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THE ROLE OF ENGLISH-SPEAKING CHURCHES IN SOUTH AFRICA: A CRITICAL HISTORICAL ANALYSIS AND THEOLOGICAL EVALUATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE AND THE METHODIST CHURCH, 1903-1930

"The madness of our time is that what people say is different from what they do."

Boris Pasternak, *Dr Zhivago*.

J.R. COCHRANE

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DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES
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ABSTRACT

PART ONE elucidates the theoretical basis of the study and its assumptions. After surveying South African church historiography and concluding that synchronic political economic history is seldom integrated into the Church story, it is argued that critical social theory should inform church historiography.

An historical material framework is adopted and the relationship of theory and practice established. The distinction between unterbau and überbau by which one may analyse religion in a social structure is discussed. Here we turn to András Hegedüs' model of social structure in which variables of social structure and social differentiation are distinguished, in the process expanding the concept of unterbau beyond ownership and the division of labour. Complex social structures are thus more easily analysed while retaining an historical material framework. Using this model, specific analytical factors applicable to the social structure of South Africa in the first stages of industrialisation are detailed.

To lay the ground for a coherent consideration of the relationship of critical social theory to theology, Jürgen Habermas' work on the reconstruction of historical materialism is then invoked. The objective and subjective conditions of knowledge are analysed - that is, a theoretical basis for a critique of ideology is added to the critique of political economy.

Next the unification of subjective and objective is epistemologically developed via Bernard Lonergan's theory of the structure of cognition. This allows one to articulate the connection of reason to praxis through the notion of practical intentionality informed by insight and judgment, out of which arises a primary orientation, a way-of-being-in-the-world.

Finally, the concept of ideology is clarified in contrast to Karl Mannheim's "perspectivist" definition, and the resultant critical conception of ideology used to study the selected churches in relation to the interests and structures of capital and labour.

PART TWO, the bulk of the study, analyses the churches in context. To set the scene, the missionary period of the nineteenth century is discussed in relation to Victorian expansionism, concluding that, whatever their value, the missions were closely tied in to imperial interests and the penetration of capital, fundamentally altering the indigenous societies.

This leads to a brief consideration of race and class in the South African political economy. A class definition is adopted that allows for fractions within the dominant capital-labour dichotomy.

Finally, an overview of the first stage of industrialisation follows in respect of primitive accumulation, gold mining, farming, alcohol and domestic workers.

With that background to the 1903-1930 period clear, extensive archival material is used to describe and analyse the churches in relation to their political economic context. The focus is the Church in industrialisation, including the shaping of its practice, polity and theology by the conflicts and interests of foreign and national capital. The study demonstrates the captivity of the churches to the ideology of capital, but also their equivocation in the face of a majority membership of black people dispossessed of land, wealth and participation in decision-making processes, people frequently resisting their dispossession, but usually in terms unacceptable to the churches.

These dynamics are traced through to the political Union of British and Afrikaner settlers which effectively

excluded the indigenous population; then through the subsequent decade and the struggle for hegemony between foreign and national capital, during which settler control over land and labour increased while major African strikes began; and finally through the nineteen-twenties: the incorporation of settler workers into the structures of domination, the political victory of national capital (the Herzog Pact government), and the rise of the powerful Industrial and Commercial Workers Union.

Part Two ends with a detailed description of the ideological elements dominating the churches, their concerns, their language and their operative presuppositions.

PART THREE returns to the earlier theoretical framework in order to found a theory of religion and theology. David Tracy's notions of the limits-to human agency and the limits-of experience locate the religious phenomenon in relation to empirical-analytic and historical-hermeneutic sciences. Questions of meaning, meaningfulness and truth are introduced. Utilising Theodore Jennings, William Lynch and Paul Ricoeur, the structure of analogical imagination is explored and applied to Bernard Lonergan's investigation of insight, to be finally related to religion as a way-of-being-in-the-world.

Lastly, the culminating chapter pursues ecclesiological directions, within a historical material framework, applicable to a Church caught in social contradictions but anticipating an emancipated world, and concludes with a definition of the Church-at-the-limits.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The intellectual struggle which this dissertation manifests, represents close on twelve years of growing practical involvement in seeking a just and participatory order in South Africa. Eventually it became personally necessary to reflect more rigorously on debates and experiences arising in this period, thus the motivation for this work. It remains for me to thank those who have assisted and encouraged the completion of the study. Many friends, some of whom have not been treated too kindly for their political views and activity, contributed to the motivation behind the work and helped me to believe there would be some value in it other than meeting the requirements of a degree. In particular I owe much to Renate who sustained a great deal and cared a great deal.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ALS	Manuscript Letter, Signed
APO	African People's Organisation
CCD	Christian Citizenship Department, Methodist Church
CE	Christian Express (later South African Outlook)
CR	Journal of the Community of the Resurrection, Johannesburg
E & W	The East and West Review
GMCSA	General Missionary Conference of South Africa
ICS	Institute for Commonwealth Studies on Southern Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, University of London
ICU/ICWU	Industrial and Commercial Workers Union
ISL	International Socialist League
IWW	International Workers of the World
JTSA	Journal of Theology for Southern Africa
LS	Letter or Document, signed
MCMC	Methodist Church, Minutes of Conference
OX:	Oxford History of South Africa
RDM	Rand Daily Mail
SAMSR	South African Missionary Society Report
SANAC	South African Native Affairs (Lagden) Commission
SAO	South African Outlook
TCC	The Church Chronicle (CPSA)
TMC	The Methodist Churchman
Ts	Typescript
WNLA	Witwatersrand Native Labour Association
WTLC	Witwatersrand Trades and Labour Council

INTRODUCTION

a. THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

Many critical problems have confronted the Christian Church in South Africa during the last years; various groups of people have responded at different levels to these problems. A growing awareness of the conflicts and polarities within South African society as a whole has been reflected in the increasing socio-political activity of a number of groups of Christians during the tumultuous 1970s[1].

The period witnessed among other things, heated debates about the allocation of funds from the Programme to Combat Racism (WCC) to African liberation movements, and about military service, military chaplaincy and conscientious objection. The Koinonia Declaration from Potchefstroom (1977) signalled a growing concern for social issues among Reformed churchmen and -women as did the work of the Reformed African Studies Programme (RASP), the growth of the Reformed pressure group known as the 'Broederkring', and the recent establishment of the Alliance of Black Reformed Churches of South Africa (ABRECSA, 1981). Headaches have proliferated in the form of the Schlebusch-Legrange parliamentary commission of inquiry into the University Christian Movement and the Christian Institute among others (1972), the banning of the latter in 1977, the forced removal of the Federal Seminary from Alice and

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1. 'South Africa' in this study means all of the territory covered by the 1910 Act of Union, including the ares now known as Transkei, Venda, Bophutatswana and Ciskei. This is in accordance with a long-standing and anlytically relevant political demarcation, whereas the present political dispensation intends to differentiate 'South Africa' from those areas accepting "independence" under the policies of Separate Development (Apartheid). Also, as these policies and the resulting "independent states" are very far from receiving general acceptance either within or without the region, as well as being personally unacceptable, to retain the old sense of "South Africa" appears sensible.

then from Umtata (1974), and the rise (and decline) of the government sponsored enemy of the South African Council of Churches, the Christian League.

Similarly, the defection from the Methodist Church of South Africa of their local congregations in the Transkei raised new difficulties. Various new foci arose in the Church itself, sometimes contributing to an already confused situation. Among them were the SPROCAS projects[1], the charismatic movement, the S.A. Christian Leadership Assembly (SACLA), and the Declaration of Intent to Unite made by many of the major denominations[2]. Besides the more dramatic events, several major ecumenical meetings took place in the continental region, among them the assembly of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (1970), the Reformed Ecumenical Synod (1975), the Nairobi Assembly of the World Council of Churches (1975), and the Pan-African Christian Leadership Assembly (1976), as well as the first interdenominational meeting since the 1961 Cottesloe Conference of all the major churches in South Africa, in Pretoria in 1979.

To a large extent all of these debates and happenings have been situated consciously in the political context of South Africa. Consequently, questions concerning Church and State, Church and society, Church and culture, faith and ideology, and so on, have been and remain paramount[3].

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1. SPROCAS = "Study Project of Christianity in Apartheid Society" (1970-71); this was followed by a 2 year long second phase, the "Special Programme for Christian Action in Society"(1972). SPROCAS was commissioned by the Christian Institute and the South African Council of Churches in response to the"Message to the People of SA" (SACC, 1968).

2. Including the Church of the Province of South Africa (Anglican) the Presbyterian Church of South Africa, the Methodist Church of South Africa, the Bantu Presbyterian Church, the Tsonga Presbyterian Church and the United Congregational Church of South Africa.

3. Surprisingly, despite all this, theological writing as published in established journals does not reflect the same political concern: q.v. the JTSA, vol.17, Dec. 1976, p.25ff, an article by Charles Villa-Vicencio analysing the theological writings of the period 1973-1976, in which he shows that among 6 major theological publications, only 15% of the articles published are relevant to the South African political situation

In part, the claim of the state to religious sanction for its position and in many instances its policy, a claim frequently supported by theologians of the Dutch Reformed Churches in particular, contributes to the political ambience affecting the churches. As one author has expressed it, 'the South African Parliament must be one of a very few such institutions in the world where theological debate erupts from time to time in the discussion of national legislation'[1]. Added to this is the increasing questioning among blacks and others of the role of Christianity, its missionaries especially, in the history of Africa.

Churches and individual Christians have been placed in an unusually vulnerable position by the general conflict within the southern African region over the last years, a conflict strongly bound up with opposing economic models and philosophies. The future of the Church in the region is unquestionably at stake, and within the Church markedly different positions are being adopted. One notes the fate of the Church in Mozambique where, by and large, the new authorities have regarded it and treated it as part of the problem of oppression. On the other hand, some sections of the Roman Catholic Church in Zimbabwe, notably the Justice and Peace Commission, were strongly critical of, and active against, the Smith regime[2]. More unusual is the role of the Evangelical Lutheran, the Anglican and, to a much lesser extent, the Catholic and Methodist Churches in Namibia where a long-established and popularly based support for SWAPO has been evident.

Input from the stream of contemporary theology, most importantly the various 'political' theologies of hope, protest, blackness, liberation and revolution, has entered into church debate at all levels, finding responsive chords among many. This, too, as well as all else, makes it fair to say that the historical ethos within which theology is now being

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1. J. de Gruchy, JTSA, vol.9, Dec. 1974, editorial.
2. q.v. I. Linden (1980).

done is specifically characterised by a political exigency.

Because of its historical attentiveness, Christian faith as it gives account of its witness must needs be engaged in this penultimate horizon. This study takes such a task for granted, though its assumptions will be made explicit and grounded theoretically as far as it is possible.

b. THE METHOD OF THE STUDY

A primary intention of the work that follows is to come to terms with the specific context of modern South Africa from the point of view of one who engages in it with a Christian commitment. Developing a method whereby criteria for analysis and judgment are made available and established is a necessary ingredient of this task. This is the concern of Part One of the study.

Part Two, the bulk of the dissertation, seeks to apply to an historical investigation of the Church in South Africa the criteria emerging from the method adopted. In this respect, the analysis limits itself initially to churches which may broadly be characterised as "English-speaking" (a definition of which is found elsewhere)[1]. For the sake of relative brevity, and because of the otherwise massive logistical problems involved, a further limitation has been introduced whereby two denominations characterised as "English-speaking" - namely the Church of the Province of South Africa (CPSA: colloquially, the Anglican Church), and the Methodist Church of South Africa - are made the focus of research.

No claim is made that any conclusions reached are specifically applicable to all other denominations within the "English-speaking" spectrum, but it is claimed that the method of investigation is generally valid. As such the model developed is not restricted in its use, and as with all such

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1. q.v. below, p.ixf.

models the conclusions may be more or less valid in other cases. In this respect it should be pointed out that the selection of the two denominations under study here is not entirely arbitrary. Several good reasons can be stated:

1. both are quite clearly historically based in England, and were heavily involved in African missions;
2. between them they represent a particularly broad socio-economic spectrum of "English-speaking" South African society, historically incorporating many of the leading industrialists, bankers, businessmen and politicians, as well as white- and blue-collar workers;
3. both are numerically strong in South Africa, the Methodist Church having the largest single membership (see Table 1);
4. both have been clear in their statements against racially discriminatory policies of the state, especially since the middle 1920s;
5. both reflect many of the political realities of South Africa in their own structures and membership patterns;
6. both have been and still are internally dominated by the wealthy and the white, notwithstanding attempts to move away from this;
7. finally, and of importance for the study, both were highly visible during the period analysed, as well as being considerably more influential than any other denomination barring the Dutch Reformed churches.

TABLE 1

Religious Affiliations of Africans

	Number	
	1911	1936
Dutch Reformed	71,422	154,180
Anglican	170,704	407,528
Presbyterian	68,211	108,094
Congregational	95,706	57,054
Methodist	451,746	795,369
Lutheran	144,244	307,387
Roman Catholic	24,058	232,905
Apostolic		13,003
Other Christian	27,615	62,691
African Independent Churches		1,089,479
Islam	1,896	1,440
Other and Unspecified	1,301	37,959
No religion	2,962,103	3,329,600
Total	4,019,006	6,596,689

	Distribution over Denominations (%)	
	1911	1936
Dutch Reformed	1.8	2.3
Anglican	4.2	6.2
Presbyterian	1.7	1.6
Congregational	2.4	0.8
Methodist	11.2	12.1
Lutheran	3.6	4.7
Roman Catholic	0.6	3.5
Apostolic		0.2
Other Christian	0.7	1.0
African Independent Churches		16.5
Islam	0.1	
Other and Unspecified		0.6
No religion	73.7	50.5
Total	100.0	100.0

Figures taken from Population Census, 1960, Sample Tabulation, No.6, pp.2, 16, 25, 29. The rest are taken from Union Statistics for Fifty Years, pp.A-26-A-29.
Tables from Oxford History of South Africa, Vol.II, p.475.

Note: that between them the Anglican and Methodist churches include no less than 79% of the African affiliated population out of those churches defined as "English-speaking".

For all these reasons, the analyses and results relevant to these two denominations should take in almost all - if not all - the issues and problems with which other denominations are confronted. Moreover, although no specific intention exists to address English-speaking South Africans as a whole, it may well be that the present study illuminates more than the role and the place of the religious institutions which these South Africans may attend.

Part Three utilises the conclusions of the preceding historical investigation and the presuppositions of the methodology adopted therein towards the development of a critical theological methodology and ecclesiology for the Church in South Africa.

c. THE STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

Corresponding to the division of the study into three parts, one may discern in its structure three progressive, cumulative operations.

The first is <u>theoretical</u>, attempting to elucidate the grounds upon which the study proceeds, and in so doing, to explain the assumptions lying behind it: both a necessary accounting for the study and for oneself.

The second is <u>practical</u>, in which a specific historical praxis is critically apprehended by means of the theory in order to generate new and relevant insights, develop critical reflection and make consequent judgments. A restatement of the historical horizon within which theology in South Africa ought to be done is thereby worked out.

The third is <u>constructive</u>, whereby some initial theological representations of the Christian faith are critically reconsidered in accordance with the preceding theory and empirical analysis. Thus a first attempt is made

to account for the Church within the restated historical horizon.

In Jürgen Habermas' terminology[1], the present work is an attempt to apply an historical-hermeneutic approach to social analysis, utilising certain empirical-analytical studies (these two aspects refer to Part Two) in order to ground an emancipatory interest in 'self-reflection with a practical intent' - in this case defined theologically (Part Three). The aim is to assist in freeing theological method and ecclesiological practice from illusion, dogmatic assertion, authoritarianism and excessively bureaucratic behaviour. The explication of the logic of the whole of the analysis and reflection is the concern of Part One.

d. THE 1903-1930 PERIOD

With the conception of the thesis came the need to discern an appropriate period of history which would come closest to providing substantial insight into the Church's relationship to the political economy of South Africa, and which would have major contemporary relevance. Very quickly it became clear that the period chosen offered by far the greatest promise.

In the first place, archival material in significant bulk proved to be obtainable. Secondly, and more importantly, developments in the political economy during this period laid the foundation for the next fifty years, the first substantial set of alterations coming only in the late nineteen-seventies with the Riekert and Wiehahn Commissions and subsequent measures. Consequently the 1903-1930 period had clear and deep-seated implications for the South African social formation in the twentieth century and for the development of an advanced industrial and technological base coupled with a marked structure of exploitation and oppression of labour, and of the rural colonised population. Thus any results obtained and conclusions reached in respect of the churches promised to

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1. q.v. J. Habermas (1971); Appendix: "Knowledge and Human Interests: A General Perspective".

have contemporary theoretical and practical relevance.

The dissertation is necessarily formal and structured according to a particular logical pattern. The real human experiences, needs and reflection that motivate the study are not necessarily apparent, for they occur as part of a dynamic ongoing process of experience, imagination, action and critical reflection, as one lives out one's commitment with others. This two-dimensional study therefore conceals a three-dimensional reality. Like a good painting, the hope is that the canvas produces for the attentive onlooker insights conjuring up his or her own experience, freshly stimulating and expanding new horizons of action and reflection.

d. THE "ENGLISH-SPEAKING" CHURCHES

The denominational make-up of the Church in South Africa is so diverse in terms of historical tradition, client membership, doctrinal standards, and official socio-political opinion, that a concerted and complete attempt to analyse the role of the Church in South Africa would be a massive task, beyond the undertaking of any individual study. However, more limited studies frequently run into problems of selection and definition. In the present case, the intention of the study is to analyse the role of those denominations which in the last quarter century have adopted an anti-apartheid stance in public. Even then we have had to limit the field of investigation, as pointed out above.

But as these denominations cannot be termed 'anti-apartheid' prior to the nineteen-forties (for no such policy existed then as a coherent whole), a problem of definition emerges. Consequently, it should be clear that throughout this study, the term "English-speaking" Churches signifies those denominations whose origin in South Africa may be traced to Britain via its colonial relationship to South Africa, and who for some time at least regarded Britain as their home base. Clarification on this matter is important

because it bears on the general approach and applicability of the analysis, and because, purely empirically, in most cases the majority of their memberships did not speak English as a home language. Consequently the term is not entirely satisfactory, but it will have to suffice for the moment.

In particular, the denominations most clearly identified by the term include the Anglican Church, the Methodist Church, the Presbyterian Church, the Congregational Church and the Baptist Church, though the last has not exhibited any marked stand on the policies of Apartheid. The Catholic Church, too, though established in many parts by Irish and other British clerics, only partly meets the description "English-speaking" as intended here, and no attempt has been made to analyse its role which differs in some important respects from that of the strongly evangelistic (in the sense of the German evangelisch rather than evangelikal) Protestant churches as well as the Anglicans.

Finally, it should be pointed out that considerable confusion may emerge in the abstract use of the term "Church" as compared with an empirical, descriptive use. Accordingly, wherever the generalised meaning is intended in the sense of the form of human community which represents and structures the Christian religion as such (in theological terms, "the Body of Christ"), we have used the capitalised noun. Any other use of the capitalised noun is always accompanied by a specific denominational designation (e.g. the Methodist Church) and therefore falls outside of the generalised concept. On the other hand, wherever an historically specific denominational institution (or institutions) is intended to which no normative meaning can be applied, there the noun remains lower case (e.g. "the churches on the Witwatersrand"). The distinction is necessary because at times a descriptive task is in mind, while at other times a generalised judgment on Christian religion per se in the South African context is intended.

PART ONE

PROLEGOMENA ON METHOD

1. Introduction

2. South African Church History Reconsidered

3. Problems of Method
   a. Introduction
   b. Methodological Issues
   c. A Model of Social Structure
   d. The Model Applied
   e. The Problem of Interpretation

4. The Unity of Social Theory and Theological Reflection
   a. Society and Human Nature: Praxis
   b. Intentionality
   c. Understanding and Observation
   d. The Structure of Cognition
   e. Application

5. Notes on the Concept of Ideology

1. INTRODUCTION

> On the hands of the people
> Callouses will never go away
> For on their hands they depend
> To create the new day.
>
> - Wang Hsi-chien[1]

Not to choose to act is passively to choose the *status quo*, leaving all important human action in the hands of the dominant powers that be. Fatalism, apathy and withdrawal are symptoms of this condition.

Active choice on the other hand is not without its ambiguities, its potential lack of insight, or even perhaps its unwelcome consequences. The story is told of a Swiss Army Captain who foresaw in 1938 the war clouds looming over Europe. He chose to avoid the coming madness by departing to a remote tropical island, there to remain until it was all over. The island was Guam, subsequently the scene of the most savage battle between American and Japanese forces. Such tales must caution one, and remind one of the ironies of all human choices and acts.

Nevertheless, commitment to active choice, allied to a willingness to challenge the status quo, are the hallmarks of much Christian theology since the early 1960s, spurred on by a belief in the priority of right action ("orthopraxis") over right teaching or belief ("orthodoxy")[2]. In this respect, 'right action' implies large-scale historical choices concerning a particular socio-economic and political milieu rather than simply questions of personal and moral behaviour, though an integration of all three aspects is usually regarded as desirable. Moreover, 'right action' usually begins with an

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1. From *Fanshen,* William Hinton, (Vintage Books, NY, 1966), p.428.
2. q.v. A Fierro, (1977), pp.19-20.

identification of domination and dispossession wherever it occurs, and an option for those who suffer the consequent loss of their human agency, potency and dignity in the particular context addressed. 'Right action' therefore envisages a 'Good', not in absolute terms (for uncertainty and ambiguity in human action is intrinsic), not esoterically (for its basis is popular), and not idealistically (for the dynamic process of human history is its locus), Rather, 'Good' is defined in specific relation to the overcoming of conditions experienced, and known by those who bear its major costs, as oppression. Theologies relevant to 'right action' are therefore often termed 'contextual', and speak of a prior commitment to the poor and the oppressed. A similar perspective operates as a basic presupposition in the following study. Consequently, the study is framed by certain assumptions:

1. A critique of the disinterested, dispassionate or uninvolved human being;
2. some critical distance from the society one is part of and from the position one occupies in it;
3. an ethical commitment not separate from action and reflection, but joining knowledge (theory) and activity (practice) together in the everyday life of human beings (one's knowing and one's acting become clear in deciding for one thing and against another as one seeks the abolition of unwarranted domination);
4. an acceptance of the value-filled nature of human and social science, especially insofar as it concerns phenomena such as 'society' and 'economy' whose objective reality is conditioned at least in part by the practical embodiment of values in real human persons.

Although most of the early work undertaken in this study sought to illuminate the role of the "English-speaking" churches in South Africa by means of cultural and phenomenological analysis, it soon became apparent that no particularly fruitful results were forthcoming for reasons indicated further

on. At the same time it became evident that the assumptions enumerated above required a more radical insight into the nature of the South African political economy and a willingness to step back from one's own religious tradition. This in turn necessitated that theology as a discipline and as found in Church records, should not be granted any special autonomy nor any divine immunity from ideological critique.

For these reasons, it became clear that the investigation of the "English-speaking" churches would prove most fruitful if the insights and methods of critical theory and historical materialism were utilised. This gave promise of a capability to elucidate the empirical conditions of knowledge and action in the churches, and to develop a genuinely self-critical theology. Some of the questions raised in the process of carrying out the investigation are part of a well-known methodological debate. Others are occasioned by the unlikely combination of theology with historical materialism. Space is given to these questions in an attempt to lay the ground for a systematic and coherent theory.

Firstly, the perspective of this study is contrasted with traditional surveys of Church history in South Africa. Secondly, the problems of social scientific method are elaborated more fully. And thirdly, the problem of the unity of social analysis and theological reflection is dealt with via a dynamic epistemology.

2. SOUTH AFRICAN CHURCH HISTORY RECONSIDERED

> Those persons who talk most about human freedom are those who are actually most blindly subject to social determination, inasmuch as they do not in most cases suspect the profound degree to which their conduct is determined by their interests.
>
> \- Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, p.43

The present study began as an attempt to locate the reasons for a particular ambiguity in the South African churches of British origin, namely, a consistent anti-apartheid record on paper combined with a generally manifest powerlessness to translate that record into practical policy, except at the least threatening levels. At first it appeared that the most fruitful approach would require an analysis of the culture (or lack of it) held to be characteristic of so-called 'English-speaking' South Africans in order to illuminate the paradox of strong words and weak action which has so plagued opposition politics for more than a generation.

But besides the fact that a sociology of culture applied to the 'English-speaking' sector of South African society runs into insuperable difficulties of specification[1], two other factors undermine the approach. Firstly, other than home language, and the high profile of certain select Afrikaner institutions such as the Broederbond, the National Party and the Dutch Reformed churches, the large-scale social choices and political values of 'English-speaking' and Afrikaans-speaking white South Africans are in many respects

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1. Attempts to define what an "English-speaking South African" is on an empirical level have discovered a diversity of cultural traditions to apply, some pure, some mixed; q.v. variously in A. de Villiers (ed) (1976).

sufficiently similar to make strong differentiation spurious[1]. Secondly, notwithstanding differences between them in assessing necessary reforms in a conflict-ridden society, English and Afrikaans speaking settler communities demonstrate a common desire to maintain the socio-economic structures which ensure their relative privilege and affluence, increasingly so with urbanisation, the development of a sophisticated economy, and the growth of international markets.

Consequently, cultural analysis, perhaps useful for certain purposes, proves profoundly inadequate to the present investigation of the role of the English-speaking churches in South Africa. At most one can say that certain personal and group traditions have been nurtured through the churches, and that the churches in turn have helped - where their influence has remained effective - to sustain certain patterns of behaviour.

Therefore the focus of the study shifted to what is common to the dominant sectors of society, rather than to what differentiates them.

The structure of domination established in large measure by both major language groups of the settler communities, became a central analytical issue. The problem of the discrepancy between word and action in the churches now loses its paradoxical flavour; for it is little more, at the most general level at least, than a symptom of the competition for political hegemony among two factions of a dominant whole, in which the historical 'losers' in this competition ('English-speaking' settlers) mounted an ideological attack on the 'winners'. For this reason, 1948 - the victory of Afrikaner political forces - stands as the symbol of disaster for 'English-speaking' settlers as a group, while highlighting the difference of perspective between the two settler groups.

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1. q.v. J. Stone (1973), p.224 (Table 30), pp.228-9, p.232. p.234 (Table 33), p.253; also L. Schlemmer, in A. de Villiers (ed.) (1976), p.109 (Table VII), pp.118-9 (Table XIII); also Idem, ibid, pp.131-2.

On the other hand, for the dominated majority of South Africa, the accession to power by the National Party is simply part of a much longer continuum in which the significant date is 1910, the year of the alliance between Afrikaner and English settler groups against the rest in the formation of the Union of South Africa.

Thus, in order to understand the role of the 'English-speaking' churches in South Africa, it becomes necessary to understand the structural and historical nature of domination in South Africa; the relationship of the Church to this reality; and its implications for interpreting church policy, practice, and theology. Fortunately, the last few years have seen a growing body of significant literature on the history and structure of domination in South Africa.

This "Revisionist" history situates the structures of domination in the genesis and evolution of capitalism beginning with a form of colonial conquest. Adopting this approach for the investigation of the role of the English-speaking churches has the dual advantage of providing for a more precise delineation of:

(a) the seriously ambiguous nature of the Church's work in South Africa (beginning with the missionaries), and
(b) the connection of the words and actions of the Church to the dynamics and structures of the social formation within which it is embedded.

Now church histories in South Africa have usually not sought to treat these sorts of questions with much depth at all. On the contrary, ecclesiastical traditions have been recorded almost exclusively as the actions, words and experiences of clerics, church leaders, and subordinate groups of particular denominations or missions, taken more or less at face value. These histories have purported thereby to describe the history of the Church in South Africa. Controversies and conflicts appear as internal battles of the Church itself, or

as criticisms of certain state policies or matters of public behaviour, but seldom with any critical reflection on the structures, practice, and policies of the Church itself (though some archival documents do reflect an occasional attempt to carry out such critical reflection). The one major exception is the criticism of the Dutch Reformed churches carried out by some English-speaking churches, though from a somewhat overly self-confident and perhaps superficial point of view. A brief analysis of a number of works demonstrates these hypotheses fairly well.

J.H. du Plessis's classic history of missions in South Africa[1], admirably seeking to place Church history within the political history of South Africa, nevertheless illustrates the weaknesses evident in Church historiography. Strongly influenced by George M. Theal who was quite clear that 'civilization' must conquer African barbarism[2], du Plessis nevertheless felt that 'civilization minus Christianity, far from being an unmixed blessing to native races, is an unmitigated curse.' In this respect he was particularly critical of traders, but also of wars upon Africans which had produced 'hurtful results'. He refers to the oppressive effects of colonisation, and to the dispossession of territory, yet in both cases regards any negative judgment of the role of missionaries as uncalled for. On the contrary, for du Plessis the history of Christian missions was by and large positive, producing morality, thrift, industry, and order among the "savages". Its pre-eminent aim was 'to capture the strongholds of the enemy', albeit in order to inspire a new set of (imposed) values[3].

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1. J.H. du Plessis (1911).
2. Theal's interpretation of South African history is often referred to as the "settler" view, hostile to Africans; q.v. Harrison M. Wright (1977), p.5.
3. J.H. du Plessis (1911), pp.260-263, passim.

Hardly a clearer statement could be made of the controlling perspective of du Plessis' history than the following:

> ...it is not to be expected that any rights to extensive territories will be acknowledged, which are not "based on the intention and ability to develop those regions". This intention and this ability the natives do not possess; and nations of greater culture and virility must show them the way.... Colonisation, in short, though it has been and still is attended with many evils, has also affected much good, and is destined, in the good providence of God, to bestow inestimable blessings upon the native races of South Africa.[1]

In a follow-up study of the South African mission field covering the period since du Plessis' publication and into the nineteen-fifties, G.B.A. Gerdener departs little from the earlier approach. The main alteration he makes is to picture recent history from the viewpoint of what he calls the local "receiving" churches, rather than the foreign "sending" churches. Accordingly, the first half of the twentieth century he understands to be a period of transition 'from the Mission-Projects of the nineteenth century to the Church-building of this one'[2].

Like du Plessis, Gerdener points to a possibility he fulfils in only a minimal way, namely the linking up of the history of missionary enterprise with the political and economic conditions of the target groups among the indigenous people[3]. Brief introductory comments on the Boer War, the World Wars, the Western pattern of life, and the multifold character of South Africa's population[4]; a chapter on separation and independence among African churches; and a further chapter on the state and its legislation (by and large positive): these constitute the extent of the linking of Church history to socio-economic history. Like du Plessis then, Gerdener indulges in little

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1. Ibid., pp.264-5.
2. G.B.A. Gerdener (1958), p.267; also p.7.
3. Ibid., p.7.
4. Ibid., pp.14-24.

critical analysis of the Church's role in South Africa, and like him too, he believes a critical attitude to the Church on the part of Africans is something to be disarmed[1].

This fear of criticism, or as it may be, resistance to negative judgments on one's beloved institution, is as understandable as it is commonly evident. Leslie Hewson's introduction and tribute to Methodist missionaries discusses the pioneers who established institutions of worship, study and publication, as well as the threat of independent churches and the establishment of a national Conference of Methodist churches[2]. Throughout and obviously quite intentionally the book praises the missionary enterprise, but with little attempt to assess its import in other than religious terms. The single exception comes with repeated references to the reconciliatory role between African and settler, between conquered and colonist, played by Methodism[3]. Racial peace was a primary aim of Methodism in Hewson's view but though this noble goal may be shared by most, it cannot be assumed that the Church understood the necessary conditions and processes required for such peace. Such questions do not enter into Hewson's history.

Similarly, the account of the Anglican Church (CPSA) by Peter Hinchliff, in itself an excellent example of the genre, nevertheless treats church history from an essentially internal point of view[4]. Occasional sections on general South African history function only to set the scene, written as parallel and, to all intents and purposes, unconnected narratives[5]. In his later, brief study of the church as a whole in South Africa, Hinchliff does advert to the imperialist critique of missions, regarding it as 'not surprising that most missionaries longed, and even worked actively, for the day when British rule, and British order and justice, would cover all Southern Africa'[6].

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1. Ibid., p.21.
2. L. Hewson (1950).
3. Ibid., particularly Chapters 6 and 20.
4. P. Hinchliff (1963).
5. The one major exception is the discussion of the effects of the Boer War on the Church; Ibid., pp.183ff.
6. Hinchliff (1968), p.50.

But again, there it rests.

The above comments are by and large equally appropriate to Brown's work on the Catholic Church[1] (though he treats the 'colour question' more fully), and to Jane Sales' review of Church history in South Africa[2]. Even a recent history of the Order of Ethiopia places the two problems of racial animosity and denominational division at the forefront of influences on the Church, without considering in any detail the material conditions of the rise of the Order[3]. While pointing out the role of 'ecclesiastical imperialism', of colour prejudice, and of church discipline in fomenting an independent church spirit, the author somewhat neglects the massive effects of conquest, protelarianisation and land legislation. In fact the concept of urbanisation, understood in essence as an inevitable (natural?) process of disrupting traditional tribal life is as far as any analysis goes[4].

A substantial part of Hans Florin's look at Lutherans in South Africa is given over to social, political and economic conditions under the heading: "The Setting"[5]. Yet though his treatment of the setting is by far the most detailed among the authors so far discussed, it falls short in two respects. Firstly, his focus on the 'race issue' as the major problem (by which he means group prejudice and group relations[6]) effectively conceals economic realities and thereby leaves his analysis superficial. One result of this is a critical attack on the ideological role of the Dutch Reformed churches[7], without any recognition that other denominations may stand equally well judged of ideological captivity. Another indication of the inadequacy of the analysis may be found in the view that economic interests provide the single most unifying category for common loyalties and shared aspirations among the various groups

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1. W.E. Brown (1960).
2. Jane M. Sales (1971).
3. T.D. Verryn (1972).
4. <u>Ibid</u>., pp.30-48.
5. H. Florin (1967).
6. <u>Ibid</u>., p.23.
7. <u>Ibid</u>., p.25.

in South Africa[1], a position difficult to reconcile with the long and substantial history of conflict between Capital and Labour which is as intensive now as ever. Secondly, the setting is never integrated into the history of the Church, i.e. it is parallel history once again, except insofar as some account of the anti-apartheid churches' criticism is included (but there again these churches are treated as institutions in some way apart from the society within which they are embedded).

Similar points can be made about two more recent histories, both of which concentrate on the second half of the twentieth century but also treat the longer term. Regehr draws on the same historiographical tradition criticised above, utilising many of the same authors, and he does not seek to go beyond or revise their interpretations to any significant extent[2]. Consequently Afrikaner nationalism emerges as the bogey and this phenomenon, together with reactions to it, ground his interpretation of contemporary church history. De Gruchy's work[3] begins somewhat differently using a rather dubious typology of churches in South Africa[4]; but it ends up in more or less the same place, albeit with a less critical stance than Regehr. However de Gruchy does at least recognise and in places discuss the manner in which the Church 'is affected by, and often corrupted by, the society in which it is placed'[5]. To that extent church history becomes part of general history and benefits thereby. The deficiencies in his study concern rather the relatively superficial treatment of the general history of South Africa, and the consequent inability to penetrate the multi-various captivities of the Church to the structures and ideologies of its host society.

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1. Ibid., p.16.
2. E. Regehr (1979), q.v. Ch's 4 and 5 especially. Some discussion of imperialism and colonisation is found in pp.132-5.
3. J. de Gruchy (1979).
4. Criticism of the typology is carried out elsewhere; q.v. p.103 of this dissertation.
5. J. de Gruchy (1979), p.viii.

Two exceptions stand out in church historiography of South Africa, and one of those, strictly speaking, addresses not the South African context but the Namibian, while the other - for the lack of academic procedure - is seldom taken seriously. The former is Lukas de Vries' study of mission and colonialism in Namibia[1], and the latter, Nosipho Majeke's critique of the role of missionaries in conquest[2]. The major difference between the two lies in their respective relationship to the Church, de Vries being a leading cleric, Majeke an outspoken external judge. Yet their assessments of the role of the Church in the region coincide substantially, though de Vries' motive is that the Church in Namibia 'not repeat the past error of the mission' whereas Majeke views the Church as inescapably an instrument of oppression.[3]

While recognising the permanent need for narrative history in the traditional sense, and while noting that every standard history reviewed above had particular aims and limits, it is within this last, socially critical historiographical tradition that the present study is located. As such, an attempt is made to go beyond any previous work by introducing considerably greater detail and analytical specification into an investigation of the role of the Church in South Africa. The methodological problems involved include the need to restrict the field of inquiry without losing the possibility of generating widely applicable results. Whether that goal is met cannot be judged here.

Additionally, an explication of the logic and coherence of the research method is doubly necessary - for scientific reasons, and for reasons of the potential persuasiveness of the point of view explored. In these respects, there is a desire to meet the needs of a serious piece of research as well as a stake in challenging and assisting a change in values, choices and actions presently characterising, but considered no longer adequate to, the situation of the Church in South Africa.

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1. L. de Vries (1978).
2. N. Majeke (1952).
3. q.v. especially L. de Vries (1978), pp.195-198.

3. PROBLEMS OF METHOD

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a) Introduction

The perspective of the present investigation is not arbitrarily chosen simply to fill a gap in previous writing. Certain assumptions are made throughout on the basis of a particular commitment, i.e. a particular action of valuing. This valuing shapes the grounding intention of the study, and finds symbolic form in the Christian tradition. Nevertheless, the practical investigation of the 'English-speaking' churches carried out in Part Two does not suppose that the Christian tradition can be removed from the effects of the analysis either.

In other words, although a primary orientation ("Christian") to the material under study already exists and thereby helps shape selection, emphasis and intention, the results of the study in turn must penetrate that primary orientation to raise questions about its content and its validity: one's commitment cannot be made immune to critique. This becomes especially acute when the institution carrying the tradition of the writer's primary orientation - the Church - is itself theoretically (and practically one may add) under suspicion at the outset.

The effect of the study on the content and validity of the primary orientation is, however, the point of Part Three. For the moment what requires elucidation are the criteria for analysis and their epistemological foundation. For this purpose it is necessary to consider what contribution historical materialism can make to the investigation of a religious institution, what limitations this introduces, what additional factors are significant, how this may be logically grounded, and where theological reasoning retains its meaning despite the critique of religion-as-ideology implied by the method of social analysis adopted.

The status of historical materialism remains a matter of contemporary debate; for that matter, so does its meaning. At one stage the academic world in the West had concluded that studies guided by historical materialism were doomed to the backwaters and museums of scholarship, but its main tenets emerged from the post-Stalin years surprisingly vigorous. Since then not only has it provoked a proliferation of analyses and investigations, but all sectors of the social and human sciences have found themselves faced with a perspective impossible to ignore despite its many and often substantially different forms.

At root, the main epistemological contribution of historical materialism lies in its consideration of the relation of theory and practice, beginning with the classical Marxian declaration that theory cut off from the practical task of transforming the world is false, an abstraction. One may derive from this the notion of the ideological character of false theory, i.e. its function in concealing the real material interests of those propagating it in order to legitimate some form of practical domination over others. To the extent that false theory succeeds in legitimating domination, i.e. to the extent that it conceals from any or all groups in society their real relations, it is false consciousness. In this way false theory has practical efficacy, yet it cannot stand practical critique. For emancipatory practice would destroy it by demonstrating its role in legitimating domination (destroying illusion), and by the overthrow of the conditions which produce it (liberation). Falsity and truth are consequently tied in to the question of human activity, and not just human ideas. (It should be noted that the logic of the above notion of emancipatory practice implies the overcoming of all domination, rather than the substitution of one dominating power for another.)

From this basic point of view Marx analysed the dynamics and structures of contemporary society (19th century capitalism),

showing (i) in what way historical material forces (forces and relations of production) so central to the genesis, development, and organisation of human society produced new, structurally relevant theory (bourgeois); (ii) how this theory functioned to hide new structures of domination (commodity fetishism); and (iii) wherein lay the countervailing forces (contradictions) that would lead to the practical emancipation from domination of all, through the particular agency of those materially interested in overcoming their own domination (the proletariat).

Prevailing social institutions find their place in this analysis at the level of sustaining the conditions for the reproduction of the dominant socio-economic system, whether by legitimation of the system or by crisis management of the system. In this respect religion as a social institution was seen by Marx to be profoundly false, taking away in its theory (theology) the productive and creative power residing in human beings by attributing it to an external agency (God), and thereby making alienation an ontological presupposition[1]. Such a theory corresponded directly with the Capitalists conviction that material production and creative power was external to labour, residing not in its agency (work) but in Capital and its technology, both owned by the Capitalist. Religious institutions were seen to wield their theory of God in favour of the dominant whose power and agency was taken for granted, and for whom the greatest threat lay in the possibility of the dominated discovering their own power and agency. At the same time religion in its ambiguity reflected not only the aims of the dominant but also recognised the contradiction of the whole system in the cry of the dominated. Yet its ability to provide a relatively non-threatening channel by which that cry could be taken up and out of itself, gave religion its social utility within the system.

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1. For this reason Marx regarded the criticism of religion as the presupposition of all criticism: q.v. D. McLellan (1971), pp.21-22.

This view on the role of religion in a capitalist order, whatever the debates on various other aspects of Marx's work have been, has remained relatively unchallenged though frequently denied by those attacked. More recent acknowledgments of the role of religion in emancipatory practice under certain circumstances (e.g. parts of Latin America) have not seriously undermined the Marxian critique. Thus the subsequent analysis of the English-speaking churches in South Africa begins with an attempt empirically to determine in context the validity of the Marxian critique.

To the extent that the dynamics and structures of the South African political economy can be meaningfully determined, their relationship to capitalism established, and the total social formation articulated, so can the sociological role of the Church and of its theory be explained, at least as a first approximation. The key lies in uncovering the relationship between the theory of the Church (in this case, its proclamations, policies, and theology) and its social practice. Quite evidently, one must make the distinction between the practice of domination and emancipatory practice. Where does the emphasis lie in the Church? When its theory appears emancipatory, are there practical results or does this conceal a contradictory practice? Such basic questions immediately come to the fore.

This brings one then to the point of elucidating some of the insights, the procedures, the categories and the methods of historical materialism[1]. Widespread debate on the precise delineation of classes, of the relationship between Unterbau and Überbau, of the scientific status of social

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1. Though neither Marx nor Engels used the term 'Historical Materialism', the context of the term is most clearly spelled out in the famous base/superstructure quotation from K. Marx and F. Engels (1970) pp.58-9. On the issue of Unterbau and Überbau, Franco Ferratti points out that what is most important is not the mechanistic, naturalistic opposition of the two terms, but the need to 'look hard at the "practical basis", to observe phenomena scientifically according to precise heuristic procedures and definite methodological controls'; in D. McQuarrie (ed.) (1978), p.112, "Notes on Marx and the Study of Technical Change".

theory, and of the validity of the Marxian construct as a whole in the twentieth century, makes illegitimate any final claims to veracity could one ever make them at all. Nevertheless, the value of the historical materialist paradigm is taken to be considerable, especially when compared with more common approaches such as what one author calls 'reductionist bourgeois sociology' in which

> ...class structure and class relations are reduced to simple stratification; exploitation and domination in society to the simple difference of position and role; and the role of the dominating class, which results from its control of production, is reduced to the intellectual role of the 'political elite'. Social changes are reduced to the migration of people and of social strata; the class struggle, strikes and revolutions are reduced to disintegration and social pathology.... ...and the theory of values is reduced to distinct, and therefore legitimate 'ways of life'.[1]

Bottomore, following Korsch, points out that besides the question of praxis (action towards the transformation of society, and its accompanying theory), a Marxian social analysis would be defined by four major features, namely:

1. the primacy of the economic structure (the mode of production of material life);
2. the historical specification of all social phenomena (periodisation);
3. the setting of empirical studies within an historical economic context;
4. the recognition of revolutionary as well as evolutionary social changes (breaks in the historical continuity of a form of society, and the role of conflict in social change)[2].

The original philosophical presupposition underlying this schema concerns the nature of society per se. For Marx, society is only properly understood when its connection to nature via the concept of human labour is grasped. The

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1. Ljubomir Zivković, "The Structure of Marxist Socialism", in P. Berger (ed.) (1969), p.124.
2. T. Bottomore (1975), pp.67-8.

developing interchange between real human beings and their environment creates and progressively transforms social relationships, this interchange being defined by the production of the means of subsistence[1].

The complex process of social change includes limits and potentialities. The limits are established by what is already found in existence as a given, i.e. the prevailing material conditions (which incorporate nature, technological capability, and the form of social organisation). Therefore one needs to analyse present conditions, their genesis, and their development, i.e. one analyses the mode life and its history[2]. The potentialities reside in the human beings who produce things, whose agency is thereby capable of changing circumstances as they are changed by those circumstances[3].

Labour is consequently the key element in the historical process (otherwise we have only a natural process). Labour-power effects the transformation of human history. Therefore, what separates the labourer from the produce of his or her power without returning its full value, is what generates (a) the conditions of alienation (what was one's own is taken away), (b) the conditions of domination (who ever takes away that product acquires power not their own). Given these emphases consciousness and ideas (for Marx) take shape in relation to material practices which characterise and define a particular historical epoch. On this basis the Marxiam analysis of ideology proceeds together with an analysis of the social institutions (state, law, education, culture, religion, etc.) which embody the forms of consciousness and the ruling ideas of any given epoch.

Quite clearly, two aspects of this view stand out. Firstly, theory and practice, continually interacting, are seen as inseparable in any real historical process (though

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1. K. Marx and F. Engels (1970), p.42.
2. Ibid., p.58.
3. This is the point of Marx's 3rd Thesis against Feuerbach.

theory may formally be separable from practice). Secondly, the individual and society are not seen as isolated entities capable of being treated as subjectified or reified phenomena. Both principles are in accordance with the Marxian attempt to overcome the long-dominant tradition in Western philosophy and science of the so-called 'object-subject' split, a tradition that has allowed a powerful emergence of technical and technological practice but at a considerable cost in the public and interpersonal spheres of life. Habermas attempts to discuss the issue via a distinction between the Greek values of _techne_ and _praxis_[1], a distinction used later in this dissertation.

These axioms provide major advantages when taken together, for any social analysis. The totality of human society is given priority, its developmental character is conceptually integrated from the beginning, and the open-endedness of theory and practice is treated as a _sine qua non_. Furthermore, society is not in this view regarded as a 'fixed abstraction opposed to the individual' nor is the individual seen to be identifiable except as at least a social being[2]. In fact the very appearance of society as a "given", as an alien power independent of the will and action of people, is ideological, for the human origin and goal of society are thereby obscured[3].

The recent attempts by sociologists, economists and historians to investigate South African society from the Marxian perspective are taken up in the later empirical study of the Church, and their work has undoubtedly proved remarkably fruitful in a short space of time notwithstanding many theoretical difficulties. Their work deals almost entirely with the origins and development of colonial capitalism in South Africa, and for that reason necessarily utilises concepts of class as central.

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1. J. Habermas (1974), Chapter 1.
2. McLellan (1971), p.126, extracts from Marx's _1844 Manuscripts_ and _The Holy Family_ (1845).
3. K. Marx and F. Engels (1970), p.54.

Class determination, one of the problem areas, is discussed later on and therefore occupies no place here[1]. For the moment methodological issues must detain us: in particular, the problem of correlation, the problem of paradigms, the problem of definition of structure, and the problem of praxis analysis.

b) Methodological Issues

Difficult as it is, methodological precision requires a critical attitude towards one's own language. The following is therefore an attempt to specify and justify certain assumptions made in the subsequent empirical analysis using as a starting point the epistemological questions raised by the French sociologist Boudon[2].

Firstly, Boudon distinguishes between descriptive and monothetic sociology: the first seeks to demonstrate a point of view and is therefore merely sociographic; the second seeks a general perspective on social reality whereby the tasks of description and explanation are systematically linked rather than inferred by mere correlation. Clearly the second approach is analytically superior. The issue boils down to the question of correlation whereby the links between the description of a phenomenon and its supposed explanation are not simply determined in linear fashion[3].

The linear form of analysis can be written as:

$$y = f(x),$$

where y is a direct function of x. For the purposes of the present study this could be translated as:

> religious superstructure (y) is a straightforward factor of the economic base (x).

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1. q.v. Part Two, pp.148ff.
2. The Crisis in Sociology, (1980).
3. This distinction between descriptive and explanatory analysis is similar to the distinction made by Weber between direct observational understanding ('aktuelles verstehen') and the understanding of motive ('erklärendes verstehen'); q.v. A. Levison (1974), p.57.

Bourdon has no difficulty demonstrating that such crude analysis (e.g. so-called 'vulgar' Marxism) is hopeless. Following Sutherland, he points out that although these kinds of methods may have 'interesting results from a descriptive point of view ... they have nothing to say about the explanation of the phenomena which they help to display.... The observed correlation can be explained in several different ways among which statistics cannot choose'[1]. In such a model the data of investigation are not treated monothetically, and "intervening variables" which may affect explanation are not taken into account. Now Boudon specifically discusses statistical analysis in this respect (e.g. the probability of delinquent children having alcoholic parents), but his point may be generally applied. So for example, a simple determination of the class position of the power elite of the churches is not sufficient to sustain the thesis of religion-as-ideology (not that anyone has been that crude).

A more complex model is both necessary and possible according to Boudon, whereby "intervening variables" are systematically taken into account and explanatory power thereby intensified. Such a model would look like:

$$y = f(u)$$
$$u = g(x)$$

where u = any intervening variables (p,q,r,...). Mathematically the interlocking of functions would therefore be expressed more briefly as $y = f(g(x))$.

