preserve itself. He reminded Synod that "... the Church's work is among people of every race and kindred and tongue".³²

At the Diocesan Synod in 1925 Carter's suffragan, Okey Nash, was asked to deliver the Charge.³³ Whilst no specific mention was made of the Kingdom of God in Carter's charges to the 1926 or 1927 diocesan synods, however, in 1928, at his last diocesan synod, he prefaced his remarks again with his, by now characteristic, call to the Church to remember that the context of all its activities was the Kingdom of God. That Kingdom was to be established here on earth through God's instrument, the Church, the Body of Christ. Synod, as the policy-making body of the Church, was therefore concerned primarily with the things of the Kingdom.³⁴ Once again he used the petition in the Lord's Prayer as a reminder to Synod that the Church's task was to pray for and work for the Kingdom of God.

We have come as clergy and laity to take counsel as to how best we can carry on the work which we believe has been given us by God to do. We have come as members of Christ, as being part of his Body, of which He is the Head, to consider, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, how we can best fulfil that prayer so often on our lips "Thy Kingdom come".³⁵

To us men is entrusted the setting up and the furtherance of the Kingdom. It was for this purpose that our Lord called His disciples, and through them now in this age the call has come to us "that his way may be known upon earth and His saving health among all nations".

31 Parable of the Miraculous Haul of Fish, John 21:4-14.

32 *The Anchor*, Vol II, No. 20, October 1924, p.2.

33 *Acts and Resolutions of the Twenty-fourth Synod of the Diocese of Cape Town, 1925* (Cape Town: The English Church House 1925) p.3.

34 An extract from the Archbishop's Charge is printed in *The Church Chronicle*, 22 November 1928, p.370.

35 *The Church Chronicle*, 22 November 1928, p.370.

But before the task could be accomplished Christians "must see to it that the Kingdom of God is within us".

Just as we are told in the very early days of the Church people "took knowledge of those first followers of our Lord that they had been with Jesus" so we must make it our aim by prayer, by communion, by accepting the invitation. "Come and learn from me" to set up this Kingdom in our hearts and lives - "Ye shall be witnesses unto me". Such was the way whereby our Lord bade His followers carry on that work which He began to do, and the message which He came to teach.³⁶

Setting the context of the mission of the Church firmly within that of the Kingdom of God here on earth helped the CPSA to keep its sights set on the 'questions' of the day as central to the true calling of the Church. It was the very opposite of a parochial, pietistic, self-perpetuating and self-serving spirituality. It was concerned with the fabric of this world because Carter believed, with those from the Tractarian and Christian Socialist schools, that God affirmed the world in the Incarnation and reached out to the oppressed in Jesus Christ. There was never the slightest suggestion that people should be satisfied with their circumstances because God held better things for them hereafter. Nor was there any suggestion that the Church had to prepare people to bear their burdens with courage and accept their lot in life as fore-ordained by God. He held out no eternal rewards to offset the pains of the present, although he believed in them as is clear from his commendation at every Synod of those who had loved and served the Lord in the CPSA to God's eternal keeping.

In the light of the evidence and analysis of the centrality of the Kingdom of God here on earth in the exhortations of the leader of the Church of the Province to the faithful, it is difficult to understand how James Cochrane comes to the following

36 *The Church Chronicle*, 22 November 1928, p.370.

conclusion in summarising the Anglican position during the period 1921-1930. He writes:

... the Church showed its colours firmly nailed to the mast of capitalism and bourgeois ideology. Eschatological expectations often took the form of preparation for the 'hereafter'. Concern for workplace alienation and the impecuniness of labour seldom arose, for the morrow was God's concern.³⁷

In the case of the Anglican Church's position as reflected by Carter and supported by the vast majority of its leadership on the bench of bishops and in the dioceses, such Eschatological arguments were never advanced as a reason for leaving the workers to their lot. Where the Church failed to act in solidarity with workers it was due more to its cultural, than to its spiritual captivity. For all the limitations of his having been part of the British colonialist mentality Carter affirmed the priority of the claims of the Kingdom of God above every other form of loyalty in Church and State. It was on this base that the Anglican Church would build in the years to come when it would be a leader among the Christian Churches in tackling the Government on issues of racial discrimination and related matters. Carter was clear that God's Kingdom here on earth had to be served by the Church and had to be obeyed by the State. As he frequently pointed out, self-preservation and concern solely for itself were contrary to the nature of the Church and a constant temptation. He emphasised that the Church's true calling lay not within itself but within God's purposes and within God's world where God's rule and sovereignty had to be acknowledged. While it was true that the Kingdom was within, it was personal, but it was not primarily individual. In his Charge to the Diocesan Synod in 1914 he considered the apparently conflicting callings of the Church to proclaim individual salvation and concern itself with social reform. He began by dealing with individuals within the context of society.

There is, it has been well said, one phase of social reform which the Church can do better than any political organisation. Christianity makes a special

appeal to the individual. The political reformer devotes himself to the task of reforming conditions. There is not when rightly understood any antagonism between them; ... there has been in the past a good deal of needless controversy between the advocates of these two methods of salvation. The individualistic Christian has said: "Get the heart of the individual cleansed from sin, and all will be well with social conditions". The social reformer replied: "Change the environment of the individual and you will reform the man".

Both it seems to me are necessary. It is certainly the duty of the church to aim at the first in every possible way At the same time it must always aim, too, at denouncing and removing those conditions which hinder and often choke altogether the possibility of life being developed and growing in the love of God and of man.³⁸

It was inevitable that the mainline Churches which had close associations with the colonising regimes reflected the dominant capitalist and racist ethos of the periods under review. If they had not done that they would probably have become as other Christians had from time to time, millenarian sectarians with either a pietistic or revolutionary Eschatological outlook. In recent times we have had quite a few instances of the latter. But how was it that these Churches, and here I am concerned primarily with the Anglican Church, became an important and effective agent in assisting the forces working for bringing about a non-racial, democracy in South Africa? If Cochrane's claim that the Church was simply a "servant of power" was true, when did it change its role, and why? Why is it that the Anglican Church consistently elected metropolitans who were a thorn in the flesh to white minority governments?

In *Servants of Power* James Cochrane³⁹ sets out arguments from his research which indicate that the Methodist and Anglican Churches were, for all their protests about social conditions, no more than servants of power. He concludes that the Church sought to stand aloof.

'Standing aloof from such realities may be comforting to the disturbed, threatened or perplexed person or body. But it is also a certain abdication of

38 Charge to the Synod of the Diocese of Cape Town at its Seventeenth Session, Saturday, September 19th, 1914. *Cape Times*, 19 September 1914. p.2.

39 Cochrane: *Servants of Power*, p.185.

responsibility in regard to the poor and oppressed. Often it is also a way of concealing the implications of the inevitable symbiotic participation of the Church in its social context, namely that it usually reflects within itself the same conflicts and contradictions as the society of which it is part.⁴⁰

Carter did not seek to 'stand aloof' he believed firmly and stated passionately that the Church should get involved, should analyse and understand the 'social questions' of the day and address them courageously as soldiers doing battle. In saying so he was no voice calling in an Anglican wilderness as there are many letters and articles in the Church press to illustrate that there were many very concerned and socially aware members of the clergy and laity in the Church. Carter and the CPSA in his time saw their intervention more in terms of service to, rather than, solidarity with the oppressed. But Carter's pronouncements provide some balance to Cochrane's conclusions and a challenge to the adequacy of his research. Carter's charges to the synods of the Anglican Church during the period 1909-1930 provide some of the main evidence for the inadequacy and slanted nature of Cochrane's conclusion in the title "Servants of Power". It is, therefore no surprise to find no reference to Carter in the index to this work.

In summary of the Church's attitude in the period 1903-1910 Cochrane writes:

Thus despite the public rituals connected with Church-going, the predominant tendency among English speaking Churchmen and South Africa was to exorcise the full complexity of public life from the Body of Christ.⁴¹

Not so, if one took the trouble to acquaint oneself with the substance of the charges of Carter to synods which Cochrane evidently omitted to do.

Cochrane sets out a wide-ranging ideological analysis of the Methodist Church and the CPSA under three categories: "Ideological analysis, CPSA and Methodist

40 Cochrane: *Servants of Power*, p.185.

41 Cochrane: *Servants of Power*, p.86.

Church Symbols and Images 1903-1930"; "Ideological analysis, CPSA and Methodist Church: Meaning complexes 1903-1930"; "Ideological Analysis, CPSA and Methodist Church: Presuppositions 1903-1930."⁴² One assumes that the analysis is a summary of attitudes common to Methodists and Anglicans. If not - as it appears they are not - it would have been more accurate factually to have been specific about which symbols and images and which meaning-complexes were more characteristic, say of the Methodist Church.