The complexity of the model could be further developed[2], but for present purposes it is enough to note that the investigation of religious phenomena must take into account factors other than the economic. Such other factors - variables, in Boudon's terms - are however not independent of

1. Boudon (1980), pp.15-16.
2. For example, Boudon's discussion of the behaviourist Stimulus-Response model; q.v. (1980), pp.108ff.

the economic structure, a point emphasised in the Marxian paradigm. In short, while religious phenomena cannot simply be products of an economy, neither are they autonomous social realities, while other variables such as tradition, education, historical location, family and so on also affect their character and make-up[1].

Nevertheless from the historical materialist point of view both the phenomena and its other variables cannot be understood without reference to the economic base, this being the determining variable, i.e. the primary though not sole cause for explanation. Such a position is saved from naïve positivism by the assertion of a dynamic relationship between the variables i.e. a dialectical linkage of the relevant factors, as opposed to a simplistic one-to-one correspondence between economic base and social superstructure. Relativism is equally undermined precisely by the assertion of the economic factor as the prime link. Why this should be the prime link and not some other variable cannot be demonstrated in this study. Suffice it to point out that the Marxian tradition, notwithstanding theoretical weaknesses and problematics, contains a wealth of material persuasively arguing the point on the basis of empirical analysis; and equally noteworthy is the neo-classical assumption that the market with its price mechanisms is the core of capitalist society, not religion, culture or whatever else.

One danger pointed out by Boudon and relevant to the historical materialist position remains - inferring causality on the basis of correlation. For example, to recognise in a particular social phenomenon some correspondences with aspects of the economy does not constitute proof of the economy's determination of the phenomenon. A solid accounting therefore

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1. Milos Kalab similarly claims that a mature historical materialist sociology "traces the influence of economics on specific and concrete social phenomena ... only with all the nuances that differentiation implies, taking the mechanism of mediation fully into account as well as the conditions proper to the society at a particular stage of development"; in "The Specificity of the Marxist Conception of Sociology", P. Berger (ed.) (1969), p.67.

demands a systematic linking of intervening variables governing the object of study to an explanation of that object. The fact that the historical materialist view takes the economic base as a determining variable allows for a focal point of systematisation, for all other variables must necessarily find their description, at least in part, in relation to the economic factor. So for example, church histories ignoring or discounting the economic structures in their record cannot be more than sentimental, or ideological (in the sense of generating a false view of the social impact of the Church).

Now Boudon does not take into account historical materialism in his demand for a complex model of social analysis, and he has developed no model applicable to it (his hope, on the contrary, is to find mathematical equivalents in sociology for those successfully employed in neo-classical economics). However, an interesting approach quite within the methodological strictures Boudon wishes to establish, has been developed by an Hungarian, András Hegedüs (though I am unaware of any specific application of it).

c) Model of Social Structure

In an essay on "the division of labour and the social structure of socialism"[1], Hegedüs distinguishes between factors of social structure and factors of social differentiation, the former playing the larger role in any analytical determination of a social phenomenon. The model looks as follows[2]:

1. P. Berger (ed.) (1969), pp.128-145.
2. Ibid., p.144.

Table 2: Hegedüs' model of Social Structure

Independent Variables	ownership	$a_1\ a_{11}, a_{12}, \ldots a_1 m_1$	THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE	THE SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION
	place in the division of labor	$a_2\ a_{21}, a_{22}, \ldots a_2 m_2$		
	economic branch	$a_3\ a_{31}, a_{32}, \ldots a_3 m_3$		
Complementing Variables	domicile	$a_4\ a_{41}, a_{42}, \ldots a_4 m_4$		
	educational level	$a_5\ a_{51}, a_{52}, \ldots a_5 m_5$		
Dependent Variables	earnings	$a_6\ a_{61}, a_{62}, \ldots a_6 m_6$		
	social prestige	$a_7\ a_{71}, a_{72}, \ldots a_7 m_7$		
Demographical Marks	age	$a_8\ a_{81}, a_{82}, \ldots a_8 m_8$		
	sex	$a_9\ a_{91}, a_{92}, \ldots a_9 m_9$		
Marks of Cultural Differences	literary taste	$a_{10}\ a_{10,1} a_{10,2}, \ldots a_{10} m_{10}$		
	⋮			
Other Social Differences	⋮	$a_n\ a_{n1}, a_{n2}, \ldots a_n m_n$		

Like Boudon, Hegedüs is concerned to bridge the gulf 'between empirical-statistical approaches, and works claiming a theoretical rank'. His model is however developed in and towards a socialist society. Accordingly, certain features stand out. In the first place, among the independent variables (those in which 'the extent of the division of labour and the character of the organization of social production come directly to expression') ownership relations recede in importance. Not only does this alter the notion of class which is derived from ownership relations (thus the idea of class struggle between Capital and Labour must necessarily be modified in a socialist society, and disappear altogether in a fully communist society in terms of Marx's vision) but it brings to the fore two other economic factors, namely, place in the division of labour, and, economic branch. By the former, Hegedüs means to include the idea of 'definite work' i.e. the specification of function in maintaining and developing society. So for example, quoting

Marx: 'Originally, a porter differs much less from a philosopher than a greyhound from a white sheep dog. It is the division of labour that has brought about a gulf between them'[1]. Criteria for determining function, interests, and objectives are rooted in the social division of labour or more broadly, in the production relations. It is these latter that most strongly determine behaviour, values and consciousness, and thus they are rightly regarded as 'independent variables'.

Considerations of ownership alone (e.g. in a variety of forms of public ownership in socialist countries) are thus insufficient to determine social structure and can be misleading. But other distinctions may be made in determining the social division of labour e.g. differences between manual and non-manual (intellectual) work, differences between skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled work, differences in the possibility of control over others' work and one's own work, differences in the quality of employment (related to professional qualification requirements), and so on.

As a last independent variable Hegedüs introduces the concept of 'economic branch' : the prime distinction here is between industrial and agricultural sectors of the economy. Related to this is difference in domicile, specifically between urban town and rural village. Domicile may influence educational possibilities, manner of living, use of leisure, and other aspects, but it cannot be regarded as an independent social variable (even though its effect on a single individual may be great). Similarly, educational level and opportunity has an effect on social structure, both in engendering mobility and decreasing the stability of generational strata, as well as on the structure of occupations and trades. These, and the other variables Hegedüs lists as affecting the social structure, are regarded as qualifying the

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1. K. Marx, "The Misery of Philosophy", Collected Works: cited in ibid., p.130.

independent variables rather than eliminating their powerful role.

Hegedüs' model takes note of other "intervening variables" than those directly affecting social structure, treating these as marks of social differentiation quite secondary to social structure. The total picture conveyed by his model encompasses complexity, statistical accessibility, and the systematisation of variables together, based on theoretical presuppositions of historical materialism. Among other things Hegedüs points out that

> it is by no means necessary that all elements of the "n" criteria should have a definite value. This empirical standpoint only helps to obscure facts but it cannot yield proper bases for understanding. We must always distinguish and select the criteria which are to be reckoned with first and which, in the literal sense of the word, get the better of and dwarf the others. We should know, therefore, that though there are a multitude of criteria, they do not weigh the same. An understanding of the social phenomena requires above all that essential and inessential features, dependent and independent variables should be distinguished.[1]

The value of Hegedüs' model lies for the purposes of this study in its attempt (quite independently) to meet criteria for analysis that would comply with the demands made by Boudon, taken here to be reasonable. It indicates that a viable, monothetic social analysis is conceivable in historical materialist terms, and that an investigation of social structure and superstructure within these terms need not be simplistic, dogmatic or merely theoretical.

At the same time there is no flight from a clear choice of values embodied in the underlying presuppositions of the system, into a supposed scientific and ethical neutrality.

Statistics purely and simply treated as mathematical events may be totally neutral, but the organising of

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1. P. Berger (ed.) (1969), p.145.

statistical data into an explanatory whole cannot occur without utilising decisions based on priority, emphasis, selection, and perception. This too becomes clear via Hegedüs, and would be equally appropriate to Boudon's desire to construct an empirical-scientific sociology along the lines of neo-classical economic analogies.

Finally, the context of Hegedüs' distinctions - namely, a socialist society - allows intervening variables to surface more clearly than in much work done by radical analysis in capitalist societies, largely because in the latter the role of ownership as an independent variable is so much more powerful. Keeping this in mind - for the analysis of the South African Church concerns an obviously capitalist society - Hegedüs provides an approach of considerable heuristic value.

d) The Model Applied

The subsequent analysis of the role of the 'English-speaking' churches in South Africa proceeds along similar lines, though the specification of variables for good reasons differs from that of Hegedüs. Furthermore, no attempt is made to develop a mathematical model. In the first place, the data found in archival material requires procedures more akin to ideological analysis than statistical manipulation. In the second place, the nature of the investigation concerns an attempt to link patterns of language to a socio-economic reality seldom self-consciously investigated and reflected upon in the 'data' itself (which consists of speeches, reports, letters, minutes, and so on). Consequently, explanatory linkages along systematic lines rather than via empirical descriptions are sought. And finally, the historical nature of the investigation, inaccessible by and large to methods of quantative survey, requires a qualitative evaluation of the process of development of the society in which the religious institution is embedded. For these reasons, considerable weight is given to the theoretical task.

Bearing in mind these distinctions in respect of the investigation of the Church in South Africa, and remembering that an essentially ideological analysis is to be carried out, the procedures actually adopted may be tabulated along the lines suggested by Hegedüs while slightly altering the description of variables. In this model, detailed below, an indication is given of the specific criteria utilised ($a_n a_{n^1} a_{n^2} \ldots a_n m_n$ in Hegedüs' table), by which a determination of the role of the Church is made. To repeat it should be clearly understood that complexity and monothetic explanation are sought in two directions, namely:

1. specification of the social structure which is the context of the Church in South Africa;
2. specification of the language patterns which characterise the Church in that context[1].

The tabulation on the following page details what is to be considered under point one (noting that no particular attempt will be made to specify and analyse secondary factors of social differentiation).

The content of the factors of social structure (Table 3, column 2) derives from literature on the period following the discovery of gold (1886) into the nineteen-thirties. Although the colonial form of capitalism had for some time moulded major aspects of the South African social structure, it was only during this period that an internal development of a capitalist economy took off through rapid industrialisation and proletarianisation. The early colonial era is analysed briefly in respect of the role of missions and missionaries, while the bulk of the study concerns the latter period.

Besides the specification of structural factors, other criteria become necessary in order to discern the language patterns which characterised the Church at the

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1. For a description of what is meant by "language patterns", see Table 4.

TABLE 3: SPECIFICATION OF FACTORS FOR THE ANALYSIS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL ECONOMY

		SYSTEM OF VARIABLES		SPECIFIC FACTORS FOR ANALYSIS
SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION	SOCIAL STRUCTURE (including the history of its development)	Independent variables:	ownership place in the division of labour economic branch	classes and class functions manual – non-manual (skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled) / administrative / professional / cultural / control over job mining / manufacturing / agriculture / commercial
		Complimentary variables:	domicile educational level	urban (residential, location, compound) / rural (village, farm, mission land) / migrant (contract, casual) schooled / illiterate / type and goals of education / selection of pupils (non-universal, non-compulsory education)
		Dependent variables:	earnings social prestige	wage colour bars / stipends (Church) colour – caste / elite / supervisory / craft unions
		Demographic Marks:	age sex phyle	(these factors are largely untreated)
		Marks of Cultural Differences:	literary taste	
		Other Social Differences		

time. These may be tabulated as per the scheme on the following page. The listing of key issues for which archival material was sought depends upon the specification of structural factors.

Clearly, the combination of methods of analysis developed in terms of this schema are inserted a priori into the system of variables of social structure previously discussed, by means of specific issues investigated. Accordingly, the table should be read within the framework of a historical materialist approach. The insertion of the analysis of Church data into the specification of social structure is therefore intended to elucidate the developmental logic in a capitalist order, of a particular institution (the Church) in respect of its public ideology. The unusual nature of the approach to analysis is demanded both by the 'super-structural' character of ideology in the first place, and by virtue of the non-productive (in the classical Marxian economic sense) role of a religious institution.

If the results jointly - and using various analytical entry points - tend to support a particular hypothesis, and if contradictions can be accounted for on the same basis, then the phenomena described may be said to have been reasonably explained. If sufficient analytical rigour is evident, then one may claim to have demonstrated a particular proposition (e.g. about the role of the Church in South Africa) arising from a specific methodological paradigm (e.g. historical materialism). Moreover, an adequate completion of the task allows one to arrive at a general perspective on social reality, bearing in mind that the 'analytical experiment' may theoretically defeat or sustain the hypotheses, and thereby the paradigm.

No great claims for the present study are made in this respect; nevertheless the study is an attempt to carry

TABLE 4: CRITERIA FOR ANALYSING LANGUAGE PATTERNS IN RELATION TO POLITICAL ECONOMIC ISSUES

KEY ISSUE	ANALYTICAL ENTRY															
	date	key terms	symbols/ images	key ideas	necessary presuppositions	actions taken	rites/ formulae	view on labour	view on power	desired 'good'	intention-ality	meaning complex	level of ideology-	interests	alliances	class determination
Land																
Labour (gen)																
Black Labour																
White Labour																
Trade Unions																
Job Colour Bars																
Wage Colour Bars																
Compounds																
Contracts and Passes																
Taxation																
Recruiting																
Wage Structures																
Housing																
Ownership																
Owners / Capitalists																
Reserves																
Poor Whites?																
Peasantry																
Marginal People																
Political exclusion																
Resistance																
Liquor																
State Role																
Repression / Control																
Independent Church																
Mission																
Church																
Doctrine																
Ideological aspects																

Archival extracts are individually analysed (where possible) in terms of the above set of criteria for each issue to which they are relevant (usually only one or two). Secondly, these extracts are collectively evaluated in terms of their source, ie. either Methodist Church, Anglican or *Christian Express / South African Outlook*, in respect of emphasis on particular issues. Thirdly, a second-level abstraction is made in respect of each issue to determine chronological (period) emphases. Fourthly, periods are correlated with issues emphasised to determine historical shifts. The insights generated by a combination of these methods are what are taken to determine the developmental history of language patterns in the churches investigated.

out such an 'analytical experiment'. The adoption of the historical materialist paradigm depends not only on an intrusion of judgment as to its explanatory power, but also on what one writer has termed a 'methodological suspicion'[1]. Religion and religious institutions in South Africa have been well-studied in relation to politics, education, law, other religious traditions, urbanisation, stratification, and ideas, yet rarely in relation to economic structure. This lacuna leads one to suspect that an investigation of the latter relation will yield important results (because the hidden relation covers certain realities, while its hiddenness prevents self-critique).

Besides these aspects, the historical materialist paradigm allows one to meet three important requirements articulated by Boudon (though he certainly is no historical materialist analyst), thus providing for a non-reductionist analysis. These requirements are:

1. non-linearity (i.e. a systematic accounting of intervening variables in any explanatory scheme);
2. contextual location (as opposed to an "atomistic" view separating society into discrete parts for the purposes of analysis);
3. diachronic (rather than merely synchronic) observational design of the 'analytical experiment'.

One further question arising from the method described concerns the means of giving content to any particular criteria of the language pattern; for though some items may be relatively easily identified by pure description (e.g. dates, symbols and images utilised, key ideas expressed, actions taken, rites and formulae asserted, alliances), other items require prior interpretation i.e. they depend upon the investigator's tools, capability, and insight, as well as on his or her framework of interpretation.

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1. J.L. Segundo (1977), pp.8-9.

e) The Problem of Interpretation

To investigate the relevant language pattern is essentially to investigate a particular form and expression of consciousness. But the historical materialist paradigm is notoriously severe on analysing consciousness in terms of ideas alone (idealism), or in terms of subjectivity alone (psychologism). As one commentator on Marx puts it:

> Marx possesses consciousness; on this score the philosophers who formulated and elucidated the concept of consciousness were right. Where the philosophers went astray was when they isolated consciousness from the conditions and objects of consciousness, from its diverse and contradictory relations with all that is not consciousness, when they conceived of consciousness as "pure" ...[1]

Consequently, subjectivity must be studied in relation to the complex social reality into which it is inserted, and by which an individual is revealed as 'subject' and allowed to exercise subjective power - activity, reflection and desire[2]. This being so, LeFebvre is careful to point out that the dialectic of subject and object in history is two-edged: 'everywhere and always social man is inventive, creative; everywhere and always he is in thrall to his own achievements'[3]. However, if this view is consistently held, then a specification of the conditions and objects of consciousness is not enough. How then does one get at the effect on social structure of the results of subjective power i.e. human agency in spheres other than labour?

One way of dealing with the problem has been to broaden the definition of labour to include intellectual activity, but the problems of definition become acute in application, for the distinction between the practical effect of intellectual work and the traditional idea of the efficacy of consciousness which Marx criticised becomes very difficult to discern indeed.

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1. H. LeFebvre (1966), p.66.
2. _Ibid_., p.39.
3. _Ibid_., p.54.

Another way, particularly well-developed by Jürgen Habermas in recent years, is to define language as act, and language acts as integral to praxis. In this view, labour is not the most fundamental reality of human existence, for the transformation of the world and of oneself by work is accompanied by equivalent transformations embodied in language practices. The goal of social evolution is then not defined in socio-economic terms alone (the communist society for Marx), but in terms of what Habermas calls 'speech acts' occurring in a milieu governed by a generalised 'communicative competence' possible only when domination has disappeared and fully responsible participation of every citizen in all aspects of life is materially (not just politically) present (Habermas calls this the "ideal speech situation").

To some extent, the model developed for the present study follows the clues offered by Habermas, particularly in putting content into those analytical criteria not susceptible to pure descriptive treatment (e.g. necessary presuppositions, desired 'good' intentionality, meaning-complex, interests). What one looks at in Church records are by and large 'speech acts'. What one wishes to determine is the extent to which such speech-acts are firstly, self-conscious vis-à-vis their objective conditions, secondly, self-critical, and thirdly, aimed at generating a milieu of 'communicative competence'. The first and most basic test arises in the judgment of the relation of any speech-act to its practical intention. In the simplest terms, one asks: is what you say what you do?

But beyond that, the most frequent puzzle concerns the relationship of a consciously made claim (or declaration) to unconscious subjective conditions: in short, this is the problem of false consciousness. Put differently, interpretive analysis cannot rely on the face-value of statements observed. On the contrary, "face value" is precisely what is under

question[1]. For this reason, an interpretive framework is unavoidable; in fact, it is necessary. If however one goes beyond a crude correlation of, say, the class position of the author of a statement with his or her meaning, then one needs to grasp his or her meaning through insightful understanding. This dual requirement - a specification in detail of the objective conditions of a statement (or text), and an understanding of its meaning - cannot be reduced to a single principle, either by regarding meaning-in-and-of-itself as residing in the text irrespective of its context, or by treating objective conditions as already containing the full meaning of a text.

Consequently, a combination of the two requirements would most adequately generate reliable insights. In respect of objective conditions, LeFebvre has provided a concise detailing of the required task, spelling out the implications as he sees it of dialectical method (as opposed to a method of simple correlation).

> The sociology of ideological forms tries to discover their class meaning in a dialectical manner, i.e., at manifold levels both in the past and the present, studying the conditions for their emergence, their points of impact, their rebirths and renewals, their truly representative and their illusion-creating functions alike, the shifts among them, cynical utilisations of them, etc. The critique of ideologies deepens the distinction between appearance and reality.... The analysis of ideologies finds its proper place in the study of forms that impose a certain order - a relative, precarious order, often put in question - on the constitutive elements of class society.[2]

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1. As McCarthy puts it in his study of Habermas' work:

> It is not possible ... to understand action solely through the explication of subjectively intended meanings. The empirical interconnections among actions governed by social norms go beyond what is subjectively intended. And the effective determinant of the actions themselves need not coincide with manifest motives. An approach that remains within the confines of an analysis of structures of consciousness is methodologically incapable of grasping the objective context of social action.
>
> ...; q.v. T. McCarthy (1978), p.160.

2. LeFebvre (1966), pp.118-9.

Admirable as this list of criteria is, it does not finally solve the problem. Such demands as discovering what is 'truly representative', or the 'cynical utilisation' of language imply a judgment on what is true, what is cynical, and so on. Quite obviously, when a text consciously asserts a perspective of domination, or manifestly legitimates oppression, or expressly idealises an existing order over and against contradictions, then things are not so difficult. However the majority of texts encountered in the present study are overtly unlike this.

This brings one to the need to understand the meaning of a text as something more than a reflection of its objective conditions. Presumably, the text is the speech-act of a human agent or agency; and equally, such human agent or agency may well have an intention towards something not directly as a result of class position or material interest. Moreover, such intention may well carry with it a practical action aimed at fulfilling it, and to that extent may well materially affect the development of the social structure and reality within which it occurs.

Now if one takes together with this, Marx's and Engel's notion that language _is_ practical consciousness existing also for others and for that reason really existing in social reality for oneself as well[1] - then it becomes possible to assert that the meaning of a text is discernable in its inter-subjective context. In short, the text may be related to the generalised discourse within which it is situated, both micro-socially and macro-socially, such that patterns of terms, symbols, ideas, and intentions may be distinguished in the social whole with the aim of recognising the locus of the text in those patterns. These patterns will of themselves reflect the types and varieties of consciousness of which they are the practical expression and these in turn would be characteristic of the social whole at any particular point in its development.

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1. K. Marx and F. Engels (1970), p.51.

This is what is implied in the list of analytical criteria by the determination of 'meaning-complexes' and 'interests', and it allows one to discern any 'desired Good' underlying the particular text studied[1]. Equally, it becomes possible to make relatively accurate judgments about what presuppositions lie behind a particular claim, declaration, or interrogation in the text.

So for example, patterns of discourse would be related to determining, complementing, and dependent variables of the social structure. In order to indicate what sort of data are necessarily incorporated, one may cite the case of the Church in South Africa post-1886. Certain historical conditions were fixed by the prior development of the society, and these inevitably conditioned later patterns of discourse to a greater or lesser degree. Factors such as the semi-feudal character of Dutch colonisation, British Trade-route interests, colonial trade in the interior, the state of African kingdoms, their level of technology and their form of economy, British mineral interests, the actual conditions of resource development (e.g. a marketing monopoly for diamonds to stabilise an otherwise impossible venture; low-grade deep-lying gold reefs requiring a labour monopoly to stabilise costs otherwise prohibitive, etc.).

Capitalist industrial development in short, in a colonial setting already characterised by groups engaging in traditional and semi-feudal economies, is the primary context of discourse, the "natural" environment. However, the style and specific trajectory of development depended secondarily on competition for resources and political hegenomy among some groups as well as a consolidation of their domination over

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1. The sense of the term "Meaning-complex" is that meanings are a field phenomena; i.e. the meaning of one thing is only found in relation to the meanings of other things. Consequently as Charles Taylor puts it, 'this means that there is no such thing as a single, unrelated meaningful element; and it means that changes in the other meanings in the field can involve changes in the given elements'; q.v. P. Connerton (ed.) (1976), p.161, "Hermeneutics and Politics".

others. Perceptions of immediate or long-term interest, of possibilities of resistance, and of intersubjectively defined social forces enter in at this point, and though not determined absolutely by the forces of capitalist development, they would nevertheless be conditioned by them. The total complex, once analysed, would be characterised by patterns of discourse giving linguistic expression to the variety of conflicts, competition, and perceptions contained in that complex. These patterns in turn are the clue to analysing texts taken from Church archives.

In this way the two requirements - specifying objective conditions and intersubjective meaning - are woven together to produce a systematic set of operations by which one may proceed to analyse Church documents. As one author has pointed out, books such as De Tocqueville's Democracy in America, Sumner's Folkways, and Veblen's The Theory of Leisure Class produce classic interpretations of social phenomena, relying on the method of 'Verstehen', but say very little about special procedures of operation capable of reaching conclusions not occurring to any intelligent and generally educated person[1].

In essence, the present study proposes to utilise a combination of empirical and 'Verstehen' methods applied to ideological analysis within an historical materialist framework along the lines discussed above. The meaning of the 'Verstehen' method as used here is not the same as Weber's[2]. On the other hand, it is not far off what Habermas thinks necessary, for the hermeneutic of 'Verstehen' here is 'conjoined' with the critique of ideology, the analysis of social systems, and a philosophy of history conceived as a practical rather than a contemplative enterprise. Moreover, what is sought is not 'simply an aggregate of several useful approaches but an integrated framework for social theory'[3].

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1. John F. Cuber (1959), p.41.
2. q.v. A. Giddens (1971), pp.148-9.
3. T. McCarthy (1978), pp.182-7, passim.

The operational procedures are situated within the systematic articulation of the social structure in terms of its variables[1].

Consequently, the empirical work of analysing the role of the Church in South Africa is preceded by a discussion for each period studied of the prevalent social structure, without which the subsequent analysis could not be understood. Only within this general framework are judgments held to be sociologically sound in the sense of accounting for a system, its functional apparatus, and its historical development. Insofar as such judgments presuppose a definition of ideology as that which conceals 'the real state of affairs', as that which asserts 'commonsense' in the face of social contradictions, and as that which equates appearance with reality, they imply a particular goal for human society - a goal of emancipation. Thus responsible judgment adopts a critical theory that

> involves not only a general criticism of ideologies but also the assertion of a distinct philosophical conception that relates all social inquiry to the aim of human emancipation.[2]

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1. In this respect, the model is an attempt to meet Boudon's demand for an explication of the meaning of 'social structure': (1980), p.82.

2. Bottomore and Nisbet (1978), p.xiii. Note that following Marx, a distinction is made here between political emancipation (the last form of emancipation within the framework of the existing social order: a state may be free from some constraint without its members being really free from alienation, domination and so on), and human emancipation (the humanisation of the whole of life accompanied by a democratic, participatory and solidary form of social existence); q.v. D. McQuarrie (ed.) (1978), "Marx and the State", Ralph Miliband, pp.256-7.

4. THE UNITY OF SOCIAL THEORY AND THEOLOGICAL REFLECTION

Quite evidently the locus of human society, from the historical materialist viewpoint heretofore adopted, is the natural world and not the divine origin, nor for that matter the realm of ideas or imagination[1]. Karl Barth, arguably the twentieth century's greatest theologian, accepted this view and made it the basis of his famous polemic against religion[2]; and later others such as Friedrich Gogarten used Barth to demonstrate that Christianity necessarily demands a secular conception of the world, albeit penetrated by, though not integrated with, the divine.

Barth notwithstanding, the severest problem arises at this point, viz. the validity of theological language per se given the classical historical materialist view of such language as being pure speculation and thus false consciousness. The problematic raised here is finally anthropological in nature, for it concerns the foundational notions of what a human being is in the natural world.

It is worth recapping the chief Marxian principles in this respect, in effect summarising aspects of the prior discussion of method. The argument will proceed from this basis to a claim for a rigorous cognitive epistemology capable of illuminating in the human being the systematic link between practice and theory, between action and reflection, between human agency and consciousness. Only then may the question of the unity of social theory and theological reflection be reasonably dealt with.

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1. Bottomore and Nisbet (1978), p.119.
2. q.v. for example, K. Barth, <u>Römerbrief</u>, (1922).

a) Society and Human Nature: Praxis

Perhaps Durkheim's comment on the materialist conception of history is a good summary of its intention:

> I consider extremely fruitful this idea that social life should be explained not by the notions of those who participate in it, but by more profound causes which are unperceived by consciousness, and I think also that these causes are to be sought mainly in the manner according to which the associated individuals are grouped.[1]

But a persuasive argument for such a conception of history can only be made once it is recognised that the term 'materialist' is not to be understood as the mere assertion that reality resides in physical and phenomenal objects alone. On the contrary, such materialist philosophy was severely attacked by Marx as a mere interpretation of the world, the reverse side of equally inadequate idealist philosophies. Rather history is the key: accordingly Marx asserts the historical as the only genuine basis of a materialist theory. Marxism demands therefore that the historicity of knowledge be made explicit, which includes the demand that one 'elaborates the socio-economic formation of mankind in all its historicity'[2].

Consequently, the Marxian notion of social structure is indissolubly linked to development, at the same time as it seeks to uncover 'the interrelationship of the elements and the interrelationship of the whole with the elements'[3]. One is therefore concerned to analyse more than a system of interactional relations (Talcott Parsons), more than a system of

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1. A. Levison, (1974), p.50.
2. LeFebvre (1966), p.31. Note however that some interpretations of Marx, probably because of his own lack of methodological clarity at this point, regard him as having discovered positive "laws of history". As one commentator puts it; "This perspective was based on the assumption that history was determined by dynamic necessities impervious to the subjectivity of its constitutive elements. It reduced the dialectic of history to fixed relations between societal structures; and methodologically it is regressive in relation to the reflexivity of a critical science"; T. Schroyer (1973), p.103.
3. P. Berger (ed.) (1969), p.65: Milos Kalab, "The Specificity of the Marxist Conception of Sociology".

appropriately related functional parts (Durkheim)[1], but also the genesis of a system, whence its elements arose and how they combined.

In direct relation to his approach, dysfunction in society is not treated a priori as pathological or intrinsically negative, but as a possible dialectical negation of what has become outmoded or rigidified in the process of the development of the whole. Conflict becomes an important focus of analysis as a result, and revolution is seen to be the possible carrier of a necessary new form of society breaking out of the old (for example, the Roman revolution of Julius Caesar, the French revolution, the American revolution, or the industrial revolution in England).

Given these notions, truth is no longer to be located in what people say or the ideas they hold without reference to what shapes their speech and ideas, to what has happened to them and their society in history, and to what is presently being borne in the conflicts generated by contradictions within their society. In short, truth is grounded in praxis.

But what is praxis? LeFebvre describes the meaning of praxis well when he says that

> theory unfolds with the practice, but the unity between them is not determined in advance, is not always the same; it is not empirical or logical but dialectical.[2]

However, the definition of what constitutes the kind of practice here envisaged is minimal, inadequate to the full import of the Marxian concept. In this respect Habermas,

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1. Wilbert Moore, in Bottomore and Nisbet (1978), p.326, describes the basic tenet of functionalism as: "that analytically distinguishable parts of any society or culture must be appropriate for the rest of the system".

2. LeFebvre (1966), p.163.

following Aristotle, makes a most useful distinction between praxis and techne. Practice that is technical aims at 'the rationally goal-directed organisation of means and the rational selection of instrumental alternatives, once the goals (values and maxims) are given'. On the other hand, praxis aims at clarifying and deciding between norms, 'especially norms for action, the claims to validity of which we can support or oppose with reasons'[1]. Habermas thus picks up on Aristotle's understanding of politics which referred exclusively to praxis and had nothing to do with techne ('the skilful production of artefacts and the expert mastery of objectified tasks')[2]. Consequently, one may argue that in the contemporary world praxis has largely disappeared in favour of the pragmatic techniques of power and social organisation which have become the methodological pre-suppositions of the global powers[3].

The distinction between techne and praxis has also been described in one sociological tradition as that between a 'managerial' and an 'anthropological' function of human science, the former seeking to 'manipulate' human behaviour by modifying the pattern of external situational pressures', and the latter seeking to 'manipulate the human environment by enlarging the scope of information in human minds'[4]. Critical reflection in this perspective serves the self-formative process. This is so because 'we become subjects by participating in a world already structured by beliefs and values', and 'in attempting to understand this world we are at the same time engaged in the process of self-understanding; we are reflectively becoming aware of elements that have become internalized in the development of our subjectivity'[5].

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1. J. Habermas (1974), p.3.
2. Ibid., p.42.
3. Ibid., p.56.
4. Zygmunt Bauman, "Modern Times, Modern Marxism" in P. Berger (ed.) (1969), p.7.
5. T. McCarthy (1978), p.180.

If Habermas has understood well the original Marxian attempt to reassert praxis in the face of an industrial capitalist economy which proclaims the 'impersonal market principle' as the key to social organisation, then one implication of praxis is the emancipation of people from the control of others or of some objective reality over them in order that a general practical participation in the active shaping of their society in its objective conditions and structures becomes possible. In short, an emancipatory interest is contained in the notion of praxis; it is an interest aimed at the disappearance of domination and manipulation in the public sphere and the meaningful consensual involvement of all people in the relevant public discourse and action.

That such an interest is reasonable Habermas regards as a sine qua non, i.e. it arises from the obligating interest of reason itself when it is no longer alienated or externalised from itself. Said in another way, Habermas believes that life organised around pragmatic decisions of technique and technology (colloquially one may phrase this: "if it works, its okay") - what he calls 'decisionism' - is reason purged of enlightened volition, disinfected. On the other hand, committed reason includes in its obligations 'the spontaneity of hope, the act of taking a position, the experience of relevance of indifference, and above all, the response to suffering and oppression, the desire for adult autonomy, the will to emancipation, and the happiness of discovering one's identity'[1].

Now this interest is met through reason by processes of self-reflection upon a contemporary praxis and its accompanying conception of the world, in order to determine their history of formation, the illusions and contradictions they evidence, and their products. Insights are gained by virtue of making conscious what has previously been unconscious; i.e. 'in a manner rich in practical consequences, analytic insights intervene in life ....[2] The processes of understanding

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1. Habermas (1974), p.262.
2. Ibid., p.23.

which generate insight, particularly insight of a non-trivial nature, will concern us further on.

For the moment it is necessary only to point out that Habermas' conception of reason, although sometimes open to the judgment that it shifts critical theory into "understanding" society (along the lines of traditional German philosophical idealism) rather than changing it[1], is not necessarily faulty in bridging the usual gap between theory and practice. If one understands praxis to be a moment or a series of moments of action-reflection, one may legitimately proceed to analyse the kind of reflection intended. The second-level attempt to organise a number of reflections - repeated, cumulative and progressive - into a generalised understanding (a theory) is equally natural and rational. One could not do otherwise without lapsing into mere activism. Provided then that all the connections between action and reflection are maintained in their historical framework and with emancipatory intention, critical theory must be regarded as a necessary aspect of praxis. In this respect one must be clear that 'not all praxis is theory; and not all theory is praxical.... Praxis that presents itself as, or is taken as a substitute for theory is blind.... Theory that pretends to replace or even guide praxis is empty, pretentious and dogmatic'[2]. Theory, when understood as critique in relation to praxis, may be regarded as the self-interrogation of society, a continual process 'destined to ambiguity, prohibited from absolutising its results'[3].

In the notion of praxis, the concept of action is simultaneously clarified with the concept of reflection; for it excludes habitual, instinctual or involuntary action and focuses on conscious action pursuing clear interests.

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1. q.v. for example, Bottomore (1975), p.48.
2. D. Howard (1977), p.17.
3. <u>Ibid</u>., p.241.

Consequently choices and decisions enter into action, but not in the form of 'decisionism'. This much is clear from the definition of praxis developed above. But, as with processes of understanding aimed at the development of insight, one is left with the question of how choices and decisions are consciously and self-reflectively arrived at and on what grounds. The importance of the issue may be high-lighted quite simply by pointing to the widespread realisation of many Marxist theorists (and of Marx himself) that actions of the proletariat do not inevitably generate emancipatory structures, nor are they necessarily self-critical beyond the immediate aims of a particular action, e.g. a wage increase. (Marx distinguished these aspects by his use of the terms 'a class-in-itself' which is not yet 'a class-for-itself').

The discussion of praxis leads one backwards into Marxian foundations in order to raise the question of anthropology. History, structure and praxis - all three concepts in Marx are intertwined with his notion of the human. Several points are relevant to the discussion in this respect.

Firstly, the work carried out by humans on nature circumscribes the possibilities of life and social organisation, and to that extent shapes the interaction between human and human. Consequently, what distinguishes the human being and human society from the animal is in the first place, labour in the broadest sense. But socially productive labour involves tools and an organisation of labour-power, initially at a very simple level but later in increasingly complex forms. As one author has described the Marxian position on the human being,

> he has neither a fixed unchanging nature, purely biologically determined ... (nor) does he develop himself in accordance with some spiritual essence.... There is rather a dialectically conceived relation between his nature as determined by the conditions of his life, and the practical transformation of those conditions. The link between the two is labour - in its broadest sense.

> It follows that one cannot speak of "Man" as such, except at a highly abstract level. History is made by particular kinds of men, with specific needs and problems and specific conditions of life determining the possibility of a solution to those problems.[1]

But alongside labour, and arising out of it, lies human interaction, neither aspect being reducible to the other. In the Marxian view then, forces and relations of production situated within a history of their development, are the first qualifying factors of the human being.

Marx however never fully explicated the relationship of interaction and labour; on the contrary he focused so strongly on productive activity in his analysis of capitalism, in the sense of the 'material interchange of the human species with its natural environment', that later analysts easily lost sight of the dialectical relationship between the forces of production and the relations of production, misinterpreting Marx in a mechanistic manner and ascribing to his method a naive positivism[2].

The refutation of abstract ideas of the human species ("Man") contained in this perspective, and the refusal to identify the human in terms of pure essence or individual psychology, indicate the high profile human society is given in describing human nature. For Marx, as for Durkheim, Weber and others, the human is first and foremost a social being. Social analysis is analysis of the human species, it is anthropological at root; in this respect alienation becomes a key category in determining those factors in society that, for one reason or another, dehumanise people (one cannot understand Marx's idea of commodity fetishism without this presupposition, provided one maintains the objectivity of alienation in history and avoids defining alienation in terms of personal feeling). Thus, as Habermas puts it, Marx continually confronted only one question:

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1. C.J. Arthur, Introduction to Marx and Engels (1970), p.21.
2. J. Habermas (1974), p.169.

'why does this specific historical and social situation exist, under the objective compulsion of which I myself have to preserve, arrange, and conduct my life - why is this existent thus and not otherwise?'[1].

b) Intentionality

But another question may be inserted at this point, one more relevant to human interaction than the work of transforming nature: how may one engage in the transformation of society other than through work, with its technological and organisational limits? This is a question of the meaning and relevance of praxis at the political level, at the level of the interchange between human and human rather than human and nature. It could also be regarded as a question of the practical efficacy of consciousness, a difficult area indeed for classical Marxist thought.

One concept frequently discussed in this respect is "intentionality". Intentionality is linked to the notion of human agency, yet also implies conscious choice and decision, usually with practical intent. Arnold Levison usefully makes the point clear by separating the meaning of a description of motion from a description of action. To say "His legs moved" is not the same as saying "He moved his legs". Only the latter necessarily implies conscious intention with practical effect[2]. The critical matter for our purposes is the importance of the notion of intention (or purpose) for the concept of action, and therefore for the concept of praxis.

Quite simply, conscious human action is in itself intentional, for human agency is ipso facto causal, i.e., to act is the same as to cause oneself to act. However when someone acts, to describe only the motions involved (e.g. A's arm swung from a point near his hip, travelling approximately one metre, and then impacted upon B's nose) is not equivalent to understanding what one sees (e.g. in anger A punched B).

1. Ibid., p.202.
2. A. Levison (1974), p.114.

Applying this distinction to social reality, it becomes clear that a mechanistic description of social change (and social change in our view is inseparable from the definition of social structure) must be false whatever "laws of motion" may be presumed. For the role of human agency is thereby excluded. But then an explanatory description including a concept of human agency cannot avoid the problem of intentionality implied in the theory of action. How then does one analyse intentionality? Is one driven into the realm of opinion, the murkiness of subjectivity? Is a social scientific method an impossibility?

A purely empirical social analysis would on this account be lacking, although useful in its place. Some interpretation of action is unavoidable and such interpretation remains weak if no attention is paid to intentionality, to purpose in action. Thus a total approach to social reality describes meaning as well as motion. Consequently Levison wishes to connect intention or purpose lying behind a human agent's behaviour with how that agent understands it. The clear implication here is the need to discern what actors in the relevant context understand themselves to be about, what the reference of their intention is[1].

There are many ways in which this could be done, the most obvious being via the stated claims of the actors themselves. However, as the previous discussion argues, stated claims may be either deceitful, ignorant or illusory. Intentionality analysis itself - i.e. the effort to discern the references or 'aboutness' of intentional operations such as wishing, desiring, doing, etc. - seeks to discover the kind and manner of engagement of an actor in the world via his or her utterances, provided that such utterances are meaningfully situated insofar as they thereby imply practical consequences for the utterer. Part of such analysis would therefore concern the question of sincerity, i.e. the extent to which

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1. Ibid., p.118 and p.143.

the implied obligation of the utterance in action is actually met (does he or she do what they intend)[1].

But if one seeks on this basis only the truth of an expression in itself, one is on shaky ground unless one can probe more deeply into what conditions the truth of the expression, what social reality it affirms, and what intelligibility it has in that social reality whereby the expression is a meaningful knowing. Using different terms in a different framework Lonergan makes the same point about the notion of truth[2].

> ...properly speaking expression is not true or false. Truth pertains to the judgment inasmuch as it proceeds from a grasp of the virtually unconditioned, inasmuch as it conforms to the being it affirms; and inasmuch as it demands an intrinsic intelligibility in being as a condition of the possibility of knowing. Expressions are instrumental. They are related to the truth of knowledge. Similarly, they are related to the moral truth of the will that communicates knowledge. But in themselves expressions are merely adequate or inadequate.

These considerations of meaning and truth, taken together, imply the possibility of analysing the intentions residing in a stated claim in relation to two fundamental variables, namely:

1. the relation of intention to its obligation in action, or put differently, the relation of stated or implied purpose to observable praxis;
2. the objective conditions and social intelligibility of an expression whereby a rational judgment on its truth-value is possible, at least insofar as its standing as knowledge is concerned.

The insertion of intentionality analysis into social analysis is the means whereby consciousness in its practical efficacy may be investigated; for one would expect in this way to be able to uncover the dialectic between speech and act, between act and reflection, and between reflection and speech,

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1. q.v. McCathy's comment on Habermas' theory of speech acts; T. McCarthy (1978), p.284.

2. B. Lonergan (1957), p.556.

such that manipulative consciousness, ignorant consciousness, and false consciousness become visible, and may be separately discernable from critical consciousness.

In short, intentionality can be regarded in this view as being extentionally observable via a systematic investigation of the variables of a social structure (including the analysis of the relevant utterances whether spoken or written). Here we are close to Habermas' view on what constitutes an adequate social methodology. For him, as McCarthy describes it, one would have 'to integrate interpretive understanding and the critique of ideology with an historically oriented analysis of social systems'[1]. This clearly goes further than Levison's demand to connect the intention or purpose of a human agent with how that agent understands it, for it seeks to ascertain the extent to which such understanding is itself limited in social reality.

One may go even further than this, for under these conditions critical theory has, in a certain way, practical consequences. For as Schroyer has it, critique or a critical theory is intended to show a world why it struggles and can do this only by breaking through the false consciousness of the age and actualizing the needs that are not represented in the public. Critique can become a material force only by gripping the masses and showing them that class domination and exclusion of their needs contradicts the objective social possibilities. Only in recognition of the socially unnecessary deprivations imposed on them by <u>historical</u> domination rather than absolute or natural necessity can they regain an experience of the totality of their existence[2].

We return now to the question of the role of human agency in social change, for to some extent the implication of strong limits on agency remains. Certainly it is asserted that social structure and historical processes of social change do

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1. J. Habermas (1979), p.xii, translator's introduction.
2. T. Schroyer (1973), p.32-3.

limit agency, sometimes more severely than others (the earlier table of variables in social structure makes this clear). Nevertheless, the distinctions developed around the concept of intentionality also assert two levels (or kinds) of consciousness viz. manipulative and critical consciousness, that within limits imply practical acts at the level of human interaction aimed at changing circumstances. They are objectified in a capitalist society in the form of the strategic actions of capital and labour respectively, insofar as each is a class-for-itself and not just a class-in-itself. (Note that technical consciousness is not included in this discussion, being largely irrelevant to the question of intentionality except insofar as available techniques and technology limit any possible practical manifestation of an intention).

Another way of stating the point is to say that intentionality is linked to human interests. Interests in this case are understood to be fundamental to the maintenance and development of the human species (thus Habermas defines interests as 'the basic orientations rooted in specific fundamental conditions of the possible reproduction and self-constitution of the human species, namely work and interaction'[1]). The connection between intentionality and human interests is obvious at a superficial level. However certain nuances are worth discussing.

Firstly, following Habermas' discussion of Dilthey one may regard experience itself to be organised in human understanding by symbolic structures . From this perspective, understanding is not objectified in psychic structures per se, but in symbolic structures such as states, churches,

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1. J. Habermas (1971), p.196; Habermas' emphasis.
2. Ibid., pp.146-157.
   Others who have argued persuasively for this point are Ernst Cassirer, Susan Langer and Paul Ricoeur; and in anthropological studies Mircea Eliade has demonstrated the central role of symbols in organising a social milieu.

institutions, mores, books, art works, in which the relation of an external aspect to 'one which is removed from the senses and therefore internal' becomes manifest. Consequently and secondly, one should not regard experience organised by symbolic structures to be a 'subjective process of becoming conscious of fundamental organic states. Instead it is relative to <u>intentions</u> and is always mediated by an act of <u>understanding meaning</u>'.

Thirdly however, the objective structure of valid symbols within which one is embedded cannot be grasped merely theoretically or phenomenally. On the contrary, the reconstruction of experience must situate symbolic structures in the historical process by which they are generated. But this process is never less than social, it is never simply the <u>sui generis</u> creation of constructs in the psyche of an individual (except perhaps in the severe psychotic, and even that may be debated[1]). Fourthly, therefore, a pre-understanding exists within which any individual develops as part of a group, and which shapes and limits subsequent understanding. The individual may become aware in retrospect of the meanings of this entire developmental history, but such meanings, fixed in shared symbols, are never rigorously private: they always have intersubjective validity. This is the realm of interaction and mutual understanding, and in the first instance, of ordinary language.

Yet fifthly, intersubjectivity is itself historically conditioned by processes of interchange between human and nature, by the forces and means of production. Herein lies the question of interests which are material (concrete) at the level of work in the first instance (the sustenance and reproduction of life), and at the level of social organisation

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1. q.v. for example, Anton Boisen's positive evaluation of severe mental illness in <u>Out of the Depths</u> (Harper and Bros, NY, 1960).

and relations in the second (the managing and enrichment of life[1]).

Taking the logic of intentionality to be governed by these aspects - i.e. by symbolic structures rooted in the historical development of the human species by which intersubjective meaning is generated and through which the individuation of consciousness occurs in the practical task of sustaining, reproducing, managing and enriching life - it becomes clear that any investigation of the grammatical structures of human interaction must take account of the 'empirical content of individuated conditions of life'[2]. Thus intentionality becomes observable in the social object and is seen to be interest-loaded (or, as others have put it, goal-directed[3]).

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1. Habermas discusses this second category in terms of the concepts of 'legitimation' and 'motivation' in his analysis of advanced capitalism: q.v. Legitimation Crisis (1976), p.68ff and p.75ff. The term 'enrichment' is intended to convey the interest one has in choosing possible alternative orientations in one's social development, given the limits placed by social constraint both upon possibilities available and upon the extent of one's freely motivated choice (the problem of socialization). Judgments in this respect may be regarded as based upon 'actual or construed experiential consequences', and are made with what insight is available to maximise the quality of experience (whether at the material or the relational level). Increasing developmental sophistication (e.g. a baby versus a mature adult) allows greater complexity in evaluating what will be enriching, both in terms of longer term conception and greater capability of engaging creatively in the world. Past experience, tradition, social structure and differentiation - all enter into this complexity. (These aspects are discussed in detail by J. Hofmeyr, "Religion in the Interpretation of Experience" (1979)).
2. J. Habermas (1971), p.173.
3. At this point it is worth noting that Habermas, with Fichte, regards interest in ourselves as 'the highest interest and the ground of all other interest' (ibid., p.206). Later he asserts the interest of Reason itself in emancipation towards Mündigkeit (autonomy and responsibility). On this basis he argues that self-reflection undoes 'both analytically and practically' the dogmatism which is false consciousness (p.208).

But as has been pointed out before, the investigation of the symbolic structure of any text must be able to discern a corruption of the text i.e. the extent to which it distorts or conceals real interests. This is particularly true when systematic distortion is present (on the personal level, repression is an example; more broadly, Marx's analysis of commodity fetishism is a good example). Precisely here one must necessarily investigate causal connections between the text, its distortions, and its objective context (note that systematic distortion may not be and often is not, conscious or deliberate - both examples evidence this). Such is the task of critique which may be regarded as 'therapeutic' - but also potentially threatening - insofar as it is clarification of what one knows, and an integral component of the transformation of the conditions of one's knowing from the effects of systematic distortion towards unconstrained consensual decision-making and participation in the historical development of society[1].

Summarising briefly, the methodology of investigation adopted in the present study operates on the assumption that a critique of the objective conditions of knowledge i.e. of the empirical structure of human interaction, at the same time penetrates a related intentional structure capable of being reconstructed and understood according to specified grammatical rules[2]. The unity of knowledge and interest thus proves itself in 'a dialectic that takes the historical traces of suppressed dialogue and reconstructs what has been suppressed'[3].

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1. Habermas also terms this goal the 'enlightenment of political will': q.v. (1970), p.75, or, 'a general taking part, on the basis of equal opportunity, in discursive processes of will-formation': q.v. (1976), p.134.

2. This process, Habermas believes, allows one to uncover the immediate practical consequences of critique (causal analysis); hermeneutics thus connects to praxis: (1971), p.272.

3. Ibid., p.315; q.v. also (1976), p.113, where Habermas discusses the 'model of the suppression of generalizable interests'.

c) Understanding and Observation

Once one has argued for the validity of a social conception of the human and tied that in to a notion of society governed by the dialectical relationship of theory and practice, one is still left to account for the structure of consciousness which defines individuation and critique. Wherein resides the possibility of critical reflection which, in the terms of this study, has practical efficacy? By what process and on what grounds does a human being become aware of his or her objective conditions and their link to knowledge? If human agency incorporates intentionality how may one clarify the validity of intention and of its pre-understanding?