While my research of Carter confirms much of what is identified in the analysis, there are some key categories which do not fit Carter or the bulk of leadership in the Anglican Church at that time. Cochrane states that during the period 1920-30 one of the epithets used about socialism by the Methodist and Anglican Churches was that it was "atheistic". I fail to find that in any of Carter's statements. On the contrary his political bias, as we have shown, was socialist. There was concern about the methods and utterances of certain African unions and groupings, but not because of their socialism.

In the table "Ideological analysis, CPSA and Methodist Church: Symbols and Images, 1903-1930, Responsibilities of Government"⁴³ he claims that the Churches regarded the "individual as NB". Such a conclusion is not supported by any of the material I have used in my research into the role of the CPSA during this period.

More seriously, in the following table dealing with meaning-complexes, in the category "Image of Church", Cochrane claims that "Liberal Evangelicalism, Impartial, universally Kingdom of God policies" with a strong emphasis on "spirituality - not worldly struggles" were predominant.⁴⁴ The CPSA could hardly be accused of having

42 Cochrane: *Servants of Power*, pp.178-181.

43 Cochrane: *Servants of Power*, p.178.

44 Cochrane: *Servants of Power*, p.179.

a liberal evangelical bias. If anything its theological bias was conservative-catholic. "Impartial" it clearly also was not as it started with a partiality for segregation and white supremacy and by the end of Carter's term of office began to move towards a partiality for the oppressed. I am not at all sure what is meant by "universally Kingdom of God policies", but I suspect it is something very different from what Carter meant when he was speaking of the Kingdom of God. As for the conclusion that the Church was concerned with a spirituality which was not involved in "worldly concerns", it is plainly not supported by the evidence.

Other conclusions which are not supported by any evidence I can find from my research into attitudes within the CPSA are that there was "a capitulation to the separation of the religious from the social realm"⁴⁵ which Cochrane describes as an "overall pattern". Amongst the religious "symbols and images" he identifies "conversion" as one of the dominant concerns. One assumes that he is referring to an individualistic understanding of conversion as is characteristic in evangelical Churches. If so, the CPSA must be excluded. Equally unsubstantiated is the overall pattern which he identifies among the presuppositions in the Methodist Church and the CPSA during the period 1920-1930 as "emphasis on privatised religion to the fore".⁴⁶ As is evident from the analysis I have made of the role of the CPSA in the period 1904-1930 there was no such presupposition amongst influential Anglicans of the CPSA.

For Carter, Anglo-Catholicism and Christian Socialism were key theological categories in his understanding of the nature of the Church and its message. With regard to his spirituality it was always concerned with worldly struggles as his charges attest. For him and other recognised and acknowledged leaders in the CPSA spiritual categories are always cashed in worldly currency.

45 Cochrane: *Servants of Power*, p.179 'Meaning complexes - overall pattern'.

46 Cochrane: *Servants of Power*, p.181. 'overall pattern'.

Cochrane's *Servants of Power* is an important corrective to the triumphalist histories which were produced in the first half of this century.⁴⁷ *Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa* which was written by Cecil Lewis and G.E. Edwards (1934) is a loosely connected medley of historical facts and incidents which formed the first attempt to produce a history of the CPSA - an attempt which had been encouraged by Carter. In 1963, Hinchliff produced a more coherent account in *The Anglican Church in South Africa*. Hinchliff's historiography is rather bland and uncritical. An important book at the time, it is now out of date. Cochrane's *Servants of Power* shakes the foundations of these often smug perspectives. But his analysis fails to account for the fact that the CPSA produced in the period he covers, a Carter and subsequently a number of Church leaders who could not be called 'servants of power'. In the final analysis he ends up caricaturing the role of the CPSA by relying on a materialistic assessment and by failing to take account of the contribution and influence of the leading figure in the CPSA at the time.