Habermas has tried to respond to these sorts of questions by locating praxis as a universal reality in the structures of human language. In his view, a critical-hermeneutic analysis of language praxis illuminates the condition of knowledge itself and a priori situates it in a social framework (language cannot be an individual phenomenon). In short, the possibility of communication and the relative competence of its realisation define a type of action aimed first and foremost at reaching understanding. Thus the task of what Habermas calls universal pragmatics 'is to identify and reconstruct universal conditions of possible understanding'[1]. One then has the foundation for a general theory of socialization in terms of the acquisition of communicative competence, and on this basis Habermas 'sketches a theory of social evolution, which he views as a reconstruction of historical materialism'[2]. In this respect an adequate theory of social

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1. J. Habermas (1979), p.1ff.
2. Ibid., p.xvii. Note that Habermas' concern to locate the evolution of society in a theory of communicative competence is partly engendered by the failure of the working class in places like West Germany and the USA to accomplish their historical task (in Marxian terms). Marcuse's response was to proclaim the new student generation as the vanguard of history. Habermas is more cautious and certainly does not see student politics as necessarily the realm of revolution. Consequently he wishes to provide a more general theory of the 'motor of human history', a motor which is operated by different groups in different places and at different times. Obviously the classical idea of class struggle does not survive in this scheme.

evolution would in his view have to deal with three inter-related dimensions, namely, 'the development of the forces of productions, the development of organisational forms and techniques that enhance the steering capacities of societies, and the development and critical dissolution of legitimating interpretive systems'[1].

The success or failure of Habermas' attempt aside (here no attempt is made to debate the issue) his notion of the inter-subjectivity of understanding (communicative competence) as that which makes sociocultural learning possible (both in the reproduction of society and the socialization of its members)[2] provides an important basis for integrating the subjective and the objective. Moreover he also avoids any metaphysic of the mind, a common preoccupation of the philosophers Marx attacked. The developmental logic of 'the rationality structures that find expression in world views, moral representations, and identity formations', in his view depends upon 'evolutionary challenges posed by unresolved, economically conditioned, system problems and on learning processes that are responses to them. In other words culture remains a superstructural phenomenon, even if it does seem to play a more prominent role in the transition to new developmental levels than many Marxists have heretofore supposed'[3].

Notwithstanding Habermas' significant work on a theory of communication, it seems in our view that one cannot entirely posit learning processes into intersubjective relations; that an individual consciousness is not totally explained by reference to a social objectivity whether that be defined as language or communication structures of another kind. In short,

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1. J. Habermas (1976), p.xxiii, translators introduction.
2. J. Habermas (1979), p.99.
3. _Ibid._, p.98.

an individual's primary orientation is a factor of choices and decisions arising from, and sometimes altering, a foundational set of values not necessarily determinately bound by socialization of any kind (although certainly by no means disconnected from the social[1]).

This remains true in our opinion despite the fact that choice and decision are not the only factors involved and in fact probably play a large role in the shaping of values only in a limited number of relatively autonomous and responsible individuals. These would be persons who, for whatever reason, exhibit a marked capability for critical and self-critical reflection.

What concerns us more here are the cognitive structures which govern understanding and which, when sufficiently differentiated in practice, allow for critical reflection. It will be argued that a persuasive model is available to explain processes of human understanding in this sense, and that the model can be harmonized with an historical materialist perspective. Moreover, it will be argued that the model thereby developed provides a rigorous epistemology capable of uniting

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1. The learning process is not simply a question of absorbing experience, integrating and adapting it, but also a question of development. But development may be concerned with goals by which the learner orientates him or herself. The embodiment of a set of goals in complex activity is also hierarchical, i.e., some goals are primary, others secondary and so on. Thus the term 'primary orientation' signifies that set of goals expressed in a system of values by which the complex activity of an individual is directed, and to which any intervening goals are secondary. Such a set of goals may and usually does find its language in communally shared symbolic structures. Religion finds its greatest validity at this point - in symbolically structuring a primary orientation - though of course many who would claim to be religious may not be primarily oriented by their religious values per se, in which case religion serves as an ancillary social function rather than as a primary orientation. The importance of this distinction will become clear in the model developed further on. For a somewhat more detailed discussion of goals and orientations, q.v. J. Hofmeyr (1979), Chapters 5 and 6.

the concepts of praxis, intentionality, critique and value. On that basis a clarification of the unity of social theory and theological reflection will be attempted in order to complete the theoretical grounding for the rest of the study.

The fundamental starting point is the thesis that 'there can be no concept of knowledge that can be explicated independently of the subjective conditions of the objectivity of knowledge'[1]. In essence, by seeking to include notions of meaning and understanding into social analysis one admits to the domain of social theory the experience of inquiry. At the same time, the logic of human cognition is placed 'within the context of the self-formative process of the human species'[2]. Thus one sails between the Scylla of subjective idealism and the Charybdis of objective instrumentalism. But in order to do this, the experience of inquiry needs to be integrated into an investigation of the subjective conditions of knowledge (which takes the form of a critique of ideology in the historical materialist perspective).

The matter to be resolved may be put as follows:

> Firstly, by being the act of a subject, every 'objective' cognitive insight exists only as a result of certain 'subjective' conditions. Secondly, we must ask what we can know about the subject of cognition when we consider that it lives in the world of objects, being one of its parts.[3]

However we are not concerned here to resolve the epistemological problem of the relation of the objectivity of the natural world to the subjectivity of the human mind (a problem Marx attempted to deal with by positing sensuous human activity in the form of work and interaction as the locus of the objective-subjective integration). Nor are we interested in elucidating forms of will and consciousness via reflection on the subjective conditions of knowledge, a task bound to illuminate their historical contingency. Rather we wish to consider the logic of transcendental reflection in such a way that cognition is not seen

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1. T. Schroyer (1973), p.113.
2. Ibid., pp.126-133, passim.
3. T. McCarthy (1978), p.113.

to be determined by external objective reality alone, nor to be an unknowable thing-in-itself possessing a reality of its own unconnected to natural history.

The argument that follows situates the logic of transcendental reflection in the structures of cognition rather than in the subjective conditions of knowledge; i.e. an invariant process of understanding, more or less differentiated in any one subject, is taken to underlie reflection as such, grounding the possibility of critical reflection without a priori separating consciousness from objective external reality. In short, the logic of inquiry may be discerned as an integral part of human nature, but without resort to the problematical attempts to locate it in the semantic structures of language, in the categories of ontology, or in the representational structures of semiology.

In effect, the focus of attention is on the learning process itself. Marx took it for granted that the learning process manifested itself in the development of interchange between human and nature in the form of at first very simple, and then increasingly complex relations of work and social organisation[1]. But he did not describe the process whereby the active subject was able cumulatively and progressively to develop more complex forms of work and interaction (this cannot be posited in pure objective nature without doing violence to the very notion of the human as opposed to, say, the hominoid).

In order to do this one cannot resort directly to what is observable. Consequently a phenomenology of human cognition becomes indispensable, but on the basis of what is indirectly observable and not on the basis of speculative idealism. In this respect the major work on "insight" by Bernard Lonergan is a highly significant tool[2]. The utilisation of Lonergan's

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1. Note however that Marx's notion of social development was not defined by increases in complexity as such, but by the 'stage of development of productive forces and by the maturity of the social discourse'; q.v. J. Habermas (1979), p.142.

2. B. Lonergan (1957).

analysis of human understanding via the concept of insight will occupy much of the rest of this section, as it enables a systematic articulation of the methodology lying behind the attempt to relate social analysis, critical theory and theological reflection. Furthermore it allows us to return to matters previously mentioned - such as the notions of goals, values, choice and decision, self-reflection and experience - and to incorporate them into a unified explanatory schema.

But first it is necessary to recall Habermas's notion of universal pragmatics, its task being to 'identify and reconstruct universal conditions of possible understanding'. Because he regards other forms of social action as 'derivatives of action oriented to reaching understanding', and because he views language as 'the specific medium of understanding' at the sociocultural level, Habermas situates human development in a theory of communicative competence[1].

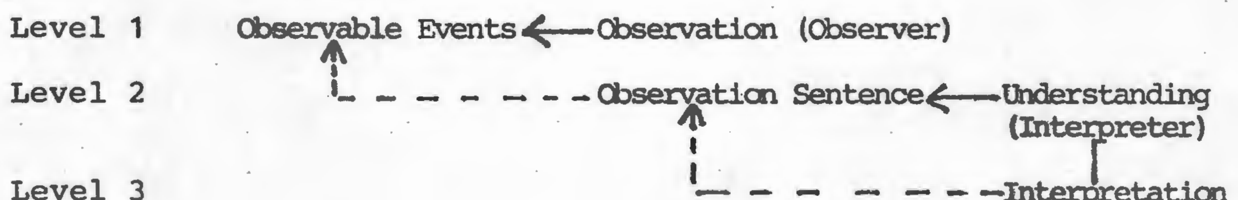
Success or failure in communication, which corresponds for Habermas to the validity claim of an action, resides in the dimensions of 'comprehensibility, truth, rightness, and truthfulness', each of which 'specifies not only an aspect of rationality, but a "region" of reality - respectively language, external nature, society, internal nature - in relation to which the subject can become increasingly autonomous'[2]. The rational reconstruction of the validity of speech is thus also an explication of the subjective conditions of knowledge. However, the latter requires empirical analytic procedures of investigation into social structure and change, whereas the former may be approached by formal analysis, by which Habermas means 'the methodological attitude we adopt in the rational reconstruction of concepts, criteria, rules, and schemata, Thus we speak of the explication of meanings and concepts, of the analysis of presupposition and rules'[3].

1. J. Habermas (1979), p.1.
2. Ibid., translator's introduction, p.xx.
3. Ibid., p.8.

Consequently, Habermas clarifies the distinction between empirical-analytic and reconstructive sciences by differentiating between sensory experience (observation) and communicative experience (understanding). As he puts it:

> Observation is directed to perceptible things and events (or states); understanding is directed to the meaning of utterances. In experiencing, the observer is in principle alone, even if the categorial net in which experiences are organised with a claim to objectivity is already shared by several (or even all) individuals. In contrast, the interpreter who understands meaning is experiencing fundamentally as a participant in communication, on the basis of a symbolically established intersubjective relationship with other individuals, even if he is actually alone with a book, a document, or a work of art.[1]

The levels at which the operations of observation and understanding occur are consequently distinct, sensory experience being immediately related to reality and communicative experience only indirectly. Habermas illustrates this diagrammatically as follows:[2]



Here:

(a) the act of observation operates on experience (events observed), but the act of understanding operates in relation to symbolic expression (contained in the observation sentence);

(b) the observation sentence represents certain events, while the interpretation represents semantic content;

(c) the intentionality of observation expresses itself in the observation sentence, and the intentionality of understanding in the interpretation.

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1. Ibid., p.9.
2. Ibid., p.9.

Now Habermas admits that there are fundamental problems in this approach without detailing them, but one can readily see that what is missing is an explanation of the processes wherein the acts of observation and understanding manifest themselves, in short an adequate theory of cognition that will not destroy through reliance on speculative idealism the historical material foundations of the model. Moreover, the provision of an adequate theory of cognition should go a long way to resolving a further difficulty Habermas does allow, namely: 'specifying the precise differences between the epistemic relations of the observer and the interpreter to their respective objects and between the representational relation of the observation sentence to reality, on the one hand, and that of the interpretation sentence to symbolically prestructured reality, on the other'[1].

d) The Structure of Cognition

Because the theory of cognition adopted here is specifically referred to by Lonergan as 'transcendental', it is important to note that Habermas expressed strong reservations about using the term 'transcendental', not for terminological reasons but because it is usually associated with an inadequate philosophical epistemology and because it 'could conceal the break with apriorism that has been made in the meantime'. On the other hand, Habermas finds plausible the transcendental investigation of processes of understanding provided they are viewed under processes of experience, and not located in an epistemological model of the constitution of experience[2].

Bearing these cautions in mind, it seems possible to analyse processes of understanding in another way - via the structures of cognition rather than the constitution of experience. Here we return to Lonergan. In his view of the structures of cognition, 'transcendental' means at least two things acceptable within the general framework of historical

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1. Ibid., p.10; Habermas' emphasis.
2. Ibid., pp.23-4.

materialism: (1) the invariant and recurrent character of these structures of human understanding, though they may be more or less differentiated in any one individual (in this respect his epistemology concerns the method of understanding rather than its content or its ontological basis); and (2) the internal development of higher viewpoints as understanding increases in complexity and extension[1].

By way of an analysis of insight - 'the supervening act of understanding' - Lonergan develops his theory of cognition, believing that insight is so central to cognitional activity that 'to grasp it in its conditions, its working, and its results, is to confer a basic yet startling unity on the whole field of human inquiry and human opinion'[2]. His analysis proceeds through an increasingly differentiated study of the acts of understanding carried out by mathematicians, scientists, and what he calls 'men of common sense', the combined evidence of the analysis being gathered into a single account. Some of the key aspects of insight that emerge in his study are worth noting here[3].

Firstly, insight is the source of clear and distinct ideas.

Secondly, by the apprehension of relations through the act of organising intelligence, insight includes the apprehensions of meaning.

Thirdly, every insight is a priori insofar as it goes beyond what is given to sense or to empirical consciousness,

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1. Note that the implication here of a permanent generalised structure of cognition in human nature is not necessarily a denial of the historical materialist view on the historicity of knowledge. Though he was not concerned to analyse cognition, Marx did differentiate in other respects between aspects of the human that change with the historical situation ('relative desires') and those that may alter their appearance but are a function of the human as such ('constant desires' e.g. the desire for food); q.v. D. McLellan (1971), p.215.
2. B. Lonergan (1957), p.ix.
3. <u>Ibid</u>., preface, pp.x-xiv, <u>passim</u>.

and synthetic insofar as it adds explanatory unification or organisation.

Fourthly, 'besides insights there are oversights', flights from understanding, which are not a peculiar aberration but the result of the incomplete development of intelligence and reasonableness, and which block the occurrence of insights that would upset a comfortable equilibrium. Consequently insight into oversights is crucial.

Fifthly, from this follows the possibility of critique which discriminates between the products of understanding and the products of the flight from understanding.

Sixthly, as insight is the source of intelligent activity, insight into insight 'will reveal what activity is intelligent, and insight into oversights will reveal what activity is unintelligent'. Consequently, insight is at the service of the progressive and cumulative development of the human species in both work and interaction:

> For concrete situations give rise to insights which issue into policies and courses of action. Action transforms the existing situation to give rise to further insights, better policies, more effective courses of action. It follows that if insight occurs, it keeps recurring; and at each recurrence knowledge develops, action increases its scope, and situations improve.[1]

But equally, oversight marks 'the cumulative process of decline', blocking needed insights, and providing the uncritical biased mind with factual evidence which is used to verify its bias.

Clearly, Lonergan's notion of insight is rich and complex while remaining in principle strongly connected to human activity and the world-historical process[2]. Moreover,

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1. Ibid., p.xiv.
2. On his conception of the world-historical process, q.v. ibid., pp.126-8.

insight is revealed as dynamic, and the formal structures of cognition Lonergan posits on the basis of his analysis must also be seen to be dynamic rather than fixed and abstract. As Lonergan puts it:

> ... our goal is not any scientific object, any universal and necessary truth, any primary propositions. Our goal is the concrete, individual, existing subject that intelligently generates and critically evaluates and progressively revises every scientific object, every incautious statement, every rigorously logical resting place that offers prematurely a home for the restless dynamism of human understanding.[1]

Having elucidated the key components of Lonergan's conception of insight, it remains to utilise his model of the structure of cognition based upon his analysis of human understanding, for it is this structure which is central to his claim for the priority of method over logic in the ordering of knowledge (in this sense Lonergan goes behind the linguistics of Habermas to that which allows for the possibility of language in the first place). Moreover, method in his view is more basic than logic because it incorporates both the logic and the illogic of new intuitions.[2]

Consequently method relates the critical to the systematic exigency through a 'normative pattern of related and recurrent operations yielding cumulative and progressive results! These operations form a basic pattern in the dynamic internal process of experiencing, understanding, judging, and deciding, each operation being present to the consciousness of an intending subject. Intentionality in this context seeks to make objects present to the subject (aiming at critical reflection) as well as making the subject present to him or herself (aiming at self-critical reflection)[3]. Moreover, corresponding to each level of operations is a qualitatively different level of intentionality: to experience, the empirical level of sensuous human activity; to understanding,the intellectual level of inquiry and expression; to judgment, the rational level of reflection on the truth or falsity, the certainty or probability of a statement; to decision, the

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1. Ibid., p.69.
2. B. Lonergan (1972), p.4.
3. Ibid., pp.6-8.

responsible level of the evaluation of goals and courses of action[1]. Each level successively incorporates a higher degree of awareness of ourselves and our situation, generating an increasingly comprehensive concern for the autonomy of the human species. In this sense Lonergan's model of cognitive structures accords well with Habermas' attempt to find a telos for the historical development of the species in Mündigkeit (autonomy and responsibility).

The basic schema of cognition developed by Lonergan may be illustrated as follows (remembering that it concerns a dynamic, recurrent process)[2]:

	Level	Structure		Question Asked
(1)	Empirical	(Experience)	E ↓	Is it clear?
(2)	Intellectual	(Understanding)	U ↓	Is it true?
(3)	Rational	(Judgment)	J ↓	Is it worthwhile?
(4)	Valuative	(Decision)	D	

In the process, one strives for the clarification of experience, for the true probability of the intelligibility of experience, and for the real value of what has been understood.

At the level of decision, values emerge as the result of reflected experience, or are confirmed or altered by reflected experience; while part of experience would be defined by the process of socialization. Digressing briefly, it is worth pointing out that one way of describing the mechanism of socially reduced values, whetherconsciously or unconsciously acceded to, is by means of Mead's concept of the 'generalized other' founded in the intersubjective transaction between

1. Ibid., p.9.
2. Derived in part from D. Tracy, unpublished lecture notes, University of Chicago, Autumn 1974; q.v. also D. Tracy, The Achievement of Bernard Lonergan, (Seabury Press, N.Y., 1970).

person and community which defines the emergent self[1]. However, our concern here is different: it is the relation of values to one's orientation.

What Lonergan's model makes clear is that decisions upon judgment are not simply instrumental, inherently given by the "facts" or the "things" of experience; they are impregnated with a complexity of values which may be more or less fixed, more or less stable, and which are attached to goals. What is not entirely clear in Lonergan's model is the ambiguity of goal-directed actions in an intending subject. As has been pointed out previously, such ambiguity resides in the possibility and the frequent occurrence of repression and the systematic distortion of communication in general. In short, to refer to Habermas again, the processes of understanding elucidated by Lonergan are not sufficiently viewed under the processes of experience; or, put differently, Lonergan's analysis of experience, in terms of the subjective conditions of knowledge (as per historical materialism), remains inadequate.

This is one reason for engaging in the earlier discussion of society and human nature. But given that discussion as a framework, Lonergan's model stands. This is equally true

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1. q.v. G.H. Mead, Mind, Self and Society, (University of Chicago Press, 1934); also P. Berger (ed.) (1969), Introduction, as well as "George H. Mead and Luigi Pirandello" by Bedrich Baumann. In this latter volume, the point is made that Mead's concept of the "generalised other" refers not just to a person but a "perspective" shared by a significant group. Thus one's identity is also found in a common reference system, a common axis, a common world (p.206). Moreover, this is a 'specific, socially structured world' (p.207), not just a world-view. Herein lies the key dialectic between social structures and psychological reality. Thus, following Mead, one recognises that a role one plays is not only a result of socialization, but also 'a means of the emergence of the self, of identity and individuality'. On this understanding, it is reasonable to propose, as the present study does, that an analysis of individual actors (e.g. English-speaking South African church leaders) reveals not just their opinion, but a socially structured perspective which acts as a common reference for a large group.

of another possible objection, namely, that the historical materialist emphasis on the historically contingent nature of knowledge appears to contradict Lonergan's claim for a permanent constitution of the processes of understanding. But, quite obviously, at least as far as the model of cognitive structures is concerned, the processes of understanding by virtue of their formal description as cognitive method are exempt from historical contingency, though the content of understanding is not exempt; and indeed, flights from understanding have very much to do with the historical context of the subject.

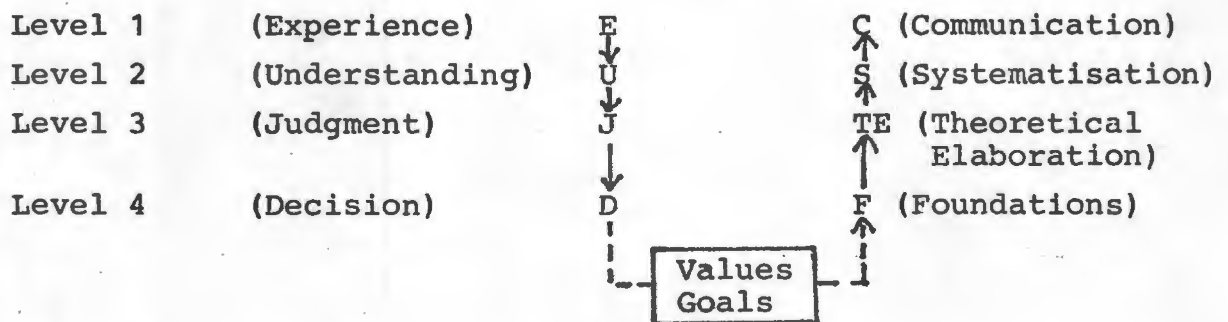
Now, the impregnation of the processes of understanding by values attached to goals (and accompanied by feelings) enables one to discern the meaning of primary orientation. For whatever reason (socialization, conscious choice, biological learning mechanisms, the results of attempted crisis resolution, etc.) values and goals inhere in the understanding subject, orienting the subject to the world in a particular way (attitude) and manifesting themselves in a particular mode of engagement (behaviour or activity). Moreover as Lonergan makes clear (and the work of many others supports him in this), these values and goals symbolically structure meaning.

At this level then we locate religious meaning, expressed in the symbols and images of a communally shared tradition (though of course one's values and goals are not necessarily defined in religious terms). The level of decision therefore establishes a foundation of symbolically structured values and goals which orient the subject. As has been stated before, these values and goals exist in a hierarchy of preference, and insofar as they manifest themselves in action, they range themselves in successively higher principles for strategic behaviour. Primary orientation is only that set of values and goals manifested in principles for strategic behaviour which in any particular context

relegate all other goals and values to a secondary position.

Following on from here, one can develop the model by recognising that processes of understanding operate in a second realm, namely, that of reflection upon the results of understanding. That is, one's values and goals, the foundations of one's orientations and mode of engagement in social history, may be shaped, limited, contradicted and even destroyed in experience; moreover they are also vulnerable to insight in another direction - that of reflection upon their internal consistency, coherence, and utility. In this latter respect, one's foundational presuppositions are in short open to theoretical development. In this sense, theory and practice are unified in the subject insofar as the processes of understanding are rooted in sensuous human activity (experience) and sensuous human activity is brought under the scrutiny of the processes of understanding.

Applying this to the previous model, the operations of understanding may now be illustrated thus[1].



What the model implies is that there is a movement from experience into the shaping and selection of values and goals, and a movement from foundations to inform and orient experience (=sensuous human activity). In everyday, common-sense activity, 'all four levels are employed continuously without explicit distinction between them'[2]. On the other

1. It is worth adding a reminder here that these operations form a dynamic 'pattern of related and recurrent operations yielding cumulative and progressive results'.

2. B. Lonergan (1972), p.133. The following discussion depends upon Chapter 5 of this volume.

hand, a deliberate scientific and critical investigation of the composite of activity and reflection seeks particular ends for each level: 'the proper achievement and end of the first level, experiencing, is the apprehension of data': of understanding, insight into the data; of judgment, acceptance or rejection of the hypotheses and theories emerging from insight into the data; of decision, acknowledgment of values and selection of methods to realise them.

Corresponding to each of the four levels are the reflective specializations. Lonergan does not detail them as we have here, for his concern is to explicate theological method in particular. Consequently, where we have foundations, theoretical elaboration, systematisation, and communication, he has foundations, doctrines, systematics, and communication. The terms used here are intended to convey a greater degree of generalisation in the model. Given that, some brief comments on the reflective specializations are appropriate.

Foundations may arise unreflectively (at least to a large extent) on the basis of socialization and biological makeup[1]. In this case, one would speak of the subject as relatively uncritical, more or less passive, or apathetic. On the other hand, where a conscious intentionality towards one's foundations exists, such that one's gaze, imagination, psyche, and activity are pervaded and directed towards particular values expressed as goals, and such that systematic reflection is called forth, one can speak of the transformation of the subject and his world[2]. This distinction

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1. The biological elements may be defined in terms of either genetic theory or information systems theory, both approaches being well-represented among scientists. In either case the main point for our purposes is the recognition that patterns of activity and reflection are to a degree biologically prescribed (to what extent is of course an open question.)

2. Thus Lonergan locates 'conversion' at this level on this basis: ibid., p.130.

illuminates for example, the difference between a class-in-itself and a class-for-itself. One's primary orientation in the latter case is clear and present to oneself. Foundations then, present the horizon within which symbolically structured meaning occurs, and they may be more or less conscious, more or less differentiated in any one subject.

But with increasing awareness and differentiation grows a reflective exigency, a need to elaborate the meaning, relevance, and applicability of one's foundations. But this is in the first instance a theoretical task, a dialectical clarification and development of judgments of fact and judgments of value. This corresponds to level three.

However, the theoretical task does not end there, for the clarification and development of judgments of fact and value gives rise to a further exigency, namely, the systematic. Systematisation basically attempts to organise, cohere and make consistent the diverse theoretical elaborations of one's foundations.

Finally, the practicality of theory reasserts itself by insertion into experience. Communication thus transposes theory into human activity, enabling the structure and organisation of experience in the development of the human species to acquire the results of reflection.

We have now designated eight functional specializations of human understanding corresponding to a two-fold division of the four levels of the structure of cognition. The point has been reached where certain applications of the model are possible to illuminate and describe the possibility of unifying social theory and theological reflection. It is important, firstly, to keep in mind that the model is a formal and dynamic structure, not an ontology nor a description of the rules and events of an internal chronology. Secondly, it should be remembered that any one subject will consciously exhibit the

functional specialities only to the degree he or she has developed critical and self-critical reflective capabilities.

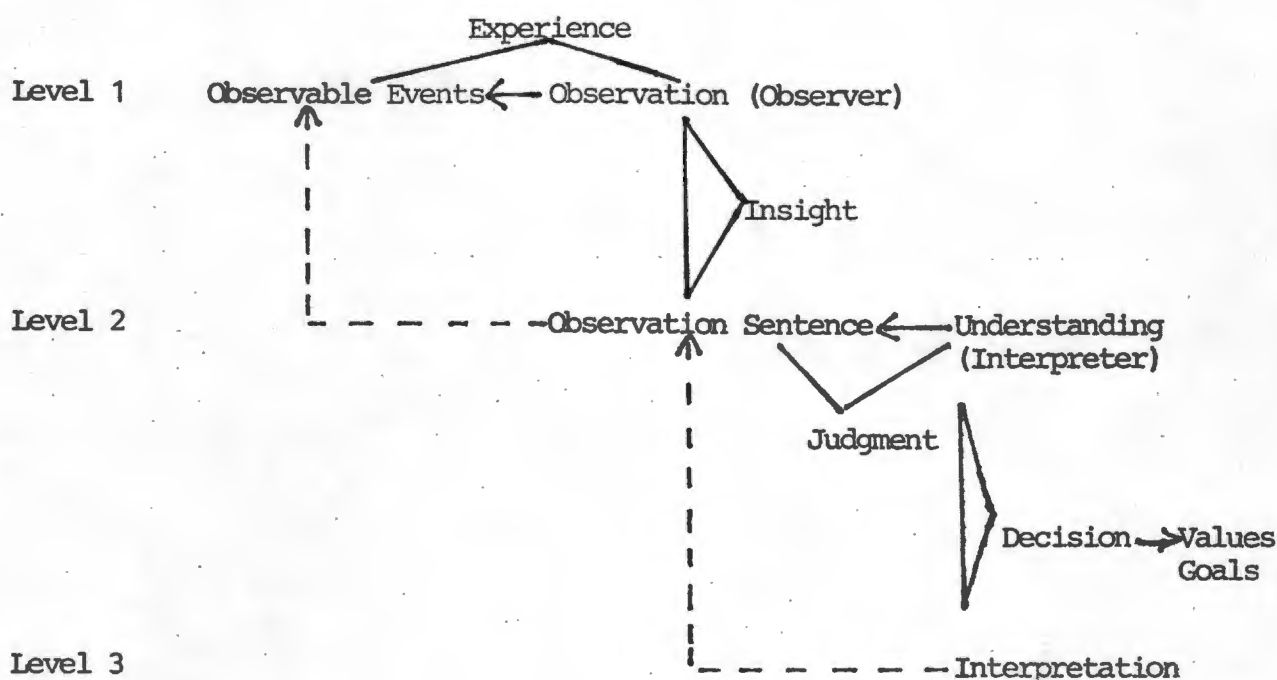
e) Application

We recall that Habermas described three distinct levels at which the operations of observation and understanding occur, namely: observable events, observation sentence, and interpretation. We had also said that what was missing was an explanation of an adequate theory of cognition whereby

(i) the process wherein acts of observation and understanding manifest themselves may be grounded theoretically without reliance on speculative idealism and without destroying the foundations of historical materialism;

(ii) the precise differences may be specified between the epistemic relations of the observer and the interpreter to their respective objects and between the representational relation of the observation sentence to reality, on the one hand, and that of the interpretation sentence to symbolically prestructured reality on the other.

Enough has been said to indicate that the formal and dynamic structures of cognition analysed and elaborated by Lonergan are completely open to a historical materialist framework. What remains is to show how the weaknesses Habermas admits to in his model are greatly reduced by its integration with Lonergan's model. Sufficient explanation of the terms and relations in each model has been given to allow a simple illustration to make the point, without further elaboration. In effect, one merely adds to Habermas' diagram additional specifications of the process of human understanding, thus:



The effect of the insertions is to slightly alter the meaning of Habermas' terms. Firstly, experience (sensuous human activity) is seen to include both the observer and observable events. Thus there is no implicit separation of internal reality from external reality, no subject-object split in the model.

Secondly, the term 'insight' rather than 'understanding' is used to designate Lonergan's second category, as Habermas already utilises the term 'understanding' elsewhere. Clearly, from Lonergan's point of view, Habermas is insufficiently precise in his use of the word, for understanding should be seen to involve the total process of complex operations a priori incorporating both experience and decision. Once again this unifies the internal and external relations of reality in a way not evident in Habermas' model. We would therefore replace Habermas' term by some other more appropriate one, perhaps "critique".

Thirdly, nowhere has Habermas been able to indicate where values and the goals attached to them enter into the critique made by the observer/interpreter and his or her

interpretation of experience. We regard this as emerging at the point of decision (following the previous discussion) and entering into observation mediately through the interpreter and his or her interpretation.

As a result of this integration of the two models, Habermas' distinction between empirical-analytic and reconstructive sciences (based on a distinction between sensory experience and communicative experience) can be more precisely epistemologically specified, via the distinctions in functional specializations gleaned from Lonergan. This will enable us to situate the unity of social theory and theological reflection at the same time. Briefly, the two 'sciences' correspond to the two divisions of the model developed from Lonergan. The functional specialities involved in observation and critique (experiencing, understanding, judging and deciding) are empirical-analytical. Those involved in the 'rational reconstruction of concepts, criteria, rules and schemata', i.e. in the analysis of meanings and presuppositions (viz. foundations, theoretical elaboration, systematisation, and communication) are reconstructive. The model incidentally also makes it clear that observation and critique, or empirical analytic procedures, are not free of the dynamic influence of values and goals for one's foundations, whether conscious or not, always enter into the process of cognition. Simultaneously, the symbolic structuring of meaning designated by the term "foundations" is inherently open to the results of observation and critique. These characteristics of the model are the key elements of our present concern.

It has already been indicated that religious commitment manifests itself as an orientation of the subject at the level of decision/foundations, perhaps even as a primary orientation; and that the values and goals of that commitment are symbolically structured into a meaningful whole. Moreover, the depth of commitment involved is a factor not only of socialization but of conscious choice and decision. That is to say,

strong commitments may be regarded as the act of a deliberate and particular mode of engagement in and with the world, a transformation of intention penetrating every functional speciality at least to some extent, and entering into the history of the human species by means of communication and interaction.

Adding to this two points Lonergan frequently stresses, namely, (1) that one is speaking of functional specializations and not functional specialists, and (2) that any specialisation may (and usually does) collaborate with others in the dynamic and developmental processes of understanding, one has the epistemological basis by which empirical-analytic work (e.g. social theory) and reconstructive work (e.g. reflection on the symbols and images expressing a particular foundational orientation with its attached values, goals and meanings) are harmonised. Only the further step of designating the latter as based on a religious orientation is needed to complete the picture.

Finally, the model as it now stands makes it clear that the epistemological unity of social theory and theological reflection is not only rational but reasonable. In the common-sense everyday, where the functional specialisations are hardly differentiated in the complex of feelings, thoughts, values, goals and meanings surfacing in the subject as he or she engages in work or interaction, the unity of the levels is not an issue.

But in our case, the intention of elaborating the model at hand is aimed at grounding the actual procedure adopted in the study, viz. an empirical-analytical investigation of the role of the Church in South Africa, connected to a theological evaluation of that role. The interpenetration of the language and practice of a religious commitment with the results obtained from a critical study of the subjective conditions of

its knowledge is in this view not only valuable, but demanded by a properly conscious and reflective attempt to understand one's experience (in its social totality), to evaluate one's foundations, and to develop a truly practical communicative competence free from dogmatism and domination.

Of course conflicts of values, goals and meaning are bound to emerge in the actual course of the development of the human species and its subjects, and they are bound to enter into the processes of understanding of the individual subject. But the resolution of those conflicts is only fully responsible and autonomous when critical and self-critical reflection is allowed sway at every level of understanding. In this respect theological reflection, in principle, cannot be regarded as immune to the results of empirical-analytical investigations. When it is not, its symbols and images, the representations upon which it elaborates and systematically co-ordinated, are liable to change their significance and alter in their emphasis. The last section of the present study focuses on precisely this issue.

One last application of the model is worth consideration. Boudon, with whom we dialogued earlier on, spends some energy on criticising in sociology the confusion of paradigms and theory. He argues that to distinguish between a theory and a paradigm is an important epistemological problem too often disregarded in social theory, and that the ability to make a clear distinction has great heuristic value[1]. In Boudon's view, a theory is not a paradigm nor a set of propositions <u>extracted</u> from a paradigm, but a set of propositions <u>deduced</u> from a paradigm. Thus one should be able to distinguish between the use of a paradigm (such as historical materialism) to impose its propositions on data, and the application of that paradigm to test deductive hypotheses against the data. The former in Boudon's view is not yet genuinely theory, but simply

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1. R. Boudon (1980), p.151ff.

an extension of paradigm employment[1].

In our view, the model we have developed expresses clearly through the medium of functional specialities the epistemological difference between theory and paradigm. Quite evidently the choice and operation of a paradigm begins, as a result of a past history of the development of experience and reflection, at the level of decision/foundations. The paradigm thus expresses itself via certain values and goals, and symbolically structures a meaningful whole. Theory in this case begins with the elaboration and systematisation of these foundations, at which point judgments of fact and value combine with the organisation of a consistent and coherent understanding in order to express an hypothesis reintroduced into experience (which is its test).

Thus the model meets the issue Boudon raises. Moreover it accurately describes what has been attempted in this study: the application, on the basis of past experience and reflecttion, of an historical materialist paradigm to the role of the Church in South Africa via a theoretical elaboration of key propositions, a systematic organising of their theoretical implications, and a test of the resultant hypotheses against the experience (its praxis) of the Church in a particular period. In the dynamic processes of understanding, the results of that procedure once again reflect back on the historical materialist paradigm itself, confirming, altering or rejecting it, and also on the paradigms of the subject investigated, namely, those of religious commitment and theological claims.

1. Boudon illustrates his meaning via a discussion of the 'free-enterprise' paradigm in economics, which asserts a proposition such as "perfect competition", and deduces from it a theory, e.g. supply-demand curves, which systematically links the description and explanation of data in logical form. (Others have shown that the same can be done for the Marxian paradigm; q.v. E.K. Hunt and H.J. Sherman, Economics: An Introduction to Traditional and Radical Views, (Harper and Row, NY, 1978), especially parts two and three.

Finally, we take the meaning of paradigm choice here to be governed by the conditions described by Thomas Kuhn. Thus, in adopting a paradigm one acquires an inextricable mixture of theory, methods and standards, as well as specifying 'the criteria determining the legitimacy both of problems and of proposed solutions'. The question of which problems are the more significant can only be answered in terms of external criteria, and this in turn is connected to one's position in society and one's view of the most crucial issues in society[1]. In this respect 'the decision to reject one paradigm is always simultaneously the decision to accept another, and the judgment leading to that decision involves the comparison of both paradigms with nature and with each other'[2].

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1. T.S. Kuhn (1962), pp.109-110.
2. Ibid., p.77.

5. NOTES ON THE CONCEPT OF IDEOLOGY

Considerable confusion may result from a reading of this study if the concept of ideology is not clarified. Quite clearly, the investigation of the role of the Church in South Africa intends to uncover the extent to which ideology pervades its public practice. Immediately one implies that the less ideology pervades its public practice, the better; and this in turn leads one to posit that there remains a possibility of public practice that is not ideologically defined. This is not a universally acceptable conclusion, but depends upon the way in which ideology itself is understood. But the analytical approach whereby the subjective conditions of the objectivity of knowledge are to be described and explained adds a further implication, namely, that ideology is not fundamentally a psychological condition, but a structural and historical aspect of society.

Because this use of the concept of ideology is restrictive and by no means generally agreed to in the literature of sociology, it behooves us to elaborate on it and explain it more fully.

As Jorge Larrain's excellent review of the concept of ideology points out, its historical origins lie primarily in the nineteenth century, although key notions developed beforehand contributed to its genesis[1]. Thus, Bacon's analysis of "idols" which warp through their irrationality the cognitive truth of nature; Holbach's and Helvetius' critiques of the "priestly deceit" which sought to restore the political legitimacy and domination of the mediaeval Church in the face

1. J. Larrain (1979), Chapter One, "Historical Origins of the Concept of Ideology"; also see "The Hinterland of Science: Ideology and the Sociology of Knowledge", in On Ideology, Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies, (University of Birmingham, 1978).

of the bourgeois revolution; Destutt de Tracy's attempt to found a "science of ideas" (to which he gave the name ideology); and Ludwig Feuerbach's criticism of the idea of God as a 'projection of the essence of man' - all of these prefigure the first fully developed concept of ideology in Marx's writings.

Feuerbach's anthropological critique of religion did not treat the religious phenomenon as mere speculation, as an arbitrary invention of plotting propagandists, or as a totally irrational belief. On the contrary, he explained religion in terms of the human and thus grounded it in the real. But his essentialist view was still captive to German idealism, and in the opinion of Marx therefore defective. Thus Marx aimed his famous "Theses against Feuerbach" amongst other things at the latter's inability to recognise the necessary reference of human experience to historical contradictions in society[1].

Marx himself had of course placed emphasis on the critique of religion as the premise of all criticism, directed at destroying people's illusions about their real condition[2]. Additionally, at a very early stage he annunciated the principle of critique as something aimed not at the motives or psychology of persons, but at objective social reality. Thus in a discussion on political matters in the Rheinische Zeitung in 1842, he argued that:

> taking this objective standpoint from the outset, one will not presuppose an exclusively good or bad will on either side. Rather, one will observe relationships in which only persons appear to act at first.[3]

But criticism for Marx was never sufficient in itself; in fact any such supposition boils down to mere intellectualism. On the contrary, criticism needs to be situated in the

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1. K. Marx & F. Engels (1970), pp.121-3.
2. q.v. A. Giddens (1971), p.7.
3. q.v. D. McLellan (1971), p.12.

historical process as praxis, i.e. it should not simply illuminate the distortion of reality, but seek to transform the conditions which allow such distortion. Consequently, Marx's notion of ideology cannot be separated from his epistemological claim for the unity of theory and practice as the locus of all genuine criticism. Then ideology is what is overcome in transformational praxis (or revolutionary practice, to use Marx's term); and correspondingly, ideology is related to attempts, conscious or unconscious, to stop the historical process (preserving the status quo), or to direct it in channels that may alter without undermining the position of the dominant class (engaging in reform).

Marx therefore locates ideology in its specific historical context, identifying its meaning in terms of the practice of a dominant class rather than in terms of a merely theoretical formulation seeking an historical subject[1]. On this basis he analyses the specific formation of nineteenth century capitalism not only from the point of view of political economy but also from the point of view of unmasking the illusory representations that hide real social relationships of production and organisation. 'Ideology' is therefore a concept developed in parallel to 'consciousness' which is itself rooted in human praxis and which takes form in language[2].

Misunderstanding may arise at this point if one forgets that Marx's struggle to situate the concept of 'consciousness' was waged on two fronts: against materialism per se on the one hand, and idealism on the other. The former refers consciousness to an objective, external reality, and thereby loses touch with the 'sensuous human activity' of a subject. Idealism on the other hand makes reality the product of consciousness[3].

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1. D. Howard, discussing this issue via a consideration of the work of Claude Lefort, makes the point that a theoretical formulation of ideology as that which veils the 'real' leaves open the rather crucial question of what determines the 'real', p.255.
2. A. Giddens (1971), p.41.
3. J. Larrain (1979), p.38.

Marx subsumes the two under human praxis, itself a social phenomenon. One can therefore analyse consciousness at two levels simultaneously (dialectically): as it expresses itself in the intentional activity which produces material and social life; and as it is expressed in symbolically structured representations of that activity in language. A direct implication of this position is the ability to analyse a particular form of consciousness Marx termed ideology, a distorted consciousness 'whose two specific and connected features are, firstly, that it conceals social contradictions and, secondly, that it does so in the interests of the dominant class'[1].

Clearly then, in the Marxian conception, not all errors of consciousness are ideological, for they may not all conceal social contradictions in the interest of the dominant class. But one should remember that this formulation on the other hand, does not imply that all such concealments are consciously motivated, for the social structure in its historical development enters into and shapes subjectivity, thus 'ideologizing' the subject at the same time. This insight is the basis of the Marxian critique of, for example, education in a capitalist order when it is directed at producing functionaries able to serve that order.

At the same time, there is no reason to doubt that ideology may be a conscious product of a subject at the point that contradictions in society become sufficiently critical to drive the subject into a 'deliberate hypocrisy' in defence of a threatened apparent harmony of structures and institutions. This is also the realm of manipulative propaganda which reaches its greatest impact under totalitarian or fascist orders. Then language no longer has real meaning, but only an instrumental purpose[2].

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1. Ibid., p.48.
2. q.v. M. Jay's discussion of Horkheimer in (1973), p.156.

But in general Marx's theory of ideology as he works it out in his analysis of capitalism is not a 'conspiracy' theory. Rather, it is a consequence of his epistemological insistence on the priority of productive and reproductive practice over consciousness. Thus wherever such practice involves contradictions it cannot solve, there it manifests an inversion of the real relations of production and organisation, objectifies that inversion (e.g. when money, a mere piece of paper, is taken to have real value in itself; or when a commodity is given a value that resides not in it but in the labour-power that produced it), and projects into consciousness the inverted appearance. The "inverted appearance" of reality is itself not unreal, for it functions as a social fact. But when a social fact, whose genesis and operation can be explained historically, is collapsed into a natural one - giving the appearance of a permanent structure of universal reality - then ideology rears its head[1]. In this way 'ideology fetishizes the world of appearances, separates it from its real conditions'[2].

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1. S. Mohun, "Ideology, Knowledge and Neoclassical Economics: Some Elements of a Marxist Account", in F. Green and P. Nore (ed) (1979), p.234; he describes the conflation of social and natural facts in terms of the exchange process:

   > For it is exchange which establishes the social links between the different producers, which establishes, that is, a social division of labour, through its determination of which protection processes are profitable and which are not. Yet profit is not produced by exchange; it is only realised in it. Hence the exchange-process does not define the content of social relations - it merely provides them with their context. To confuse context with content is to be blind to (the separation of the worker from the means of production and his consequently enforced entry into the market), and to collapse (the juridicial equality of the worker as a free agent within the market) from a social process into a natural one.

2. J. Larrain (1979), p.58.

To sum up, in view of the nature of ideology it is overcome not merely by theoretical critique which exposes appearance and reveals concealed connections, but by an informed, conscious practice.

Ideology in the Marxian view clearly has critical, negative connotations. The critique of ideology is a debunking exercise. This is in sharp contrast to other and later views which take ideology to be a general function of human society. Gramsci, for example, took ideology to be historically organic to a given social structure, and thus helped to develop the notion of ideology as a <u>Weltanschauung</u> (in his case a class-based world view). Thus for him an ideology is a 'social cement'[1]. Freud went further to locate ideology in the neuroses of the human psyche rooted in human nature. Durkheim initially regards as ideological all that proceeds from ideas to things rather than from things to ideas, and in this respect is not far off Destutt de Tracy's notion of the 'science of ideas'. Durkheim, however, assesses ideology negatively in this respect, contrasting it with the 'science of facts' (sociology)[2]. Later, in his analysis of religion he adds a positive understanding of ideology insofar as it expresses collective sentiments and thereby binds a people.

But the most developed alternative to the Marxian concept is to be found with Karl Mannheim. Picking up on the Gramscian connection of ideology to world view, Mannheim desires to have ideology treated as a generalised reality in human society. All knowledge for him is socially determined, and no one perspective (e.g. the Marxian) may claim a superior point of view. The general form of the conception of ideology therefore means that all positions must in principle be open to ideological critique. No claim to value neutrality may be given full credence. Consequently what one really means by ideology is 'perspective'; and one's perspective always enters

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1. <u>Ibid</u>., p.81.
2. <u>Ibid</u>., p.92.

into the practical world in ways not necessarily logical in form, for a perspective refers to 'qualitative elements in the structure of thought'[1]. Put differently, the social process influences all knowledge through the fact that

> (a) every formulation of a problem is made possible only by a previous actual human experience which involves such a problem;
>
> (b) in selection from a multiplicity of data there is involved an act of will on the part of the knower;
>
> (c) forces arising out of living experience are significant in the direction which the treatment of the problem follows.[2]

Knowledge is therefore influenced in two directions: the range of possible experiences before one and, the way in which one consciously chooses to engage in activity and reflection. Mannheim's connection of knowledge to the conditioning in the social whole of all knowledge turns the concept of ideology as used by Marx into a sociology of knowledge, the former in his view being a party weapon, the latter a genuinely scientific method of research[3]. The total conception of ideology proposed by Marx is unsatisfactory in Mannheim's judgment, as A.P. Simonds puts it for the following reasons:

> First, it requires an unwarranted (an unwarrantable) presumption on the part of the 'unmasker' to be in a position to absolutize his own context of meaning, and thus to place himself outside of history. Second, it achieves nothing in a practical sense because the technique of unmasking can always be (and, it can be observed historically, always is) generalized: the 'unmasked' can always turn the same weapon back upon the 'unmasker'. Third, by breaking the universe of discourse, such a position eliminates the very possibility of understanding; and where social relationships can no longer be founded in communication, there is left only the alternative of isolation or forceful imposition.[4]

In contrast Mannheim wishes all knowing subjects to become 'visible' to themselves in the roles otherwise hidden from them by the impenetrability of social conditioning

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1. K. Mannheim (1936), p.244.
2. Ibid., p.240.
3. J. Larrain (1979), p.109.
4. A.P. Simonds (1978), p.102.

and by unconscious motivations. One must seek self-illumination to the point where 'the inner connection between our role, our motivations, and our type and manner of experiencing the world suddenly dawns on us'[1].

Does Mannheim's approach so relativise the concept of ideology that its critical force as well as the usefulness of ideological analysis simply disappears? He himself claims that the fragmentary character of all knowledge is unavoidable, but that a comprehensive whole may be arrived at by the 'integration of many mutually complementary points of view'[2].

Thus an analysis of contending positions is the basis for a more inclusive solution of social and historical truth[3]. But when contending perspectives vie with each other for truth and reasonableness, and are not easily reconcilable, one must ask which is the best. Mannheim's simple criterion in this respect is that 'pre-eminence is given to that perspective which gives evidence of the greatest comprehensiveness and the greatest fruitfulness in dealing with empirical materials'[4].

In short then, Mannheim defines the sociology of knowledge as a theory of the social or existential conditioning of thought, and makes the issue of judgment of value a question of comprehensiveness and usefulness. But if the conditioning of knowledge is universal, i.e. if all knowledge is bound to an historically defined Weltanschaauung, then one is left with a redundant concept of ideology or one degraded into a psychological phenomenon attached to a world view in which a deliberate distortion of knowledge is entered into. The critical edge of the concept has gone, and what Marx attempted requires a new description.

Significantly, as Larrain shows, Marx did not deny the social determination of his or any other thought[5]. That this

1. K. Mannheim (1936), p.43.
2. Ibid., p.132.
3. Ibid., p.178.
4. Ibid., p.271.
5. J. Larrain (1979), p.119.

was so was not a denial of ideology, for he regarded the universal determination of knowledge as something different from ideology. To repeat, for Marx 'ideology was a distorted knowledge which concealed contradictions in the interest of the dominant class', not an abstract problem of truth or value, not a general assertion about the perceptual and symbolically structured character of meaning. Ideology is not simply an error or an aspect of human nature; moreover, the determination of knowledge does not necessarily invalidate truth or distort reality[1].

Consequently, from a Marxian point of view, the insistence of the sociology of knowledge upon the social setting of all thought is somewhat misplaced insofar as the concept of ideology is concerned, besides the fact that criticism of the content of any thought becomes almost impossible. In this respect, Mannheim's criteria of comprehensiveness and fruitfulness in judging the "best" perspective are ultimately ideological themselves in Marx's terms, for the fundamentally conflicting nature of social change and the presence of unresolvable contradictions in a social system cannot but be severely down-played if not ignored. Moreover, the implied harmonisation of perspectives removes theory from practice, leaving the conditions of domination intact, and thereby assisting the practice of the dominant[2].

The present study takes for granted the social determination of knowledge. In fact, the epistemological model developed earlier on indicates the manner in which such determination enters into the structure of cognition, laying foundations of values, goals and feeling which in turn form organised and symbolically structured wholes. These "wholes" are the content of perspective, world view, paradigms, or orientation, entering into and affecting reflection and activity at all levels.

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1. Ibid., p.121.
2. q.v. Max Horkheimer, "Traditional and Critical Theory", in P. Connerton (ed.) (1976), pp.219-20.

Notwithstanding the acceptance of social determination, the model also imputes to activity and reflection a critical function whereby distortion and contradiction may be apprehended and rooted out: attentive, inquiring, critical reasonableness and intelligent responsibility are the ethical attributes of intentional cognition[1] as one seeks to go beyond distortion and domination, beyond illusion and deceit, beyond the reification of history to its positive transformation.

In sum, the critical concept of ideology developed by Marx is taken to be both sufficiently discriminating and analytically potent to warrant its separation from a general sociology of knowledge. Moreover, its connection to praxis, to the overcoming of the conditions of the distortion of knowledge, and to a critique of the interests of a dominant class, enables the Marxian concept of ideology to acquire a penetrative capability in the analysis of social change and structure which any general theory of ideology lacks. The social scientific value of retaining the critical, negative use of the concept of ideology, in the sense described above and in all its elaborations, is thus regarded as sufficiently high to make it the basis of the present study.

Certain additional comments are worthwhile making at this point in order to clarify further aspects of the Marxian concept of ideology.

Firstly, it should be noted that an ideology is on the one hand a 'general, speculative, abstract' complex of representations purporting to comprehend the world on the basis of a restricted praxis without really understanding (or admitting) its own conditions, presuppositions and consequences in praxis. Thus it masks reality and reinforces specific behaviour patterns in an uncritical manner. Ideology is therefore, on the other hand, representative of 'determinate, limited, special interests'[2].

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1. q.v. B. Lonergan (1972), pp.12-13.
2. H. LeFebvre (1966), pp.70-1.

Secondly, ideology may not be equated with myths or utopias, though it may relate to them. Ideology utilises the language of everyday life to order a particular perspective, and to call forth faith, conviction and adherence; to that extent they are what Durkheim called 'collective representations', but not all 'collective representations' are ideological, only those that conceal contradictions in the interests of the dominant class[1]. Thus the concept of ideology allows room for non-ideological meaning, even though that meaning may be carried in mytho-poeic form. Thus the Marxian notion is not inherently antithetical to mystery and non-scientific truth, though it quite clearly mounts a frontal attack on mystification.

Thirdly, ideological practice manifests itself in the limited, interest-bound selection of problems and imputation of their source; in the effect of the form of a text or a statement whose content may otherwise appear neutral; in the solutions implied by the presentation of a problem; in a prior recasting of conflictual themes in order to disguise, conceal or deny conflict; and in the displacement of contradictions and the encoding of symbolically structured meaning aimed at achieving consensus on false grounds[2].

Fourthly, ideology may take the form of science. Thus Habermas, building on and somewhat altering Marcuse's earlier work, analyses ideology in advanced capitalism (and in highly developed Socialist industrialism) as 'technological rationality', in which science and technology are seen to be producing new forms of distortion and domination into public practice. Larrain argues, however, that this position leads to conclusions that (1) science and technology appear as the source of legitimating ideology; (2) the class struggle disappears as a relevant concept; and (3) the

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1. Ibid., pp.75-6.
2. These aspects of ideological practice are drawn from unpublished notes on "Propaganda and the Mass Media", partially reliant on Louis Althusser's work, by Eve Bertelson, University of Cape Town, 1981.

specification of the historical subject of the transformation of history becomes almost impossible, leaving critical theory in place of praxis[1]. In contrast, Larrain suggests that the language of science, far from replacing class contradictions as the source of ideology, may well be the form of their concealment[2].

It now remains briefly to discuss four particular issues, applicable to the present study which arise from the above considerations of ideology. They concern methodology, liberalism, liberal capitalism, and bureaucracy.

1. A sociological method aimed primarily at developing empirical methods of research (such as questionnaires, polls, surveys, etc.) and ignoring or relegating to the periphery questions of the subjective conditions of knowledge, is taken to be intrinsically ideological. This is not to say that such methods do not have a place, but a subsumed place rather than the status of objective truth. For, as Theodor Adorno has pointed out, apart from purely census type data (sex, age, legal status, income, etc.) such methods rely on two shaky tenets: the opinions and attitudes of individual subjects whose self-awareness may be to a greater or lesser extent opaque; and, the rooting of

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1. J. Larrain (1979), pp.207-8.
2. Ibid., p.210; as Martin Jay (1973) points out in his history of the Frankfurt School of Critical Social Theory, at an early stage Marx's theory of ideology was left behind in a general criticism of the Enlightenment tradition. Accordingly, a shift away from class struggle to the conflict between human and nature became apparent, and with this, 'the possibility of an historical subject capable of ushering in the revolutionary age disappeared' (p.279). Thus the two moments of freedom, as reason and as self-realizing action, were, to use Jay's dramatic phrase, 'split asunder'. Theory appeared as the only form of honest praxis in a shattered, ambiguous twentieth century. Perhaps it is not coincidental, Jay suggests, that the Frankfurt Institut für Sozialforschung found no relationship to workers nor sought any with a class believed to have failed in its supposed mission, and thus developed as a body of free-floating intellectuals (p.292).

those opinions and attitudes in one, arbitrary historical moment[1]. Thus such sociology 'postulates a reified consciousness in those whom it subjects to its experiments', and omits to direct itself at the social determinants (in their genesis, structure and tendencies) which affect the patterns of response among its subjects[2]. For these reasons we have adopted the methods of a critical sociology.

2. In the analysis of the Church in South Africa, the specific focus of the investigation on the churches whose public social testimony has frequently been couched in the language of the liberal tradition raises a question about that tradition. Its historical aspects are discussed elsewhere (variously in Part Two), but one issue is worth developing here.

   In South Africa, the liberal position has often been the base for an explicit or implicit claim to impartiality ("fair play"; "seeing all sides"; "give every dog his due"; etc.). This doctrine of impartiality is grounded in a rationality of the human being, often coupled with a notion of the essentially good and reasonable nature of the human. Any one position is thereby relativised vis-à-vis any other, at least in principle, and any judgment between positions depends upon the extent to which they meet the demands of the liberal position itself. Thus, practical commitment to liberalism in any particular historical context usually and most frequently takes the form of

   (a) defending liberal thought as that which guarantees all thought;
   (b) seeking to extend the options within society for reasonable debate in the assumption that this in itself guarantees freedom and allows the human good to emerge.

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1. In P. Connerton (ed.) (1976), "Sociology and Empirical Research", pp.240-1.
2. Ibid., pp.244-5.

(c) attacking those positions which seek to, or in any way do limit the aims of liberal practice usually via accusations of partisanship or authoritarian control.

A corollary of liberal practice is its tendency to regard its own position as ideologically neutral manifested in its desire to secure ideologically free debate. This is of course untenable. Moreover, the relativisation of all values in the form of the attempt to harmonise inherently conflictual positions (e.g. Labour and Capital) is, in a similar way to Mannheim's perspectivism, an ideology itself in Marxian terms. Additionally, the intrinsic shying away from a clear historical commitment or partiality to the position of the dominated classes in their struggle to overcome their domination, has several practical consequences:

(a) liberal politics tends towards secondary reactions to the initiatives of others where such initiatives are strongly motivated and unappreciative of liberal aims;

(b) liberal politics is therefore inherently weak in a situation of deep conflict or profound contradictions;

(c) liberal involvement and interests in a capitalist order tends to be overlooked, even in the face of contradictions, in favour of the ideas it proclaims.

For these reasons, the utilisation of a critical sociology in the present study results in a particularly acute exposure of the ideology of the English-speaking churches in South Africa, and hopefully enables a rethink on the content and meaning of their social commitment.

3. The historical investigation itself, based as it is on the contemporary 'revisionist' rewriting of South African history, accepts a view of the impact of capitalism that

distinguishes economic development from underdevelopment dialectically rather than diachronically. In other words, theories of development which analyse an economy in terms of how primitive or advanced they are, and then attach the term 'underdeveloped' to those most primitive are rejected[1]. This is not, of course, to say that economies do not develop. However, it is argued that capitalist development does not simply "take over" and transform an industrially and technologically undeveloped economy, but introduces new and unresolved contradictions into that context, including a siphoning off of capital from one area to another, and a disruption of even investment and spending. In short, under conditions of global expansion, capitalist development in some sectors is accompanied by a process of underdevelopment in other sectors.

Thus a discussion of the impact of capitalism in the South African context should be situated within an historical analysis of the formation of classes and the distorted effects of the interpenetration of multiple modes of production, as well as an institutional analysis of the relationship between politics and social classes[2].

It may be added that diachronic theories of underdevelopment may be regarded as ideological insofar as they conceal the real relations of power in underdeveloped areas, and do so in the interests of the dominant class. Consequently, issues covered by the concepts of primitive accumulation, imperialism, dependency, hegemonic competition, national capital and national struggles, remain somewhat opaque.

In the present study, we assume on perfectly good grounds (demonstrated in Part Two) that the period investigated may be described as situated within a dominant Liberal-Capitalist mode of production, whose principle of

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1. Commonly used theories of this type include the assumption of a dichotomy between 'traditional' and 'modern' economies: Also well-known is W.W. Rostow's five-stage scheme of economic growth (which Hobart Houghton (1967) depends upon).
2. q.v. I. Roxborough (1979), p.163.

organisation is the relationship of wage labour and capital anchored in a system of bourgeois civil law[1]. In certain respects, however, the Liberal-Capitalist model is one modified by monopolistic and monopsonistic practices in the mineral industries and in national transport and communication systems. Nevertheless the model stands, with economic exchange the dominant steering mechanism, and the state fulfilling the four classes of tasks specified by Habermas, namely,

> (a) ... the protection of bourgeois commerce in accord with civil law (police and administration of justice);
>
> (b) ... the shielding of the market mechanism from self-destructive side effects (for example, legislation for the protection of labour);
>
> (c) ... the satisfaction of the prerequisites of production in the economy as a whole (public school education, transportation, and communication); and
>
> (d) ... the adaptation of the system of civil law to needs that arise from the process of accumulation (tax, banking, and business law).[2]

Within this framework, certain other terms are used in the later historical investigation which specify particular aspects of the dominant mode of production and its ideological consequences. Elaboration of these concepts is beyond the scope of this study, but brief clarifying comments are in order.

Firstly, by "primitive accumulation" is meant the transfer of value from the traditional African economy and parts of the Afrikaner feudal agricultural sector to the capitalist sector, which in the context of an exogenous imposition of capitalism takes the form of conquest and colonialism[3].

Secondly, by "imperialism" is meant 'the formal or in-

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1. J. Habermas (1976), p.20.
1. Ibid., p.21.
3. q.v. I. Roxborough (1979), p.64.

formal control over local economic resources in a manner advantageous to the metropolitan power, and at the expense of the local economy[1].

Thirdly, by "dependency" is meant the specific manner in which the external and internal manifestation of different modes of production is articulated, usually related to imperialism, such that certain sectors of the economy are dependent on others while being unable to survive as independent centres of capital accumulation[2].

Fourthly, by "hegemonic competition" is meant the political conflict between fractions of a class whose programmes for the direction of economic development are situated within the same system but with alternative choices and visions as to their strategies[3]. In a colonised nation the interpenetration of modes of production coupled with a foreign-based class faction produces a complex class structure in which the struggle for hegemony is often a marked feature (as between Afrikaner and Britisher in South Africa). The achievement of hegemony is characterised by two things: 'the unquestioning acceptance of the parameters of a dominant class project by subordinate classes ... and, secondly, dominance by that class or faction within the power bloc so that it can be sure that it controls the state apparatus'[4]. In this kind of situation the working class may also be stratified 'according to skill levels and educational attainments'[5].

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1. Ibid., p.57, citing James O'Connor's definition. This definition leaves open the specification of the content of the imperialist relation, its working, and its operational circumstances.
2. Ibid., pp.64-69.
3. Ibid., pp.76-77. Roxborough discusses these aspects in relation to conflicts in modern Chile.
4. Ibid., p.124.
5. Ibid., p.80.

Fifthly, by "national capital" is meant the alliance of the modernising sectors of a national bourgeoisie and the middle class with co-opted sections of the proletariat and peasantry against, on the one hand, foreign capital and its bourgeois base, and on the other, anti-modernizing rural sectors[1].

Sixthly and finally, by "national struggle" is meant the struggle in an underdeveloped or colonised nation against foreign dependency and for national liberation and development, as opposed to the struggle of an oppressed class against a local ruling class[2]. It should be clear, however, that our view here regards the two struggles in South Africa as interwoven in the concrete social formation, and therefore incapable of being resolved completely independently, though in the South African context in the latter part of the twentieth century the class struggle is seen to be dominant.

4. The final issue of concern to us is that of bureaucratic organisation whose archetype is the state bureaucracy. Because bureaucratic organisation embodies a formal hierarchy of authority, while concentrating political power and separating it from the control of the citizenry as a whole, it tends to represent a particular rather than a common interest. At the same time it creates the illusion of a univeral interest. As Marx put it:

> Bureaucracy is a circle no-one can leave ... Bureaucracy possesses the state's essence, the spiritual essence of society, as its private property. The universal spirit of bureaucracy is the secret, the mystery sustained within bureaucracy itself by hierarchy and maintained on the outside as a closed corporation.[3]

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1. Ibid., p.24; this formulation follows but does not exactly duplicate the reference, which is in the first place to the definition offered by H. Jaguaribe.
2. Ibid., p.159.
3. A. Giddens (1971), p.237.

The force of this critique of bureaucracy which clearly suggests the strong ideological components it has, is directed in the present study not so much at the historical analysis of the Church in South Africa, but at the subsequent evaluation of the Church in general (Part Three).

P A R T T W O

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN SOUTH AFRICA

6. The Critique of Missions and Missionaries

a. The Debate
b. Victorian Expansion and the Missionary Ethos
c. The Critique Affirmed
d. Conclusion

7. The Critique of History : An Interlude

a. Introduction
b. Race and Class
c. Class Definitions
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8. Industrialization and Apartheid Society

a. First Stages : General
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d. Postlude and Prelude

9. The Anglican and Methodist Churches in South Africa : 1903-1930

a. Exploitation, Segregation and Union : 1903-1910

i) Overview : Political Economy
ii) The Church : Bound in Chains?
iii) Exclusion and Resistance
iv) Church and Ideology

b. Land and Labour : 1911-1919

i) Overview : Political Economy
ii) The Church and Proletarianisation
iii) Church and Ideology

c. Consolidation and Control : 1920-1930

i) Overview : Political Economy
ii) The Church : Crisis and Contradiction, 1920-1925
iii) The Church : Religion and Reform, 1925-1930
iv) Church and Ideology

d. Summary and Conclusion : 1903-1930

The most modest task for empirical social research ... would be for it to confront all its statements on the subjective experience, conscious and unconscious, of human beings and human groups, with the objective factors determining their existence.

- Theodor W. Adorno

6. THE CRITIQUE OF MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES

a. The Debate

> Many South Africans grow up today with the impression that the missionaries were well meaning but misguided men who did not really understand the Native and so were responsible for the racial problems of the present. There is a lot of pathetically ignorant nonsense, a lot of wilfully ignorant prejudice and a certain measure of truth in that idea.
>
> - L. Hewson (1950), p.25.

> Unfortunately wherever the Church went, the State, like Mary's little lamb, was also bound to go. For the Church and England, as by law established, was subject to the Royal Supremacy. Where its bounds spread, its bonds spread also, and a Bishop beyond seas was no less an official and a servant of the Crown in matters ecclesiastical than was a Governor in matters civil and political.
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> - H.J. Kidd, Gray Centenary Lecture, "The Anglican Church Overseas a Century Ago", Ts, 1947.

When African tribesmen first looked upon the strange, pale faces of the Europeans whose nations would rule their continent, they could not have foreseen what would happen. Within short decades, their newly emerging states and kingdoms were shattered, their chiefdoms undermined until chiefs were little more than lackeys of the colonial administrations, their pre-Capitalist economy tugged to pieces, though not quite destroyed, and their way of life, centred on close kinship communities and the values of "ubuntu"*, irrevocably and rudely altered - all to serve the individual success of others and the values of progress and profit.

Undoubtedly, great forces bore down upon them: superior military technologies backed by great wealth; expansionist Free Traders of the Victorian empire, and the political tools of

* "Ubuntu", meaning the human person, signified key values closely related to the contemporary rubrics "humanisation" and "solidarity".

annexation and colonisation which were handled with varying degrees of success by the representatives of the old European aristocrats and of the new moneyed class.

Among the waves of invading conquerers were the missionaries of the metropolitan churches, inspired by the peculiarly Western post-Enlightenment idea that the proselytization and zealous conversion of the entire human race was the supreme task of the Christian community. Of these intrepid explorers and doggedly determined envoys, legends and fables have been woven. And in equal measure criticism has been heaped upon their heads.

The hot and long-standing debate over the role of missionaries has raised sufficient battle dust to spur a call for a moratorium on European mission involvement, direct and indirect, in Africa[1]; it has also led indignant knight-errands to defend the honour of the "sullied maidens". No less a doyen than Edgar Brookes felt that the missionaries 'served Africa well, and their denigration is neither justifiable nor even decent'; on the contrary the nineteenth century 'demanded great self-sacrifice' of them. In Brookes' view a disservice is done to the worthy men of cloth by those who depict the missionary 'as the agent of "colonisation" and "imperialism", the servants of capitalistic trade, imbued with a superiority over the Africans, preaching provincial European customs rather than timeless truth.'[2]

One such critic, Nosipho Majeke, presses strong claims that missionaries 'had acted as agents of "divide and rule" policies; that they had been political advisors; that they had helped to evolve "Native" policy; and that they had been apologists for a ruthless military campaign and eulogists of the governor.'[3] Accepting that Majeke's work carries with it the stamp of a polemic - the absence of footnotes makes a

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1. M. Nash (ed.) (1977).
2. E.H. Brookes (1974), pp.196-201 passim.
3. N. Majeke (1952), p.54.

detailed assessment of her argument difficult - it nevertheless has been too easily dismissed. The poignancy of her views derives partly from the perennial nature of the struggle in South Africa between dominant and dominated, and partly from the defensive desire of churches to eulogise their founding workers. The evidence she adduces, however, is not countered by academic high-handedness, nor is it fairly treated when the opportunity for self-criticism is missed.

More importantly, Brookes and Majeke reflect a distinct disparity in their historical presuppositions and historiographical method. They manifest wide disagreement in their interpretation of the Church and their dissimilarity is of considerable significance: it bears directly on how one interprets the Church and its role in the nineteenth century, the early part of the twentieth, and since[1].

One author separates the settler churches of the Dutch trekboers and the English colonists from the missions run by such as the London Missionary Society, arguing that the conflict between them 'became a dominant issue for church and society at the Cape during the nineteenth century'[2]. On the basis of this distinction, he asserts the now standard view that British missionaries (Philip, van der Kemp and James Read in particular), disliked by the local settlers, withstood the growing thorns of a racism rooted in Boer exclusiveness, and championed the indigenous peoples whose side they took 'in the struggle for justice, rights, and land'. 'The missionaries ... regarded themselves as the conscience of the settlers and the protectors of the "natives"'[3].

But this distinction between settler churches and missions explains too little.

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1. A more moderate critique of missionaries than Majeke's may be found in Lawrence Zulu's "Nineteenth Century Missionaries: Their Significance for Black South Africa", in Essays on Black Theology, ed. by Mokgethi Motlhabi, (University Christian Movement, Johannesburg, 1972).
2. J. de Gruchy (1979), p.2.
3. Ibid., p.13.

Unquestionably, the discord between settlers and missions reflects an historical dynamic. But this dynamic remains hidden if its history is viewed as a conflict between two different groups with no reference to the economic nature of their viewpoints, their connection to the metropolitan centres, their conquest of land as well as peoples, and the resistance of those peoples. Setting up missionaries as in some sense "above" the settlers by virtue of their calling, would not rescue the position. Commenting succinctly on the clash between 'Boer and Brit' around the "Native Question", Selope Thema remarked that 'while this quarrel was going on the African was living his own life'. But, 'this kind of life was condemned by both the missionaries and the colonists as a life of laziness and indolence. They both agreed that the African should be taught the dignity of labour'[1].

Much more to the point, the issue of labour - and of land as well - illuminates the necessary historical dynamic, revealing surprising unity between Boer and Briton, and between church and government. Until this unity is understood the evidences of discord and dissonance among European settlers are misleading, albeit real. Consequently, the issues raised by Majeke have not retreated; they revolve most fundamentally around whether one views the missionary enterprise as enabling indigenous peoples to enter into and copy with a fateful and irresistable global campaign of Free Trade and Capitalist penetration, or whether one regards that enterprise itself as a tool of domination and submission.

The contention here is that, far from it being merely a matter of seeking a balanced judgment, the two perspectives reflect discrete positions in society: respectively, that of the dominator, and that of the dominated. The truth about the role of missionaries is governed by presuppositions based on pre-selected values, and is not simply determined by compiling

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1. Selope Thema, "Thinking Black: The African Today", Umteteli wa Bantu, as published in "Advance", April 1929, p.71.

and correlating supposed facts. Arguments such as the following reveal this quite clearly:

> Marxists often argue that the missionaries, or at least those who provided them with funds, were actuated by economic motives. They see the missionaries as emissaries of Capitalist powers seizing the land. ... But it is a false interpretation which does not fit the facts when they are examined in detail. The men whose names are cited did not become missionaries to get rich, or powerful, nor is there evidence that those who subscribed to the Societies which sent them out were seeking wealth or power by this means.[1]

The writer of this comment is concerned with "true" historical interpretation, and is aware that 'every society, even the most primitive, has a view of its own history, and this view is closely linked to its structure'[2]. Ironic then that he should so completely miss the point of the attack, forgetting that the painted face of Pierrot hides a tragic dimension. The issue is not whether missionaries or their societies sought wealth, or even conquest (though proselytization may be seen as one form of conquest): it is whether the Marxian view (in this case) of a close link to the structure of the society is valid, and if valid, whether the insights gained are not already the source of a profound criticism in the best sense of the word. This connection of structure to a view of history in relation to a specific society grounds the critique of missions and missionaries. The blatant disregard of its import in the annals of the church is not successfully dealt with by defences built uncritically on another particular but unacknowledged view of history. Thus what Edgar Brookes calls 'superficial thinking, with little knowledge of history and inspired by materialistic anti-Christian thinkers' - thinking designed to 'deprecate the Church as being a purely European Church linked up with the European Capitalism and imperialism which ruled Africa'[3] - is in fact an industrial diamond capable of cutting deep into the rock of the Church.

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1. B.B. Burnett, Memo to Cottesloe Conference, 1960, Mimeograph p.12.
2. Ibid., p.17.
3. E.H. Brookes, "The Universal Church in its South African Setting", Mimeo, 1966.

Before going on to review the critique of missions, it is as well to examine the matter of Victorian expansion into Southern Africa. The Church's relationship to the structures of South African society are in no small measure connected to this issue.

b. Victorian Expansion and the Missionary Ethos

In a petition to Parliament in 1820 the London Merchants, probably influenced by both Jeremy Bentham and Adam Smith wrote that 'the maxim of buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest, which regulates every merchant in his individual dealings, is strictly applicable as the best rule for the trade of the whole nation'[1]. Richard Cobden, the apostle and missionary of Free Trade - who wished to 'instil in the minds of the labouring classes the love of independence, the privilege of self-respect, the disdain of being patronized or petted, the desire to accumulate, and the ambition to rise'[2] - believed that the London Merchants required a broader vision. 'Commerce is the grand panacea, which ... will serve to innoculate with the healthy and saving taste for civilization all the nations of the world', he proclaimed[3]. Thus was the spirit of early Victorian Free Trade and its expansionist desires declared. Its political bench-mark, the Reform Bill of 1832, transformed Britain from 'an agricultural nation ruled by squires, parsons, and wealthy landowners into an industrial nation dominated by the classes produced by industrial expansion and commercial enterprise'[4].

Within this milieu the London Missionary Society had begun work in South Africa at the turn of the nineteenth century[5]; by 1814, (in the same year that Holland ceded the Cape Colony to Britain) the Wesleyan mission was underway[6]; and ten years later the Church of Scotland established the Lovedale Mission station, destined to be of considerable importance[7].

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1. D. Thomson (1950), p.77.
2. Cited in D.J. Manning (1976), p.96.
3. D. Thomson (1950), p.32.
4. Ibid., p.73.
5. J. Sales (1971), pp.32-3.
6. J.H. du Plessis (1911), p.464.
7. Ibid., p.184.

The slogans of industry, civilization, and progress rang as loudly in the sermons of the period as they did in the chambers of Whitehall, promulgated with a sense of 'moral duty to the rest of humanity', and 'suffused with a vivid sense of superiority and self-righteousness' based on the self-evident utility and rapidly growing power of industry and commerce. 'Economic expansion ... seemed not only natural and necessary but inevitable' in the centrifuge of the machine revolution. 'The trader and missionary would liberate the producers of Africa and Asia' and the indigenous people 'would respond to the gospel and turn to legitimate trade'[1].

At the height of this period, from his desk in the British Museum, Karl Marx penetratingly cut the heart out of the industrial revolution and showed it to be cold-blooded, while at the same time John Stuart Mill began to criticize his own attachment to Free Trade principles. The ills of the system were becoming evident, and Mill, 'that peculiar product of the nineteenth century, a professional reformer', began to modify the accepted notion of a "natural harmony of interests" which would automatically promote the general good[2]. The beginnings of social democratic thought are contained in Mill's later writings; they signify the shift from early Victorian confidence to later Victorian insecurity, and they are close to much missionary opinion. But for Mill, real democracy is only for those who have developed sufficiently to accept it and carry its responsibilities: it is to be protected 'against the domination of inferior intelligence, and the selfish interest of the numerically superior Class'[3].

As one author puts it, 'Mill's attempt to absorb, and ... to unify, the truths alike of the utilitarian and idealist positions is, after all, a prologue to a very large part of the subsequent history of English thinking'[4]. Not least, that

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1. R. Robinson and J. Gallagher (1968), pp.1-4 <u>passim</u>.
2. D. Thomson (1950), pp.49-50 <u>passim</u>.
3. D.J. Manning (1976), p.127.
4. R. Williams (1961), p.65.

of the colonial churches and their missionaries, as well as that of the Christian Socialists in Britain, Kingsley, Maurice, and Ludlum, whose lights flared briefly, but who later were to have considerable influence on Anglican clergy in South Africa[1].

Africa, however, was of far less concern to the Victorians than India, and 'if the papers left by the policy-makers are to be believed, they moved into Africa, not to build a new African empire, but to protect the old empire in India'[2]. The strategic importance of protecting the Cape Peninsula route to the East remained even after the Suez Canal was opened in 1869[3].

Imperial expansionism, gaining force through the discovery of gold in Australia, and later California, soon required force in India and Crimea[4]. And in Southern Africa policies of increasingly direct intervention were occasioned by the threat to the security of the India route from other European powers and the potentially hostile Dutch republics inland. Thus the traditional strategic doctrine of supremacy in South Africa came to be restated by the all-party Commission on Colonial Defence of 1879-1881[5]. As we shall see later, when the general British public in the 1870s came to recognise 'that the duty of British foreign policy had become as never before the duty of protecting the vital economic and commercial interests of the nation', the missionaries were not lacking in playing their part[6].

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1. Armstrong (1973), pp.183-4.
2. R. Robinson and J. Gallagher (1968), p.464.
3. OX: p.290. L. Thomson, 'Great Britain and the Afrikaner Republics'.
4. G.M. Young (1964), p.80.
5. R. Robinson and J. Gallagher (1968), pp.59-60 passim.
6. de Kiewit (1937), p.139

The shift in late Victorian policies from Free Trade adventures to imperial control of widely flung territories is no more clearly evidenced than in the Oxford Dictionary entry of 1898:

> In recent British policy 'Imperial' means the principle or policy (1) of seeking, or at least not refusing an extension of the British Empire in directions where trading interests and investments require the protection of the flag; and (2) of so uniting the different parts of the Empire having separate Governments, as to secure that for certain purposes, such as warlike defence, internal commerce, copyright, and postal communication, they shall be practically a single state.[1]

In Africa, after a rather poor attempt by Shepstone to annex the Transvaal Republic in 1877 (an attempt further weakened by the disastrous British defeat at Isandhlwana two years later and a simultaneous crisis in Ireland), the first Boer War of 1880-81 saw the Dutch settlers throw off the imperial yoke at the battle of Majuba[2]. But the turning point was the Suez canal Crisis in Egypt (1882). The British occupation of Egypt 'triggered off at last a secondary rivalry for possession of tropical Africa' among the European powers, and 'began its partition among the Powers at the Berlin Conference of 1884-5'[3]. Earlier, the attempt at confederation politics in the Transvaal Republic annexation, modelled on the Canadian precedent, followed the idea that:

> such a dominion would be strong enough, without British military or financial aid, to keep internal law and order and to absorb any African chiefdoms that had previously remained independent; that the British navy would protect it from foreign aggression; that British entrepeneurs would dominate its foreign trade; and that British government would control its foreign relations and, perhaps, have some financial say in its treatment of African inhabitants.[4]

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1. G.M. Young (1964), p.179.
2. T.R.H. Davenport (1977), pp.131-2.
3. R. Robinson and J. Gallagher (1964), p.162.
4. OX: p.291, L. Thompson, op.cit.

Imperial domination came into its own, particularly spurred on in Southern Africa by direct interests in recently discovered diamonds, and soon to be inflamed into overt desire by the glitter of gold.

That a genuine interest in the indigenous peoples remained part of British policy is not debatable, but as de Kiewiet puts it, 'British humanitarianism was stronger in sentiment than in guiding principles...'[1]. More important were the strategic interests that would ensure secure passage to the East and ready access to the inland wealth. In the colonies strong and well-established settler communities were the most convenient allies, especially as commercial experience had impressed upon the Victorians that 'all their most successful trading associations, with the exception of the Indian Empire, were with Europeans transplanted abroad'[2]. Consequently the invention of responsible colonial government in the form of Dominions created a 'structure of Empire unique in the history of the world'[3]. It was a 'device for achieving financial economy at Home without inhibiting commercial expansion, and for reconciling imperial unity with colonial aspirations for independence'[4].

In South Africa the required alliances lay necessarily with the European settlers, though it was less of a problem in the Cape and Natal than in the Boer Republics. Several mistakes were made, among them Rhodes' sponsorship of the abortive Jameson Raid, now acknowledged to have had the imprimatur of Joseph Chamberlain. Following on that, the economic and political necessities behind the policy of what has been called 'Settler colonialism' united Cecil Rhodes, Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, and Jan Hofmeyr, leader of the Afrikaner Bond, in seeking local autonomy and expanded influence[5]; it led to the Empire-wrenching second Anglo-Boer

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1. de Kiewit (1937), p.9.
2. R. Robinson and J. Gallagher (1964), p.7.
3. D. Thomson (1950), p.29.
4. R. Robinson and J. Gallagher (1964), p.55.
5. OX: p.307, L. Thompson, op.cit.

War; and it came to flower in the Union of South Africa, which did not injure in the least British economic and strategic interests[1]. In effect, 'Great Britain transferred ... its prerogatives as a colonial power to the White-settler minority'[2].

With these changes came a significant alteration of policies in respect of the indigenous people who were already doomed to exclusion from the most critical alliances. The desire to create of them a stable consumer market made up of English gentlemen and women gave way to an ideology of separation, fueled by a typical colonial racism born of Victorian superiority and cultural strangeness. Economic interests which had found political expression in responsible government and dominion status were given social expression in the language of Herbert-Spencer's Social Darwinism'[3], and of 'Manifest Destiny'. The former viewed Africans as 'racially handicapped and facing a long evolutionary struggle before being able to aspire to parity with Europeans'[4].

The latter provided divine sanction, as expressed in relation to the question of the dominance of European Races and the British in particular, by the answer that there is a providence that actually rules in the affairs of nations, and in their final outworkings the methods of providence show that privilege carries with it responsibility[5]. These beliefs corresponded with practice in the colonies; they rationalised conquest and privilege; they assuaged conscience through the logic of separation; they satisfied intellect via the theory of social evolution; and they gained favour with the missionaries too. Thus, without anything but good intention, and in the confidence that the statesmen, entrepreneurs, and leading citizens of his day would perfectly understand, the Bishop of Grahamstown could write in 1897 that:

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1. D. Denoon (1972), p.208.
2. P. van den Berghe (1967), p.73.
3. H.J. Schultz (1972), p.61.
4. In A. de Villiers (1976), p.255, Michael Ashley, "The British Influence on Education in S.A."; Also OX: p.306, L. Thompson, op. cit.
5. Rev. W.W. Rider, "A Wonderful Century", p.20, n.d.

> ... missionary work, viewed under the light of the Eternal Purpose of God (is) the inner meaning of history, ... the "Far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves".
> (It is the call) as citizens of our British Empire, and as sons and daughters of our British church, to rise up, in furtherance of this end, to their truly imperial responsibility and their imperial mission and destiny.[1]

All the dynamics, and the ideological terms of Victorian expansionism are reflected in the South African Missionary literature of the nineteenth century and on into the first years of the twentieth, only to be transformed into the language of the captains of industry and financial plutocracy as the early Victorian aristocratic gentry faded from the scene[2]. The effect of this latter transformation is the subject of a later chapter. But the connection of Victorian expansionism to the missionary endeavour must now be made.

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1. Bp. A.B. Webb, "Principles of Missions", SPCK, London.
2. q.v. G.M. Young (1964), p.168.

NATIVE ESCORT GOING OUT TO MEET THE MISSIONARY.

A missionary on trek

CAFFRE CHIEF IN ANGER.

c. The Critique Affirmed

'The way in which the material interests of the Company and the spiritual interest of the natives were intertwined ... must sound somewhat strangely to our modern ears'[1]. In writing thus, J.H. du Plessis, author of the pre-eminent work on the History of Christian Missions in South Africa, referred to the Dutch East India Company, "Jan Compagnie". Others who have modern ears and who have given their attention to "John Company" - the British trading empire - do not find his words at all strange.

The military campaigns by which the South African territories were progressively won from the fiercely resisting local people obscure 'the story of trade and labour, of measles and typhus, of Sheffied hoes and greasy cotton clothes, of crop shortages and imbalanced diets, of cattle disease and the collapse of tribal discipline, which were the signs that these men of opposite race were doing more than quarrelling with each other'[2]. But they do not obscure the expropriation of land by which European settlers accumulated the capital to sustain the conquest, and by which the elimination of African independence was guaranteed[3]. The struggle for the land was manifestly unequal and the settler, 'with his superior weapons and his notion of individual ownership, his theodolite and his title deed, and his greater awareness of the market generally gained at the expense of the black'[4]. The asymmetrical contest drove the Africans out of their pastoralist-cultivator economy into various forms of labour, destroyed the foundations of their society and - except for a brief ascendancy of an emergent peasantry - eliminated their competition.

These dynamics so profoundly mark the nineteenth century political economy of South Africa, and their consequences are so weighty, that no genuine understanding of the

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1. J.H. du Plessis (1911), p.21.
2. de Kiewiet (1941), p.49.
3. T.R.H. Davenport (1977), p.116.
4. Ibid., p.97.

role of the missionaries is possible without considering their interconnexion.

The manner of colonial missionary engagement with the indigenous people; their hand in the subjugation of chiefdoms; their relation to the forces of economic expansion and to the creation of labour; their specific part in the emergence of a black peasantry - all these themes come to the fore.

In his study on the roots of segregation in Theophilus Shepstone's Natal administration, David Welsh seeks to uproot the myth that segregation policies in South Africa are born of Dutch prejudice and isolation.* The missionaries in Natal he interprets not only as agents of change and critics of policies either outdated or inhuman, but also as the carriers of conscience which the colonists could not ignore[1]. Elsewhere he comments that the divines were 'targets for brickbats from both sides', for not only were they resented by white settlers, but 'Africans, kholwa[2] and pagan alike, saw them as instruments of racial and cultural domination'[3]. This last admission is, however, surprisingly damning, not of the men as such, but of the role of missions in general - though Welsh has not seen it that way. In this respect, John Philip, one of those that Welsh specifically mentions, was perhaps less romantic and disguised:

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* Welsh does not carry through any economic analysis of the politics of Shepstone, though his book includes evidence to support the notion that racism was far from economically irrational, and certainly not only a matter of attitude and behaviour.

1. D. Welsh, "ESW's and the Racial Problem", in A. de Villiers (1976), p.221.
2. "Kholwa" : the Zulu or Xhosa word for African converts.
3. Ibid., p.272.

> "While the missionaries have been employed in locating the savages among whom they labour, teaching them industrious habits, creating a demand for British manufactures, and increasing their dependence on the colony, there is not a single instance of a tribe thus enjoying the labour of a missionary making war against the colonists, either to injure their persons, or to deprive them of their property. Missionary stations are the most efficient agents which can be employed to promote the internal strength of our colonies, and the cheapest and best military posts a government can employ."[1]

Not surprisingly, Philip provides a major source of ammunition for Majeke's critique. Attacked by the settlers in his own time for his crusade against the feudal relationships notably evident between Afrikaner landlords and their African serfs, Philip remained a valuable ally of the Free Trade principles of early Capitalism, thwarted in completing his designs only by treasury restrictions of the colonial office. Most liberal commentators sympathetic to Philip have made the error of seeing him from the point of view of the twentieth century revulsion against racism[2]. Majeke more clearly perceived Philip's close ties to the rising industrial elite and their imperial ambitions[3], and cites him appealing for a liberal native policy in most disabusing manner:

> "By adopting a more liberal system of policy towards this interesting class of subjects", he declared, "they will be more productive, there will be an increased consumption of British manufactures, taxes will be paid and the farmers will have no cause to complain of lack of labour".[4]

Philip, it should be noted, was not exceptional. Van der Kemp - something of a misguided disciple of Rosseau in du Plessis' opinion[5], and in Sales' mind a possible 'hero-saint' for the 'tiny group of rebels' who want 'integration and a new deal in politics for the non-white population'[6] - was also a most useful agent of the government, utilising the

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1. Researches in South Africa, Vol.22, p.227, cited by P. van der Berghe (1967), p.27.
2. A recent example is Jane Sales (1971), p.55.
3. N. Majeke (1952), pp.14-15.
4. Ibid, p.19.
5. J.H. du Plessis (1911), p.128.
6. J. Sales (1971), p.52.

Bethelsdorp Mission Station (in co-operation with Resident Commissioner Maynier) to draw Khoikhoi away from the leadership of the rebellious Klaas Stuurman; to provide a military outpost which assisted the fight against Ndlambe's Xhosas; to collect taxes; and to set the pattern for providing reservoirs of labour for neighbouring farms[1].

On behalf of the colonial administration, John Ayliff unsuccessfully approached the troublesome Hintsa (who would later be defeated in the 6th War of Resistance in 1834)[2] and then wrote back to the Governor that Hintsa 'viewed us in the light of agents of the Colonial government and nothing more than colonial spies'[3]. Of the Wesleyan, Rev. Boyce, Colonel Harry Smith remarked that 'the man of the gospel is after all a worldly fellow ... more full of dragooning our new subjects than a hundred soldiers'[4]. Shrewsbury, another Wesleyan, recommended to a military officer that blacks should be made to wear a tin identity plate around their necks to enable identification of, and an estimation of, the number and strength of frontier tribes[5]. Rev. Henry Calderwood became the first of several missionaries to take on as well the colonial role of commissioner-magistrate which eventually included the task of recruiting labour; Calderwood himself instituted a system of taxation and 'locations' that Sir George Grey was to continue[6]. And William Shaw, superintendant of Wesleyan Missions, was instrumental in depriving Mosesh of parts of his people's territory in favour of missionary protegés[7].

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1. N. Majeke (1952), pp.10-11 and 21.
2. E. Roux (1964), pp.32-3.
3. N. Majeke (1952), p.36.
4. Ibid., p.44; see also Michael Ashley, "The British Influence on Education in S.A.", in A. de Villiers (1976), p.254.
5. Ibid., p.46.
6. Ibid., pp.60 and 62-3.
7. Ibid., p.99.

The subjugation of the African kingdoms and chiefdoms is well attested[1]; it was achieved not only by military means (for which missionaries provided much useful intelligence)[2], but also by administrative measures such as dividing territory into magisterial districts, making the magistrate the chief legal functionary of the region, and thus subordinating chiefs and their communities to magisterial rule[3]. And as Bundy puts it, 'the role of the missionary as standard-bearer for the commercial economy and western manners was one which missionaries themselves were not slow to point out, and they left no doubts as to the over-riding influence of missionary endeavour, precept, and enterprise'[4].

Missionaries on the other hand needed the government, as was recognised by the "Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Past and Present State of Kafirs in the District of Natal" (1852-3), whose considered opinion was that the success of the missionary was directly proportional to the extent to which the government could reduce the size of African communities, break up their social system, and bring them as 'free servants' into the colonial orbit[5]. In fact, with some exceptions[6],

> ... it can be maintained that the various missions could only establish themselves in South Africa in cases where clan and tribal loyalties were being undermined through warfare, through land occupation by white settlers, through the subjugation of blacks and their employment as wage labourers, through annexations and labour legislation.[7]

And, one might add, through the folly in the Eastern Cape of the Cattle-killing tragedy in 1857[8]. Welsh, among others, has

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1. q.v. for example, OX: pp.245-286, L. Thompson, "The subjection of African Chiefdoms: 1870-98".
2. N. Majeke (1952), p.26.
3. L. Thompson, op.cit., OX: p.281.
4. C. Bundy (1979), p.35.
5. D. Welsh (1971), p.45.
6. Moshweshwe, for example readily accepted the Paris evangelicals and Roman Catholics.
7. U. Kistner, "The growth of the mind and the Body in the S.A. Climate", Africa Perspective, no.13, Spring 1979, p.59.
8. T.R.H. Davenport (1977), p.117.

also testified to the great difficulty missionaries had in making converts where the tribal system remained strong[1].

Yet the claim that it was 'order, police, Imperial sovereignty, and the Pax Brittania, which have destroyed the sanctions of the old social system', and that 'missions could do nothing to preserve or abolish them', is only partly true[2].

As Selope Thema pointed out, missionaries did divide villages into two camps: kholwa and traditional[3]. They did advocate increased trade and commercial activity, as well as contribute to class formation in African society through relatively greater access by 'Mission natives' to the Market and its rewards[4]. And what is more, they played a significant role in the penetration of the market system into the traditional economy: Wesleyan Missionaries introduced the 'first plough in all these territories', opened the 'first store in all Kaffirland for necessary reputable trade' at Wesleyville, and planted the 'first cotton grown in South Africa ... at Morely Mission Station'[5].

At this point it is worth investigating more deeply the double deprivation which marks the history of the indigenous peoples in the height of the missionary period: the loss of land and the loss of political power. In actuality the two elements are inseparable; however, for the purposes of analysis they are treated as distinct emphases, together describing the alienating impact of European settlement.

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1. D. Welsh (1971), p.44.
2. P.N. Waggett, "Church Affairs in S.A.", Journal of Theological Studies, n.d. (but probably 1st W.W.).
3. Advance, April 1929, p.71.
4. C. Bundy (1979), p.37.
5. Rev. W.W. Rider, "A Wonderful Century", p.12, n.d. (probably turn of 20th Century).

Cattle may have been the visible sign of capital accumulation among the African tribes, but land was the economic base, as one Zulu indirectly implied in a comment to a white official critical of overgrazing: 'It is not that we have too many cattle for our land, we have too little land for our cattle'[1]. With the settler conquest of the territories and the later introduction of individual tenure (signalled by the Glen Grey Act of 1894)[2], the stratification of African society was ensured on the basis of relationship to land. 'Cleavages exist between landowners or those with recognised land rights, and "squatters"; and people from reserves generally look down on farm-labourers as "landless wanderers",' writes Monica Wilson[3]. In this respect, she describes the significant role of missionaries, as well as Sir George Grey and Rhodes, in motivating the allotment of land under individual tenure, a major structural factor in altering the pre-Colonial economy[4]. Thus de Kiewiet points out that

> Nowhere can the unintentional collusion between the genuine humanitarian desire to improve the condition of the natives and the selfish motive of exploitation be more interestingly observed than in the policy of substituting individual tenure for tribal land tenure.[5]

In the Afrikaner republics the same dynamic occurred, though here it was not, at least initially, the policies of individual tenure that applied, but the activities of the Boer farming household and the speculation of land companies, both appropriating large areas of land that remained unused or worked by labour-tenants[6].

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1. P. van den Berghe (1967), p.220.
2. T.R.H. Davenport (1977), p.118.
3. M. Wilson, "Growth of Peasant Communities", OX: p.98.
4. Ibid., p.60.
5. C.W. de Kiewiet (1937), p.159.
6. T.R.H. Davenport (1977), p.119.

Mission stations became important centres for the transformation of traditional land relationships and at least one author believes they did more than any other institution to alter the relations of production[1]. Frequently the 'demands of the missionary were much greater than those of the Boer farmer'. Besides taxes to the state, tithes were usually required for church buildings, educational facilities, ploughs, new seed, symmetrically constructed villages, and European clothes[2]. All of these items required surplus value and combined to drive those who could not produce enough, as well as those who had no means of production, into the labour market in search of wages.

In the Transvaal, by the law of the Raad, African peasants were in effect barred from purchasing land in their own name, and a common procedure was the use of a missionary as "dummy" purchaser[3]. But this often unsatisfactory arrangement depended overly on the continuing goodwill of the clergyman concerned. One significant account relates the rejection in 1873 by Johannes Dinkwanyane of his ties with the Berlin Missionary Society project at Botsabelo, his breakaway to enable himself and his followers to purchase land in their own right, and the establishment of an independent Christian community at Mofolofolo where life was possible 'without attendant heavy demands for tithe, labour and tax'[4]. The exploitation involved at Botsabelo was probably unconscious and almost certainly understood to be in the best interest of the black community; but the fact of exploitation was clearly articulated in Dinkwanyane's letter to missionary Nachtigal: 'Do we have no land?' he wrote, referring to lack of black control over the mission zone and the relative absence of participatory decision-making: 'We helped to build a mill and were not paid and the school and churches. Further, we have worked the land for him (Merensky, the other missionary at Botselo) in the form of the tithe'[5].

1. S. Trapido (1977), p.21.
2. _Ibid._, p.23.
3. C. Bundy (1979), p.202.
4. P. Delius (1981), pp.14 and 18.
5. _Ibid._, pp.11-12.

In the Eastern Cape, Natal Africans displaced by the Mfecane* violently enacted by the rising Zulu kingdom of Shaka were settled with the permission of the colonial administration and the help of the Methodists on the 'frontier'. For these Mfengu there was a quid pro quo: they were to be the human buffer between the colonists and the Xhosa foe[1]. Their incorporation into market relations was encouraged and stimulated, and they 'were hastened along their path to fuller involvement in a capitalist economy by their close association with the Methodists, a group of missionaries who keenly favoured the spread of peasant agriculture'[2].

Inevitably the transformation of African 'pastoralist-cultivators' into a productive peasantry was accompanied by - and very often preceded by - the growth of trade. The acquisition of European manufactured artifacts, from 'really good descriptions of clothing', articles of furniture, crockery, spades and forks to soap, candles, tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar, blue starch, scents and jewelry was equated by missionaries with 'rapid strides in the matter of civilization'[3]. The point is made clear by a study of a recent Zulu community, which concludes that 'the English-speaking Churches ... have tended to pass on to Africans a high appreciation of and desire for things English and American'[4].

Missionary interest in stimulating peasant agriculture was well-intentioned, and it undoubtedly enabled some Africans such as the Mfengu to cope more easily with an otherwise daunting situation. But its effect was much wider:

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* Mfecane: "The Great Hammering".
1. C. Bundy (1979), p.33.
2. Ibid., p.34.
3. Ibid., p.74.
4. A. Vilakazi (1962), p.96.

> ...missionaries believed a whole constellation of beneficial results would flow. These were: a stimulated demand for the consumption of British goods, the increase of commerce, of civilization and of learning, the spread of Christianity and the defeat of heathenism, polygamy, and barbarism - in short, the extension of British control, protection, culture, economy, religion and language.[1]

The decisive point is the last. Missionary enterprise, remaining always beyond radical self-criticism, could do no other than transmit the values and structures embodied in British imperial colonialism expansion without sufficient awareness to distinguish firmly between what was intrinsically worthwhile and what would lead to long-term destructive consequences for precisely those people whom they believed themselves to be championing. We have pointed out that trade and individual tenure played a major role in the transformation of African society, and in particular of land relations. But executive measures besides individual tenure placed further strain on traditional patterns of land usage, one being the expropriation of large tracts as Crown land and their subsequent redistribution in favour of settlers. In Natal for example, as Crown lands were released, colonists were 'assigned the richer and more cultivatable portions' as well as much land still uncultivated and unoccupied; whereas 'for the use of the native population a much smaller portion' was reserved, these being 'the more broken tracts ... fully occupied'[2].

Thus, as early as 1882, fifty-five per cent of the African population in Natal were already either tenants on private land or squatters on Crown land[3]. Nothing demonstrates more clearly the impact of colonisation than this massive change in status. A further legal infliction came in the form of taxation: hut taxes and marriage taxes at first; later the poll tax which produced more revenue.