Indigenous Ministry and Independent Resources

At the very outset Carter made it clear to the CPSA and his diocese that the Church had to become self-reliant for ministry and means. At his first Provincial Synod he pointed out that the Church would be united within the Union of the Provinces with work outside the Union in Rhodesia (which, he believed, would join the Union) and in German South West Africa and Mozambique. To meet these growing needs the Church had to be self-supporting with "men who know the country, its people and its languages". As far as money from overseas was concerned he told the Diocesan

47 *Harvest of Hope*, B.T. Page (London: SPCK 1947); *The Salient of South Africa*, Osmund Victor C.R. (London: SPG 1949) *A Transvaal Jubilee, A History of the Church of the Province of South Africa in the Transvaal*, J.A.I. Agar-Hamilton (London: SPCK 1929); *Stand Therefore*, Michael Furse (London: SPCK 1953) are some of the best known. The titles speak for themselves.

Synod in 1910: "We cannot expect to continue for ever to receive support from England, and it is not right that we should expect it."⁴⁸

When Henry Sidwell was the first South African to be elected Bishop of a Diocese in this Province (and the last one for quite a while it turned out) *The Church Chronicle* commented:

In the election of a colonial born man to be the first Bishop of George, may we not see an encouraging sign. Hitherto all our Bishops as well as the majority of our other clergy have come to us directly or indirectly from oversea.(sic) Now at length, after more than sixty years of Church life, the Church of the Province of S. Africa has produced a Bishop, and it may be hoped, will go on to produce more, with a due proportion of Deacons and Priests. But the number of the vocations to the Sacred Ministry is surely to some extent a measure of the depth and reality of the spiritual life of a Church, and judged by this test we have no ground for boasting.⁴⁹

Bishop Sidwell proved to be one of the most politically reactionary bishops on the bench. It was therefore providential that no more of his South African mind were added to the bench for some time. But the point was well-made and pursued by some of the leading colonial clergy in the person, among others, of Oswald James Hogarth, later an archdeacon and doctor of divinity in the Diocese of Cape Town and with Ralph White co-biographer of William Marlborough Carter. In a letter published in *The Church Chronicle* in November 1914 he pointed out that the Anglican Churches in North America and Australia had become independent of the Mother Church for their clergy. In the CPSA there were at that time, he noted, one hundred and forty-nine European and ninety-one "native-born" (South African born) clergy and none of the "native-born" was in any leading position in the Church.

After more than half a century of organised Church life, out of fifteen bishops in commission, only one is of South African birth; out of thirty-two Deans and Archdeacons only two; and out of forty-nine Canons only one is a South African; and these three are all in the same Diocese - St. John's. The Diocese

48 *The Church Chronicle*, 13 October 1910, p.369.

49 *The Church Chronicle*, 27 July 1911, p.187.

of Capetown (sic), Grahamstown and Natal, though they have fifty-four South African clergy between them, have not elected one as a representative to the Provincial Synod of 1915.

He had done his homework. He went on to affirm:

But it is a matter of vital importance for the welfare of the Church in South Africa that her own sons, who must eventually take up the highest positions of leadership and rulership in the Church, who must legislate for her, guide her policy and maintain her spiritual efficiency as a living branch of the Catholic Church, should be trained and fitted in every way possible, for this tremendous responsibility.⁵⁰

And then he rather sarcastically asked:

What is wrong? Is it inadequate spiritual training, or insufficient scholastic attainment? Is it that local men are not drawn from the most refined stratum of society or that the ablest South Africans will not take orders but enter other professions, or that the South African air has a deleterious effect on character.⁵¹

In the next issue of *The Church Chronicle* there were three letters in response to Hogarth's criticism. Two of the letters supported Hogarth's contention and ascribed the dominance of expatriate clergy in leadership positions to a self-perpetuating leadership clique in the one case and to a perception that 'colonial clergy' were inferior in the other. One of them took consolation from English history.

It is said that for many a long year after the Norman conquest of England an Anglo-Saxon never found himself in any position of ecclesiastical importance Yet humility ultimately won. The word Norman is descriptive only of a few decaying remnants of architecture, whereas Anglican stands for a flourishing Church built up of living stones.⁵²

The third was concerned at the tone of the Hogarth's letter.

50 *The Church Chronicle*, 5 November 1914, pp.346-347.

51 *The Church Chronicle*, 5 November 1914, pp.346-347.

52 *The Church Chronicle*, 19 November 1914, p.363.