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1. C. Bundy (1979), p.38.
2. D. Welsh (1971), p.178.
3. Ibid., p.179.

Little of this income returned to Africans in the form of services, but then its primary purpose was control and 'a way of simultaneously raising revenue, forcing Africans into the labour market, and indirectly curbing polygamy'[1]. This latter item, to which we shall return, had its economic implications as well[2].

Several studies show that 'traditional African techniques of agriculture and animal husbandry were well adapted to soil and climate conditions, and much less wasteful of natural resources than many of the European techniques of intensive exploitation'[3]. But the nexus of forces embodied in colonisation - military conquest, land loss and land control, labour creation, technological innovations such as plough and wagon, and political pressure - combined to defeat the traditional order, and to polarise the indigenous population.

Resistance, sometimes violent, has never ceased. One form of resistance - the rise of a black peasantry seeking an alternative to wage labour in the capitalist economy (admirably documented by Colin Bundy)[4], - created an early prosperity for some. Missionary ventures as has already been pointed out, significantly affected this development[5]. But no missionary understood the implications of the economic, political, and cultural domination of African peasants by 'outsiders in the wider society' and their involvement in 'relations of coercion and obedience'[6]. Thus the African peasantry, 'a crucial element in the transition of farmer-pastoralists into a reservoir of cheap, rightless and largely migrant labourers'[7], went into a rapid decline as a result of

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1. Ibid., p.77.
2. U. Kistner, "The Growth of the Mind and the Body in the South African Climate". Africa Perspective, no.13, Spring 1979, p.63.
3. P. van den Berghe (1967), p.220.
4. C. Bundy (1979).
5. Ibid., pp.32-60.
6. Ibid., p.9.
7. Ibid., p.3.

the gold boom and the sharply increased demand for wage labourers; but the swift deterioration went largely unnoticed by the churches until Dr Henderson of Lovedale belatedly recognised the calamitous results in the late 1920s. Church solicitude shifted blithely but pointedly from "Europeanisation" to "the dignity of labour".

The baneful process of underdevelopment, by which the indigenous peoples were more or less speedily incorporated into market relations and the Capitalist economy with deleterious consequences for themselves and ruinous impact of their land and pre-colonial economy, characterises the last century in South Africa[1]. 'Within less than a century the Natives have changed over from a subsistence economy to a money economy, and consequent upon the loss of their land and cattle from a position of independence to one of dependence'[2]. The indigenous population 'could not be exterminated or driven away altogether for, following close on the first step of settlement, came the demand for cheap black labour'[3]. The peculiar nature of underdevelopment in South Africa was guaranteed in early decisions, first given full formulation by the Lagden Commission of 1903-1905, to leave large sections of the black population - especially women and children whose labour was less valuable - confined to 'native reserves' whereby both a reserve pool of labour and a subsistence existence which saved entrepreneurs the costs of maintaining and serving workers' families were assured. These developments will concern us more fully later.

Retracing our steps somewhat, it remains finally to consider the widespread assault on the structures of African society which played so influential a part in the destabilisation of the pre-colonial economy. Research on the pre-colonial economy is now plentiful and its general features

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1. Ibid., "Preface".
2. R.H. Godlo, "Urban Native Conditions", 5th National European-Bantu Conference, 1933.
3. R.K. Cope, Ts, Papers, 1941-50.

well established. Kinship structures, the basis of hierarchy and political obligations, bound the system together, even where kinship ties were superseded for most political purposes by territorial models held together by a network of districts and wards under sub-chiefs and headmen[1]. Polygamus relationships, 'a system with which of necessity, all their laws, customs, habits and ideas are bound up', usually shaped the family structure[2].

Moshweshwe's kingdom for example, 'was not an autocracy, but a loose confederation held together by two kinds of bond, the maintenance of family ties within a large ruling house, and the consent of subordinate chiefs'[3]. Multiple wives, often transferred, bound groups together in the same way as European monarchies sought political ties through intermarriage. Moreover the relations of production were organised around the resultant extended families: production was in the first instance by and for the family, and the division of labour was 'not between families but amongst the members of a family ... based primarily upon the sexual division in each family'; all of which tended to limit production to goods that could be directly utilized by the producers themselves[4]. Even though kingdoms varied in their manner of organisation - Tswana society, for instance, was a "tribal estate", organised into three distinct areas: 'one for residence', usually a 'settled town of perhaps 25 000 people known as the metse; ... one for the growing of crops; and one for grazing and hunting'[5] - they retained the basic features of kinship.

Social coherence on the other hand depended largely on the chief, and chiefdoms 'all were concerned with the control of power, the rationalisation of decision-making, and issues of distributive and natural justice'[6]. As

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1. T.R.H. Davenport (1977), p.44.
2. D. Welsh (1971), p.71.
3. T.R.H. Davenport (1977), p.51.
4. C. Bundy (1979), p.15.
5. T.R.H. Davenport (1977), p.49.
6. Ibid., p.44.

Davenport indicates, the chief was

> the 'father' of his people, expected to govern conscientiously, wisely, and generously. He was the judge of all serious misdemeanors, the lawgiver, the war leader, the distributor of land, and the universal provider, in time of need, from the royal herds, which were largely composed of beasts levied as fines or tribute. As a Zulu proverb expressed it, he was the 'breast of the nation'. He might also be the organiser of the hunt controller of labour, and ritual rainmaker as well.[1]

Gatherings for consensus decision-making, known among the Sotho as pitso, among the Nguni as imbito or imbizo, and among the Swazi as libandla, meant that widespread participation in government was a basic feature of African society; contemporary observers of Moshweshwe's pitso's noted that 'discussion ... was keen, great freedom of speech allowed, and great weight attached to the opinion and attitude of the people'[2].

Central to the economic role of the chief were the redistributive tenets and mechanics of the tribe, with communal property rights formally vested in the chief[3]. The notion of land individually owned and sold like any other commodity was alien to a conception of the land as a natural resource available for use by those who occupied it, to be redistributed according to need with property rights accruing to no-one; and the distinction made the European settler idea of land-cession treaties both ludicrous and open to serious misunderstanding. A similar clash of perspective concerned cattle, which Europeans viewed as consumption goods and Africans primarily as capital goods[4].

As a whole, in traditional African economy and society, 'economic relations of coercion and exploitation and the corresponding social relations of dependence and mastery' were not created. On the contrary 'in tribes

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1. Ibid., p.45.
2. Ibid., p.46.
3. C. Bundy (1979), pp.16 and 21.
4. R. van den Berghe (1967), p.219.

production, polity, and piety are not as yet separately organised, and society not as yet a holy alliance of market, state and church'[1].

An address to the Natal Missionary Conference of 1920 by Dr D.D.T. Jabavu, himself one of the beneficiaries of missionary education, complained about the growing 'socially distant attitude of master to servant' as compared with the great friendship to black people that missionaries had shown[2]. There is reason to believe that attitudes did shift with the industrialization of South Africa, as will be seen; assuredly, missionaries were concerned to befriend the indigenous people; but their desire was 'conversion', the dynamics of which were by no means politically, economically, or ideologically neutral. The religious onslaught reinforced the confusion, breakdown, and victimisation - even inferiority - that land loss and political pressures created; 'Africans', warned Colenso,

> are men, shrewd, intelligent, inquiring: but they dread any closer contact with Christianity, which is to tear up at once their families, rend asunder the dearest ties which connect them with one another, and fill their whole tribe with anarchy and confusion.[3]

Chiefs were concerned with missionary impact upon traditional discipline, resenting the removal of converts from their jurisdiction, and the loss of their services in time of war[4]. Many chiefs actively opposed the work of evangelisation[5], and mission stations forcibly abandoned in the resistance wars of 1835, 1846 and 1851 were destroyed -

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1. C. Bundy (1979), p.15.
2. T. Karis and G. Carter (1972), p.123.
3. D. Welsh (1971), p.74.
4. T.R.H. Davenport (1977), p.117.
5. L. Thompson, "Subjection of African Chiefdoms", OX: p.247.

though Calderwood interpreted this as positive testimony to the disturbing influence of 'true' missionaries on 'the injurious power of the Chiefs and of heathen customs'[1]. Chieftainship, 'the great barrier in the way of Africans emerging from their traditional Society' according to Lt. Governor Pine of Natal Colony[2], was the institution Shepstone believed should give way to the magistracy as customary law was abolished[3]; it was also a sometimes unwitting, sometimes conscious missionary target. Resident missionaries in particular

> ...were a revolutionary influence, because they condemned African customs and institutions and taught the social norms of nineteenth century Europe as though they crystallized a moral code of universal validity.[4]

What was true of chieftainship was true of the kinship structure; Christianity had the effect of destroying 'the ritual and ceremonial bonds which bind the traditional kinship group'[5], and 'the church as an institution ... soon took upon itself most of the functions which had traditionally belonged to the family, the kinship group and the tribe'[6]. Moreover, the 19th century Christian emphasis on the individual person rather than the group, admirably suited to the ideology of capitalism, 'meant that single members of the kinship group were taken out of the fold and ... considered themselves quite separate and different from the rest of the group'[7]. Equally significantly, if the single member was male, the whole family was committed too, 'even the property which is not really his but belongs to the members of his family which may be polygynous'[8].

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1. Rev. H. Calderwood, Caffres and Caffre Missions, 1858, p.211.
2. D. Welsh (1971), p.25.
3. Ibid., p.29.
4. L. Thompson, op. cit., p.25.
5. A. Vilakazi (1962), p.31.
6. Ibid., p.94.
7. Ibid., p.27.
8. Ibid., p.12.

The distinction between converts (kholwas) and those not absorbed (called "reds" by the missionaries)[1], combined with the access through mission stations to secure land and to the market (often the reason for 'conversion'), played a large part in the early stratification of African society. The acceptance of Christianity also led converts as a matter of duty, to accept submissively the government, the institutions, and the laws of the white man[2]. It comes as no surprise to learn that kholwa Africans were often the first target of attacking tribes[3].

Among the customs that fell prey to missionary (and government) assault was polygamy with its attendant bride-price (lobola) system. The latter was regarded by most as a form of slave purchase, whereas in fact it played an important part in the manners of social relations as well as in the redistribution of wealth[4]. Polygamy was sufficiently anathema to the Church that 'most missionary bodies upheld the rule that polygamists were not to be admitted to church membership unless they put away all their wives, save one'[5]. Moshweshe, as well as Sekhukhune, Selshele, Kgama and others, found it almost impossible 'to reconcile the commands of the Church, in particular Christian monogamy, with those customs of his society which held it together'[6].

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1. M. Wilson gives a description of the differences between "reds" and "kholwas" in "The Growth of Peasant Communities, OX: pp.74-6.
2. A. Vilakazi (1962), p.143.
3. C. Bundy (1979), pp.99-100.
4. One exception to the general Church view on such practices was Bishop Colenso. For a more detailed study of the impact of Christianity on traditional family practices, see Eileen Krige's "Traditional and Christian Lovedu Family Structures", in Religion and Social Change in Southern Africa, eds. M.G. Whisson and M. West, (David Philip, CT, 1975).
5. D. Welsh (1971), p.73.
6. T.R.H. Davenport (1977), p.51.

Other factors such as morality, education, and organisation affected the traditional society. Christianity introduced new and usually disruptive definitions of social morality, while what remained of the old was modified and made to suit the new conditions and situations[1]. But this was no universal morality: it was that of the Victorian evangelicals and the declining gentry, shaped by the values of the rising industrial and commercial elite.

The education offered by missionaries, another lure to 'conversion', certainly made its contribution in enabling Africans to cope with and master the totally new conditions now irrevocably upon them, but it also carried its own ideological impetus, for which reasons, on the whole, chiefs remained opposed to education and Christianity[2]. From the 1870s onwards, education became the cornerstone of missionary activity, yet it fulfilled a larger role than its relation to conversion; 'it was playing a part in determining what place Africans were going to occupy in society'[3]. For the privileged few Africans, many of whom were the early leaders of African Nationalist protest and the dialogue partners of the churches, education became the principle means to breach the citadel of white privilege, the key element in the self-identification of the petty and aspirant petty bourgeosie, and thus education became a major demand in the agitations which arose in 1918-20[4].

Finally, it is worth pointing out that missionary penetration of African society, and the subsequent establishment of local churches, introduced unfamiliar styles of organisation. Bureaucratic methods, commonly initiated by missionaries, contrasted with the participatory pitso's, etc., and paved the way for Magisterial rule - 'and this, in the case of families like the Ayliffs, Brownlees, and Shepstones,

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1. A. Vilakazi (1962), p.44.
2. D. Welsh (1971), p.279.
3. Michael Ashley, "The British Influence on Education in S.A.", A. de Villiers (1976), p.255.
4. P. Bonner (1980), p.21.

meant literally a transfer of responsibility from fathers to their sons'[1]. The principle of voluntary association too, found its way in through the Church - a principle inseparable at this point in history from the individualist ethic and a bourgeois perspective, and one which disrupted the group discipline of traditional African life[2]. Lastly, and of considerable significance in the later development of African independent churches, the denominationalism so characteristic of Western church life tended to provoke black disunity, with both communal and political impact, as was well recognised by an insightful early African nationalist:

> For the Black man makes the fatal mistake of thinking that if he is an Anglican, he has nothing to do with anything suggested by a Wesleyan, and the Wesleyan also thinks so, and so does the Presbyterian. ... (But) we must be united on political matters. In fighting for national rights, we must fight together. Although they look as if they belong to various churches, the White people are solidly united when it comes to matters of this nature.[3]

d. Conclusion

In conclusion, much to the point in the critique of missions and missionaries, one may cite the telltale anecdote of a well-respected missionary. In it one may discern in microcosm an early apprehension of the liberal judgment upon colonisation, the ready capitulation to prejudice, and the uncritical confirmation of colonial mentality on the part of the missionary.

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1. T.R.H. Davenport (1977), p.56.
2. q.v. M. Wilson, "The Growth of Peasant Communities", and D. Welsh, "The Growth of Towns", in OX: p.97 and p.217 respectively.
3. Statement by S.N. Mvambo, Imbumba, Dec. 1883, cited in T. Karis & G. Carter (1972), Vol.I, p.12.

> It is also but fair to notice here, that it is much easier to love and maintain a deep and right interest in the heathen at a distance from them, as in England, than it is seeing them in their true state, and coming into contact with them in everyday life. I was once travelling with a friend, who was in the habit of extolling rather too highly the good qualities of the native African, and denouncing rather sweepingly the colonist as an oppressor. It happened, however, in the course of the journey, that he got into a violent passion with his wagon-driver, or leader, and said everything that was bad against him, excepting swearing at him. I laid my hand upon his arm, and playfully said, "My dear sir, don't forget! that is a native - a black man - one of those whom you have painted as innocents, whom all good men must love and pity." "Oh", said he, "they are so trying." "Yes," I replied; "just remember this when you draw your next picture, or are disposed to denounce too strongly the poor farmer, when he gets angry, as you have been." He good-humouredly said, "You are right, you are right."[1]

The integrity, the character, the genuine charity and the contribution of the missionaries is not the moot point. Rather, 'it is essential to analyse the effect of colonialism in the making of the social structure ... Colonialism involves conquest with its concomitant of dispossession, the introduction of a new mode of production, and the imposition of a new status hierarchy involving differential treatment of the colonised groups'[2]. The question concerns the historical role of missionary endeavour in the colonisation process, and at least one famous missionary known for his championship of the "Natives" was honest enough to provide an answer that cannot be regarded as "a false interpretation which does not fit the facts":

> Wherever the missionary places his standard among a savage tribe, their prejudices against the colonial government give way; their dependence upon the colony is increased ... confidence is restored; intercourse with the colony is established; industry, trade, and agriculture spring up; and every good genuine convert ... becomes the friend and ally of the colonial government.[3]

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1. Rev. H. Calderwood, Caffres and Caffre Missions, pp.11-12, 1858.
2. E.C. Webster in P. Bonner (1979), p.9.
3. J. Philip, Researches in South Africa, cited in C. Bundy (1979), p.39.

The matrix of forces which characterize colonial conquest and economic penetration did not self-consciously represent missionary ambitions, quite obviously; yet it did envelop them, and to it, in the stamp of Victorian self-assuredness, they made their contribution. They did so not because they were scheming, half-witted or malicious, but because they were of their time, of their place, and of their position in the expanding political economy of capitalist domination. Many of those who came to South Africa were influenced by the powerful and influential British Evangelicals who 'gave to the island a creed which was at once the basis of its morality and the justification of its wealth and power, ... and, a sense of being an Elect People'[1]. Whatever their theological opinion, they 'inclined to the view that the social order from which they came was the Christian one', and on the whole 'did not think of African culture as anything other than the work of the devil to be rooted up'[2]. As a prominent Methodist put it, 'the ultimate victory over savagery was to be won by the use of weapons of warfare not carnal but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds'; and in less rhetorical and more precise fashion:

> The Flag has followed the Cross. The missionary has opened the way, first for the trader, thenfor the Magistrate. Both Trader and magistrate should be among the foremost friends of the missionary ... Our injunction to the natives, "Fear God", has ever had its complement in the other injunction, "Honour the King".[3]

Thus, to interpret the missionaries par excellence either as the carriers of racial prejudice or the prophets of racial tolerance allows little insight into the structures which they were part of and which they helped create; neither does it facilitate proper comprehension of the changes in history which in broad sweep are not simply matters of private conflicts, personal idiosyncracies, or individual decisions;

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1. G.M. Young (1964), p.4.
2. P. Hinchliff (1963), p.67.
3. Rev. W.W. Rider, "A Wonderful Century", pp.3 and 12, n.d. (probably at the turn of the 20th Century).

nor finally does it enable an adequate explanation of the transformations in Church thought and policy that were to occur in the first decades of industrialization.

What requires elucidation is why missionaries (and the Church) did their best to 'inculcate a way of life which bears no necessary relationship to biblical Christianity' and what this had to do with the three important principles advocated by most missionaries: the "dignity of labour" as an end in itself; the importance of obedience to constituted authority; and, economic individuation[1].

That the conquering colonials of South Africa were self-interested, that on a large scale their interests were the British national interests, that the colonial administration and their military arms helped expand and protect those interests, and that the missionaries and leaders of the Church were generally unable to distinguish these things from their own self-proclaimed task cannot be gainsaid, notwithstanding any legitimate evidence of humanitarian behaviour or racial tolerance in respect of the indigenous peoples. When Anglican historian Peter Hinchliff writes of missionary theologies, that 'in the last resort they can only be defended on the ground that what one is taking to other parts of the earth is better than what is there already'[2], he admits the intimate connection of missionary to the Empire but also studiously refrains from judging the evidence of a disaster to the indigenous peoples caused by the nature of Capitalist development, whose ideology he implicitly assumes.

Precisely this ideological captivity rather than the failings or the disingenuity of its workers and leaders characterises the Church and its missions in the nineteenth century (and not only then); exactly here the critical dissection of the Church's role is needed for its own sake.

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1. F. Fisher, "Class Consciousness among Colonial workers in South Africa", in L. Schlemmer and E. Webster (ed.) (1977), p.209.

2. P. Hinchliff, "The English-Speaking Churches in the 19th Century" in A. de Villiers (1976), p.172.

And if not for its own sake, at least for the sake of veracity, so that empathetic understanding becomes possible when one hears the sort of claim made in April, 1876 by Dinkwanyane, the black Christian who resisted domination at Mafolofolo, in a letter to the Landdros of Lydenburg:

> I say: the land belongs to us, this is my truth, and even if you become angry I will nonetheless stand by it.[1]

And what applies to land, applies equally to the products of labour.

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1. P. Delius (1981), p.21.

7. THE CRITIQUE OF HISTORY : AN INTERLUDE

a. Introduction

> Oh, for that historian who, with the open pen of truth, will bring to Africa's claim the strength of written proof. He will tell of a race whose onward tide was often swelled with tears, but in whose heart bondage has not quenched the fire of former years. He will write that in these later days when Earth's noble ones are named, she has a roll of honour too, of whom she is not ashamed. The giant is awakening! From the four corners of the earth Africa's sons, who have been proved through fire and sword, are marching to the future's golden door bearing the records of deeds of valor done.[1]
>
> \- Pixley ka I Seme

Missionaries and mission churches had considerable significance for developments in the political economy of nineteenth century Southern Africa. Yet the review of their impact on the traditional African society is intended not only to bring to light certain themes that continue into the industrial period - the main focus of this study - but also to indicate the validity of critically interpreting missionary history. The Church, overfond of eulogising its own, is too ready to defend itself on the assumption that by divine origination it stands exempt from criticism that seriously calls its history into question (unless perhaps it concerns a rival section of the Church, as for example in the Protestant denunciation of the Inquisition or the Orthodox abhorrence of Western-style proselytisation). Nevertheless, solid social criticism, however radically opposed it seems to the Church and its aims, is not only worthwhile in its own right, but vital to the Church's self-purification; where it is neglected or angrily rejected without being given serious attention, there the Church is most likely first and foremost to be a sociological phenomenon reflecting, rather than

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1. Pixley ka I Seme, "The Regeneration of Africa", The African Abroad, April 5, 1906, cited in T. Karis and G. Carter (1972), Vol.I, p.70.

illuminating its historical context. The theological debate occasioned by these assertions is not of concern at this point (later chapters will take up theological issues), but the historical debate is.

The quotation by Pixley Seme which heads this chapter asserts a presupposition that colours the earlier critique of missions and that lies at the base of the subsequent analysis of the Church in the early industrial period, viz, history told by conquerors and their allies - by the power elite in any social structure - is both deficient and ideologically overburdened.

Conversely, history which attempts to understand and articulate the view of the conquered and the dispossessed not only balances the picture, but requires emphasis for two reasons: firstly, it is hard to come by in the very nature of oppression; and secondly, it directs one's attention more clearly to the processes by which history is transformed. Quite obviously, neither history as seen by the oppressor nor history as seen by the oppressed contains a neutral perspective that much at least having been ascertained in the debate among historiographers about the connection of facts to values in general. The so-called 'liberal-radical' controversy over South African history nicely illustrates the matter in the present context[1].

The perspective manifested in this study is self-consciously aligned with the revisionist view on South African history; in turn the revisionists are conspicuously influenced

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1. Harrison M. Wright's book, The Burden of the Present, after reviewing the two positions (and having subsequently been criticised by both for failing to understand them) calls for a mediatory position within this controversy. But though academic scholarship deliberately seeks a privileged realm of objective truth whereby ideological stances are nullified, and notwithstanding the significant space for relatively neutral research, no general interpretation of history can be neutral, nor two opposing perspectives necessarily reconcilable.

by a variety of Marxian and neo-Marxian schools of thought, and noticeably concerned to challenge the so-called 'conventional wisdom' of liberal historiography[1]. Whatever varied motives lie behind radical criticism and whatever the gaps in present scholarship, no question remains that the situation of the oppressed gains much in clarity and explanation thereby. Moreover, and of no little importance, critical sociology self-consciously contains one element of specific value to the approach taken here, namely, its critique of metatheory in the form of the criticism of ideology - for this element demands self-criticism, and regards any theory (including any historical interpretation) as ideologically blind and therefore scientifically suspect when it does not analyse its connection to material history and the specific material interests arising therefrom[2]. As one writer on the doctrines of liberalism professed, 'if we reject the Marxist position, then it is apparent that we are not Marxists, but it is not apparent that we are not the adherents of another ideology'[3].

The historiographical debate in South Africa has given rise to a number of central theoretical oppositions, among them race and class, development and underdevelopment, culture and political economy. It is necessary to refer briefly to each of these before considering equally briefly some of the characteristics of liberalism which are so important to any history of the early industrial period of South Africa.

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1. See for instance, R. Davies (1979), p.2ff; F.A. Johnstone (1976), pp.203-218; C. Bundy (1979), (preface); M. Legassick in P. Kallaway & T. Adler (eds.) (1978); among others.
2. q.v. P. Connerton (ed.) (1976), especially parts three and four. Also T. McCarthy (1978).
3. D.J. Manning (1976), p.153.

b. Race and Class

Davies contends that liberal analyses of the dynamics of change in South Africa begin with the view that the principal contradiction is racism (white versus black) primarily propogated by White labour over and against both Black labour and Capital, and that racism found its political home in the National Party[1]. Racism as such gestated in the pre-industrial agricultural milieu of the trekboers in particular, but grew into a full-blooded world view with the emergence of Afrikaner nationalism. The liberal historians, writes Garson, generally presuppose that

> ... the British, through the politics which produced the Jamieson Raid and the Anglo-Boer War, unleashed a new force in reaction, the emergent Afrikaner Nationalism which has come to dominate the country since Union.[2]

One such historian and sociologist, van den Berghe, deliberately tackles the race-class opposition and concludes that class struggles play an 'almost insignificant role' in South African power conflicts[3]. Legislation and legislative realities are the key to this conclusion, for upon them rests the judgment that 'each "race" constitutes at once a separate reference group in the status system and an autonomous subsystem of status with its own criteria'. Added to this, van den Berghe argues that class consciousness, where it exists at all, is 'largely limited to one's racial caste'[4].

On this basis, one may infer for example, that a "middle-class" African is not structurally in the same position as a "middle-class" European or 'Coloured'. Race legislation and race practice place this "middle-class" African into a separate group in the status system, in this case, lower, and therefore 'more oppressed'. Some evidence supports this theory, appearing to confirm van den Berghe's

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1. R. Davies (1979), pp.2-3.
2. N.G. Garson, "English-Speaking South African's and the British Connection: 1820-1961", in A. de Villiers (1976), p.22.
3. P. van den Berghe (1967), p.100.
4. Ibid., p.72.

analysis: the African petty-bourgeoisie it is well-known, deeply resented job colour bars, travelling with 'uneducated' fellow blacks in trains rather than in first-class carriages, exclusion from select public amenities, and 'primitive' housing; yet they allied themselves politically with blacks in general. On the surface then, van den Berghe's assertion that 'any interpretation of Apartheid other than that of a system of oppression and segregation based on race clearly conflicts with objective evidence'[1], does seem just. It finds support among others; thus Stone writes:

> Ethnic or 'racial' groups determine the life chances and life-styles of their members to as great a degree as classes in other societies. This is not to deny the reality of class in the South African social system, but to emphasise its secondary importance.[2]

And from a slightly different point of view, Dunbar Moodie asserts that Afrikaner consciousness and political consolidation, coming into full flower between August 1938 and October 1939 (the period covering the highly symbolic Oxwagon Trek from all parts of Africa to the Voortrekker Monument on the anniversary of the Great Trek), provides an immanent critique of Marxist theory. For him, 'Afrikaner consciousness was based not on class (not even on race) but on culture, upon language and tradition. In this sense, for Marxists, it must have been false'[3].

These arguments are usually taken to have self-evident validity, for most if not all South Africans have no difficulty in "feeling" the impact of racial prejudice and experiencing its various dimensions. Racial prejudice is not a figment of imagination, and no scholar would assert this, least of all the so-called 'vulgar Marxists'.

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1. P. van den Berghe (1967), p.154.
2. J. Stone (1973), p.3.
3. D. Moodie "The Rise of Afrikanerdom as an immanent critique of Marxist Theory of Social Class", in P. Bonner (1979), p.332.

On the contrary, the significant problem is not the existence or absence of racism, but whether what is 'felt' (racial prejudice) represents something of the same order of reality as unconscious structures of alienation and exploitation (which almost by definition, are not 'felt' but require critical discernment, such discernment in turn constituting a new 'consciousness'). If the distinction is granted - and there is ample evidence for it in such diverse disciplines as sociology, economics, psychology and anthropology - then the case of analysts such as van den Berge is susbtantially weakened.

Van den Berge is thus guilty of substituting opinion for judgment when he claims that 'the vulgar Marxist interpretation of colour prejudice as a conscious capitalist rationalisation for the economic exploitation of the non-White is not only simplistic, but fails to account for the facts'[1].

The point is well stated by Foszia Fisher:

> A society is a structured whole, and to refer to a person as being a member of a particular class is to situate that person within the structure. Irrespective of the question of consciousness, certain shared interests and certain conflicts of interest can be derived from this fact.[2]

Within this framework, an adequate explanation of the power of racism to inflame minds and hearts remains necessary, as does its connection to interests.

The former issue, the apparent efficacy of racial prejudice, finds its most satisfactory solution in the analysis of imperialism, in particular that aspect conceptually adumbrated by the term 'colonialism'. Victor Hugo's famous dictum that 'there is nothing more powerful than an

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1. P. van den Berghe (1967), p.15.
2. F. Fisher, "Class Consciousness among colonised workers in SA", in L. Schlemmer & E. Webster (eds.) (1977), p.197.

idea whose time has come' is admirably demonstrated in the phenomenon of racism so widely connected to colonial adventures. But the material point concerns the conditions by which an idea has efficacy under one set of circumstances rather than another. Here liberal analyses of racism are singularly unsatisfactory, whereas the analytical power and the useful distinctions are manifest in the view that

> colonial racism is built from three major ideological components: one, the gulf between the culture of the colonialist and the colonized; two, the exploitation of these differences for the benefit of the colonialist; three, the use of these supposed differences as standards of absolute fact.[1]

In Southern Africa, cultural gaps are easily perceived; the utilisation of cultural differences to discriminate on standards of behaviour, intelligence, 'civilisation', and to assert these as absolute fact, is commonplace; and the exploitation of differences for the benefit of the elite can be demonstrated. Thus the specific historical connection of 'racism' to 'material interests' finds its theoretical solution in the analysis of colonialism. But colonialism is itself specified in terms of political economy.

Thus Fisher, who defines South Africa as a class society 'in which different individuals have differential access to the means of production and distribution of costs and benefits', analyses the concept of ownership of the means of production in relation to colonialism. She regards it not only as an economic but also a legal category, such that ownership in any particular society 'is mediated by the politico-legal institutions and the actual relations of power'. Within this framework "Property" must be considered in terms of 'a set of rights or powers, and these rights can be disaggregated and distributed in odd ways'[2].

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1. A. Memmi (1965), p.71.
2. F. Fisher, op.cit., p.198.

Correlating these distinctions with the history of colonisation in South Africa, Fisher draws the conclusion that exploitation by the owners of the means of production, initially acquired by means of conquest and subjugation[1], cannot straightforwardly be analysed as a dynamic between two groups, Capital and Labour, for the simple reason that colonial settlers were necessary to Capitalists. Colonial settlers were required above all to continue in loyalty to the metropolitan power: but in order to ensure their alliance the rights and powers contained in "Property" were unavoidably disaggregated and distributed in favour of settlers rather than the indigenous people.

In this context little imagination is required to see the significant ideological value both to settlers and their imperial protectors, of racism, notwithstanding the renaissance ideals of missionaries and aristocrats of the imperial diplomatic service. More important, though, is the structure which evolved out of the capitalism in the colonial form. A dual distinction was created in the long run between Capital and labour on the one hand, and between coloniser and colonised on the other. The latter is the structural basis for the experience of racism which marks conflict in South Africa, whereas the former is the overriding generator of this conflict. In Fisher's mind this requires a three-fold distinction in the South African context, viz: 'colonist-capitalists; colonist-workers; and colonial workers'[2].

Some evidence supports the point in particular, one may cite Rhodes' views on African policy (not much different from Shepstone), that 'there must be class legislation, that there must be Pass Laws, and Peace Preservation Acts, and that we have got to treat natives ... in a different way to ourselves. We are to be lords over them'[3]. Moreover, the

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1. q.v. F. Johnstone (1976), p.21.
2. <u>Ibid</u>, p.98.
3. Cited in Welsh, "ES Whites and the Racial Problem", in A. de Villiers (1976), p.224.

administrators of state and empire were predominantly of the aristocratic gentry[1], of whom one historian has written that 'it was not so much, originally, that Europe felt itself called to govern the rest of the world as that the upper classes of Europe felt themselves called to govern'[2]. The aristocracy's influence on colonial mentality would fit neatly with the structure of colonialism, especially reinforcing a racial explanation of that structure. Elaine Katz has picked up the same theme though at a different level in her description of the influence of British and Australian craft unionism on the organisation and attitudes of white labour in South Africa[3].

Though the analysis of colonialism in relation to the race-class debate is incomplete as yet, it has obvious theoretical validity. Nevertheless, if it is to gain credence it must be accompanied by detail investigation of historical material whereby its claims may be weighed. The race-class issue has in this respect generated much in the way of micro-studies, most of them focused on the industrial period, and among them works by Johnstone, Legassick, Wolpe, Davies, Trapido, Bundy, Webster, Bonner, Bozzoli, van Onselen, and O'Meara, all of whom take a revisionist view[4]. A systematic review of the results of these studies and the theoretical problems which emerge from them has not yet been done, but the combined evidence is more than sufficient to gainsay van den Berghe's belief that any interpretation not based on race 'conflicts with objective evidence'.

Moreover, Moodie's thesis on Afrikaner nationalism, a strong challenge to the revisionist position, is not as damaging as first appears. O'Meara in particular has shown that the coming to consciousness of Afrikaner nationalism in

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1. G.M. Young (1964), p.168.
2. P. Hinchcliff, "The English-speaking Churches in the 19th Century", in A. de Villiers (1976), p.173.
3. E. Katz, A Trade Union Aristocracy, (1976), especially Ch.II.
4. A useful bibliography may be found in Harrison Wright (1977).

the late 1930s is directly related to economic structures rather than symbolic events such as the Oxwagon trek of 1938-9[1]. In a study of the Mine Workers Union, instrumental in facilitating Nationalist victory in 1948, largely thanks to the efforts of Albert Herzog, O'Meara undermines the myth of an inherent cross class Afrikaner unity and points out that Afrikaner nationalism, 'the basket which historically could hold the interests of various class factions', has undergone considerable changes in its ideology and the nature of its alliances since the formation of the National Party in 1914, none of which is readily understandable if one views it as a monolithic phenomenon[2].

Returning briefly to where this review of the race-class debate began, namely Davies' contention that liberal historians regard racism, propagated especially by White labour, as the principal contradiction in South Africa, it remains to be pointed out that where such a view is taken a theory of racism opposing White labour to both Black labour and Capital is logically unsound. For it is impossible to say what racism is on these grounds if it does in fact emerge from White Labour, it cannot be because they are workers in a special position (which would require class analysis), and it cannot be simply because they are white (at this juncture, the owners of Capital are white too; moreover there is sufficient evidence in the strikes and occasionally riots of 1904, 1907, 1913, 1914 and 1922 to indicate the antagonism between white labour and Capital.)

Racism cannot be the principal contradiction, for it clearly requires explanation itself. As Johnstone says:

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1. D. O'Meara, "White Trade Unions, Political Power and Afrikaner Nationalism" in P. Kallaway and T. Adler, (eds.), (1978), Vol.1.

2. Ibid., p.92.

> 'All that it offers in the way of explanation is a tautological redescription of the phenomenon to be explained, in terms of a kind of ethnological determinism. This school of thought ... does not provide and is unable to provide an adequate explanation of the system and history of group relations in South Africa, nor, in particular of the genesis, nature, dynamics and continuity of the system of racial domination.[1]

In this respect the point, made by both Samson and Wolpe and cited in Davies, that 'all working class are wage-earners, but not all wage-earners are working class' is much more instructive[2]; Davies, Johnstone, Katz, and others have shown the importance, in shaping racism into a full-blooded ideology, of the economic conflicts implied in this distinction, especially where it concerns the division of labour on mines and its relation to the exploitation of cheap African labour. Some parameters of this analysis are considered in the next chapter.

c. Class Definitions

The position adopted in the criticism of missions and carried through in the analysis of the Church in the early industrial period, has, in terms of the above discussion, genuine theoretical validity. It requires a brief statement on the definition of class to give it additional substance.

The analytic problems involved in defining class are the subject of widespread and lively debate. The colloquial terms "lower, lower-middle, middle, middle-upper and upper class" are imprecise but they indicate the problem. These terms do not of course find a place in Marxian theory, but analagous distinctions have become the basis of some neo-Marxian proposals, often in conflict with 'strict' Marxists who stress a two-fold division of class, namely, Capital and

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1. F. Johnstone (1976), pp.209-10.
2. R. Davies (1979), p.7.

Labour. One of the latter is Legassick. Poulantzis on the other hand, a leading figure for much neo-Marxian writing on South Africa, differentiates the two principal classes further to speak of several class factions within Capital and Labour; Davies picks up this hypothesis but refers to 'non-fundamental' classes rather than factions[1]. The distinctions introduced through Poulantzian theory (among others) are intended to provide explanations of phenomena difficult to comprehend within a simple dialect of Capital-Labour conflict. The role of white labour in the South African formation is one example, a major interest of Davies'. But the critics of the Poulantzian and similar theories contended that those expounding them invariably end up analyzing the dynamics of 'competition' between Class factions rather than the dynamics of the more deep-seated conflict between labour and capital (and in Davies' case this is largely true).

The conceptual difficulties persist, and this essay makes no attempt to resolve them. Nevertheless, valid insights generated by the debate are utilised; in the first place to discern the parameters of the conflict between Capital and Labour in the early industrial period (influenced as they were by colonial realities, or what Bundy, following Frank and others, calls the 'centre-periphery' dynamic)[2]; in the second place to delineate those elements of the South African political economy, arising out of the conflict between Capital and Labour, which are fundamental to the structures of South African society throughout this century. The detailed work of Davies, Johnstone and Katz shows that the influence of 'aristocratic craft-unions' and the changes in work patterns on the gold mines explain to a large extent the unusual place of white labour in South African history. But the theoretical consequence of their work is an acceptance of some form of factional analysis, if only to understand the shifting alliances within the Capital-Labour dialectic. In this

1. q.v. R. Davies (1979), "Introduction", where he spells out some of the issues involved, especially p.7.
2. C. Bundy (1979), preface.

respect, this essay adopts the following set of propositions:

(1) the process of colonisation introduced capitalist relations of production and simultaneously reproduced the "centre (metropolis) - periphery (colony)" model within the territory in the form of a capitalised, urban-industrial and agricultural, core economy, drawing cheap labour from deliberately created reserves. (Primitive accumulation, and later capital accumulation in the core economy, stimulated by the mineral discoveries, led to a significant development of urban and rural settler regions, while simultaneously leading to the under-development of the reserves);

(2) these developments in turn produced structural differences between colonised workers and colonist workers on the basis of highly unbalanced wage differentials, supported by an ideology of race; and, enabled a relatively successful alliance between national petty-bourgeosie and agricultural capital on the one hand and colonist workers on the other, over and against mining Capital (thus white labour, and 'poor whites' who were victims of the capital-isation process, gained unusual influence and a useful ideology - white nationalism).

Thus the issues of labour creation and control, development and underdevelopment, alliances, and resistance within the Capital-labour conflict, emerge as the central concerns here.

In the final analysis, the conflict is over material interests* though these may be expressed in political or ideological form: i.e. social conflict is 'a function of a conflict of interests', and 'the concept of class specifies interest differences'[1]. The notion of class also describes

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* 'Material interests' are directly related to ownership or control over the means of production, and are expressed in relations of production. Problems of empirical definition of these terms are the subject of another major debate, to the point where even knowledge is regarded by some as having material value, on which basis one may develop a Marxian critique of education. However, for present purposes, the general insight is accepted as meaningful even though its terms are at issue.

1. E. Webster in P. Bonner (1979), p.4.

structures of political economy and their inner connections and contradictions, rather than consciousness, attitudes, or behaviour (a point easily forgotten by those who brush aside class analysis). Furthermore, when an 'aggregate or collectivity of people who share the same relationship to the means of production become aware of their common interests and unite to promote them', then and only then is class a 'conscious' phenomenon[1].

But the propensity to a conscious recognition of class may be governed by two kinds of factors: on the one hand by 'competition' among 'bourgeois factions', under the sway of an ideology of the "private individual" conception of interests mediated by the state at the juridicial, political and ideological levels[2]; on the other hand by 'class suppression' usually applied to the dominated group by the dominant, and including the obscuring of objective class interests by the manipulation of group identity or prejudice, or the stunting of class consciousness 'through restrictions on (the) ability to organise or promote its collective interest either by statutory or non-statutory means'[3].

It is in the realm of the 'inhibition' or 'suppression' of class consciousness for strategic advantage that the matter of alliances becomes important in helping to explain the nature of a particular phase of conflict between Labour and Capital. This, it appears, lies behind Davies' use of the terms "supportive class" (when a dominated group as a matter of political interest accepts the 'form of state' and hence 'bourgeois rule') and "allied class" (when a dominated group allies itself with 'bourgeois rule' in return for 'some particular concession, usually a political concession')[4].

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1. Ibid., p.2.
2. R. Davies (1979), p.29.
3. E. Webster and P. Bonner (1979), pp.6-7.
4. R. Davies (1979), p.30.

On this model, the virulent racism inherent in South African history must be regarded as a product of the colonial form of Capitalism and the result of 'a projection of contradictions within this system and structure'[1]. Johnstone, in his analysis of labour structures and practice on the gold mines, particularly designates the contradiction between 'job colour bars' and 'exploitation colour bars' (called 'wage colour bars' by some) as important in the genesis of an ideologically racist state[2]. The political consequence was the formation of the Pact government and a victory for national capital and its exclusively national ideology; a victory born of inter-class alliances, still to be fully consolidated into its triumph only a quarter of a century later[3].

d. Aspects of the South African Political Economy

The combination of the factors described in this brief examination of the concept of class inform the subsequent review of the early industrial period in South Africa, and provide the categories by which the Church's structural connection to the political economy may be analysed.

Stress is laid upon economic forces, though without implying any strict economic determinism (a positivist error more than an historical materialist error)[4]. But economic forces cannot be understood abstractly out of relation to a particular culture and its total history*. As Raymond Williams pointedly remarks 'English society and French society are both,

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* The idea of culture in the modern sense and its connexion to the Industrial Revolution in particular is the subject of Raymond William's work on Culture and Society: 1780-1950, (1961).

1. F. Johnstone (1976), p.76.
2. *Ibid*., p.77.
3. q.v. R. Davies (1979), pp.32-3.
4. q.v. F. Johnstone (1976), conclusion.

today, in certain stages of capitalism, but their cultures are observably different, for sound historical reasons'. He thus warns against a rigid methodology by which a phenomenon is unilaterally interpreted in terms of its economic history, perhaps arbitrarily, 'for, even if the economic element is determining, it determines a whole way of life'. On this reasoning, one must accept the socio-theoretical terms 'structure' and 'superstructure' as 'the terms of a suggestive analogy' rather than as mechanical descriptions of reality[1].

What Williams is really calling for is complexity in accordance with concrete realities[2], a requirement met it is believed by the procedures adopted here, provided it is recognised that the limits of the investigation are prescribed by its task, namely, an examination of the Church in specific relation to political-economic realities. From this point of view,

> the South African economy is not a 'market economy' in which goods are allocated solely by the forces of supply and demand. It is a 'labour repressive' economy in which the rapid accumulation of capital and the high standard of living of the White working class is made possible by the political machinery of repression which assures the continued subservience of the Black Workers.[3]

The questions therefore arise of the Church's role in the creation and control of the labour force, in the institutionalisation of 'the power relationships embodied in that process', and in the resistance of the working class to its domination and exploitation[4]. Before describing the political economy of the early industrial period within which these questions are situated, it remains to comment on the

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1. R. Williams (1961), pp.272-3, passim.
2. Ibid., pp.259-60.
3. L. Schlemmer and E. Webster (1977), introduction, p.12.
4. Ibid., p.14.

process of underdevelopment in the reserves and the character of what has been called Cape liberalism.

It has been said, that the appearance of the colonizer's conscience is shaped by the impetus of 'profit, privilege and usurpation'[1]. That colonisation created in South Africa centres on unusual profit and privilege while destroying the traditional economy is undeniable. But the interpretation given to this process is not unequivocal.

Hobart Houghton for instance considers South Africa in the nineteenth century to be a 'text-book example' of a backward country slowly developing into a modern economy, thanks to the impact of colonial enterprise aided by the educational role of missionaries[2]. Diamond and Gold finds, <u>the</u> vital stimulus to development, accelerated the class confrontation of the traditional African with urban life and modern industry, which Houghton regards as probably the most important cultural, social, and economic consequence of the Mineral discoveries[3]. The South African economy is therefore understood in terms of a divide between 'old' and 'new', between a persisting 'low-productivity subsistence economy' and a 'much higher productivity exhibited in the modern market-oriented sectors'[4] - an economic dualism consistent with the ideological terms "primitive" and "civilized". Similarly, van den Berghe believes 'one may speak of two parallel economies: subsistence agriculture on the one hand, and an industrial wage economy on the other'[5]; conflict in South Africa in his view results from the "imbalances" between these parallel economies[6], which are 'not necessarily connected except by geography'.

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1. A. Memmi (1965), p.9.
2. H. Houghton (1967), pp.215-6.
3. H. Houghton, "Economic Development: 1865-1965", in OX: p.19.
4. H. Houghton (1967), p.19.
5. P. van den Berghe (1967), p.92.
6. <u>Ibid</u>., p.183.

Such 'dual economy' typologies, however, are singularly unsatisfactory: among other things it proves very difficult to delineate the historical significance of the wholesale dispossession of tribal land (though van den Berghe attempts to do this). After stating that one finds in South Africa a "White" <u>versus</u> an "African" economy and even surprisingly admitting that 'these terms are somewhat misleading (!) because Africans constitute a majority of the working force in the White economy', he concludes that large-scale land encroachment by the Europeans (among other things) set new economic forces in motion: 'first, a continuous and abundant supply of cheap labour for the European economy, and secondly, a progressive deterioration of the remaining African land through the familiar sequence of overpopulation, overgrazing, and erosion'[1].

Besides the obviously contradictory ideas in these propositions van den Berghe neglects to examine the effect on the pre-colonial economy of migrant labour policies and controls reinforced by the repressive machinery of the state (e.g. pass law arrests), of legislative measures such as the hut tax and poll tax in forcing males in particular off the land, of capitalisation problems on the part of African farmers (despite regular pleas for an extension of Land Bank facilities to Blacks), of labour recruiting monopsonies, and of deliberate strategies of market exclusion in favour of colonist-farmers.

By contrast, de Kiewiet is much closer to an adequate interpretation:

> ... a true and full understanding of South African history ... lies ever in the understanding of the process that ... produced during the course of a century a single society in which the main line of division was not one of race and culture, but of possession and authority.[2]

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1. <u>Ibid</u>., pp.185-7, <u>passim</u>.
2. C.W. de Kiewiet (1937), p.14.

The fact that 'nowhere else in Africa has so large a part of the population been dispossessed of land or absorbed in the capitalist economy'[1] forces a recognition of the integrated character of the South African economy, and requires an acknowledgment that the process of underdevelopment in the reserves is directly connected to the enrichment of the capitalised sectors of the economy. "Underdevelopment" here designates a situation hooked into the system of international exchange in a condition of dependency[2], as a result of incorporation and subordination of a peripheral economy to the centres of capitalist development. The theory of underdevelopment seeks in this manner to explain 'the transformation of precapitalist economic and social structures' and the relations of dominance and subjection that are its outcome[3]. These relations are not static, as they are continually affected by the changing national and international context[4], but especially since the 1913 Land Act, 'there exists a vast and depressing body of evidence as to the nature and the extent of underdevelopment in the reserves' in the details of 'infant mortality, malnutrition, disease and debility; of social dislocation expressed in divorce, illegitimacy, prostitution and crime; of the erosion, dessication and falling fertility of the soil; and of the ubiquity of indebtedness and material insufficiency of the meanest kind'[5].

The growing demand for wage labour in the core economy Bundy regards as the most important structural pressure on the traditional pre-colonial economy, so much so

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1. H.J. Simons and R.E. Simons (1969), p.611.
2. D. Webster in P. Bonner (1979), p.245.
3. C. Bundy (1979), preface.
4. q.v. I. Roxborough (1979), Ch.5, on 'Imperialism and Dependency'.
5. C. Bundy (1979), p.221; see also p.161.

that

> ... territories produced wage labourers somewhat in proportion to the extent that structural underdevelopment had been induced by the penetration of colonial rule and capitalist economic relations. In addition, the more it was integrated into the advanced economy, the greater tended to be social stratification and proletarianization within a region.[1]

Discussion in subsequent chapters of this essay takes for granted the process of underdevelopment in its various aspects, and rejects the static concept of a 'dual economy'; once again this implies a challenge to the traditional liberal perspective and, it will be shown, to the predominantly ecclesiastical view of the Church's role in issues where its concern may be expected to be strong as a result of the earlier powerful missionary presence in rural areas.

Concerning Cape liberalism, liberal ideas were first given force by missionaries such as Philip, Read, and van der Kemp with sometimes severe and unwelcome impact upon Cape rural conservatism[2]. Nineteenth century liberalism was neither monolithic nor static, but the impetus by which it was 'expanded and elaborated into a general philosophy of life'[3] came from commercial and political principles of the early Victorians, born of a new notion of wealth: liquid capital and mercantile wealth[4], Free Trade and its global expansion, made possible by the industrial revolution, combined to give visible credence to the belief in the power of individual enterprise and progress. The exuberant self-assurance of the Victorians, fused with the necessary bourgeois emphasis on the right of the individual above all else and spurred on by Renaissance ideals and Enlightenment

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1. C. Bundy (1979), p.124.
2. C.W. de Kiewiet (1941), p.43.
3. D. Thompson (1950), p.226.
4. E.J. Hughes (1944), p.21.

practicality, entered the African scene with a vengeance; then hesitated in the face of resistance from both settlers and the indigenous people[1]; then acquired late Victorian imperial ambitions; and finally capitulated before economic interests, leaving the field wide open for nationalist ideologies.

Some of the features of Cape liberalism that emerged in the process, and that concern us later, were:

(1) 'the importance of gradualness' in political change[2] - (Roux comments on the somewhat negative reaction of Cape liberals, notably R.W. Rose-Innes, to the election in 1910 of the first African, Rev. Rubusana, to the Cape Provincial Council: 'It was the old story of liberalism in South Africa. The Natives must not put forward extreme demands: this would simply play into the hands of the reactionaries. But the reactionaries for their part had no scruple on this score: their demands were invariably extreme'.)[3];

(2) the motive power of the moral will in effectively sustaining society[4] (thus well-intentioned acts and honoured obligations receive prominance in judging a situation);

(3) the participation of an educated public to guarantee a progressive government[5] (hence the frequent assertions in the history of South African liberalism of a qualified franchise as was practised in the Cape Colony); and

(4) the belief that ideas rather than material forces change the world[6] (thus reasonable discussion, persuasion and negotiation must be pursued rather than policies of active, even militant resistance, in the conflict between dominant groups and subjugated people).

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1. q.v. T.R.H. Davenport (1977), p.76.
2. D.J. Manning (1976), p.22.
3. E. Roux (1964), p.74.
4. D.J. Manning (1976), p.17.
5. Ibid., p.22.
6. Ibid., p.145.

e. Conclusion

The thrust of the various arguments outlined above is to provide a preliminary description of the pre-suppositions informing the analytical approach adopted throughout the present investigation of South African society and the Church's role within it. The decision to employ categories of class rather than race, conflict rather than 'interaction', political economy rather than culture, under-development rather than dual economy typologies, is made because of the greater explanatory powers of continuity and changes in history therein, and because they hold the greatest promise of meeting two relevant analytical principles for social facts outlined in general terms by Durkheim:

(1) The determining cause of a social fact should be sought among the social facts preceding it and not among the states of the individual consciousness.

(2) The function of a social fact ought always to be sought in its relation to some social end.[1]

Thus the earlier discussion of missionaries and the following investigation of the early industrial period concentrate firstly, on teasing out the structures which undergird 'social facts' rather than on describing conscious intentions or claims, and secondly, on understanding the processes by which history is transformed towards particular goals rather than on the immediate functional value of a 'social fact'.

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1. E. Durkheim (1938), pp.110-11.

8. INDUSTRIALIZATION AND APARTHEID SOCIETY

They are the makers of our wealth, the great basic rock on which our state is founded - our vast labouring force.[1]

- (Olive Schreiner on the "Native Question")

Capitalism has shattered tribalism and destroyed the social relationships that go with it; it has broken the old tribal bonds, but it has created new ties that bind men together in a much wider unity. It brings men face to face with the objective industrial forces, for the whole of society is organised around industry and commerce and men take their place within it irrespective of what tribe or race they belong to.[2]

- (N. Majeke)

African response to the long process of colonisation has varied according to different phases. Initially resistance to conquest went hand in hand with the growth of trade relationships, but as conquest acquired a voracious appetite, wars became commonplace.* The net result was the subjugation of the indigenous groups and their gradual incorporation into the colonial economy on highly unfavourable terms. The major exceptions were those who were able to establish themselves as a peasantry (some of who achieved commercial footing) and those whom benefited by church education and organisational support.

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* The period 1850-1880 is especially noteworthy in this respect, witnessing at least 17 major conflicts such as the 8th 'War of Resistance' under prophet Mlangeni (1850), the Kat River Rebellion (1851), the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd BaSotho Wars, Langalibalele's rebellion (1873), War against the Pedi under Sekhukune (1876), Zulu Rebellion under Cetshwayo and the Moorosi rebellion in the Cape (1879).

1. O. Schreiner, "The Native Question", Tvl. Leader, Dec. 22, 1908.

2. N. Majeke (1952), p.140.

Thus by the late 1800s resistance began to manifest itself not in wars of defence but in organisations of national aspiration, particularly through the growth of independent African churches, the emergence of the first black newspapers such as Imvo, ZabaNtsundu (1884), Imbumba Yama Afrika (1882) and Iswi Labantu, and the first black community organisations (such as the Funamalungelo Society, 1888; the National Education Association and National Electoral Association, 1884; and the Natal Indian Congress, 1894).

The mineral discoveries of 1867 (diamonds) and 1886 (gold) thrust the region headlong into an unusually rapid process of industrialisation, so that with the last war of defence (Bambata Rebellion of 1906) came the first stages of industrial resistance which were to reach their temporary ceiling in the form of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) by 1930. Parallel to these developments, the leadership of the African petty-bourgeoisie rallied together in the SANNC (later the ANC).

Other signs of conflict could be seen in the unorthodox attacks on industrial capitalism by blacks unable to sustain themselves in the reserves, or to enter the labour market for various reasons, who therefore resorted to crime and managed to develop strong organisations (such as the 'Regiment of the Hills' on the Reef)[1]. At various points millenarian movements rose up (such as the Israelites of Ntabalenga or the Americanists of Dr. Wellington), and in the 1930s the 'Sofasonke' squatter movement, occasioned by housing crises, came to the fore. Some few colonists including a number of early socialists and communists, as well as the occasional non-conformist churchman or -woman, gave support to various forms of resistance, but by and large they found no great measure of acceptance or support among settler communities or in the colonial churches.

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1. q.v. C. van Onselen, "South Africa's Lumpenproletarian Army: 'Umkosi Wa Ntaba'", (1975/6)

This then is the backdrop of industrialisation, and as Roux commented on studying the columes of <u>Imvo</u> from the mid-1880s into the 1890s:

> one is struck by the fact that the problem which agitated Bantu opinion then are still the problems of today. Among these subjects of perennial interest was pass laws, location regulations, liquor laws, the continual struggle (generally unsuccessful) against anti-Native legislation and the unequal administration of justice in the courts.[1]

The enduring character of these problems rests not in the fact of colonisation as such, nor in the make-up of the particular groups involved in conflict, but in the structuring of that society predicated upon the set of historical circumstances that describe the South Africa context. Colonisation without the massive impetus to industrialisation given by the mineral finds, and bolstered in turn by Imperial strategic interests in the region, may well have led to nothing more than a peripheral economy in a deeply dependant colony of the Empire and global Capitalism. Industrialisation itself means no more than an 'acknowledgment of a series of very important technical changes, and of their transforming effect on methods of production'[2] (and one might add, on relations of production). But central to the history of industrialisation in South Africa is the specific manner in which the means and relations of production were transformed. In this respect the gold mines had a crucial role, as did the presence of an unusually large settler population some of whom were no longer directly connected to an imperial metropolis; and no less important, the persistent significance of African resistance, especially as they were proletarianised.

Within this situation, the conjunction of the 'rise of industry'; an instrumentalist view of the new state as a

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1. E. Roux (1964), p.56.
2. R. Williams (1961), p.13.

business bureaucracy; the industrialisation of agriculture and the alienation of landed property; the decline of the free-trader in favour of large co-ordinated and organised companies and trusts; the de-personalisation of manufacture; and the imperial thrust of Capitalist expansionism - all these served to modify and permanently undermine the social structure of the middle classes, on which liberalism is essentially based[1].

These are the main parameters of the early industrial period, and their unique combination has much to do with the subsequent development of Apartheid society. The processes whereby industrialised growth shaped the features and particular institutions of South Africa are the themes to which we now turn.

a. First Stages: General

The initial incorporation of African pastoralist-cultivators into the market economy was, it has been pointed out, through trade ramifying north and east into the South African interior; but this meant access to an exchange economy without the basic material structure of traditional society being seriously affected. Dispossession and legislation quickly led to the creation of a labour force unable to avoid the necessity of seeking wage labour - on farms, in colonial homes, and on capital projects such as railroads[2]. These developments led to a 'forcible involvement' of Africans in the 'core-periphery trade', and 'the acceleration of the process of their political decline, and the re-organisation of their class structure'[3].

What Bundy calls 'forcible involvement' had two other sides to it: for - on the one hand settlers claimed that the indigenous people needed the benefits of 'more intimate

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1. q.v. Guido de Ruggiero, The History of European Liberalism, trans. by R.G. Collingwood, (OUP, London, 1927).
2. C. Bundy (1979), pp.29-32, passim.
3. Ibid., p.59.

and regular contact with Europeans' which really meant that their labour was needed; on the other hand the 'simple wants of the natives' supposedly allowed serious underpayment practice and taxation 'disproportionate to their wealth, their income, or the benefit they derived from government expenditure[1]. Thus the structuring of wages around differential 'wants' and 'needs' became the basis of the exploitation of the colonised peoples. Reinforcing this trend was the type of settlers arriving: they were 'miners, traders, financiers, engineers, keen, nimble-minded men, all more or less skilled in their respective crafts, all bent on gain'[2]. Moreover, capital expenditure on bringing out already trained workers would have been much lower than training up unskilled black labour, at least initially, and this too would have added to the wage differential applied to colonised ('black') and colonist-workers ('white').

Finally, the fact that a rurally based agricultural economy could sustain much of the costs inherent in maintaining a labour force led to the introduction of migratory labour patterns and enhanced the tendency to develop a dual wage structure - one level for the settlers who sought labour and had 'relatively greater wants and needs', another much lower level for African employment seekers.

The great demand for labour on the diamond mines raised these practices to the level of convention, particularly as settlers flowed into the country[3]. Finally, the unique gold-bearing reefs of the Witwatersrand, low-grade and difficult to mine but holding riches in and of themself sufficient to provide the foundation for a major industrial economy, placed the seal upon the structure of the twentieth century political economy. The economic revolution built upon the capital base

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1. C.W. de Kiewiet (1937), p.159.
2. J. Stone (1973), p.117.
3. J. Stone (1973), p.113; also C.W. de Kiewiet (1937), p.59.

of mineral wealth has few parallels both in the speed of its accomplishment and for its far-reaching consequences[1].

Table 5: Impact of diamond discoveries on the Cape Colony[2]

	1865	1875
Imports through Cape ports	£ 2,111,000	£ 5,731,000
Exports through Cape ports	2,223,000	5,755,000
Annual expenditure	668,000	1,107,000
Annual revenue	537,000	1,672,000
Capital invested in railways	-	1,483,000

British economic interests, by this stage into the full flower of late Victorian imperialism, were suddenly faced with high stakes. Not only were 'foreign' Dutch settlers in control of the gold-bearing districts, but gold might be their source of strength by which British strategic concerns for the route to the East would face a severe challenge. Thus not surprisingly, despite the ignominy of the Jameson Raid fiasco, Selbourne could write a memorandum in March 1896 to Rhodes saying that: 'I take as my postulate the fact ... that the key to the future of South Africa is in the Transvaal. It is the richest spot on earth'[3]. And in like vein, with dramatically clear motives that foreshadow the 2nd Anglo-Boer War, Chamberlain, Colonial Secretary, wrote on April 5th of the same year:

> If we ever were forced into it against our will I should try to seize and defend the gold-bearing districts. This is the key of South Africa ....[4]

Milner, the man destined to play the leading public role on behalf of Britain, had learnt under Lord Cromer in Egypt to 'equate civilization with good government', and coupled this

1. H. Houghton (1967), p.13.
2. C. Bundy (1979), p.66.
3. R. Robinson and J. Gallagher (1968), p.434.
4. *Ibid.*, p.432.

view with the 'chauvanistic assumption that the British race had unique imperial gifts and a moral right to rule other peoples, whether Asians, Africans or Afrikaners'[1]. On the 6th July 1898 he wrote to Chamberlain that the last chance to gain mastery in South Africa without resorting to war required Britain to 'obtain practical control of Delagoa Bay', the rail outlet for the Transvaal. But the Portugese stood firm, and the strategy that was to precipitate war, viz. compelling Kruger to admit the 'Uitlanders' to political power, was chosen instead[2]. Consonant with the notion of an imperial dominion held safe by an autonomous but allied representative government, Milner indicated in November 1899 that 'the ultimate end is a self-governing white community, supported by well-treated and justly governed black labour from Cape Town to Zambesi'[3]. Nothing states more plainly the structural economic basis of colonial racism and politics than this, albeit that exploitation of black labour was to be carried out within humane liberal principles.

The Anglo Boer War of 1899-1901 needs no discussion, save to refer to the successful outcome for the British, not so much in terms of military honours as of a political solution amenable to economic and strategic interests. Milner would have preferred a conclusive surrender on entirely British terms, including an extension of the proven, safe, Cape franchise system, and he desired an influx of British immigrants, but neither of these objectives proved realistic, and were easily jettisoned. The Treaty of Vereeniging signalled the permanent consignment of blacks into the political wilderness, though the union constitution was the dénouement, but then Milner no less than others felt that blacks should not have political equality, but instead be

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1. L. Thompson, "Great Britain and the Afrikaner Republics", in OX: p.321.
2. R. Robinson and J. Gallagher (1968), p.446.
3. C. Headlam, (ed.), The Milner Papers (S.A.) 1897-1899, Vol.II, p.35, (Cassell and Company, London, 1933); Milner's emphases.

taught 'habits of regular and skilled labour' and kept 'severely away from strong drink' - themes loudly echoed by clergy of the time[1].

A cheap well-controlled labour force, and a dominion run by imperial-minded settlers - these defined British economic and political interests in South Africa. Sir Godfrey Lagden chaired the South African Native Affairs Commission that provided the basic formulae for the former interest in accordance with already well-developed practice, and Union under Botha and Smuts met the needs of the latter, though not without resistance from local agricultural capital and petty-bourgeois interests. The political developments of the period overlap economic transformations but are in basic congruence with them. Chief among economic factors was the development of gold-mining.

b. First Stages: Gold-Mining

The mining ventures, the 'frontier of capital and industry', shifted the economic centre of gravity from the cattle regions where trade had flourished into the midst of the Boer Republics[2]. But gold-mining was the first really large-scale capitalist industry in South Africa, with techniques of management, organisation and ore-extraction derived in large measure from the diamond fields[3]. Both enterprises demanded deep mining in pipes or reefs requiring major capital expenditure, sophisticated processes, and huge amounts of unskilled labour. The combination of these structural requirements and a vast potential of unskilled labour among the colonised people proved fateful.

In particular, the low-grade quality of the extensive gold veins on the Rand meant that mining would not be viable without very cheap labour. The obvious source was the indigenous population provided that competition for their

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1. T.R.H. Davenport (1977), p.152.
2. C.W. de Kiewiet (1941), p.120.
3. F. Johnstone (1976), p.2.

labour was not allowed to send the cost of labour up[1]. Equally important because of the low-grade ore, a high level of output was demanded, implying the need for a predictable, well-controlled labour force among other things. One final structural constraint, the internationally fixed price of gold, shaped the economic model of gold-mining[2]. These factors taken together strengthened or gave rise to certain institutions and policies: the Chamber of Mines; a recruiting monopsony; influx control; the compound system; migratory labour; and exploitation (wage) colour bars. Crafts-Unions, all-white bodies for the most part ('coloured' artisans were included in some cases), influenced by virtue of their exclusion of unskilled and semi-skilled workers the establishment of one further feature destined to receive highly disproportionate prominence - the job colour bars which excluded the few qualified blacks from taking 'white' jobs.

The need to organise the recruitment of labour and to take 'active steps for the gradual reduction of native wages to a "reasonable" level', led to the establishment of the Chamber of Mines in the Transvaal in 1887[3]. Though its primary purpose was to deal with matters concerning labour[4], it also 'served to represent and secure the common interests and policies of the Groups and companies in all areas, and to provide the companies with a wide range of services'[5]. Thus the high costs of capitalisation and advances in mining technology and organisation could be shared. Not only were individuals frequently board members of several groups or companies, but the operations were often run by the same men who established the diamond fields as a closed monopoly in order to provide the necessary control over the marketing of diamonds without which price fluctuations would create havoc.

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1. F. Johnstone (1976), p.48.
2. <u>Ibid</u>., p.17.
3. F. Wilson, "An Assessment of the English-Speaking South African's contribution to the Economy", in A. de Villiers (1976), p.163.
4. F. Wilson (1972), p.27.
5. F. Johnstone (1976), p.16.

The methods of the diamond lords were available, though less easily maintained, on the Rand. The organisation of cheap labour especially was an obvious common interest, though competition for labour did emerge at points, notably in the first decade of the 1900s.

Control over the geographic mobility of labour goes back as far as 1760, 'when slaves were first required to carry passes in moving between urban and rural areas'[1]. Later on measures were applied to the rural areas of greatest indigenous population, creating reserves regarded by whites as 'reservoirs of labour'; in the reserves the enormous pressures of 'congestion, landlessness, and crop failure were welcomed as stimulants to the labour supply'[2]. Moreover the official view was that 'the only pressing needs of a savage are those of food and sex, and the conditions of native life in Africa are such that these are as a rule easily supplied'[3]. Thus a combination of factors entered into the creation of labour: on the one hand 'population growth, crop failure, stock decimation, soil erosion and the desire to acquire the means of purchasing guns and cattle'; and on the other hand legislation such as individual tenure (particularly sought by the Chamber of Mines), and other administrative and corporate measures such as taxation and the use of traders as recruiting agents (leading frequently to 'debt-enslavement')[4].

The task of labour recruitment was split between two agencies though they were established at different stages[5]. Early on, in 1896, centralisation of recruitment was formalised in the Rand Native Labour Association, which four years later became the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA) and focused on Africans residing outside of the

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1. F. Wilson (1972), p.27.
2. D. Welsh, "The Growth of Towns", in OX: p.182.
3. Report of the Transvaal Labour Commission, 1894 (London, 1904) para. 70, cited in D. Welsh, <u>ibid</u>., p.177.
4. F. Johnstone (1976), pp.27-8.
5. <u>Ibid</u>., p.16.

colonies. Government assistance in the form of legislation to control workers came readily, especially as the mining-houses easily persuaded Kruger of the crucial importance of gold and the need for a maximisation of output. Thus in 1895 the Volksraad enacted a special pass law applicable to mining districts which 'provided for a rudimentary form of influx control, and ... enjoined Africans to wear a metal arm badge (amended later to a requirement that an official pass be carried) numbered as a means of identification'[1]. This arrangement was shaken in the crisis initiated by the Robinson Group of mines who in 1906 set in motion strategies designed to give it favoured status for recruitment in Mozambique, a major source area.

The moves failed but the recruiting monopsony was damaged and the threat of labour competition driving the extremely low wages up led to the establishment of the Native Recruiting Corporation in 1912, its fundamental purpose being to eliminate the cost-maximising competition between the mining companies for African labour'[2]. Difficulties in procuring African labour after the Anglo-Boer War precipitated the crisis and also led to another answer, albeit a temporary one as it turned out - the importation of Chinese labour begun in 1904. Australian miners by then working in South Africa had faced the threat of cheap Chinese labour in Australia and there developed strong sensitivities which they brought with them into South Africa, leading eventually to a major white mineworkers strike of 4 000 men in 1907, after which importation of Chinese was stopped and repatriation begun[3]. The racial attitudes that accompanied the fear of cheap labour were not directed only at the Chinese, but the whole affair reinforced this tendency.

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1. A.H. Jeeves, "The Administration and Control of Migratory Labour on the South African Gold Mines", in P. Bonner, (1979), p.135.
2. F. Johnstone (1976), p.30.
3. q.v. Elaine Katz (1976).

Recruitment of indigenous labour was not however conceived of as bringing a man and his family to the mines. On the contrary, the migratory system assumed that family accommodation and a supplemental income should not be the responsibility of the mining companies but of the reserve subsistence economy[1]. This system, 'probably the most fantastic labour set-up of any industry in the world'[2], required careful control: on the one hand, 'subsistence' earnings needed to be lower than a worker required to meet all his needs, so that he would be forced to enter into wage-labour; on the other, rural earnings should not fall below what was required to reproduce labour[3]. Moreover, the oscillatory migratory pattern set up through the reserve system, continually feeding in regular 'amounts' of fresh labour, provided employers, they believed, with the benefits of 'lower wages, less leave and absenteeism, better control, less risk of the men getting silicosis, and greater output in jobs involving hard physical work'[4]. The black rural areas became the 'sponge that absorbs, and returns when required, the reserve army of African labour' whence 'healthy and vigorous workers' came, whereas 'married quarters for Africans on the mines would be more expensive' than 'hospitals, balanced diets, and even games and cinemas' in the labour compounds[5]. The case for segregated, fixed African reserves, rather than a further great reduction in land available to the African, was unabashedly stated by Sir Godfrey Lagden: 'A man cannot go with his wife and children and his goods and chattels on to the labour market. He must have a dumping ground. Every rabbit has a warren where he can live and burrow and breed, and every native must have a warren too'[6]. The view of van den Berghe that the state has

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1. T.R.H. Davenport (1977), p.359.
2. H. Houghton (1967), p.85.
3. F. Wilson (1972), p.74.
4. Ibid., p.135.
5. G. Findlay, review of A. Hoernle's "South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit", (1940), cited in C. Bundy (1979), p.242.
6. C. Bundy, loc. cit.

fostered a type of labour mobility, namely the migratory labour system, which is economically wasteful in advanced industrial societies clearly does not hold in the present case[1]. The following figures indicate some of the impact of the migratory labour system on the indigenous population:

Table 6: Patterns of labour migration from Transkei, 1893-1916[2]

Year	Total leaving Transkei	No. going to Tvl. Mines
1893	27,511	8,500 (Transvaal)
1903	76,556	14,806 (Mines)
1912	96,667	63,000 (Mines)

Effects of land policies and wage-labour recruitment lie behind the marked change, as well as other factors (such as drought and cattle disease).

Table 7: Effect of Migrant Labour on Gender Population 3 distribution, 1972

	% of reserve population			No. of males absent	
Language Group	Total	People 16-64 Male	Female	Temporary 000s	Continuous 000s
Xhosa	55,0	35	62,9	224	274
Tswana	35,5	24,4	32	37	273
N. Sotho	56,0	35	50	91	150
Shangaan	35,5	18,4	40,7	38	91
Venda	67,2	40,1	76,1	30	17
Swazi	17,2	12,5	16,4	5	96
Zulu	51,3	36,7	53,2	164	435
S. Sotho	1,8	1,2	1,9	2,5	3,2

Note that remaining percentage would be those not resident in the reserves.

1. P. van den Berghe (1967), p.195.
2. C. Bundy (1979), p.121.
3. D. Webster, "From Peasant to Proletarian: The Development/ Underdevelopment Debate in South Africa", Africa Perspective, no. 13, Spring 1979, p.11.

Migrant labour in itself was not sufficient. Its regulation required control both at source and in the receiving area. At source, taxation had multiple aims: du Plessis' judgment that conferment of 'the privilege of being taxed and so contributing to the national revenue - that universal badge of a civilized society'[1], must be seen against the important role of taxation in the system of administration, 'designed to achieve the threefold aim of raising revenue, forcing Africans out into the labour market, and effecting social change among them'[2]. The "Bunga" system of local rule, policing, magisterial authority and other measures facilitated control. At the receiving end compounds, pass laws and contracts held total sway. "Contract" is in fact a misnomer, as Creswell, leader of the Labour Party long ago pointed out:

> If I make a contract to labour for you and I refuse to carry out that contract, your only remedy is to sue me in the courts. If a native enters into a contract to labour for me and does not carry out his contract, it is a crime against the State for which he can be punished with imprisonment. That distinguishes the free system and the quasi-feudal system.[3]

Identity legislation, of which pass laws are one example, goes back a long way, beginning with the Cape slaves and the Khoi[4]. But the pass system 'was designed to keep African workers in their labour contracts. It provided ... a means of enforcing contractual obligations between natives and Europeans and of detecting deserters'[5]. It could of course also be used to check criminality and control resistance, and in turn 'the connection between criminality and the pass laws was indeed intimate'[6]. Passes had in this respect two aspects: "character column" in which employers could and did write

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1. J.H. du Plessis (1911), p.404.
2. D. Welsh (1971), p.23.
3. Cited in F. Johnstone (1976), p.36.
4. E. Roux (1964), p.435; D. Welsh, "The Growth of Towns", in OX: pp.196-202, supplies good detail on the history of labour control by identity legislation.
5. F. Johnstone (1976), p.37.
6. P. Bonner (1980), p.13.

comments such as "bad boy"; and the endorsement "FIRED" for any criminal conviction which, once stamped, left criminal activity the only real option for future 'work'.

On the Rand, after pass laws, 'housing ran close second for the prize of the most hated single institution governing black urban life'; mortality rates were high (e.g. Klipspruit: 380 in 1000 in 1914/15, that is 38%), and conditions insufferable, even in the freehold areas of Sophiatown, Martindale, and Newclare[1]. But nowhere was control greater than in the "total institutions" which were the mine compounds.

The introduction of the compound system began with the Kimberley Diamond diggings, especially after the consolidation of claims in the hands of a few magnates allowed more effective organisation. Here, blacks 'were obliged to submit to a regime of closed compounds from 1885 onwards thus placing themselves under very close supervision and control'[2]. When translated to the gold fields, an open compound system was adopted, enabling police control over contract workers. 'The effective control of such large numbers of people by so few authority bearers' required extensive measures, including relative isolation from the wider environment and an assault upon the self to strip the worker of individuality[3]. Such practices as utilising a workers fingerprint and number for identification while his name, his most distinctive personal characteristic, was never used; as the control of privacy to increase surveillance potential, even in ablution blocks and lavatories; as continuous lighting throughout the night in dormitories to control violence, sodomy and theft; as regular detail searches - all these practices 'intended that a conception of self which best serves the needs of the organisation be substituted ... to create a disciplined, subservient and contented labour force ... by means of surveillance and punishment', and by means of the provision of 'recreational activities'[4].

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1. Ibid., p.16.
2. T.R.H. Davenport (1977), p.355.
3. P. Pearson (197?), p.9.
4. Ibid., p.11.

Day-to-day costs of the reproduction of labour were also minimised by 'direct control over the pattern of consumption ... to minimum levels required to rejuvenate the worker as a muscular machine'[1]; and even then compound shops, developed as part of the system, allowed the company to make a profit from the food eaten (Rhodes himself guilessly reported in 1898 'a profit of £24,385 over two years from compound shops, none of which was used for the benefit of African mineworkers')[2].

Within the compounds themselves, a hierarchy of control existed. The Induna, a uniformed officer given single quarters (often shared) and appointed by the Compound Manager, received extra beer and meat rations and a relatively high salary, and was 'seen by management as a tribal leader of tribal people' and an intermediary[3]. Below them were Policemen, also uniformed but living with other workers and charged with maintaining order and assisting workers. Management called them "Tribal Representatives", but 'in fact they are neither representative nor tribal; they are minor bureaucrats in the administrative system'[4]. Finally, the Sibonda, an elected leader of the compound room, was expected to refer serious offences to the compound authorities as well as generally act as spokesman, though mostly Sibondas were reluctant to support management and even sided with workers in confrontations[5]. Overall, the system functioned effectively to maintain order and control at minimum cost in what amounted to a captive situation.

A solid history of the compounds awaits an author, but enough is known to make seriously deficient the judgment that compounds were devised primarily to house the large numbers of men required for labour who would otherwise be unwilling to come or who would not be allowed by their respective neighbouring governments to leave permanently, thus draining

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1. R. Davies (1979), p.57.
2. D. Welsh, "The Growth of Towns", in OX: p.180.
3. P. Pearson (197?), p.3.
4. Ibid., p.5.
5. Ibid., p.14 and 16.

their home country of able-bodied men[1]. Rather, Johnstone's analysis of the role of the compound system in the economic structure offers a much more satisfactory description, and a good summary of the data:

> It constituted an important form of labour control, from which the mining companies derived economic and political benefits.
>
> Economically, the system helped to reduce costs and to stabilise the African labour supply. The standardised mass feeding and housing of African workers permitted economies of scale, and established living standards at a level of subsistence and cost chosen by the mining companies. And the compounding of workers served to inhibit absenteeism and desertion.
>
> But the most important advantages were of a more political nature. The system served both to maximise the control of the companies over the behaviour of African workers, and to isolate these workers from the society around them. The fragmentation, isolation and concentration of the African labour force in separate, dependent and prison-like compounds was of great advantage to the companies in the management of unrest and insubordination among African workers. The compound system also served the political interests of the companies by isolating African mine workers from other workers and Africans and life generally on the Rand. This isolation was not total; African workers could and did leave the compounds - for which they had to obtain a pass. But their general life and work situation in the mine compounds was artificially removed from the society around them.[2]

The picture of African mine-workers is incomplete without reference to the specific wage minimisation system applied at the mines themselves. The chief measures adopted were: wage fixation, whereby companies agreed on the price of labour at the lowest possible levels (an average of 2 shillings per shift); the maximum average system, whereby piece work employees could not exceed an average earning per shift in any one company ($2^s\ 3^d$); and the loafer ticket system, whereby unfulfilled piece work rates (measured according to the number of inches drilled) - i.e. less than the contracted minimum number of inches - as well as extra-contractual work (such as 'lashing'), went unpaid, and the time actually worked was ignored in measuring the worker's contracted number of shifts[3].

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1. F. Wilson (1972), p.7.
2. F. Johnstone (1976), p.38.
3. Ibid., pp.40-41.

The total picture is of African mine workers 'constrained by a more extensive system of exploitative labour and wage controls than were the rest of the African workers', through the recruiting-, compound-, contract- and wage-minimisation systems'[1]. Benefits of the system to the mining companies included prevention of effective class mobilisation by oscillating migration, and the provision of an 'ideal technique for the control of labour' in the 'quasi-military institution of the compound'[2]. The justification for paying subsistence wages was found in the reserves policy, whereby no responsibility was taken for the support of a worker's family.

De Kiewiet regards the universal dependence on black labour as 'the greatest social economic fact in the history of the century'[3]; at the same time it has been said that 'South Africa has never provided a good living for the ordinary labourer[4]; and Wilson has pointed out that with the exception of a short period in the mid-1940s, dividends alone paid out to the shareholders by the gold mines between 1911 and 1969 have consistently totalled more than the gross earnings of black mine-workers[5]. In this context African mine-workers were, in short

> ... constrained by a more extensive system of exploitative labour and wage controls than were the rest of the African workers ... not only by ... the contract system and the pass system, but also ... the specific wage minimisation system, recruiting system, and compound system.[6]

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1. Ibid., p.192.
2. E. Webster, in Webster (ed.) (1978), p.12.
3. C.W. de Kiewiet (1937), p.2.
4. H.J. Simons and R.E. Simons (1969), p.26.
5. F. Wilson (1972), p.35.
6. H.J. Simons and R.E. Simons (1969), p.569.

Table 8: Distribution of South African National Income, Composition of Population, and Ratio in Per Capita Earnings (Africans = 1.0) by Race (1936)

	Whites	Africans	Asians & Coloureds	Total
% of Nat. Income received by	74,5	19,6	5,8	99,9*
% of Total Population constituted by	20,9	68,8	10,3	100,0
Ratio in Per Capita Earnings (Africans = 1.0)	12,5	1,0	2,0	-

*Percentages do not add up to 100 because of rounding errors. (Sources: Investment in Union of South Africa, p.8; F.P. Spooner, South African Predicament, p.173; Report of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, p.101.)

Figures taken from P. van den Berghe (1967), p.303

c. First Stages: "Field, Bar and Kitchen"

The structure of labour supply and control in the mines was not an isolated phenomenon and, as was indicated earlier, the black mineworker did not arrive as a gift of the gods but as a result of colonial penetration and economic dispossession forcing him to seek wage labour. Yet the mines were not the only bidders for such labour. Farmers too demanded their share, often in bitter competition with industrialists. One positive result of the Anglo-Boer War for the 'Boers' ("farmers") was the willingness of the British to make concessions to the agricultural sector. This factor, together with the assumption of power by Louis Botha and later Smuts and Herzog, while nicely fitting in with dominion policy, enabled farmers to gain a significant measure of political power manifested in favourable labour and protection policies. In fact, the necessary patterns were already in

operation by the end of the nineteenth century, encapsulated most clearly in various pass laws, the Glen Grey Act, and labour tenancy practices.

To recapitulate briefly, the original impact of traders on the colonial African economy was largely negative, with the terms of trade going against the indigenous people once the various colonial forces gathered strength. Bundy has demonstrated the highly rational 'deployment of prevailing techniques in a relatively inclement climate and soil' of the indigenous farmers which took the form of shifting cultivation adapted to the limits placed upon them by water, weather, disease, transport and available technology[1]. With colonisation came new technologies and new ends in farming: diversification of crops, raising crops for sale rather than the consumption of the producer, the ox-drawn plough, and the transport wagon, - all made an impact at least equal to legislation such as individual tenure[2]. In this situation taxation, land-pressures, the usual problems of climate and water (increasingly significant as the well-adapted shifting cultivation patterns were destroyed by conquest and dispossession), and the demand for wage-labour jointly produced an African peasantry, and a wage-seeking class who had no other means of acquiring wealth[3].

The many Africans who managed to make a reasonable living as peasants were in turn faced with certain pressures, among them the contractually unfavourable exchanges with traders, for

> in exchanges between peasant and trader, the terms of trade were against the contractually inferior peasant producer-consumer. In the trader's hands were concentrated the several economic functions of purchaser of agricultural produce, purveyor of manufactured goods, and supplier of credit. The trader's control of these functions meant that agriculture surpluses tended to be absorbed in the form of his profits rather than made available for re-investment by the peasantry. Trader and peasant enacted in mocrocosm the adverse terms of trade of a colonial relationship.[4]

1. C. Bundy (1979), p.25.
2. Ibid., pp.95-6.
3. Ibid., p.192.
4. C. Bundy (1979), p.129.

An early farm labourer

African peasant farming

Drawings from A F Hattersley, (1969), p. 30.

During the period 1890-1913 Bundy locates several specific features central to the assault upon peasant farmers by Capital, including the commercialization of agriculture and a changed demand for African labour. Though some peasants were able to consolidate and others to achieve first successes, still more bowed under the forced market prices and transport costs, debt and stratification, recruiting practices, legislation, demography and adverse natural causes. Most were separated from the means of production, though a much reduced but relatively stable peasantry has continued, and by 1914 the underdevelopment of many reserves areas had set in, and proletarianisation of Africans had become the order of the day[1]. Peasants who succeeded frequently proved more effective farmers than European settlers with whom they competed, and were able to acquire land or land-use in various ways; both those factors helped to accentuate the 'poor white' problem, especially in the South African Republic and the Orange Free State[2].

The mineral discoveries not only shifted the centre of gravity of the South African economy, but isolated the reserve areas whose access to markets, already relatively disadvantaged geographically, was made more difficult by the routes that railway lines took[3]. Colonist-farmers were by and large the beneficiaries. In 1894 the Glen Grey Act, favourably commented on by many churchmen, added a legislative cross: based on segregationist principles, the Act laid the foundation for much subsequent "Native policies", establishing the Bunga system of local governing councils in the reserves, enforcing labour taxation, and institutionalising individual tenure on a quit-rent basis[4]. The Glen Grey territory was to be split up into locations, in turn divided into lots 'indivisible and inalienable without the consent of the Governor'; and the franchise was not given[5]. The express aim

1. Ibid., p.108.
2. Ibid., pp.199-200.
3. Ibid., pp.131-2.
4. N. Majeke (1952), pp.134-5.
5. E. Roux (1964), p.68.

of the Act was to produce a 'landless class' forced to enter the labour market; and in 1895 the Standard could write that hunger was the single successful incentive compelling a man to labour and thus 'it is in the direction of taxation that the ultimate solution to the labour question lies'[1]. Precisely these forces prefigure the mass resettlement of Africans in the reserves as a labour pool of cheap potential-workers[2]. The resultant decline of the African peasantry is widely attested: they ceased to export grain or even grow sufficient to feed themselves[3], and the value per capita of sales of peasant produce and purchases of trader's goods in some areas decreased well below a half of what it had been[4].

Besides competition from the mines, farmers vied with each other for labour, and in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State the 1895 "Plakkers Wet" was enacted to regularise the distribution of African labour among farmers[5]. However, no legislative measures could prevent 'white' peasant farmers from suffering the same consequences of industrialisation and capitalisation which beset their African compatriots: 'railways put the transport riders out of business', the rinderpest epidemic of 1896 seriously depleted cattle resources, the South African war destroyed many farms; and these events reinforced 'the structural generation of urbanisation of landless whites'[6] who were to form the bulk of the white working class. The major difference between Africans and whites thus affected was significant: the latter, as colonists, were accorded the franchise. The turn of the century reflected as well a significant 'shift in metropolitan attitudes and interests, away from assimilation and towards segregation', related to the 'decisive tilt of power in favour of white colonists'. The most influential source of

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1. E. Webster, in Webster (ed.) (1978), p.10.
2. q.v. F. Wilson, "Farming", in OX: p.169.
3. M. Wilson, "The Growth of Peasant Communities", in OX: p.58.
4. Compare figures in C. Bundy (1979), p.223.
5. F. Wilson, op. cit., p.118.
6. F. Johnstone (1976), p.53.

legislative and administrative proposals along these lines came from the South African Native Affairs Commission (SANAC) of 1903-5 which 'took a lengthy and portentious step towards the selective preservation of traditional (African) institutions and structures and their manipulation instead of their abolition'[1].

Thus the interests of colonists in general, and those of the metropolitan powers, coalesced into the alliance of gold and maize, with the Het Volk government in the Transvaal as its political vanguard, the Land Bank and other measures its concessions to white farmers, and the mechanisms for the control of labour in place and ready to be developed[2].

Demand for labour was not uniform throughout South Africa. Though the mines were the primary source of demand and did most to shape the political economy of the twentieth century, they also faced competition for workers from the agricultural and later the manufacturing sectors. But the processes which forced blacks off the land and into wage-labour suited all. Prior to the 1899-1902 War both farmers and miners had certain common interests: 'their coincident needs and perceived solutions provided the basic terms of settlement between the partners-to-be, gold and maize; political consummation was effectively celebrated in the first three years of Union government'[3]. The Transvaal in particular was dominated by the great interests of mining and agricultural capitalism[4], but these were not without their contradictions. Alcohol, interestingly enough, became a pivotal source of conflict.

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1. C. Bundy (1979), p.240.
2. S. Trapido (1977), p.33.
3. C. Bundy (1979), p.115.
4. P. Rich, "The Agrarian Counter-Revolution in the Tvl", in P. Bonner (1979), p.57.

In 1883, the year of Paul Kruger's installation as President of the South African Republic, he opened De Eerste Fabrieken in de Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek Ltd, a new distillery and the first major capital project of the young state; liquor was brewed from maize, potatoes, and other suitable crops other than fruit[1]. Randlords and Rotgut, van Onselen's lively analysis of developments in the liquor industry and its connection to mining interests, makes an "intoxicating" tale[2].

Prior to 1896 the retail liquor trade boomed, but the products finding their way onto the market were by no means healthy. They 'killed hundreds of workers - black and white - who consumed the working class poison that passed commercially as liquor'. Social and human costs in the heady, wild atmosphere of the raw gold-mining town were significant, but the alliance of state and mining magnates, the 'studied indifference' of Afrikaner rulers whose grain was sold in large quantities, and the 'sympathy' of the Licensing Boards to the trade meant that little was done[3].

For their part, mining capitalists had a double interest in the "Hatherley" distillery, (as the original factory became known from 1892 on): in the first place, many had direct interests in the liquor business; in the second, alcohol provided an incentive to workers on the mines, both for recruitment and control, all without direct cost to the company[4]. But one problem remained: workers also needed to be alive, productive, and efficient, and by 1895-6 this contradiction became sufficiently serious that 'any further expansion in the large and profitable liquor industry would be at the expense of the very motor of capitalist development - the gold mines'[5]. Reluctantly the Chamber of Mines had to

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1. C. van Onselen (1974/5), p.53.
2. C. van Onselen, op.cit.
3. Ibid., p.62.
4. Ibid., pp.60-61.
5. Ibid., p.63.

abandon the exploitation of alcohol, and whereas previously they had muted 'public opinion' demanding total prohibition for Africans, they now took bitter complaints about the illicit liquor trade to the Industrial Commission of Inquiry in 1897 in favour of strict control[1].

The Transvaal Prohibition law, effective from Janury 1897, had had a dual effect: at least half of the canteens in the mining areas were forced to close, drastically reducing competition for the privileged mine canteens and allowing the mines to control supply to their workers; but at the same time, demand generally remained high, supply was effectively reduced, profits consequently rose markedly, and the illicit liquor market blossomed as a result[2]. The mines were forced into developing a strategy of public opinion-making, taking form in the 'primary cudgel' of the Transvaal Leader which set out on a campaign to expose the illicit liquor runners. But in the midst of many revelations, most significantly 'not once ... did the Leader devote so much as a single line to the activities of the liquor producers - the capitalists'[3].

Meanwhile, local congregations supported the campaign and helped organise a 'great public meeting' in Johannesburg to attack the illicit liquor trade. Here, as van Onselen puts it, 'ministers of religion sat astride their highest moral horses, striking out blindly at the enemy'[4].

The Anglo-Boer War altered the situation somewhat, with Milner setting up a Liquor Licensing Commission in 1901 to control illicit deals and to establish a regulated retail liquor trade. Much to the taste of mine-owners, these measures reduced absenteeisms from an earlier 10-15 percentage average down to one percentage[5]. But Milner's support of Mining Capital rebounded on local liquor manufacturers, so

1. Ibid., p.74.
2. Ibid., p.69.
3. Ibid., p.77.
4. Ibid., p.78.
5. Ibid., p.85.

that 'within thirty-six months the British Administration had closed the Distillery and compensated its owners, passed legislation to prevent any further distilling, smashed the illicit liquor syndicates, and rendered the entire black work-force on the Rand more efficient and productive on their newly reduced wages'[1].

The policy of controlled liquor supplies to black workers, a fixed feature of South African labour controls, has been applied in African "locations" as well, but usually under the control of local authorities who have used beer profits in particular to subsidise their work. Beer profits in 1945 for example, often as high as 100 percent, were estimated to provide about one-fifth of the cost of services and amenities for locations, a practice condemned as a 'highly regressive concealed tax'[2].

For the purposes of this study, the whole question of liquor supply and control boils down to the exploitative mechanisms involved, which influenced decision-making and propaganda either for or against alcohol consumption far more than any moral considerations, though moral considerations proved to be an important ideological weapon in the hands of the mining Capitalists.

Besides developments in mining, farming and local manufacture, the political economy of South Africa is marked by the extensive use of unskilled black labour in various 'service industries', among the most significant being that of domestic work. Jacklyn Cock has traced the pattern of domesticity in Maids and Madams and shown the close link of 'the ideology of domesticity' to missionary teaching[3].

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1. Ibid., p.90.
2. D. Welsh, "The Growth of Towns", in OX: p.233.
3. J. Cock (1980).

Lovedale Institution was a model: here skilled male workers were trained for the labour market, but education for women 'focused on the elaboration of domestic skills' with the 'two-fold aim' of 'preparing Black girls for domestic service and life in their own homes'. The same pattern was followed by St Matthews Training Institution (Anglican) in the Ciskei, and also at Healdtown, Lesseyton, Peddie, Blythswood, Butterworth and Salem. Education for women was downgraded proportionately, and employment opportunities obviously seriously limited[1]. European definitions and appropriate gender roles were imported and applied to black women to produce a particular category of wage-labourers incorporated into the general political economy of colonial privilege[2]. Thus besides wives and daughters of black families legally able to settle in the urban areas many of whom were absorbed into the domestic market, there were also 'those coming unattached or fleeing from their homes, who became domestic servants, washer women or prostitutes, or took up illicit liquor selling to earn an income'[3].

d. Postlude and Prelude

Developments in labour creation and capital accumulation such as those described were accompanied by attempts on the part of workers and of blacks fired by national ideals to organise themselves. The association of skilled workers which was the British 'craft-union' became the early model for worker organisation in South Africa, not surprisingly confined almost exclusively to whites. Houghton points out that

> The craft-union pattern fitted naturally into the South African setting, and its objectives of furthering the interests of skilled workers soon became associated with a policy of preventing the position of the white worker from being undermined by the use of black or coloured workers in any but unskilled jobs. British trade unionism of the 1880s thus reinforced South African convention in these matters.[4]

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1. J. Cock, "Domesticity and Domestication", African Perspective, no.13, Spring 1979, pp.19-21.
2. Ibid., p.17.
3. P. Bonner (1980), p.9.
4. H. Houghton (1967), p.141.

Some of the craft-unions were branches of parent organisations overseas and remained so for some time[1]. Australian unionists of the same tradition further influenced the issue, and in particular 'the resentment of artisans towards those Africans who performed skilled tasks ... stemmed from the fact that Africans who came to the towns, particularly the country towns, were often employed at half the rates paid to white skilled artisans'[2].

But other factors also contributed to the growing distinction between the white (colonist) and black (colonized) working class, among them that the white worker had access to political power, relatively easy entrance into the bourgeoisie (especially for the artisan), supervisory control in the case of miners over African miners contracted to work with them, an 'open' work situation (no compounds, contracts, or passes as with Africans), and a stable living situation (migrant labour, besides deleteriously affecting Africans, also prevented them effectively mobilising as a class)[3]. Moreover, for the African dominated classes the evolution of the job colour bar, greater resistance to the economic demands of blacks, the division of the labour struggle, and the reinforcement of a racist hierarchy structure in the social division of labour meant an intensification of their exploitation[4].

In the realm of legislation, the 1909 Transvaal Industrial Disputes Act embodied the fundamental principles which formed the basis of South African industrial conciliation legislation, and at the same time maintained the division 'between the unskilled coloured labourer and the white labourer'[5]. The distinct racially based relationships which Capitalists were developing with black and white

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1. E. Roux (1964), p.122.
2. E. Katz (1976), p.26.
3. E. Webster, in Webster (ed.) (1978), pp.15-16.
4. R. Davies (1979), p.131.
5. _Ibid._, p.127.

labour were further augmented by the 'failure to prevent strikes or combination by white wage-earners through repression, and ... the effects which strikes by Whites were seen to be having on struggles by Africans'[1]. Nevertheless African workers did join together with others, though each wave of unionization was followed by repressive legislation[2]. In the end, though, the non-racial trade union movement was severely hampered by the nexus of economic, political and ideological factors which made combination and organisation difficult[3]; and unquestionably, the advantaged position of white workers was not only in their favour but as often as not in the favour of their bosses too.

Consequent upon these developments, the peculiar problematic of relatively privileged African (and other black) individuals presented itself as a contradiction to be resolved. Its resolution occurred partly in the spur given to African nationalism by aggrieved bourgeois and petty-bourgeois blacks, who set up political rather than worker organisations[4]. Mostly constitutional politicians, the founders of these bodies were usually teachers, ministers, editors, lawyers and doctors, who 'though unwilling, and perhaps unable, to alienate themselves from the poor and oppressed, ... did not escape from the compromises that are forced on leaders without power who seek to reform but never overthrow an evil social order'[5]. Many of them were obliged by the very nature of their position in the South African social formation to serve those who remained their masters, as is perhaps most lucidly observed in the statement of the executive of the South African Native Congress to Joseph Chamberlain in 1903:

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1. *Ibid.*, p.115.
2. E. Webster (1978), p.111.
3. R. Davies (1979), p.25.
4. q.v. for example, C.C. Saunders, "The New African elite in the Eastern Cape and some late 19th Century origins of African Nationalism", (1969/70).
5. H.J. Simons and R.E. Simons (1969), p.116.

> The black races are too conscious of their dependence upon the white missionaries, and of their obligations towards the British race, and the benefits to be derived by their presence in the general control and guidance of the civil and religious affairs of the country to harbour foolish notions of political ascendency. The idea is too palpably absurd to carry weight with well-informed minds, and tends to obscure the real issues and to injure the people as a class.[1]

The foregoing survey of the major elements in the early stages of industrialization in South Africa intends to describe in somewhat shorthand form the political economy of the dispossession, incorporation, and subjugation of the indigenous people, the various factors which went into this, the concomitant ascendency of colonists and colonials, and the consequences for the structural arrangements which organised and informed much of subsequent developments. The background to the period with which this study is concerned in analysing the role of the Church is thus sketched; the foreground requires a brief introductory overview as a prelude to investigating the documents, policies, and actions of the relevant churches themselves.

The early period of industrialisation witnessed firstly, the proletarianisation of Africans in parallel to the massive impetus to growth provided by mining ventures and secondary industries, secondly, the commercialisation of agriculture, thirdly, the resultant problems of the "poor whites" and the underdevelopment of the African reserves, fourthly, the beginning of serious competition between local capital and foreign capital (focused most evidently in the agricultural and mining sectors respectively), and finally, the rise of a fully-fledged manufacturing sector. At the political level, the period saw the first attempts at unskilled worker organisation, the formative influence of the craft-union 'aristocracy' and the start of the South African Labour Party, the emergence of protectionism and privilege for white farmers through the mediation of 'Boer'-dominated

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1. T. Karis and G. Carter (1972), Vol.I, p.18.

representative government, and the initial establishment of both Afrikaner nationalism and African nationalism. The combination of historical elements which describe the period determined the direction of the underlying conflict - between Capital and labour - a conflict manifested overtly at several points in the form of major strikes and rebellion. At the same time the curtain came down on the military conflict between coloniser and colonised in the finale of the Bambata rebellion, only to be taken up in other forms of resistance.

Overlaying the structure of the political economy, the ideology of racism on the one hand and that of liberal capitalism (mostly in the social democratic form) on the other held sway, the one eminently suitable to the aspirations of national capital and the other to those of foreign capital (though the distinction is not rigid).* The competition for hegemony during the period 1903-1924 was intense, and was concerned with which fraction or alliance of fractions would become dominant in the power bloc, i.e. be able 'to set up its own particular interests as the general interest of the body politic'[1]. Thus 'distinct and conflicting white elites or oligarchies' competed for power[2], seeking alliances with each other while together pursuing the control of labour and the repression of resistance. The latter convergence of interests finds its major political expressions in the Act of Union in the first place, the Land Act of 1913, and the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1923 among many other bills. The role of the Church in these dynamics will be the concern of the next chapter.