A few months later another letter of Hogarth's was published in which he blamed the bishops for being far too content to take the line of least resistance by applying to England for men instead of throwing their energies into finding them in this country. It is clear from the correspondence that St. Paul's, Grahamstown, was not highly regarded and the universities in this country were thought to be inferior so the cost of proper training for local clergy was enormous and could only be afforded by those with private means. The difficulty in trying to emulate the ethos and the academic standard of expatriate clergy was certainly one of the problems. Hogarth had a broader vision. By developing an indigenous ministry the CPSA could make a contribution to solving the race problem in the land.

May it not be her privilege to solve, for the 20th century, the problem of the inter relation of colour in the Church. Perhaps she may realise Bishop Gray's great hope of reproachment between the English and the Dutch Churches.⁵³

In his Charge to the Provincial Synod in 1915 and again in 1919 the Archbishop expressed his concern that South African born men of European descent were not offering themselves for the ordained ministry. In 1915 he reported that out of five-hundred-and-forty clergy only forty-nine were South African born.⁵⁴ Carter was well aware that offering oneself for the ministry was a sacrifice. He thought that the sacrifice for the cause of justice should inspire men to offer themselves. But the sacrifice in terms of pay he thought was an imposition and a trial which was more than many contemplating ordination were prepared to bear.

By 1924 Carter had established St. Austin's College in Cape Town for the training of 'coloured' candidates. In his Charge to the 1927 Diocesan Synod he spoke of the "first-fruits" of St. Austin's which would strengthen the recruiting of 'non-

53 *The Church Chronicle*, 3 December 1914.

54 The number 49 refers only to South Africans of European descent. It is interesting and significant that Carter did not include almost double that number of Africans that had been ordained.

European' ordinands. The next year, at his last diocesan synod, he mentioned the subject again. He called for candidates "whose upbringing and education should help them to a true understanding of native ways and customs, needs and problems". Quite a shift from the times when he was looking for copies of good Englishmen. Carter seemed to be primarily concerned that white men were not coming forward from the ranks of the 'colonial born' to replace the 'Home-born' source. His concern was not just that the CPSA could face a shortage of priests, but that the Church would not become truly incarnate as a Catholic church in South Africa. He did not appear to be as concerned about candidates from among the 'natives'. Whether this was because blacks were offering themselves in sufficient numbers or whether he thought, as he probably did, that the key to the future of the ministry lay with the whites, one cannot decide. One thing is clear, however, his main concern, in spite of the assumptions about the segregated nature of the ministry, was the fact that the land had to produce its own life, and that the Church would fail unless it enabled it to do that. During his time many changes had taken place in the political structure of the country and it was becoming abundantly clear that South Africa would work out her own salvation. So the Church too had to work out its own salvation and no longer rely on the 'Home' country. Carter certainly reminded the Church of these things.

"For whom does the Church of South Africa exist?" asked the editor of *The Church Chronicle* towards the end of 1928.⁵⁵ The Church, he asserted, existed for the people of South Africa. "Are we content to be merely the church of the people who come from England or have we a message to every South African, regardless of race, colour or language?" He went on to make the following points with which I conclude this section:

- (1) It is our duty to identify ourselves strenuously with the whole, social, national and religious life of the South African people.

55 *The Church Chronicle*, 12 December 1928.

- (2) The South African Church is the custodian of the Catholic Traditions.
- (3) Let us remember the deep-grained nationalism of the South African people and then let us ask ourselves whether the process of Anglicising has not already gone so far as to become a positive danger to our future prospects.
- (4) This is the chief reason why we view with anxiety the steady stream of men from other branches of the Anglican Communion, who are called at the expense of the native ministry to fill some of our most important charges.⁵⁶

Such also was Carter's concern. Which illustrates one of the points I want to emphasise about Carter and that is that his challenges to the Church were challenges that the Church become what it is, much as Maurice called Christians to become what they are. Because of its faith the Church had to become indigenous; it could not seek to perpetuate itself as a foreign body on South African soil - an exotic plant.

Women's Rights

Our Church Franchise in this Province is limited to communicants - and a communicant of the Church is defined as 'a male person' ... This appears to me to be altogether wrong. Our ecclesiastical franchise should certainly, in my opinion, be extended to women, and this especially when it is considered how great are the interest and the zeal which women show in Church matters and which often put us men to shame.⁵⁷

In these words Carter made his position perfectly clear in his Charge to Provincial Synod in January 1915. At that time women were not only excluded from serving as representatives of the Church, from parochial councils to diocesan and provincial synods, they were also not permitted to vote for such representatives. According to the regulations governing attendance at vestry meetings at the time it was stipulated that: "Every male Parishioner of the full age of twenty-one years, shall be entitled to take part in all Vestry meetings..." By 'Parishioner' was understood, one who was on

⁵⁶ *The Church Chronicle*, 12 December 1928.

⁵⁷ From Carter's Charge to Provincial Synod, October 1915. Report in *The Church Chronicle*, 14 January 1914.

the list of communicants of the Parish who was not under censure.⁵⁸ And 'Communicant' in Article XXIV.6 of the Constitution of the CPSA was "a male person who shall have received the Holy Communion three times at least during the preceding year..."⁵⁹ These definitions remained in force until they were finally amended at the Provincial Synod of 1924, the amendments being ratified at the Provincial Synod of 1929 to include women in the definition of a 'Communicant of the Church'. It took Carter his full term as Metropolitan to get the Provincial Synod to budge, and then ever so slightly, from this male protectionism.

From the outset it was Carter's intention that women should be allowed to be representatives of the Church in its councils. However, he lowered his sights to getting women the ecclesiastical franchise. It was in fact only at the end of his term, at the very last provincial synod at which he presided, that he achieved a measure of success.

Carter's crusade on behalf of the women of the Church started at the Provincial Missionary Conference held 5-8 November 1913 in Johannesburg. There were no women at the Missionary Conference although many women were active as missionaries. As they were excluded from eligibility as representatives because of their sex there were separate Women's Missionary Conferences. When the question of increasing the personnel of the Provincial Missionary Conference was raised the Archbishop used the opportunity to suggest that women missionary workers be admitted to the deliberations of the conference, especially as the Church was training women more and more "in business work", which would presumably enable them to cope. Conference agreed, but there was a little matter which, Carter pointed out, the Provincial Synod would have to address. According to the Canons and Constitution

58 *The Constitution and Canons of the CPSA* (1904) Canon XXIII.

59 *The Constitution and Canons of the CPSA with other Acts of the Provincial Synods, 1870, 1876, 1883, 1891, 1898 and 1904, etc.* (Cape Town: English Church House 1904).

of the Church of the Province only males were legally entitled to serve on representative councils of the Church.

His Grace then moved that in the opinion of the Conference women should be eligible as members of Provincial Conference, and the Provincial Synod be asked to amend the Constitution of the Conference accordingly.⁶⁰

The following motion was adopted:

That the Provincial Synod be requested to take into consideration the question of the representation of women on the several Councils of the Church.⁶¹

Making sure that he would speak with the backing of as broad a section of the Church as possible he next engineered that it got on to the Agenda of the Synod of the Diocese of Cape Town at its meeting in February 1914. "I should be glad if this Synod could express some opinion on the matter before our Provincial Synod meets," was Carter's request. Obediently the Synod did what it thought it could which was to ask Provincial Synod "... to make such alterations in Canon XXIII, and Article XXIV, section 6, of the Constitution of the Church of this Province, as to admit women to a full share in the proceedings of Parochial Vestry Meetings."⁶²

It was against this background that the Archbishop exhorted the Provincial Synod of 1915 to change the Constitution to allow women to vote. But the Synod proved hard of hearing and of heart. Some slight concession, it decided, was all the Holy Spirit would allow on that occasion. They acknowledged that the Church was being less than fair to women by excluding them from being accepted as *bona fide* parishioners. Complicating the issue for many of the representatives was the fact that

60 Report of the Provincial Missionary Conference Johannesburg 5-8 November 1913, *The Church Chronicle*, 13 November 1913, p.375.

61 *The Church Chronicle*, 13 November 1913, p.375.

62 *Acts and Resolutions of the Seventeenth Synod of the Diocese of Cape Town 1914*. (Cape Town: The English Church House 1914) p.10.