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* The distinction between 'national capital' and 'foreign capital' follows writers such as D. Kaplan, R. Davies, D. O'Meera and M. Morris; though they are criticised by others such as Innes and Plant for emphasising competition between fractions of capital rather than the more fundamental dialectic of conflict between labour and capital. This study assumes the worth of understanding competition between fractions of capital within the framework of the basic conflict, in explaining changes in the political economy which influence the direction - though not the nature - of the basic conflict.

1. R. Davies (1979), p.28.

2. P. van den Berghe (1967), p.63.

Davies _et al_[1], regard the formation of the Pact government in 1924 as signifying the change from control by mining (foreign) capital to that by national (largely agricultural and manufacturing) capital, situated within the larger post World War I battle between free trade on the one hand (former) and protection on the other (latter)[2]. The battle for local ascendency between national and foreign capital came to a head in the Rand Revolt (1922), though it had been foreshadowed in the Anglo-Boer War, the 1913-14 strikes, and the Afrikaner Rebellion of 1914; it was the Pact alliance of the National Party and the Labour Party that won against the merged SAP-Unionist party who represented mining capital. Interestingly, the Pact alliance at that time found support with both the Communist Party and the ICU[3].

The result of the coming to power of the Pact alliance was at one level the appropriation of surplus value from the mines, still the major source of capital accumulation, for the interests of National Capital - in particular for subsidising agriculture and the sponsorship of select, secondary heavy industries (such as iron and steel)[4]. At the same time the "Native Question" demanded a more systematic policy, one which would suit the colonist settlers and in particular the white wage-earners who formed part of the alliance. The ideology of racism thus achieved pre-eminence with the hegemony of national capital, giving rise to a change in the political climate as formulated in the Herzog Bills which soon generated a stormy and long-lasting debate on all sides. Another important aspect of these developments was the 'civilized labour policy' whereby unemployed, unskilled 'poor whites' (an important target group for the National Party in particular)

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1. Davies, Kaplan, Morris and O'Meara, "Class Struggle and the Periodisation of the State in South Africa", _Review of African Political Economy_, Vol.7, Sept. 1976.
2. _Ibid._, pp.6-7.
3. _Ibid._, p.9.
4. _Ibid._, pp.9-10.

were assisted economically through the Wage Act of 1925 (statutory minimum wages, and favouring of employing whites in semi-skilled jobs)[1], and through increased State employment, relief work and land settlement schemes.

But the underlying contradictions between dominant and dominated classes remained though the nationalist state had much greater influence in the outcome of the conflict between the two; moreover, even the competition between national and foreign capital and their respective ideologies remained[2]. All of this came to a head in the great depression of 1929-33, leading to the Fusion government and a fracturing of the earlier alliances, and continued into the 1980s to affect the politics of the dominant groups; on the other hand, the subjugation and repression of the dominated people was in general never more than a question of the most suitable methods of control. Industrial and political conflict in the period 1933 to 1948 'reflected the changing structure of production - the emergence of an industrialised economy with, simultaneously, the final collapse of the Reserve economies which had provided the key to accumulation ...'[3]. This latter became sufficiently serious that 'it menaced the Reserves' capacity to maintain and reproduce a migrant labour force', a factor coupled with other pressures that led to a major labour crisis by the middle 1940s[4]. Two options appeared to be available in the situation, both economically rational, one more suited to liberal ideology and foreign capital, the other to national ideology and capital. The former was presented through the Fagan Commission of 1946-48[5] and the latter in the Eiselen Report; the first was desirous of a settled, politically represented urban African labour force (under strict controls), the second of a boost to the reserve economies and a much greater role for a traditional -cum-collaborationist African elite in these areas. Both intended to halt, and if possible reverse, the decay of the reserve areas, as well as to establish permanent structures of political control. The historical parameters

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1. Whites employed in private industry: 1923/4 = 30,7%; 1932/3 = 45,2%; Ibid., p.12.
2. Ibid., p.13.
3. D. O'Meara, in E. Webster (ed.) (1978), p.170.
4. C. Bundy (1979), p.226.
5. D. Welsh, "The Growth of Towns", in OX: p.190.

defining the crisis saw the outcome in favour of the latter, now known as 'Apartheid'[1].

Meanwhile, in December 1943 the Anti-Coloured Advisory Council Committee and the All-Africa Convention had founded the Non-European Unity Movement which set out 'on a programme of non-collaboration with the oppressors, refusal to work the instruments of oppression, and commitment to a principles struggle for the realisation of a ten-point programme of democratic rights'[2]. Pressures on African urban housing had stimulated the rise of squatter movements on a big scale, such as the Sofasonke ("we shall all die together") movement of James Mpanza at Orlando[3]. But perhaps the most significant amplification of resistance came with changes on the mines. The Chamber of Mines claimed that African wages, together with rural reserve production, were quite adequate to support a miner and his family. But figures on income shortfalls for 1939 and 1943 'indicate that even a worker permanently employed on the mines, whose family had access to land, would, in a good year suffer a shortfall between income and expenditure which had rocketed'[4]. Houghton's figures for the earnings differentials between white and African workers over the period 1935-1960 show that African income, starting at an average 9% of white income in the mining sector, remained virtually static in real terms, whereas white incomes enjoyed a real increase of an average 42%; and this in a period Houghton describes in Rostow's terms as a 'take-off' period of industrial growth[5]. The effect of exploitation wages on the mines boiled over into the 1946 African mineworker's strike in which 60 000-70 000 workers came out in force, generating a crisis whose

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1. An analysis of this is carried out by A. Irwin and E. Webster, "Ideology and Capitalism in SA", in Schlemmer and Webster (1977), pp.91-105.
2. L. Kuper, "African Nationalism", in OX: p.457.
3. R. Davies (1979), pp.340-1.
4. D. O'Meara in P. Bonner (1979), p.200: emphasis in the original.
5. H. Houghton (1967), p.256, Table 19.

resolution was to have great consequences[1]. The African Mine-workers Union

> ... called for an end to cheap migrant labour, with five basic demands; regular wage increases; payment of a cost of living allowance; statutory wage minimum and a Wage Board enquiry; the total abolition of the compound system, the tribal division of the workforce and all restrictions on freedom of movement; and finally, recognition of the AMU.[2]

But though this, the 'largest strike in South African history (in terms of participants though not man-days lost)'[3] was repressed, it led to the creation of alliance with the pre-dominantly petty-bourgeois African nationalist organisations whose lack of access to political power found them 'lumped together with the proletariat as part of a supposedly undifferentiated, exploitable supply of labour' along a racial division[4]. The chickens were coming home to roost: on the one hand the policy of Apartheid was successfully developed as 'the policy best able to cope with ... prolet-arianisation, the dangers of which were "revealed by" the 1946 mine strike and the agitation for the recognition of the trade unions'[5]; on the other, the 'hitherto conservative Native Representative Council unanimously resolved ... to suspend sittings of their "toy telephone" in angry and vehement protest at the government's refusal to discuss the strike'[6]. Furthermore, the 'Joint Declaration of Co-operation' was drawn up in 1947 by the Natal Indian Congress, the Transvaal Indian Congress, and the African National Congress, in which they declared their intention

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1. q.v. Roux (1964), pp.338-342; R. Davies (1979), p.243; H.J. Simons and R.E. Simons (1969), p.575ff.
2. D. O'Meara, op. cit., p.197.
3. Ibid., p.209.
4. Ibid., p.221.
5. Ibid., p.218.
6. Ibid., p.208.

> to work together for full franchise rights, equal industrial rights, the removal of land restrictions, the extension of free compulsory education to all non-Europeans, freedom of movement (involving the abolition of passes for Africans and of restrictions on inter-provincial travel for Indians), and the removal of all discriminatory legislation.[1]

Thus, the earlier character of African opposition - 'patient constitutional protest by an elite' - gave way to 'mass action and positive resistance'[2]; and 'by the time the ANC emerged at the head of a non-racial movement in the fifties, state power was in the hands of another class alliance born out of structural changes and determined to maintain a high rate of capital accumulation ... in a system of exploitation through repression'.[3]

In conclusion, the dynamics of the South African political economy during the period 1903-1930 with which the following chapter is concerned must be viewed as part of the total process of industrialization described above in schematic form. The major purpose of the overview is to indicate the historical continuity of the basic conflict between capital and labour in the colonial form, to situate in its wider context the selected period for analysis, to argue for a structurally based understanding of racism rather than an attitudinal or psychological one, and to delimit the general nature of the historical transformation within which the churches found themselves and within which they had to work. The major developments concerning the relevant period with which the primary analytical study is concerned will be detailed further as the analysis proceeds; for the moment it is sufficient to consider that the canvas of history sweepingly painted up to now reflects a particular angle of view and certain presuppositions, and that even were it to be

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1. R. Davies (1979), p.251.
2. D. O'Meara, op. cit., p.180.
3. Ibid., p.225.

fully carried through it remains a partial picture in both senses of the word 'partial'[1]. However, its significance for understanding oppression in South Africa is none the less for that.

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1. 'Wholistic history' written from 'the bottom up' which studies the total life of a society, is the approach of the Ecole des Annales, promising much but requiring enormous resources; and even then never entirely free of the need to make basic value asssumptions on the nature and direction of research. K. Hughes suggests wider use of the methods involved in his review article on South African historiography in "Challenges from the Past", Social Dynamics, Vol.3, no.1, 1977, p.45.

9. THE ANGLICAN AND METHODIST CHURCHES IN SOUTH AFRICA: 1903-1930

> These people, in the providence of God, are brought into immediate contact with an energetic, enterprising, progressive race. Time can scarcely be afforded for the ordinary and slow process of civilization. If then, we are to have peace, and the uncivilized nations are not to be destroyed, efforts on a great scale ... must be made to impart to them the more useful arts of civilisation, and that speedily.[1]
>
> \- Rev. H. Calderwood

> ... the conflict between religion and those natural economic ambitions, which the thought of an earlier age had regarded with suspicion, is suspended by a truce which divides the life of mankind between them. The former takes as its province the individual soul, the latter the intercourse of man with his fellows in the activities of business and the affairs of society.[2]
>
> \- R.H. Tawney

In the period with which we are now concerned, the colonial churches became firmly established, while a new national state emerged and the traditional missionary era faded away. Synods, conferences, councils, and other similar meetings, bishops, presidents, superintendents and other clergy became the major sources of power and control within the South African church world, frequently in alliance with one or other politician or industrialist. At the same time the churches contained the largest black, colonial membership of any institution under the direct control of settlers and colonists. The relatively non-coercive nature of this membership, in a structure more or less defined by voluntary association, led to a special sensitivity and concern for those who had been subjugated, without which any tenuous hold

1. Rev. H. Calderwood, Caffres and Caffre Missions, p.137, Methodist Archives.
2. R.H. Tawney (1926), p.274.

over them would be forfeited to the Independent Churches or to none. How best then to assist the colonised people to adjust to their situation, to forego violent resistance, to meet the demands for labour, to learn to cope with a new world filled with foreign technologies, languages, and institutions, and to gain access to privilege and position where qualified: these may be regarded as the underlying assumptions of leadership in the two most significant English-speaking origin denominations of the time, the Church of the Province of South Africa and the Methodist Church of South Africa[1]. Thus the desire to educate Africans in particular, the strong relationships developed with bourgeois and petty-bourgeios blacks who were frequently spokes-people for nationalist political organisations, and persistent reaction to anything less than a qualified franchise system along Cape lines went hand in hand with close ties to the colonist elite and the imperial metropolis in a functional dependence on the ruling class.

The following dissection of the Anglican and Methodist Churches attempts to discern their particular characteristics and role as representative of the broad base of non-Afrikaner and non-Independent Churches in relation to the political economy of South Africa in the first major phases of industrialisation. Recapitulation of themes and concepts already discussed may at this point be useful in setting out the conditions under which the dissection proceeds.

In the first place, the critique of the missionary era provided the occasion for describing the impact of conquest and colonisation on a pastoralist-cultivator pre-capitalist economy. A consideration of the Victorian milieu gives important insights into this process. The whole period until the discovery of minerals may be viewed as a time of the primitive accumulation of capital by colonists, in the form of land.

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1. The decision to take these two denominations as the subject of investigation is explained elsewhere, see p.ixff.

Secondly, in affirming the significance of the revisionist perspective for an understanding of oppression as exploitation within a racist ideology, the question of class determination has been raised. In the South African social formation, problems of labour creation and control, class suppression, alliances, underdevelopment processes, and resistance have been described as important parameters for analysing the role of any social institution such as the Church.

Thirdly, with the above criteria in mind, the early stages of industrialization in South Africa have been schematically described, particular attention being paid to the key role of gold mining, and the place of agriculture, manufacturing, and the service industries. In this context, the major political shifts, labour organisation, and further transformations in the nature of resistance are located.

It now remains to analyse the characteristics and role of the Anglican and Methodist Churches. The initial assumption that the Church in general does not define a class nor necessarily belong to a particular class implies that the Church as a social institution cannot strictly therefore be said to be directly involved in the relations of production either. Within the terms of 'means and relations of production' whereby class determination becomes possible, the Church is an enigma. At the same time its membership and professional hierarchy exhibit differing positions with respect to the means and the relations of production, some being capitalist and bourgeois, others peasant and proletarian. This insight leads to the judgment that in sociological terms, the primary role of the Church must be defined at the political and ideological levels, notwithstanding a wider range of social function in the structures of family and communal belonging.

At the political and ideological levels, class determination dissolves into questions of various forms of alliances and dependencies whereby social institutions take up roles either for or against one or other class, or alternatively play an ambiguous role. These last issues define the arena within which our discussion is situated, in an effort to discern the nature and function of Church practice and theory in the period chosen. The Church itself claims and proclaims much more than is likely to emerge from such an investigation. The truth value of its proclamation is not under question here; but the contradictions, illusions and uncritical subterfuges which blind, hide, or destroy that proclamation are very much at issue, and - it will be contested in a later chapter - are not unrelated to wrong theory and practice in the Church's own terms. In short, the Church itself is critically examined here and brought under question, not its proclamation - unless, it may be said, it is seen to proclaim: itself.

a. Exploitation, Segregation, and Union: 1903-1910

i) Overview: Political Economy

With the end of the second Anglo-Boer War came the need for reconstruction along the lines of some federation of the colonies and the Boer republics. The latter were now dominated to a large extent by the Chamber of Mines[1], yet the working out of an alliance between the more feudal Afrikaner settlers and the imperially connected English and others still had to be done. Alfred Milner, a keen imperialist with considerable experience in Egypt of the need to develop a settler colony favourable to the Empire, vigorously sought the correct grounds for co-operation. The first tool, the Treaty of Vereeniging, achieved this by distinguishing clearly between settlers as a whole and the indigenous population through the well-known article 8. 'The question of granting the franchise to natives will not be decided until

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1. E. Roux (1964), p.123.

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acceptance of the position of Subjects of HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII, ~~will~~ be brought back to the places where they were domiciled before the War.

4. The BURGHERS so surrendering, or returning, will not be deprived of their Personal Liberty, or their Property.

5. No Proceedings CIVIL or CRIMINAL will be taken against any of the BURGHERS so ~~now~~ surrendering or returning for any Acts in connection with the prosecution of the War.

6. The DUTCH Language will be taught in Public Schools in the TRANSVAAL and the ORANGE RIVER COLONY where ~~when~~ the Parents of the Children desire it, and will be allowed in COURTS of LAW when necessary for the better and more effectual Administration of Justice.

7. The Possession of RIFLES will be allowed to persons requiring them for their Protection, on taking out a license according to Law.

~~8. The Franchise will not be given to NATIVES (in the Transvaal & O.R.C.) until after the Introduction of Self-Government.~~

9. MILITARY ADMINISTRATION in the TV & O.R.C will be succeeded by CIVIL GOVERNMENT at the earliest possible date, and, as soon as circumstances permit Representative Institutions, leading up to Self-Government will be introduced ~~in the TRANSVAAL and ORANGE RIVER COLONY~~.

10. No Special Tax will be imposed on Landed Property in the TV & ORC to defray the Expenses of the War.

8 The question of granting the franchise to natives will not be decided until after the introduction of self government.

☐ This is a reduced facsimile of the second folio of the draft articles of peace, as presented to the Boer leaders by Lord Kitchener and Lord Milner at Pretoria. The greater part of the corrections in ink or pencil are written by Gen. Jan Smuts.

after the introduction of self-government' it said, effectively proclaiming the disinheritance of the colonised people[1]. The aim of the British policy was clearly stated by Bryce. It was

> to reconcile the races ... and render the prosperity of each the prosperity of both, and so pave the way for the ultimate fusion of Dutchmen and Englishmen in a common Imperial as well as a common Afrikaner patriotism ....[2]

Britain by this stage regarded the granting of self-government to large established settler groups in the colonies as an effective, and perhaps the only 'way of retaining influence short of the uneconomical use of force, in a part of the world where Afrikaner power was bound one day to reassert itself'[3]. The alliance between foreign and national capital was on the move, and the first major breakthrough came with success in the hard-fought battle to establish a Customs Union in 1903. But all was not plain sailing. The war had precipitated a recession that would continue for 6 years, creating considerable difficulties in the labour supply position[4]; severe drought from 1903-8 made rural recovery difficult; and the lack of a sure labour supply and adequate control policies necessitated action.

The latter need was met by the appointment of the South African Native Affairs (Lagden) Commission, whose recommendations foreshadowed so much in contemporary South Africa[5]. The great majority on the Commission were English speakers representing Capitalist interests seeking to promote the accumulation of wealth in a settler colonial framework, and thus their report was 'mainly the natural product of

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1. L. Thompson, "Compromise of Union", OX: p.331
2. G.B. Pyrah (1955), p.83.
3. T.R.H. Davenport (1977), p.160.
4. OX: p.15.
5. T.R.H. Davenport (1977), p.152, describes the broad results of the Commission; see also p.332.

well-to-do land and mine-owners, representatives of an acquisitive society hardened by pioneering experience and eager for economic development'[1].

All sectors of the industrial world sought regularisation of labour policies and separation between colonists and colonised, though attitudes towards the rigidity of segregation and therefore the mobility of suitably qualified colonised people differed. The Lagden Commission dealt with both issues, creating the right supports for a gold-mining industry at the beginning of its eleven year expansion of outputs and profits[2], and for a manufacturing industry just getting into its stride (by 1904 the four territories contained 4 778 factories producing goods valued at £19,3m)[3].

If one understands by 'white supremacy' the power of Capital controlling through a colonist oligarchy, then the sympathetic comment of the journal, "The Nineteenth Century", is a fair summary of the intentions dominating the Lagden Commission:

> The Commissioners ... devised a scheme the adoption of which will safeguard white supremacy almost as effectively as wholesale native disenfranchisement (sic), and be free from the difficulties attending the execution of such a project.[4]

During the period of the sitting of the Lagden Commission (1903-1905), though the Trade Union Movement lapsed into relative apathy[5], the four territories experienced a burst of political activity. The Transvaal Progressive Association (Chamber of Mines interests), the Transvaal Labour Party, and the Transvaal Responsible

1. Cited by D. Welsh, "English-speaking Whites and the Racial Problem", in A. de Villiers (1976), p.226.
2. F. Johnstone (1976), p.94.
3. L. Bozzoli (1973/4), p.60.
4. Sir Godfrey Lagden Papers, May 1905, p.765, CPSA Archives.
5. E. Katz (1976), p.175ff.

Government Association (diamond interests) were formed in 1904 a short time before the Het Volk and Oranje Unie parties of the Boers in 1905, while black political opposition, emerging that year in the form of the African People's Organisation (Dr Abdurahman) in the Cape, had already grown in 1904 through the establishment of the Natal Native Congress, the Orange River Colony Vigilance Association, the Transvaal Congress, the Bapedi Union and the Basuto Association. December 1905 saw the coming to power of the Liberal Party in Britain for whom an accommodation with the Boer generals was almost an article of faith, leading fairly quickly, after Smuts had lobbied in London, to the granting of self-government to the Transvaal in 1906, followed the next year by the Orange Free State. In both the Boer parties came to power, providing the basis of negotiations for the union of the four territories, and of an alliance between Afrikaner farmers and mining magnates[1].

In Natal, however, the introduction in 1906 of a £1 per head Poll Tax on Africans, aggravated by the release of 2,6 million out of 6,5 million acres of Zulu land for what amounted to white purchase, led to the last war of resistance, the Bambata Rebellion, in which roughly three thousand Africans were killed and thirty white militia[2]. The result was inevitable, and for the next 54 years military action would not be considered a viable means of resistance other than in the later mandated territory of South West Africa. Meanwhile, also in Natal, the first acts of Indian passive resistance against the extension of the Pass Laws began, culminating in Ghandi's six-year Satyagraha campaign beginning in 1907.

All of these developments reinforced the segregationist policies advocated by the Lagden Commission, reflecting at a political level the general exploitation practices of the

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1. C. Bundy (1979), p.212.
2. q.v. Roux (1964), pp.87-100.

colonist settlers and their imperial consorts. Ordinance 17, 1904, of the Transvaal, established control of the access by 'unskilled non-European labourers' to the lucrative Rand, and also reserved skilled and semi-skilled jobs for colonials[1]. Though the massive wage gap between Africans and colonials was threatened by labour shortages which tended to drive the price of labour up beyond levels acceptable to the mining industry this led not to a re-evaluation of the viability of the mines, but an extension of exploitation through the importation of Chinese labour, from 1904 to 1907[2]. By 1906 the mines were fully back in production after the war, employing 163 000 labourers[3].

Many Africans gained some degree of semi-skilled experience as they worked, and were available for upgrading at much lower levels of pay than colonial (white) workers could compete with, resulting in strong white labour resistance[4]. It was the award of the Blasting Certificate rather than the increasingly blurred distinction between unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled mine work that structured the labour pattern on the mines[5]. The Certificate was jealously guarded by the 'skilled' white miners from whom Africans were learning by observation and practice; what had begun as a co-incidental racial bias hardened into an ideology of prejudice which formed part of the white supremacy platform of the South African Labour Party established in 1909[6].

What must be recognised though is the simultaneous structural privilege and insecurity of the skilled white workers. Of necessity, they were drawn from Europe and

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1. OX: p.30; and H. Houghton (1967), p.142.
2. F. Johnstone (1976), pp.33-4; S. Moroney, in E. Webster (ed.) (1978), p.34.
3. OX: p.15.
4. E. Katz (1976), p.70.
5. Ibid., p.56.
6. Ibid., pp.448-9.

other European-settled areas by attractive offers, and because the scarcity of skilled labour gave them considerable economic and political power, they were not 'ultra-exploitable'[1]. They were also politically free to organise - in the sense of 'not being subject to the system of forced labour, of being free from extra-economic restrictions on mobility in the labour market[2] - and used this freedom to control through craft-unions the distribution of skills[3], and to form political parties capable of fighting effectively for the exclusion of those that threatened their privilege the most: the ultra-exploitable colonized (black) work-seekers[4]. Thus Riley, the President of the WLTC, could say in 1907 that 'it is a case of who can survive best under the present conditions .... I think the whole question lies under the heading of self-preservation'. He therefore advocated that 'certain territories are set apart for the natives of this country; and with respect to the Indian coolie and the Chinese I would absolutely exclude them altogether'[5].

The elite position of white labour on the gold mines had a precedent at Kimberley in 1891, in the formation of the "Knights of Labour" pledged to a 'war on two fronts', in which white workers set out to 'champion the labouring classes everywhere against monopoly capital and the insidious attack of cheap labour competition'[6]. But it was during the first decade of the new century that the specific structure of the industrial labour force was formalised and colour bars 'became vital subjects for debate and legislative action'[7]. The outcome was that 'the indentured labour system, racial prejudice and the restricted franchise assured that organised

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1. F. Johnstone (1976), p.25.
2. *Ibid*., p.50.
3. *Ibid*., p.55.
4. *Ibid*., p.65.
5. E. Katz (1976), pp.64-5.
6. H.J. Simons and R.E. Simons (1969), pp.44-5.
7. D. Ticktin (1976), p.1.

white labour moved away from, rather than towards working class solidarity'[1]. The first major sign of this process came when 4 000 white mine-workers struck in 1907 against a proposal by mine-owners to permit African and Chinese workers to perform more skilled work at much lower wages[2], (though it is worth pointing out that worker segregation went back to the Black Flag Revolt in early Kimberley).

The crucial point for the purposes of this study concerns the structural basis in the political economy for the division of the forces of labour and the growth of an attendant racist ideology; namely, wage differentials - best described on the side of colonised Africans as a system of exploitation (wage) colour bars[3]. The point was clearly seen even as it emerged: a prescient statement by the executive of the South African Native Congress, contained in a letter to Joseph Chamberlain in 1903, made quite clear that South Africa's labour troubles, only commencing, were not a question of race despite the high feeling on this issue, but a consequence of 'the attempts to reconcile low wages with high living' which 'will continue to agitate the country long after the present generation has departed'[4].

These developments, occasioned largely by the mining industry, went hand in hand with growing co-operation between embryonic national capital and foreign capital. The efficacy of the alliance was sealed not so much by the power of the mine-owners, but by their weakness and dependency on the local governments in the matter of labour supply. The Robinson group of mines precipitated a crisis in the recruiting agency, the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, by pursuing attempts to gain advantages over their competitors in

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1. Ibid., p.22.
2. D. Welsh, "The Growth of Towns", in OX; p.205.
3. q.v. F. Johnstone (1976).
4. Cited in T. Karis and G. Carter (1972), Vol.I, pp.24-5.

recruitment from Mozambique, the major source area. Mining councils were divided rather than united as a result, high level negotiations with the British imperium on both sides complicated matters, and the possible rise in the price of labour seriously threatened many mines[1]. The state had to help, exacting its price for the development of national capital in return.

The variety of changes and events described above, together with the need to unify the vital and expanding railway network, all combined to lend force to negotiations for a union of the four territories which would secure alliances and firmly establish patterns of policy and practice now well-tested. In 1908 and 1909 National Conventions were held in Durban, Cape Town, and Bloemfontein to work out the terms of a union which would ensure the creation of a 'common market of nearly six million people'[2], but under conditions in which Capitalist interests would gain. A memorandum by Lionel Curtis, Assistant Colonial Secretary of the Transvaal, written to Lord Selbourne in January 1907, published in July that year, and widely taken up by South African politicians in the national conventions, provides a keen insight into the nature of the union proposals:

> Union was also desirable so that a uniform 'native policy' could be devised and applied. Only then would white South Africans be secure against African uprisings and only then would the labour potential of the African population be rationally distributed. A united South Africa would be a strong and prosperous state and in due course it would extend its authority over the territories to its north.[3]

The Lagden Commission's proposals also played a strong though not uniform role in the suggestions for segregation policies (already largely in practice), and in

1. A.H. Jeeves, "The Administration and Control of Migrating Labour on the South African Gold Mines", in P. Bonner (ed.) (1979), p.163.
2. H. Houghton (1967), p.15.
3. L. Thompson, "Compromise of Union", in OX; p.347.

those for safeguarding African labour supplies. As Davenport puts it,

> if this meant deliberately depressing wages, or preventing the growth of labour's bargaining power, or playing off white against black workers, or keeping land for Africans in short supply to force men on to the farms, or down the mines, the power balance arrived at in the South African Act made it possible to do these things.[1]

Opposition to the majority trend came from some Cape liberal politicians who saw the Cape Franchise System as the best, if not the most vital measure to meet the aspirations and utilise the leadership of moderate blacks coming into educated petty-bourgeois and bourgeois positions. But their own interests, however noble, were clear in their generally explicit rejection of any mass struggle for the rights of the colonised, and an implicit belief that 'the Natives should be prepared to remain in a minority in the electorate, if not permanently, at least for a very long time'[2]. Even so, the fight for a general qualified franchise was lost, although this did not injure British economic and strategic interests either[3]. In fact Selbourne, though hoping for the extension of the Cape Franchise, found acceptable the decision that 'he did not think the British Government would object to a provision making non-white people eligible for membership of parliament, if the constitution was otherwise acceptable'[4].

He was right. Britain washed its hands through the words of its Prime Minister, Asquith, when he addressed the House of Commons on the South African Act: 'Any control or interference from outside', he said, 'is in the very worst interest of the natives themselves'[5]. British interests were clear: in 1909 in the Cape, Whites (23% of the population) had 85% of the votes; in Natal, the figures

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1. T.R.H. Davenport (1977), p.176.
2. E. Roux (1964), p.59.
3. D. Denoon (1972), p.208.
4. L. Thompson, in OX: p.355.
5. Parliamentary Debates, 5th series, Commons, ix column 1010, 1909: cited in L. Thompson, op. cit., p.357.

were 8% and 99% respectively: no-one had any reason to fear that a transfer of political power to a white minority in the colony would threaten the British position of economic and strategic dominance[1].

But Africans perceived well their situation and the importance of Union. First reactions from those already co-opted into the colonial system were cautious, but they grew into a chorus of protest, motivated a delegation to the Crown (among others), drew the churches into the fray, and eventually culminated after defeat became obvious in the formation of the South African Native National Congress (later the African National Congress) in 1912.

Before concluding, we retrace our steps to comment briefly on black workers. No developed class consciousness was displayed by black workers at this early stage, and groups formed in the compounds were largely concerned 'to protect themselves from the compound police, possibly other groups, and most of all, from the coercive measures of management'[2]. But there was some early organised industrial action and other strategies of defence and protest. Among the latter, following van Onselen's contention that 'evidence of worker consciousness must be sought in the nooks and crannies of the day to day situations', one may include desertion (a major problem in the period under review which led to increasingly sophisticated identification and detection systems)[3], as well as absenteeism, theft and sabotage[4]. Among the former, one can trace back to the turn of the century organised actions of strikes and mass desertions at the Consolidated Main Reef, Geldenhuys, Lanlaagte and Durban Roodepoort Gold Mines, as well as at the Vereeniging Coal Mine and the Brakpan Electrical Works, actions not generally confined to any one 'ethnic' group[5].

1. Ibid., pp.357-8.
2. S. Moroney in E. Webster (ed.) (1978), p.40.
3. Ibid., p.37.
4. D. Pearson (197?), p.17.
5. P. Warwick, in E. Webster (ed.) (1978), p.20.

Thus, in reviewing the period 1903-1910, it becomes clear that the aftermath of the Anglo-Boer War, itself an attempt by foreign capital to establish control over the mineral rich republics following the Jameson Raid debate, represents the period during which national and foreign capital came to terms with each other in a competitive alliance over against labour, in particular, colonised (black) labour. The policies of labour control, the maintenance of the exploitation wage bars, and the segregation of the indigenous people found their first full formulation in the Lagden Commission and their political life in the act of Union which established South Africa as a national state governed by a white settler oligarchy. This pattern in turn influenced the place of white labour, creating of them a privileged aristocracy with significant economic and therefore political clout, and also thereby dividing a potentially dangerous working class alliance. The period also saw the fairly rapid transformation of resistance from military actions to political and labour actions, though the inevitably stronger position in public life of black petty-bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie enabled them to begin to dominate any major resistance for some time, while keeping it largely within the confines of the colonial system and therefore making it predominantly moderate and reformist. Only later would this approach be challenged and seriously discredited.

With these things in mind we proceed to investigate the Church's place in the events of the period.

ii) The Church: Bound in Chains?

> 'I am in favour' said Mr Theron of Richmond, 'of teaching him (the native) what is necessary for him to know in order to become a good subject during life, and to entertain the expectation of better things hereafter: further than that I would not go'.[1]

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1. "Select Committee on the Labour Question, 1890", p.51: cited in F. Wilson, "Farming", in OX: p.125.

The end of the nineteenth century more or less coincides with the transition from a traditional missionary pattern dominating church affairs to the pre-eminence of local congregations and a greater centralization of church affairs. Even mission societies felt this need - in 1904 the first General Missionary Conference of the majority of missions in South Africa was held in Johannesburg to consolidate the results of previous work and plan for a new era[1]. At this stage too, at least 1 265 mission schools were providing for some level of black education[2]. Commentators frequently gave the credit to the churches for their educational efforts, regarding these as of crucial value notwithstanding other failings of the missionary endeavour. While the work of education undoubtedly enabled many people to cope or more, in a rapidly changing and unfamiliar world, one may legitimately ask how the educational process meshed with developments in the political economy, for educational theory and practice are no less ideologically constrained than any other.

In 1903, Co-Adjutor Bishop Gibson of Cape Town sent to all the Anglican Bishops and to others on the Provincial Board of Missions, a letter containing recent resolutions of the Synod of the Diocese of Mashonaland on 'Native Policy' (attaching his own comments on proposals). The intention was to promote a unified policy throughout Southern Africa (the Province went beyond the borders of the four South African territories)[3]. The Bishop of Mashonaland had written that 'natives' should be taught to satisfy their wants in 'the most ordered and <u>nourishing</u> form of manual labour', and called for a conference of all Christian bodies to consider the training of blacks to take their place in the economy. Indeed, 'there should be no

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1. Twenty-four societies were present, including those of all major denominations except the Roman Catholics: GMCSA, 1904-1932, Summary, p.5.
2. G.B.A. Gerdener (1958), p.242.
3. Provincial Board of Missions, Ts, 1903.

loafers either in the kingdom of this world or in the kingdom of heaven'[1]. The Diocese resolved that two things - polygamy, and the absence of wants - made Africans unambitious to work, that the desire to satisfy wants should be engendered, and consequently, that 'the Church and the State should introduce as soon as possible a universal system of industrial training and education'[2].

These pleas were almost immediately echoed in the proposals of the Lagden Commission which placed a heavy emphasis on industrial training because of its 'particular advantage to the Native of fitting him for his position in life'[3]. Most of the Provincial Board agreed unreservedly with these ideas, as did heads of religious 'Native Institutions' who later sent a deputation to Colonel Crewe, the Cape Colonial Secretary, petitioning him to assist in the 'very desirable' change of Africans 'from being so largely an indolent people to an industrial people', by which they meant useful workers[4]. In a presidential address to the Congregational Union of South Africa Assembly, P. Lyon called for the teaching of 'practical industry that each pupil should graduate into a well-prepared worker, enriching his neighbourhood by his toil, and thus becoming a true citizen'[5]. But Dr Wilder of the American Zulu Mission was even more explicit. Speaking to the first General Missionary Conference about 'the savage', he said:

> He must be 'denationalised'; which means that he must see that there is dignity in labour, that there is no magic in the printed page, that instead of by deceit, lust and violence, he must now get possession of material things by working for them; ....[6]

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1. Ibid., original emphasis.
2. Ibid., refers to Synod of August 21, 1902.
3. M. Ashley, "The British Influence on Education in South Africa", in A. de Villiers (1976), p.256.
4. TMC, March 1, 1905.
5. "Cape Times" Weekly Edition, November 1, 1905.
6. GMCSA, Summary, p.14.

At the next conference two years later, the illustrious Andrew Murray, in a paper on "Missionary Pioneer Policy", annunciated four principles of mission in the new century: the first three were essentially religious, the last that 'the Native must be taught the dignity of manual labour'[1].

Thus in the early years of the first decade, the burgeoning industrialisation of South Africa found in Church quarters a remarkably widespread response, one that must have warmed the hearts of the captains of industry as much as it tempered the rough iron of African labour in the fires of an appropriate education. On the other hand, the Church's concern for labour qua labour appears to have been minimal. This viewpoint was powerfully expressed in a letter from L.M. Sanderson to "The Anglican": 'The Church is not in touch with the working man', he declared, 'it does not grasp or understand the working man's aims and ambitions, and his surroundings are beyond the ken of the greater portion of her clergy'. He continued:

> The working man, though presumably able to manage his own affairs fairly satisfactorily, is not allowed to have a voice in Church matters because he is not in a position to contribute largely individually to Church funds .... (Moreover) much of the more useful and important work is transacted in synods and other meetings held in the working hours .... It is not sufficient that the Church should throw open its doors, it must go out into the world, mix with the people, learn of the bitterness and cruelty and oppression and wrongs that exist, ... extract knowledge of the results of the iniquity and uncharitableness it now preaches so guardedly against, and then it will be in a position, if courageous and fearless, to fight the good fight ....[2]

The response came from Bishop Hutton of Kimberley, who resisted strongly the idea that clergy should concern themselves with matters of labour, 'in regard to questions of which they have only a lay opinion'. For him spiritual

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1. Ibid., p.40.
2. "The Anglican", Pretoria Diocese, February 1904.

creation and redemption are the real issues and ordained men should not estrange any no matter what convictions they held[1].

The prevailing attitudes towards the training of blacks for labour extended beyond industry and agriculture into the home. In this case women were the most suitable target to be trained quite specifically, in accordance with European gender role ideas, for domestic work[2]. In Johannesburg the 'Native Mission' began suitable programmes[3], though most domestic workers on the Reef at this stage were 'houseboys'. They, however, should be replaced by 'girls' (about 20 000 needed), Mr Hands recommended to the Board of Missions, one good reason being 'the fact that a number of them would in all probability be driven to work on the farms'[4].

The Church clearly saw no problem in playing its part in the effective distribution of labour to the best advantage of employers. Other members of the same Board of Missions even felt that nothing should be done to disturb the exploitation wage structure. Rev. W.A. Goodwin declared that 'for the ordinary rank and file it is not the duty of the Church to civilize the native into an expensive worker for the sake of the labour proletariat.... Cheap labour has enabled South Africa many developments which otherwise would have been left untouched'[5]; while P.W. Tracey was convinced that 'the Church should endeavour by all means in its power to bring Our Lord's teaching, and that only, home to the Native ... the Church has no call to educate the Natives above the white'[6]. The 'universal cry' that blacks must go to work resounded through the pages of the 1908 Blue Book on Native Affairs[7], and, finding many

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1. Ibid., March 1904.
2. q.v. J. Cock (1980), especially pp.197-228.
3. "The Kingdom", (Diocese of Pretoria), August 1908.
4. Diocese of Pretoria, Board of Missions, Minutes, 1909.
5. Ibid., "Native Education"
6. Ibid., "The Native as a Skilled Workman"
7. CE, August 2, 1909, p.127.

responsive murmurs in the circles of the Church, it summed up the dominant view of the decade. Occasionally though, the contradictions were painfully noted. As the CPSA newspaper noted in April of the following year,

> The building of the mining industry on a labour supply that is secured at the cost of such conditions of indentured labour is a horrible mockery of the "civilizing mission" of the white races.[1]

Many Africans recognised the place they occupied in this 'civilizing mission' and therefore sent their children in considerable numbers to North America for higher education, a factor regarded by religious educational institutions and colonial authorities as undesirable because of the 'notions with which they come back to this country'[2]. This exodus, accompanied as it was by an increasing ability to understand and resist local patterns of education and training, was not to be tolerated - 'The Natives are educating themselves: it is our wisdom to control that education, and see that it is on the right lines', stressed an Anglican tabloid[3].

One cannot avoid the conclusion that the Church's role in the education of the indigenous population was a double-edged sword: it provided access to a world of global dimensions, but it also ensured that by and large they would fit into the appropriate niche determined by and for the dominating class of settler colonists. To what extent was the Church critically and self-critically aware of this? The question could be answered by rejecting it as born of retrospective insight not available under the conditions of time; or by pointing to a person here, a resolution there, which evidences some critical grasp of the situation. But

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1. TCC, April 28, 1909
2. TMC, March 1, 1905
3. "The Kingdom", Diocese of Pretoria, June 1906

the terms of this study make it far more appropriate to consider the attitudes and actions of the Church in relation precisely to that which they were helping to generate - a controlled, adequately trained class of indentured labour. The question then becomes: to what extent was the Church aware of and concerned with what it assisted willy-nilly in creating? This raises the issues of the supply and control of labour and its class suppression.

In these first years of the twentieth century, the job colour bar, though applied in many areas including the mines, received very little attention from Church circles. This was a far cry from the prominence it was to attain somewhat later when the more articulate, usually church educated and related, black advantaged cried out against restrictions on their economic and political mobility, However, that changed, the more fundamental controls remained intact, becoming something of a permanent way of life for the majority. Among the controls were the mechanisms incorporated in the compounds, in contracts and passes, in taxation and recruiting practices, in wage minimisation policies, and, at the root, in the exploitation wage structure applied to the colonised (thus Johnstone distinguishes between 'job colour bars' and 'exploitation colour bars')[1]. Exploitation wage bars, as has been said, were generated by the ultra-minimisation of labour costs sought by the mines as a result of the process of extracting gold from low-grade ore in deep-lying reefs.

The South African Compounds and Interior Mission, established in 1896 on an interdenominational basis, sent church workers into the compounds preaching 'repentance' and 'restitution'. Four afternoons a week visits were made to compound rooms and classes were held each day[2]. As the

1. q.v. F. Johnstone (1976), p.76ff.
2. J.H. du Plessis (1911), p.398.

Wesleyan Reverend J.S. Morris later said, 'mine compounds are a unique field for Christian work and ought to be cultivated'[1]. Those who worked in the compounds clearly recognised the oppressive conditions, but their response appears to have been largely romantic. A representative of the Diamond Fields Compounds Mission, commenting on the harsh and difficult compound life, could with no apparent understanding of the material conditions he encountered, say of their work:

> Sometimes their hands hang down and their knees become feeble in the stress of the hot and weary day; but there is joy in the eventide as memory recalls souls that have passed from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God, and that in many cases these new born babes will become heralds of the Cross in the "Regions Beyond".[2]

However, some advocated that compounds be run along healthy lines, with good food, entertainment and health care - such as those, it was felt, at Kimberley - as these would be a distinct advantage in recruiting and holding labour[3].

The alternative to the compounds for many was the 'location', land separately set aside for the residence of Africans coming to work in the towns. Locations policies go back to the middle of the eighteen-hundreds, as utilised by Sir George Grey, Theophilus Shepstone, and later as part of the Glen Grey Act scheme sponsored by Rhodes. But the controls over labour envisaged in various locations policies were first fully formulated by the Lagden Commission to become a more or less permanent basis of policy ever since[4].

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1. GMCSA: Summary, p.11.
2. SAMSR, (26th), 1907, p.21.
3. CE, August 1, 1906, pp.175-7.
4. The Methodist Church Committee of Privileges sought to investigate the effect of the Lagden proposals on the rights and privileges of Africans, but nothing much ensued. q.v. Minutes of Conference, 1905, p.90.

The growing industrialisation of the core economy led to greater demands for labour, and with the consequent escalating presence of workers in the towns, locations and their associated controls seemed the obvious solution to the settlers for the problem of accommodating the workers, but 'in their place'. As an influential Methodist, the Reverend F. Mason put it, 'the system has its disadvantages, and they are serious enough, but less than those from which we now suffer', by which he meant the presently insufficient control over tribes. Recommending locations, he believed that 'these, when introduced, must be under the control of competent superintendants and strong bodies of police'; and, seemingly unaware of the contradictions involved, he simultaneously declared that 'on the subject of sympathy with the natives and their needs, too much can hardly be said'[1]. But the most important reasons for both locations and compounds - their integral incorporation into the economic and political structures of control and exploitation - were not only well perceived by at least one highly placed clergyman, but also blithely regarded as necessary, and even helpful to the Church and those who were controlled:

> A location, well managed and efficiently superintended, would give (to the Kafirs) within its own limits, far more of the freedom ... than they can possibly have in lodgings scattered about in town ... and would minimise the differences of Christian ministrations and instruction, by concentrating the people into certain defined areas. For that is the real meaning of a native location: concentration, supervision, and discipline.
> This implies, of course, class legislation: and, as such, may fall hardly upon some ... and be objected to by others. But class legislation is often absolutely necessary ... as a temporary, educative, and protective measure, designed for the good of those on whom the legislation is imposed.[2]

In general, the evidence of the archives reveals extraordinarily little concern for material conditions in the compounds and locations, though relevant missionary

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1. Rev. F. Mason, "Native Policy in Natal", 1906, pp.30-2.
2. Co-Adjutor, Bishop Gibson, C.T.: cited in P. Hinchliff (1963), p.195.

societies and denominations record yearly reports on the religious needs and progress of their 'flock',

One practical concern that does frequently emerge, however, is that of illicit liquor sale and consumption. Two sides to the question fuelled the debate: some wanted total prohibition[1], others only well-policed restrictions[2]. Bishop Carter (later Archbishop) recognised that 'the whole purpose of the Liquor Bill (1907) is to attract natives to the mines'[3]; and in fact it was the Chamber of Mines that threw their weight behind a new post-war organization, the South African Alliance for the Reform of the Liquor Traffic, which 'united men keenly interested in the moral and material welfare of South Africa, mine owners, mine managers, merchants, ministers of religion and private citizens'. Van Onselen indicates that ministers of religion 'undertook most of the agitation and public relations for the Alliance', but the general approach was one of restricted supply under State control rather than total prohibition, a position giving the captains of industry all the advantages of both controlled consumption (and thus relatively more efficient labour) and an attraction to labour. But churchmen were left to explain: 'it seems unfair', said Reverend Darragh of the Alliance, 'to deprive them altogether of what they regard as solace'[4]. Why they should need solace does not appear to have been an issue of much note.

One other concern of the workers, frequently a matter of representations from white trade unions on the mines, did gain the attention on several occasions of the "Christian Express" at least: this was 'the alarming spread of phthisis and the high death rate among children'[5].

1. q.v. Johannesburg Evangelical Church Council statements on Native Policy, and the Lagden Commission, TMC, June 13, 1906.
2. CE, August 2, 1909, commenting on the Blue Book of Native Affairs, 1908.
3. Bishop W.M. Carter, Pretoria, ALS, August 2, 1907.
4. C. van Onselen (1974/5), pp.83-4.
5. CE, October 1, 1906, p.213.

However, there is no evidence that churches took any effective action. The same journal also drew attention on occasion to the major means of identity control employed in the northern colonies, namely the pass. Clearly this institution was regarded by the colonised people as a major tool of servitude: during the period under consideration, it required monthly renewal at a shilling a time, and unless it was carried on one's person, one was liable to be thrown into prison. Used in part to control deserters it clearly served a much wider function, including often being used 'for the sole purpose of bullying the Native by police of both colours'[1]. However, once again, this was never much a concern of the churches at the time, only scanty and inconsequential references being found in the records.

On the other hand, the labour supply side of the whole matter received some attention, particularly recruiting practices, though this latter appeared as a concern only towards the end of the first decade. Once again, the "Christian Express" of Lovedale proved its interest in matters economic, focusing in a 1906 article on the common procedure of rural traders overextending credit to indigenous people, and subsequently forcing them to seek work in the towns to repay debts[2]. Frequently, handsome fees were paid to traders by mines and others for recruiting in this manner, which handily established control over the worker in the rural areas as well[3]. Robert Callaway of Butterworth wrote in a letter to the Editor of "The Church Chronicle" that the recruiting system among the Mfengu, Tembu, and Xhosa people of the Transkei was 'the worst form of competition .... It is a game of grab'[4]; and later that same year the "Christian Express"

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1. Ibid., November 1, 1907, pp.167-8.
2. CE, October 1, 1906, p.212.
3. TCC, February 3, 1909.
4. SAMSR, (25th), 1909, pp.2-3.

revealed that

> ... a vicious system of recruiting by labour agencies has sprung up of such magnitude that in the Transkeian Territories alone it employed last year an army of 112 agents and 2 658 runners. These labour agents receive a premium amounting from 40^{s} to 60^{s} and upwards per head, which of course must come ultimately out of the labourer's wages.[1]

Everywhere in the Transkei one is confronted by "i-Joyini" (labour recruiting) wrote Godfrey Callaway, compared to which all other matters were ephemeral: 'It means many things this ugly word', he said, 'it means one thing to the Native, another to the mine-owner, another to the labour agent ... (it is) competition run wild .... When it is considered that this system is in operation all over the country we may well prepare for a Nemesis'[2]. But the inevitable retribution would be a long time coming, for the 'unseen power behind which demanded labour at any price' had great forces on its side, being prepared in the matter of recruiting even to offer large sums to mission societies for assistance[3].

One such force was taxation in its various forms. The ambiguity of the Church on economic issues comes out interestingly and clearly in the discussion of taxation recommendations of the Lagden Commission by the same "Christian Express" which so strongly condemned recruiting practices. Concluding that the poll tax was preferable to the hut tax, the journal wrote that 'the direct taxation of the Native, though an evil, is a necessary evil. It is a tax on barbarism, not that it is, as it were, designed to penalise barbarism'[4]. Arguing against the use of taxation to force labour, it nevertheless agreed that from a commercial standpoint 'it would naturally be expected that in a country like South Africa the immense potentialities of the Native as

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1. CE, August 2, 1909, p.127.
2. Ibid., March 1, 1910, pp.44-5.
3. "At the Gold Mines", CPSA Pamphlet, December 1910.
4. CE, September 1, 1906, p.190.

a source of revenue would be patent to the most obtuse mind ....'[1].

Summing up, it may be seen that the Church paid little attention to the most fundamental structures of exploitation and control, usually indicating if anything an uncritical, favourable attitude to contemporary practices. Contracts are not commented on at all and nowhere could a direct reference be found to exploitation wage structures or wage minimisation policies (such as the maximum average and loafer ticket systems on the mines). Recruiting practices are an exception, but even there the criticism tends to land upon the traders and agents rather than the system itself. Migrant Labour with all its destructive effects in the South African social formation is mentioned only in the form of a comment on the difficulty of 'Christian work' among the rapidly changing population of the locations, though an advantage was seen in the resultant transmission of the Church's message to 'their distant kraals'[2]. Liquor traffic, frequently of concern, is viewed only as a moral problem, and even then the legal liquor manufacturing syndicates who benefit from it are not analysed as part of the problem, even among those calling for total prohibition.