"there are in certain dioceses large numbers of native or coloured women communicants. "Is it advisable," they asked, "native thought and customs being what they are at present, to extend the privilege of Church franchise to these as well as to white women?"⁶³

A motion to include women in the definition of a 'parishioner' and thereby entitle women to participate in vestries of the Church scraped through a depleted House of Laity by eight votes to seven. It had the overwhelming support of the bishops (10-2) and the clergy (36-6).⁶⁴ Parishioners were defined in Canon XXIII, 'Of Vestries' as

- (i) Communicants, who are male by definition,
- (ii) women who are similarly qualified;
- (iii) habitual worshippers, i.e. non-communicants of either sex.⁶⁵

In spite of the fact that the matter was referred to diocesan synods for consideration there were signs of panic in the ranks as some saw the dreadful prospect of women Churchwardens, while others muttered about the threat of women clergy. American influence was also detected and bemoaned. Nevertheless the first little victory had been won allowing women to vote at vestries.

At the next Provincial Synod in 1919 Carter tried again. He told his all male audience that he hoped that the definition of a communicant as a 'male' would be changed during that session of Synod. Time had come to change the Church's attitude because the world was leaving it behind.

63 Report of the proceedings of the Provincial Synod 1915 in *The Church Chronicle*, 28 January 1915, p.23.

64 Report of the proceedings of Provincial Synod in *The Church Chronicle*, 11 February 1915, p.39.

65 *The Church Chronicle*, 25 November 1915, p.57.

This in itself is a manifestation of what the opinion of the Church was fifty years ago. Times have changed and if the Church is to be in touch with the spirit of the age this must be changed and I hoped that it may be changed during this session of Synod.⁶⁶

It was a vain hope. What is very significant in Carter's argument is the reference to "the spirit of the age". Carter often referred to forces outside the Church as forces with which the Church had to reckon. When war broke out he identified the cause as the spirit of materialism and selfishness. But he did not think all the forces were negative and evil for the war had also brought a spirit of brotherhood and sacrifice which the Church should emulate, and the war had also contributed to the emancipation of women. Carter referred to a book *The Science of Power* which had been published earlier in 1919.⁶⁷ The author had undertaken an analysis of the forces which had formed the mind of the German people in preparation for the war. Education, Carter noted, had played an important role. There was another power identified in the book, Carter pointed out, which was being recognised in the world:

It brings before our notice the important and rightly important matter of the changing position of women in the affairs of the world and of their future influence in those affairs.⁶⁸

Carter's challenge was important not only because of what it hoped to achieve for women in the Church, but also because of the basic theology which inspired it viz. that God challenges the Church by the divine work in the world. When the Church fails to heed that challenge it is in danger of idolising its fossilised position and bringing upon itself the wrath of God. Synod was asked to cast down this idol.

Co-adjutor Bishop of Cape Town 'Okey' Nash (who preferred the frontiers of Church life to the backwaters) introduced the motion with support from Archdeacon

66 The Archbishop's Charge in *The Church Chronicle*, 13 November 1919, p.455-6.

67 *The Church Chronicle*, 13 November 1919, p.455-6.

68 *The Church Chronicle*, 13 November 1919, p.455.

Tobias, Mr Advocate Currey from Grahamstown and Revd John James Xaba from St. John's amongst others.⁶⁹ One layman suggested that if the bill became law it affected the laity because "the lay house might come to be composed mainly of the wives of bishops and clergy". Broad sides were fired by Canons Pennington (Natal) and Orford (Bloemfontein) in defence of the status quo. Both discerned the thin edge of the "ordination to the priesthood" wedge with the "Primacy of the Province" the unthinkable prospect. At the end of the debate the Archbishop put in a final word saying that he believed "an enormous mistake would be made if the matter were hung up for another 10 years". In spite of the Archbishop's warning the bill was thrown out by a majority vote in the house of laymen.⁷⁰

But, within a year, Carter received backing from a very influential body and he was able to go to the Diocesan Synod of the Diocese of Cape Town in 1921 armed with a resolution of the Lambeth Conference held in 1920 which stated that:

Women should be admitted to the councils of the Church to which laymen are admitted and on equal terms. Diocesan, Provincial and National synods may decide when and how this principle is to be brought into effect.⁷¹

Carter expressed his "real disappointment" that the previous Provincial Synod had not passed a motion to that effect. "But," he continued, "the time for their exclusion is passing away."

And so it was, for the Diocese of Cape Town heeded their Archbishop's call and accepted a motion proposed by Canon Hereford that:

69 Debate on the bill reported in *The Church Chronicle*, 27 November 1919, p.472.

70 *The Church Chronicle*, 27 November 1919, p.472.

71 Quoted by Archbishop Carter in the second part of his Charge to the Twentieth Synod of the Diocese of Cape Town at the Holy Communion on Sunday 24th April, 1921. A *Resumé of the Archbishop's Charge* is printed in *The Church Chronicle*, 5 May 1921, pp. 153-155.

Women should be admitted to those posts in the Church to which laymen are admitted, and on equal terms.⁷²

The motion was carried in the House of Laity and by a large majority in the House of Clergy.⁷³

From the absence of any reference to women's rights in Carter's Charge to the 1924 Provincial Synod it would appear that he abandoned the cause, but that would be misleading. His persistence had paid off. Synod voted in favour of an addition to Article VIII of the Constitution which gave women a vote in electing representatives (restricted to males) for the Diocesan Synods. (I have quoted this clause at the beginning of this section. See pg.132, above.) At the same time as throwing this sop to the feminists and their supporters, Synod amended two other articles and two Canons to ensure that the only people entitled to represent the Church in those august bodies would be males. Provincial Synod 1929 added a clause at the end of Article VIII of the Constitution which conceded that "women who are Communicants of the full age of twenty-one years may be electors of representatives in Diocesan Synods". But so as to ensure that men were to be the sole spokespersons in the councils of the Church, the Provincial Synods of 1924 and 1929, proceeded to enshrine male exclusivity in its synods by inserting the words "male persons who are" before the word 'communicant' in all definitions in the Articles and Canons of the persons qualified to represent the Church on these bodies. It took another forty years for the Church to expunge those clauses from the laws governing its life. The amendments were confirmed at the 1929 Synod and became the law of the Church until 1968 when the Provincial Synod did what Carter pleaded for in 1915. It would take more than half a century from the time that Carter first called for women to serve as

72 From a report on the Cape Town Diocesan Synod of 1921 in *The Church Chronicle*, 5 May 1921, p.147-149. Hereford initially proposed that: "In the opinion of this Synod all sex disqualifications to the lay offices of the Church be abolished."

73 *The Church Chronicle*, 5 May 1921, p.147.

representatives on the councils of the Church before the Church decided that it was ready to accept them.

Carter's struggle for women's rights in the Church illustrates how, in some issues he was ahead of the Church he led. On the question of racial discrimination and segregation his position was much more that of the leading bishops and clergy, but did not represent that of many prominent lay people.

Other Challenges

Time and space do not permit a more than cursory glance at some of the other issues which Carter held before the Church as challenges to its life, integrity, relevance and effectiveness as an instrument of the Kingdom of God. Most have noticed rightly his administrative ability and vision. At his very first provincial synod in 1909 he called for the establishment of a Standing Committee of Provincial Synod to handle the decisions of Synod and see that they were implemented. The Provincial Pension Fund which ensured at least that retired bishops and clergy would get a pension was the result of his initiative. In his own diocese he got clergy stipends to be paid out of a common fund and was concerned about the low level of stipends. Equally important and pertinent was the size of diocese and the workload of the metropolitan. During his time four new dioceses, George (1911), Kimberley and Kuruman (1911), Johannesburg (1921) and Damaraland (1923) were formed increasing the number during his incumbency from ten to fourteen.

During his time as Metropolitan the revision of the Liturgy was undertaken with his active support. Many of his concerns and challenges remain priorities on the agenda of the Church of the Province today which confirms William Marlborough Carter as one of the great metropolitans of the CPSA.

I conclude with some words of Walter Julius Carey, Bishop of Bloemfontein, written in appreciation of William Carter when the Church got news of his resignation:

It would be impossible to imagine the Archbishop having personal or local or even Diocesan ambition: he speaks and thinks for the Province or for the Church as a whole; all his interests and his thoughts are there. He thinks in terms of the Church, of the Kingdom of God The Archbishop has never pretended to be a great scholar or an organiser of propaganda: indeed on certain points he has openly asked for information on quite ordinary subjects: but all the more is it striking how his influence has penetrated far beyond the power of scholars and organisers. He has created an atmosphere of simple direct honesty and integrity which will last while more pushful people are forgotten, and has won the Church a power which is permanent because it is based on truth and reality.⁷⁴

74 *The Church Chronicle*, 21 November 1929, p.374.

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