Voices critical of the prevailing economic system and its trends were rare, the most highly placed being the Bishop of Lebombo (Mozambique), the only member of the Provincial Board of Missions to react strongly against the resolutions on 'Native Policy' proposed by the Diocese of Mashonaland and supported by Co-Adjutor Bishop Gibson; he wrote, from a laissez-faire liberal point of view, that Africans should not be forced by various pieces of legislation and practice into labour, for 'by God's law no man is bound to do more than is necessary to keep himself and those dependent on him', and that 'no man has the right to throw away his chance of leisure time'[3] Church synods, conferences, documents, papers, and

1. <u>Ibid</u>., p.192.
2. SAMSR, (23rd) 1904, p.28.
3. Provincial Board of Missions, Ts, 1903.

journals in the first decade reveal minimal understanding or immediate concern with the issues described above, the single exception being the "Christian Express", later to be renamed "South African Outlook". In short, the initial response to the question with which we began - is the Church critically and self-critically aware of the political economy within which it had to work? - is in the negative.

iii) Exclusion and Resistance

Though the generalised system of Capitalist exploitation was broadly acceptable to all settler groups and their Churches, the direction in which it should develop carried no popular consensus. Segregation, the dominant political emphasis in colonial policy at the turn of the century and after, could be viewed in a number of permutations, from virtual total exclusion on the one hand to partial exclusion with a relatively high degree of inter-group mobility on the other. These two tendencies reflected the common perception of a real difference between 'Boer' and 'Redneck' respectively, a distinction that has dominated settler politics in the twentieth century without either group disagreeing about settler dominance of the society as a whole.

Within this framework one may group the political and ideological debates beginning with the Treaty of Vereeniging and culminating in the Act of Union, though the dénouement lay some thirty-eight years ahead. If the previous analysis of the Church's relationship to the political economy points in the right direction, one should expect to find the 'English-speaking' denominations reflecting in general a 'Redneck' perspective on political matters, particularly at the point of adequate provision for black mobility into white society, while reacting negatively to any black resistance that attacked settler economic and political dominance as a whole. A liberal, often social democratic, philosophy; a large black constituency; the close link of many black

bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie to the Church; and the British connection, are particularly relevant aspects for the Anglican and Methodist Churches in these respects.

Well before the mining ventures it had become clear that settler and indigenous populations were to face a common, inextricably linked future[1]. By the end of the nineteenth century social stratification was part of the equation, described by one Churchman as a pyramid: 'the great coloured population; Kafir and half-caste at the base, being first in order and number; above that is the next stratum in order and member, the Dutch; and the English element comes in last and fewest at the apex'[2]. However, the Dutch and English together could be seen to be basically at one over against the colonised groups, the division by colour being in effect a class division, somewhat imprecisely described by Co-Adjutor Bishop Gibson in a sermon as follows:

> ... the average white man feels as if, by a law of nature, by some inherent superiority, he has a right to the land: and the native has no right to be there, except as his (the white man's) servant.[3]

The same distinction appeared in different language in the Lagden Commission report's discussion of 'Christianity and civilization'. Here the important role of religion gains recognition in the 'great struggle between the powers of good and evil, of light and darkness, of enlightenment and ignorance, of progress and tradition, of Christianity and heathenism'[4]. But the Lagden Commission, as its terms of reference make clear, intended no more nor less than a common

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1. Rev. H. Calderwood, Caffres and Caffre Missions, 1858, p.20.
2. A.B. Webb, "Colonial Church Expansion", Pamphlet, 1894/5, (CPSA).
3. A.G.S. Gibson, October 24, 1897, C.T., (CPSA).
4. Sir G. Lagden, Papers, 25 July 1907: para. 272, p.52, (CPSA).

policy of settler domination through a federation of the colonies in a Capitalist economy[1]. The debate over segregation thus came to a focus in the work of the Commission, and it concerned the right formula for maintaining a good labour supply now essential to the process of industrialization, without according effective power to those who laboured, while controlling their potentially threatening presence in the towns.

On the whole the general tenor of the Commission Report found much favour with the Church, especially as the Commission had warmly commended the Church's role in educating blacks to their place in white society and moderating their resistance through moral suasion[2]. Thus the South African Missionary Society proudly noted that 'no more satisfying justification of the missionary work of the churches has ever been penned'[3]. The general verdict of the "Christian Express" was that the Commission had 'done its work well' and produced a sane, moderate Report, which, taken as a whole, is neither unfair nor unfriendly towards the great Native interests with which it deals'[4]. Bishop Gaul went further: 'It might well be called the prose edition of Rudyard Kipling's "White Man's Burden"', he charged, 'and will be a Guide Book to the Statesmen of South Africa for many years'[5]. And "The Kingdom" saw it as a 'great document', for

> what work in the world is more worth doing than the guidance of savages into civilization, by the gradual imposition of responsibilities, the teaching them of the value of such responsibilities by a share in the consequent burdens, the exercise of a firm and just control from outside, while habits of self-control are being formed within, and the implanting in the native of a confidence and trust in the justice, the integrity, and benevolence of the white man.[6]

1. The terms were stated at the Inter-colonial Conference, Bloemfontein, 1903; q.v. "The 19th Century", May 1905, Sir G. Lagden Papers.
2. SAMSR, (23rd), 1904, p.27.
3. Ibid., p.21.
4. CE, March 1, 1905, pp.33-4.
5. Bishop W.T. Gaul, "Charge to Diocesan Synod", Mashonaland, July 1906.
6. March 1905, Diocese of Pretoria.

In an address to the Congregational Union Assembly, its president also regarded the work of the Commission as 'encouraging to the negrophilist', but felt that it should allow Africans greater mobility into the dominant society through the right freely to purchase individually titled land, and a qualified franchise with stringent education and income tests. Many blacks could then be made allies rather than a menace. Here then was the traditional liberal view of limited segregation; its subsequent importance in settler politics and the English-speaking churches makes it worth quoting further:

> ... a certain proportion will accept and profit by industrial, technical, and theoretical education; that this proportion, to whom it is our very present duty to offer it - that this proportion may be very much increased through wise encouragement, so that the people, instead of being a menace, as some fear, will prove a help to the state, taking their proportion of the burden and of responsibility.[1]

Another solution to the problem of native policy, one which moved toward total political exclusion, in many respects anticipating the intentions of Apartheid though in a different form, was proposed by the "Christian Express". The best solution, the editors thought, would be to group together existing native reserves, in the form of small Protectorates providing a 'homeland' for Africans where they would be 'free men (sic) in their own country' and 'free to go and work on the mines when they liked'[2]. But whatever political ideas might come forward, the fundamental structures of control and exploitation were not up for serious question, a realisation rather quaintly expressed as early as 1903 by the Bishop of Lebombo who, comparing the existing government to a 'company' run by 'directors' charged to produce 'dividends' for their constituent 'shareholders', wrote:

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1. "Cape Times" Weekly Edition, November 1, 1905.
2. CE, July 1, 1906, pp.153-4.

'Does not our political difficulty with regard to natives arise very largely from the natural desire not to admit more shareholders into the Company?'[1].

After the Lagden Commission, attention naturally focused on the planned federation of the colonies. At a very early stage it was clear that the British preferred a general extension of the Cape Franchise, to either the status quo or total exclusion, for they believed that no threat to the settlers rested therein whereas black opposition would thereby be weakened and divided through the incorporation of the most articulate, monied, and educated blacks. In these matters the Anglican and Methodist Churches by and large concurred.

The franchise issue had already raised its head in the Lagden Commission report which had recommended limited access of blacks to the vote, 'not more than sufficient to provide an adequate means for the expression of native views and the ventilation of their grievances, if any ....'[2]. To this the Johannesburg Evangelical Church Council gave assent, adding that those suitably advanced 'should receive special consideration, and should be exempt from all special laws applying to natives'[3]. The common desire to see 'the rights of the Natives secured in the framing of the new Constitution' was expressed at the General Missionary Conference of 1906[4], and found its political focus among the Cape liberals, including W.P. Schreener and John X. Merriman[5]. Bishop Gaul wrote in 1908 to the "London Times", possibly to influence leading British opinion prior to a planned visit of a black protest delegation, arguing that the Act of Union would permit eventual extension of citizenship, and should not be

1. Provincial Board of Missions, "Native Policy Proposals", Ts. 1903.
2. "The 19th Century", p.765, May 1905; Sir G. Lagden Papers.
3. TMC, June 13, 1906.
4. GMCSA: Summary, p.22.
5. On Schreiner, q.v. G.B. Pyrah (1955), p.117.

unduly interfered with, for

> any attempt to raise final issues on the native franchise question will arouse local state prejudices, local traditional enmities, and endager the honourable, but somewhat delicate understanding arrived at ....
> ... such discussion would even injure the best native interests and welfare ... and would encourage a fictitious political Ethiopianism, a deadly foe to the slowly but surely growing sympathy between the races.[1]

But Gaul's confidence was misplaced, as became clear when Merriman later used precisely his argument to put down as 'agitators' an earnest delegation from the Evangelical Church Council which urged a rethink on the proposals of the National Convention and its capitulation to what was regarded as an unjust level of African political exclusion in the northern colonies[2]. As the compromises of Union became clear, church protest gathered. Fifty clergy in the Cape Peninsula signed a protest against the political colour bar clauses[3]; leaders of all the main Protestant churches, including the Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, Unitarian, Baptist and Evangelical Church Council addressed a letter to the National Convention expressing 'very widespread regret' at the exclusion of blacks from the franchise clauses[4]; and newly enthroned Archbishop Carter confessed in a letter that the position publicly expressed by Lord Milner, Lord Selbourne, and Cecil Rhodes should be upheld, though to be sure, 'citizenship is one thing, if men are qualified to exercise the rights of citizenship, but social intercourse is another thing...'[5].

Calling it 'the shadow that haunts us', the Anglican provincial newspaper criticised the Union constitution, pronouncing that 'self-interest and self-preservation, have

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1. Bishop W.T. Gaul, Papers, 1908, (CPSA).
2. TMC, April 6, 1909.
3. TCC, March 31, 1909.
4. Ibid., May 13, 1909; also L. Thompson, "The Compromise of Union", in OX: p.356.
5. Archbishop Wm Carter, ALS, August 11, 1909.

compelled the unification of the European rulers'[1]. The Methodist Conference of 1909 too called for 'the fullest consideration' of the interests of colonised groups, though it considered opinion upon the details within the sphere of ordinary politics and thus not its business[2].

Notwithstanding all the criticisms, the actual fact of Union, once realised, was remarkably easily accepted by most who had warned of the general political exclusion of the indigenous population. The Methodist Conference of 1910, in a special address to Gladstone, the first Governor-General, spoke of the new hope that 'to the various races of South Africa would come all the blessings of peace, prosperity and progress which it is confidently expected may result from the Union of these colonies'[3]. And to the British Conference it wrote that 'with you we pray that this Union may give to our land political stability, permanent peace, as well as commercial prosperity ... to the furtherance of the Kingdom of Christ'[4]. In his charge to the Diocesan Synod, the Bishop of Zululand acknowledged the injustice of the colour line', yet declared it an obligation 'to loyally accept the Union in the letter and the Spirit ... to serve it as a duty to God'[5], and in similar vein a pastoral letter from the Bishop of St Johns held for that 'on the whole it marks, as we may thankfully believe, a real step forward in the history of our country'[6]. One clear voice spoke out on Union Day itself: at a special thanksgiving service in Port Elizabeth, the mayoral chaplain the Reverend W. Friend boldly proclaimed the aggrievement of blacks at the terms of Union, stating that

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1. TCC, February 17, 1909.
2. "Minutes of Conference", 1909, p.149 and p.152.
3. Ibid., 1910, p.158.
4. Loc. cit., p.163.
5. Bishiop's Charge, 1909.
6. Bishop J.W. Williams, Diocese of St John's, April 10.

> these people are not in Church today thanking God for the Union; indeed it was with reluctance that they abstained from proclaiming this birthday of a nation a Day of Fasting and Humiliation.[1]

From another source - the newspaper run by John Dube, a leading African nationalist - came the confirmation of the truth implicit in that thanksgiving address:

> ... when there are signs of being handed over to a political oligarchy, men would be dull indeed if they supposed that millions of people were going to be made into mere political chattels to suit the whims and avarice of a privileged few.[2]

Dube's warning was not of course idle; in fact the years leading up to Union had already seen resistance changing its nature in an industrial context. We have already had occasion to refer to early strikes among black workers[3], but it was the Bambata (Poll Tax) Rebellion which was perhaps the turning point, the last major military campaign of resistance of the old era[4]. Numerous small incidents connected to refusals to pay the poll tax finally resulted in two white policemen being killed: martial law was imposed, several people executed in the face of contrary advice from Britain, and at last chief Bambata took a number of people into open rebellion. The conflict flared into a large unco-ordinated campaign ending in a 'massive slaughter' of the rebels and the crushing of resistance[5]. Natal authorities blamed the unrest on 'Ethiopianism' and criticised missionary education and influence on Africans, especially that of the American Board Mission[6]. The attack on Mission "Amakolwa" (Christianised Africans) was strongly refuted by the churches,

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1. "Eastern Province Herald", 1 June, 1910.
2. CE, April 1, 1909, p.68.
3. Ibid., p.10.
4. q.v. Shula Marks, The Reluctant Rebellion, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1970).
5. T.R.H. Davenport (1977), p.153.
6. D. Welsh (1971), p.309.

and the Commissioner of Natives absolved them of general blame. In any case, they were, it seems, as divided over the rebellion as other tribesmen[1].

The prevailing attitude of the churches to the whole affair appears to consist on the one hand, of support for the firm and vigorous suppression of rebellion whether open or covert (but to be tempered with only the necessary amount of force), and on the other, of an affirmation (in itself revealing) of the 'continued and undoubted loyalty' of church members to the throne[2]. The Reverend F. Mason subsequently proposed that controls over chiefs should be established, in the form of making them stipendiaries of the government and forcing them to act only with the concurrence of European magistrates[3].

To digress for a moment, another interesting aspect of the Bambata Rebellion is revealed in Sir Godfrey Lagden's papers. Whereas Davenport doubts that the rising could have been co-ordinated in the Johannesburg mine compounds[4], a private letter from Lagden to Lord Selbourne indicates that migrant workers were regularly acting as messengers between the two areas[5]. But whatever the dynamics of resistance, the churches clearly saw only one possible response - loyalty to the colonial authorities.

This attitude was well-expressed by the Reverend Robson of the Wesleyan Church in response to riots among 'coloureds' in Cape Town, which centred around exploitative and oppressive housing conditions. Though Robson sympathised with their legitimate grievances, he spoke strongly against 'agitators - socialistic, political and religious', who were

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1. Shula Marks, "Christian African Participation in the 1906 Zulu Rebellion", cited in D. Welsh (1971), p.311.
2. Wesleyan Methodist Church, "Minutes of Conference" 1906, p.121; SAMSR, (25), 1906, p.7.
3. Rev. F. Mason, "Native Policy in Natal", Pamphlet, 1906, p.9.
4. T.R.H. Davenport (1977), pp.152-3.
5. Sir G. Lagden, Papers, ALS, March 1, 1906.

urging organisation of the aggrieved; he demanded that those aggrieved should nevertheless 'so conduct themselves that both master and mistress would desire above all things to keep them'[1]. If any confirmation of the role of the churches in resistance was needed, it is contained in Lagden's own summary towards the end of the decade of his experience with the churches and their missions:

> of one thing we are quite certain, which I want to emphasise, and that is, that in times of anxiety, trouble, and disturbance, the loyalty of the Native Christians has been proved to the hilt. Therefore, I am convinced that our best safeguard against rebellion and seditious agitation in the danger zones of Africa or India is to be found in the spread of Christianity. As Christianity extends it ensures our government the faithful adherence of a strong section of orderly, well-disposed people.[2]

Their remains, however, one interesting exception to the rule: the reaction of the Diocese of Pretoria to the miner's strike of 1907. Though Bishop Carter thought the strike 'inopportune' and 'foolish'[3], he had sought arbitration from the Chief Justice[4], and the Diocesan journal pronounced 'nothing sinful or wrong in the principle of the strike'. In a quite remarkable piece of theology, the same editorial declared that it was

> ... not altogether fanciful to describe the exodus of Israel from Egypt as at least a great political deliverance if not the emancipation from tyranny and oppression of a horde of slaves who went out on strike against their masters. Moses would thus aptly be described as a strike-leader appointed by Almighty God to rescue the oppressed, and to place them in surroundings in which they might be able to live a free, healthy life, and be slowly and surely educated for their great future as the chosen nation of God.[5]

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1. TMC, August 21, 1906.
2. "The Mission Field", December 1909, p.364.
3. Bishop W.A. Carter, ALS, 1907, June 2.
4. Ibid., May 26.
5. "The Kingdom", June 1907.

Why the first major strike in South Africa should occasion such insight is not easy to determine, though the issues involved - resistance to the importation and use of cheap Chinese labour, the encroachment of both African and Chinese into white-controlled skilled labour categories, and the replacement of British immigrant miners by Afrikaners in breaking the strike[1], (which Bishop Carter foresaw)[2] - would suggest a close identification with the British settler 'labour aristocracy'[3].

Quite evidently, the churches, distinctly disquieted by the political exclusions of suitably 'civilized' blacks, spoke and acted accordingly. Yet their solicitude, grievously limited by an essentially British social democratic perspective within the dominant class, vanished in the face of any real threat to the political economy upon which they fed. Herein lies the solution to the apparent contradiction between a church championing the oppressed while expressing deep antipathy towards any immediate resistance on their part.

An investigation of the relationship between the settler churches and the African Independent Churches should reveal the ambiguity at another level. The generalized term "Ethiopianism" was frequently given to the phenomenon of the independent churches, though it is also used by Sundkler in a more technical manner in contrast to "Zionism"[4]. The exact extent of the relationship to traditional Christianity among the various and rapidly multiplying independent churches covered a very wide range, from almost nil to a virtually western structure of liturgy and organisation. But one factor united all in the 'compound of the religions,

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1. E. Webster (1978), p.13.
2. Bishop W.A. Carter, ALS, 1907, June 10.
3. E. Katz (1976), p.77.
4. B. Sundkler (1961), pp.38ff and 47ff.

social and political aspirations' which the independent movement represented: 'In one aspect it is the reply of the Native to the unfriendly, almost hostile attitude of the colonist'[1].

In an address to the General Missionary Conference of 1904, the Rev. Mr Bridgman characterised the movement as one motivated by a "National Spirit", and the adherent as 'anti-white, hostile to the colonists, and ... very apt in politics'[2]. That this should be so may be understood in terms of the beginnings of industrialisation: 'Africans of many different tribes were meeting one another as labourers on the railways or in the mines ... The conception of a common Church from which the whites would be excluded had a wide appeal'[3].

The forces producing forms of religiously conceived resistance can already be seen in the early parts of the nineteenth century in the person of the prophet Makana (or Makanda) who acted as war doctor in chief Ndlambi's defeat of the colonist-supported Ngqika in 1818, and in his subsequent attack on Grahamstown[4].

Makana's song, explicitly anti-colonist, expressed their resistance in no uncertain terms:

> To chase the white men from the earth
> and drive them to the sea.
> The sea that cast them up at first
> For AmaXhosa's curse and bane
> Howls for the progeny she nursed
> To swallow them again.[5]

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1. Rev. F.B. Bridgman, American Board Mission, 1903; cited in D. Welsh (1971), p.254.
2. Rev. F.B. Bridgman, GMCSA: Summary, pp.20-21.
3. E. Roux (1964), p.78.
4. Ibid., pp.13-14.
5. Ibid., p.13.

But Makana's purely African millenialism found a counterpart in the Christian inspired Ntsikana who was councillor to Ngqika[1]. The latter selectively accepted the incoming culture and its religion, producing an indigenous Christian theology and opting for evolutionary change within the dominant system[2]. Within the parameters of these two options - that of Makana and that of Ntsikana - the independent church movement resisted colonisation with varying degrees of ambivalence in relation to the doctrines of the settler churches[3]. Thus it is not surprising to find widespread white antagonism to the independent movement around the turn of the century, Ethiopianism frequently being blamed for political hostility to the settlers even when little evidence of any leading role on their part was present[4].

The characteristics of resistance in religious form were, nevertheless, manifest among many independent groups. J.W. Houston, in an article tracing the origins of the Ethiopian churches back to ex-Wesleyan the Reverend Nehemiah Tile (at Qokolweni, 1884), indicates that 'as to the political significance of the movement there was never the slightest doubt'[5]. The black American influence on some groups must be regarded with particular suspicion another clergyman pointed out, for here is found 'a political movement disguised as a religious one', whose aim is 'to teach the native the country belongs to him and stir him up to assert his right'[6]. Similarly the Lieutenant-Governor of the Orange River Colony specifically warned students at Thaba 'Nohu native training institution against American influenced independent churches: 'I earnestly implore both you and other natives of this colony', he said, 'to think twice before separating yourselves from the churches over which white missions have control'[7].

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1. J. Hodgson, Ntsikana's Great Hymn: An African expression of Christianity, 1815-1821; monograph, UCT, 1980, p.2.
2. Ibid., p.3.
3. L. Kuper, "African Nationalism", in OX: p.442.
4. Ibid., p.436.
5. TMC, July 24, 1906.
6. Ibid., September 26, 1905.
7. Sir G. Lagden papers, May 1905.

Radical missionary Joseph Booth, who helped form an independent movement under the slogan "Africa for the African"[1], was probably the target of another Wesleyan church attack made by the Reverend W. Smith-Foggit. The latter declared that the movement, influenced as it was by American ideas, would 'undermine the loyalty of the Native' and be able 'to gather up the scattered threads of disaffection among our Native tribes and bond them into the cable of rebellion'. It should therefore be made clear to them that these attempts would 'bring them into conflict with the only Empire which has declared for the freedom and just treatment of the subject races of the world'[2]. The one clear case in which settler fears were fully realised was that of the Bambata Rebellion. Though there is no evidence that the independent churches fomented the militant response, it is true that Moses Mbhele of the Ibandhla Li Ka Mosi church, born out of the Dutch Reformed Mission, acted as military chaplain to Bambata's forces[3]. Accusations against 'Ethiopianism' also appear to have been made in respect of the Herero Uprising in then German West Africa, but again no confirmation was obtained[4].

Interestingly, some testimony to the positive role of the independent churches among workers, particularly in respect of providing meaningful material benefits within a highly exploitative industrial environment, is available[5], and a clear connection between church affiliation and class may be detected[6]. But the major concern of critics remained the potential political threat implicit within the movement, and only when independent groups could unquestionably be ascertained as being non-political, or when they came within the orbit of a settler church's control, did the criticism abate.

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1. E. Roux (1964), pp.84-5.
2. TMC, October 16, 1906.
3. GMCSA: Summary, p.33.
4. TMC, March 20, 1906.
5. S. Moroney, "Mine worker interest on the Witwatersrand, 1901-1912", in E. Webster (1978), p.42.
6. M. Wilson, "Growth of Peasant Communities", in OX: p.82.

Thus on the one hand, despite its threat to missionary work[1], a common consensus among the missions was that 'Thiopianism (sic) needs careful guidance - not repression'[2] (pre-eminent among groups regarded as worth guiding was the Order of Ethiopia, officially attached to and supported by the CPSA)[3]. On the other hand, only in the latter part of the 1920s did the fears finally subside[4], though even then American-influenced movements such as that of "Dr Wellington" Butelezi, who was strongly influenced by Marcus Garvey, were strongly opposed by churchmen without much consideration for the grievances being articulated[5]. Though not conclusive, the summary impression remains strong that the churches displayed in their response to the independent church movement those same ambiguous contradictory characteristics and ideologically limited tolerance which we have observed in other respects.

Justifiably therefore, one may conclude that initial suspicions of the Church's ideological captivity to the dominant Capitalist colonial political economy, of their functional dependence on the ruling class, and of a distinct inability to bring to bear a critical and self-critical awareness of the implications of this situation, have been confirmed in a quite striking manner. Indeed, a very few references were discovered which did not fit the general pattern, and even these, analysed above at various points, have not finally escaped suspicion. The method of analysis adopted has in this sense proved to be rather merciless. However, a clearer picture of the specific religious structure

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1. GMCSA: Summary, p.11.
2. Ibid., pp.20-21.
3. Discussions on the Order of Ethiopia in its origins and development can be found in Pan-Anglican Papers, Rt Rev. W.M. Cameron, Pan-Anglican Congress, 1908; C. Lewis and G.E. Edwards, Historical Records of PCSA, 1934, pp.217-226; and D. Sundkler (1961), p.41.
4. q.v. "Forward", November 1, 1925; also July 1927, p.16; and TMC June 20, 1927.
5. q.v. B. Edgar (1974/5), pp.100-109.

of the dominant ideology necessitates some discussion of the Church's self-understanding in relation to the events and underlying dynamics of the period under consideration. After a fashion, such a picture summarises the data investigated and the conclusions reached at this point.

iv) Church and Ideology

Imperial ideals, lauded by Bishop Gaul of Mashonaland as late as 1908[1], were still deeply influential after the Anglo-Boer War. The term 'civilisation' summed up many of these ideals, and though its conscious meaning might have been different for missionaries (who saw civilisation 'Christianity, the abandonment of traditionalism, and education'), as well as other colonists (who meant by it controlled, cheap, and freely available labour)[2], the interests of the two groups were certainly consistent with each other in most respects. In a memorandum to Lord Selbourne, Sir Godfrey Lagden regarded Christianity as 'the basis of our civilization' into which the indigenous 'barbarians' must be introduced, yet at the same time he viewed newly recruited labourers as 'being not unlike baboons', though those who had worked for Europeans for ten years or more manifested in his opinion slight improvement 'in appearance and apparent intelligence'[3]. As crude as these observations were, they reflect a mindset by no means uncommon in the Church documents of the time, as is reflected in photographs of black women in different stages of "advancement" from 'primitive' to 'finished product' (see following page)[4]. Perhaps the most concrete example of what was understood as civilization for the African is contained in a report of the Diocese of Mashonaland on St Augustine's mission station at Penhelanga. Here the method was adopted of removing blacks from their 'kralls' (sic) in order to bring them under the continual supervision of the clergy.

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1. q.v. John Ellison (ed.), Church and Empire, 1908, CPSA.
2. D. Welsh (1971), p.53.
3. Sir G. Lagden Papers, ALS, May 28, 1906.
4. Veld and Africana Pictorial, vol.VI, no.12, Dec. 1903.

The Raw Material

The Finished Product

In this context, they learnt

> methods of punctuality, obedience, respect, truthfulness, industry and cleanliness. No lax familiarity is tolerated, no indiscriminate hand-shaking or loitering about with books, and no time is unoccupied. Three hours and a half are given to study in the morning, and four hours labour in the afternoon, unpaid. ....[1]

Along with these marks of 'civilisation' went an education as to their proper place in society:

> I may add, we do not address our pupils as bretheren, or tell them they are our equals. They are taught that a fundamental law of Christianity is humility, 'to esteem others better than themselves'. ... We try to impress on our people that they are to live by the production of their hands, and will prosper as they learn to dignify and glorify common labour and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life.[2]

Reverend Mason in Natal went further than most in openly demanding that missionaries should look at things from the colonist's point of view, especially in civilising Africans in their general duty towards what they ought to be - servants, obedient to the government and its various officers[3]. Yet such views clearly had wide currency, as is obvious in the overwhelming support from the Provincial Board of Missions for Bishop Gibson's contention that 'possibly it may be God's will that most of them should always remain labourers, herd men, domestic servants, and the like, and that only a few should come to the front'; moreover, he added, the Church should not 'force them upwards, she only desires that they should have the Gospel and a fair field'[4].

Such an ideology, eminently suited to the labour needs of industrialists and farmers, while leaving open the possibility of acceptance into the colonist society and its

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1. Quoted by Lieut. Col. R. Chester-Master, "Pan Anglican Papers", Pan Anglican Congress, 1908.
2. Loc. cit.
3. Rev. F. Mason, "Native Policy in Natal", p.13ff.
4. Provincial Board of Missions, Ts, 1903.

dominating structures of a small number of black bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie, contains no promise to the labouring population other than that oppression shall be humanely carried out under 'Christian democratic rule'[1]. The functional dependence of the churches on the rulers of the day manifested itself in the Cape at least in the public practice by which government officials took part in most religious functions[2], and it could also be seen in the Methodist Church's concern to find pastors acceptable to 'the best class of our middle class'[3].

The judgment that the churches were ideologically captive is not merely "retrospective wisdom". Responding to a critique by Callaway of his somewhat accusatory view on missions[4], Dudley Kidd described the missionaries as men 'burning with zeal' who, imagining that 'a divine religion and a ready-made civilization' was sufficient, 'did not foresee all the strange consequences that inevitably arose from the cross-currents of commerce and politics'[5]. What was not apparent to earlier missionaries could not be said to be a matter of ignorance in the Church towards the end of the first decade of this century at least, not only because of Kidd's widely-read book but also because numerous testimonies to various commissions[6], statements from black organisations and press, and voices of colonised workers had early on made all the important points.

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1. q.v. the later interpretation of 'Trusteeship' in the "Congress Youth League Manifesto", March 1944, in E. Karis and G. Carter (1972), Vol. II, p.303.
2. q.v. Rev. F. Mason, "Native Policy in Natal", 1906, p.30.
3. TMC, September 26, 1905.
4. G. Callaway, "Kafir Socialism", East and West, Vol.VI, 1908.
5. D. Kidd, "Kafir Socialism and Missions", East and West, Vol. VII. 1909.
6. For example, q.v. "Testimony of Rev. E.T Mpela and 6 others of the Native Vigilance Association of the OR Colony", to the SANAC, September 23, 1904; cited in T. Karis and G. Carter (1972), pp.35-6.

Yet it must not be assumed that the prevailing religious ideology was static. In fact the hypothesis of its intimate connection to the dominant political economy demands a changing ideology in accordance with transformations in the political economy. In the early period this is in fact evident in a growing acceptance among the previously "integrationist" English-speaking churches of segregationist policies, beginning as we have said with the Lagden Commission proposals. At this point, 'civilization' became not simply an assumed good, but also a problem in its industrial, urban character which appeared to produce 'drunkenness', 'hypocrisy', 'arrogance', 'lust', 'immorality', 'covetousness', and so on[1].

This view of decadence caused among blacks by contact with the negative aspects of 'white' civilisation matched the idea that black should be separated from it as far as possible, and be returned to their traditional life - or what was left of it. 'Native Churches' organically connected to settler churches rather than independent, were proposed[2]; so were separate ministries, ostensibly necessary because of 'the limitations imposed on us by the prejudices of our people'[3]. Black agents were now regarded as necessary to Christianising Africa, for, as one cleric put it in a rather unfortunate metaphor, 'the demands are great and the fields as "already white to the harvest"'[4]. Even polygamy had proposals for its positive acceptance[5]; and towards the end of the decade it became necessary to develop a specific and definite 'Church Native Policy' to meet the changing situation[6].

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1. U. Kistner, Africa Perspective, no.13, 1979, p.68.
2. CE, July 1, 1905, pp.98-9.
3. Provincial Missionary Conference, Minutes, October 1906.
4. Rev. J.S. Morris, Paper, GMCSA, Summary, p.11, (1904).
5. Ibid., p.15; Rev. A. Goodwin, Paper.
6. Board of Missions, Diocese of Pretoria, Minutes, January 7, 1909

As may be expected, the standard view among the churches on politics as such relected a similar ideological position - not one of detachment so much as of opportunism[1]. One learns with interest of an early approval of socialism, as yet undeveloped and lacking sophistication in South Africa[2]. But what an approval: while agreeing on the basis of 'the Gospel of Jesus Christ' with the overthrow of 'tyranny, despotism, greed, corruption and every institution and system that unjustly interferes with the inalienable rights of man, or that tends in any way to lower, degrade, and coarsen his life', a somewhat remarkable distinction between 'Christian' and 'material' socialism was drawn, thereby pulling the teeth of any serious action and virtually repeating the clarion cry of bourgeois religion:

> ... Christian Socialism differs from what we may call material Socialism. The Watchwords of the latter are "higher wages", "shorter hours", "better conditions", and so forth, all of which may be, and often are, justifiable demands; but in Christian Socialism, character always comes first and environment after.
> ... it is the cleansing of the heart and the upbuilding of the character of the individual that lies at the base of a new social order.[3]

In any event, two years after its 'approval' of socialism, the same journal recanted of its brief and deceptive flirtation with the idea[4]. The only other example of an article or document from within the established churches critical of the capitalist economic system came in the form of a reprint of a sermon by the Bishop of Birmingham in England[5].

Not surprisingly, the doctrine of the individual ("nuclear") family, the basic unit in a capitalist production and consumption society, with its 'divinely-ordained' home

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1. CR, no.20, Christmas Day, 1907.
2. E. Katz (1976), pp.264-7, describes the embryonic character of socialism among the Trade Unions at this time.
3. TMC, November 21, 1905.
4. TMC, January 21, 1908.
5. TCC, July 8, 1909.

life dedicated to the 'ideal of self-sacrificing and self-respecting citizenship' and the accompanying 'ideal of Nationality and Empire', also found great favour in the Church[1].

In conclusion, the data supports the contention that the Church - the Anglican and Methodist churches in particular - did not succeed in distinguishing between the ruling ideology of the time and its proclamation. This is not surprising when one considers that the CPSA at this stage was effectively a state church having intimate contact with the leaders of polity and economy, and that the Methodist Church was never less than 'essentially supplementary to the Established Church'[2]. Moreover, only a superficial argument or inadequate social tools could lead to the notion that the Church as such was and is somehow not intimately integrated into the society of which it is a part.

Thus, our consideration of the period 1903-1910 does no more at one level than demonstrate a not very profound insight. But that it does demonstrate what is here called the 'ideological captivity of the Church' is, it is argued, beyond serious doubt. The demonstration will be carried through to the end of the designated early industrial period in South Africa, in order to thoroughly ground the subsequent and equally significant questions of whether the Church objectively possesses any unique role and self-understood position in the social formation, and whether it can possess such.

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1. Provincial Board of Missions, Ts, 1903.
2. G.M. Young (1964), p.65.

b. Land and Labour: 1911-1919

i) Overview: Political Economy

The decade marked by the psychological destruction in the 1st World War of the dreams of the inevitability of human progress also unleased forces that would change the face of the earth, including a widespread upsurge in an instrumentalist view of technology on the one hand, and the first socialist revolution on the other, these two things respectively symbolising the powerful hand of a rapidly adjusting Capitalism, and the marching feet of determined labour. Both affected the colonies - in the first instance, via the nature of their political and economic development; in the second, via the character of resistance. But in South Africa global exigencies were constrained by local developments: the continued working out of earlier trends is the primary trait of the post-Union period, punctuated only by the abnormal years of World War One.

Among the most relevant developments were the Mines and Works Act of 1911, which formalised the job colour bar in mining and prohibited strikes by African contract workers[1]; the establishment of the Land Bank (1912) designed to aid settler agriculture, though not African[2]; the hated 1913 Land Act, the culmination of territorial separation and the death knell to stable and extensive African farming; and the end of recruiting competition for the mines with the establishment of the Native Recruiting Corporation in 1912. World War One may have dominated the public mind for the latter half of this period, but land and labour issues define most clearly the primary poles upon which policy and practice turned.

Earlier we had considered the impact of conquest and subjugation on traditional uses of the land, and the emergence of an African peasantry frequently supported by missionary enterprise. The Glen Grey Act had shown the way for a system of individual tenure, magisterial control, and

1. F. Johnstone (1976), pp.68-9; H. Houghton (1967), p.142; OX: p.30.
2. S. Trapido (1977), p.33.

the generation of landless class readily available as a labour supply and reserve[1]. Land expropriation and control measures were effectively also labour laws ratifying conquests, displacing traditional societies, and creating an exploitable proletariat[2]. Stratification among Africans was also thereby introduced, even to the extent that some who had the means of purchasing what land was available began to regard their fellows in terms borrowed from the colonizers: 'a class of people who are still lost in heathenism and darkness', said the Reverend Mr Mpela and six others to the Lagden Commission, in contrast to themselves who 'represent what we call the enlightened people ... governed by the Church laws'[3].

The Land Act, however, was the single most sweeping measure, designed not only to demarcate the 'Native Reserves', but also to reduce rent-paying squatters and share-croppers 'to the level of labour tenants'[4]. The partnership principle in the system of farming-on-the-half was intended to be done away with, further eroding the basis of black wealth and correspondingly increasing poverty[5]. Many Africans regarded this 'most iniquitous measure' as 'simply and solely in the interests of the farmers and miners', and one which would affect hundreds of thousands of people adversely, driving the majority into wage-labour in the mines or on the farms under severe disadvantages[6]. By banning African purchase of land outside the Reserves, the Act also 'prevented the most obvious form of accumulation open to successful black peasants', effectively setting out to 'freeze social relations in the Reserves', both to avoid the situation where subsistence agriculture would no longer help reproduce migrant labour at no cost to capitalists, and to reduce the

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1. It is interesting to note that a leading Cape liberal, R.W. Rose-Innes, regarded the Act as a turning point of 'great benefit to the Native': CE, May 2, 1904, p.78.
2. L. Kuper, "African Nationalism", in OX: p.438.
3. T. Karis and G. Carter (1972), Vol.I, p.35.
4. C. Bundy (1979), p.213.
5. F. Wilson, "Farming", in OX: p.156.
6. T. Zini, "The Squatters Bill", Imvo Zabantsundu, March 19, 1912; in T. Karis and G. Carter (1972), Vol.I, p.82.

possibility of a potentially threatening mass urban influx of unemployed work-seekers[1].

The total effect of the Land Act manifests itself most clearly in the 'vast and depressing body of evidence as to the nature and extent of underdevelopment in the Reserves' in the next forty years[2]; in the debilitating results of cheap migratory labour practices, and in the structures of exploitation and neo-colonial domination reproduced in the euphemistically termed 'homelands'. Yet 99% of the House of Parliament accepted the Bill, 'even friends of the natives' who were the most influential as opinion-makers among leading churchmen and -women and who by and large held the view that the extension and protection of separate African areas would allow them to develop without excessive interference. Among those who found the bill acceptable was an increasingly discredited Tengo Jabavu and his South African Races Congress, an opposition organisation to the newly founded South African Native National Congress (SANNC)[3].

The SANNC had begun as a result of a proposal from Pixley ka I. Seme to form a "Native Union" in symbolic and political opposition to the Union of South Africa[4]. Though Jabavu opposed the move because he thought it would gain the disapproval of sympathetic whites, the SANNC was established in 1912 at a widely representative meeting at Bloemfontein, an historic occasion receiving no coverage in any white South African newspaper, nor in Jabavu's Imvo[5]. Deliberately catholic in its orientation, the new body sought combination and coalition to force a place for blacks in the colonial system, and to that extent presented a moderate but nevertheless significant threat to settler domination[6]. A major early strategy involved sending

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1. C. Bundy (1979), p.213.
2. Ibid., p.221.
3. A general description of Jabavu's close relationship to the Cape liberals and his gradual loss of face among blacks can be found in E. Roux (1964), pp.51-77.
4. Ibid., pp.110-11.
5. T. Karis and G. Carter (1972), Vol. I, p.61.
6. q.v. L. Kuper, "African Nationalism", in OX: p.444.

delegations and making appeals to Britain and other foreign powers, but Britain in particular would not allow 'the alliance between Afrikaner landowners and British investors, mine owners and industrialists' to be weakened[1]. That the SANNC should prove to be both an historic movement of considerable importance on the one hand, and a large dog with puppy teeth on the other, is a reflection of its predominantly bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leadership whose overriding interests revolved around a stunted and repressed existence which blocked their upward mobility within the prevailing political economy[2]. Yet it represented a crucial part of the social equation in the period under consideration, to be overshadowed later only by black worker's movements.

In fact until 1918 African workers were, in Roux's image concerning white worker strike actions, 'but spectators whose fate was being decided, incidentally, by the battles they witnessed', more like 'cattle in a wild West film which to be sure are stolen and recovered at intervals as the drama proceeds, but which, nevertheless, are merely incidental background from the point of view of the film story'[3]. Though present research is likely to alter this view of a passive black labour force before 1918, the point about major strike actions reflecting the struggle of the white, relatively privileged labour aristocracy is sound. The South African Labour Party, established by Creswell and others in 1909, was avowedly colonist; it specifically took public responsibility for settlers in the labour force, and was led by people who were neither of labour nor socialist[4], so much so that, in complete contradiction to its name, it officially incorporated segregationist policies into its 1912 constitution[5], and later called for the repatriation of Indian workers[6].

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1. H.J. Simons and R.E. Simons (1969), p.219.
2. q.v. for example, comments on two major blocks in the SANNC, the Transvaal Native Congress (P. Bonner, 1980, p.3), and the Natal Native Congress (D. Welsh, 1971, p.299).
3. E. Roux (1964), p.145.
4. _Ibid_., p.127 and p.124.
5. E. Katz (1976), pp.232-3.
6. _Ibid_., p.241.

THE WHITE SOUTH AFRICA LEAGUE

WHITE JOBS FOR WHITES

The aims of the League are:—

1. To return the Native to the MINES or FARMS, who claim that they could give more WHITE employment if they had a full supply of NATIVE labour; alternatively, to leave the NATIVE to develop along his own lines in his Native environment.
2. TO BOYCOTT the Employer who gives a WHITE MAN'S JOB to a NATIVE.
3. TO BOYCOTT the Tradesman who trains a NATIVE to steal a WHITE MAN'S JOB.
4. TO EXCLUDE the NATIVE from the intimate FAMILY LIFE of the WHITE COMMUNITY and so remove the growing danger of the BLACK PERIL.
5. JOIN the WHITE SOUTH AFRICA LEAGUE and help to make this a Country fit for WHITE MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

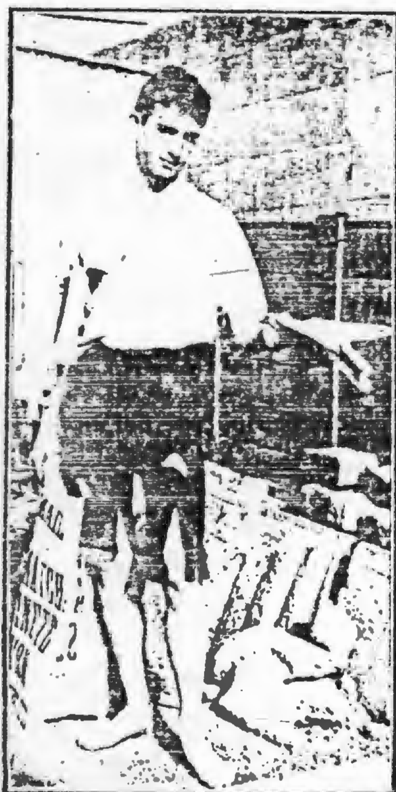
THE WHITE SOUTH AFRICA LEAGUE.

President: WILLIAM P. SKINNER.

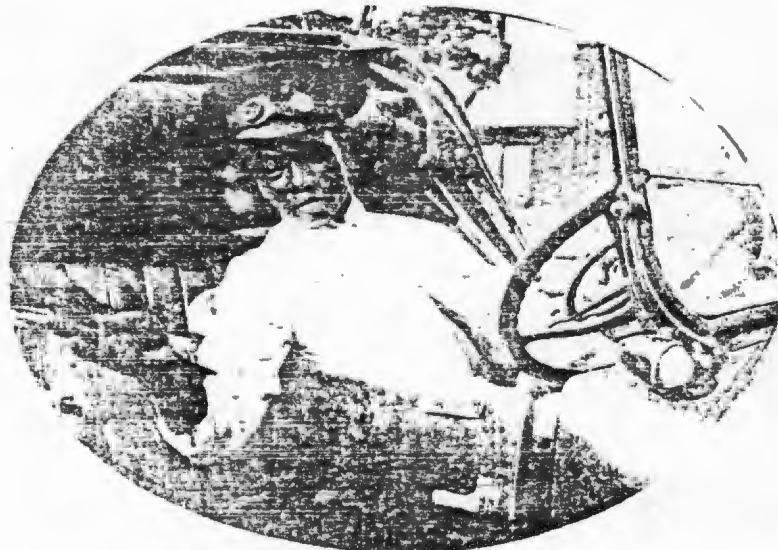
All communications to Secretary:

Office: New Street, Government Square.
Box: 1315.
'Phone: 4796 (Central).
JOHANNESBURG.

THE WHITE MAN'S SON



THE NATIVE WHO TAKES HIS JOB



PUT AN END TO THIS INIQUITY
BY JOINING
THE WHITE SOUTH AFRICA LEAGUE
Which exists to protect THE WHITE MAN'S JOB

President: WILLIAM P. SKINNER

ARGUS, JOHANNESBURG—3497

White mine workers, increasingly conditioned to regard themselves as superior (an 'aristocracy of colour'), were vulnerable to a racist ideology because of their unique position in relation to the wage (exploitation) colour bars. While their bargaining position was undermined as others acquired some skills, they were, nevertheless, profitably employable for their skills because of the cheapness of unskilled labour[1], and they had an advantage gained in the initial process of colonial industrialisation which they now strongly defended. Moreover, the competition between national and foreign capital now intruded, the former finding some political base in Herzog's National Party (established in 1913) which was able to appeal to workers with some success for support against the mine-owners[2]. Many of these issues came to a head in the strike by 18 000 mineworkers in 1913[3].

The strike issue overtly concerned Saturday afternoon work, but turned into a major challenge to capital and the state. The state, unprepared for the problem and with a defence force still in its birth pangs, had to concede a protected place for white workers in the form of exclusive collective bargaining rights[4]. This further separated white (settler) from black (colonized) workers, the former feared more by the government because they had the means and the experience to organise worker action which might later include blacks _en masse_[5]. In the aftermath of the strike action, the government realised the need for legislation to secure the welfare of the white mine-workers while the Chamber of Mines conceded the necessity of trade unions and machinery for negotiations[6]. But the state took the line of increasing white employment possibilities on the mines, contrary to the

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1. F. Johnstone (1976), pp.87-8.
2. q.v. P. Rich, in P. Bonner (1979), p.97.
3. q.v. F. Johnstone (1976), p.169; E. Katz (1976), pp.381-429; E. Roux (1964), p.145; T.R.H. Davenport (1977), p.183.
4. T.R.H. Davenport, loc. cit.
5. O'Quigley (197?), p.3.
6. E. Katz (1976), pp.462-3.

policy of the Chamber[1]. The result in political terms was the beginning of a potentially powerful alliance between major sections of National Capital (and especially Afrikaner voters) and the South African Labour Party, an alliance which gained added significance as Afrikaners formed up to 75 per-cent of the white labour force on the gold mines by 1918[2]. The striking workers themselves made their position clear in the post-strike "Workers Charter" which in many respects reveals 'the major unstated aim of preventing non-white encroachment in skilled, semi-skilled, and even unskilled occupations'[3].

A further test of power followed in strikes and disturbances on the Rand at the beginning of 1914, but this time they were met by force. Martial law was declared on January 14, many strikers arrested, and nine strike leaders deported[4]. However, the position of white workers, far from being undermined, was consolidated after the relatively quiet war years in the Status Quo Agreement of 1918 which extended the job colour bar of the Mining Regulations to less skilled white workers. Coinciding with a rapidly growing profitability crisis on the mines, the new job colour bars were soon to produce considerable drama on the industrial stage and not a little tragedy[5].

Despite a helpful temporary premium price for gold at the end of the war, half of the mines and more continued to face a situation in which money was lost, and by 1921 as much as two thirds of the industry mined at a loss but for a premium itself steadily falling[6]. To add to the difficulties, demand for African labour from other employers such as farmers, manufacturing concerns, and collieries led to a labour shortage on the mines, never the most attractive of work places[7].

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1. Ibid., p.360.
2. F. Johnstone (1976), p.105.
3. E. Katz (1976), p.324; "The Workers Charter" is published in full in the same work as appendix C.
4. T.R.H. Davenport (1977), p.184; q.v. also O'Quigley (197?).
5. F. Johnstone (1976), p.118.
6. Ibid., pp.95-6.
7. Ibid., p.97.

Employment of white work-seekers in unskilled labour could only exacerbate profitability[1], so that the mines had in fact to opt for reducing white labour costs and increasing the work and responsibilities of white and African workers, both 'imperatives' necessitating an attack on the job colour bar through wage reductions, retrenchments without replacement, and 'the substitution of ultra-cheap forced labour for expensive white labour in certain occupations'[2]. Moreover, the job colour bar constituted a significant source of grievance to African workers: a reduction of grievances was in the interest of the mining companies.

But the attack on the job colour bar had to contend with the power of the white mine-workers, and in any case the function of the colour bar in maintaining and reinforcing the prevailing division of labour in the industry was of considerable advantage to capital[3]. Thus by 1919, 'a wide range of apparatuses and institutions functioning on a racially discriminatory basis to regulate and institutionalise the struggles of white wage-earning employees' had emerged[4], and in the process the fuse for major conflict over the contradictions of the colour bar had been set, though the detonation came only some years later in the 1922 Rand upheaval. As will become clear later, the political sequel to those events, the formation of the Pact alliance which came to power two years after the Rand revolt, could already be foreseen in the outcome of the 1913 and 1914 strikes.

Whereas the conflicts surrounding white labour policy had considerable political and economic significance, no less important was the development of worker consciousness among Africans. The Johannesburg tramwaymen's strike of 1911 (exceptional for the solidarity between all elements of labour)[5] and the 1913 strike to a much lesser extent, still

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1. Ibid., p.83; Johnstone demonstrates the effect such a practice would have on the profitability of 52 mines on a 1913 base.
2. Ibid., pp.120-1.
3. Ibid., pp.80-1.
4. R. Davies (1979), p.127.
5. E. Katz (1976), pp.301-2.

held within them the possibility of an effective and indeed enormously powerful combination between colonist and colonized workers. But the exploitation wages and forced labour conditions of Africans made such combination exceedingly difficult in a colonial climate in which a racial ideology so readily served contradictory interests.

Thus after white mine-workers had secured a protected position for themselves, African strike action tended to emerge as a somewhat separate phenomenon reflecting the overall struggle between capital and labour as well as the divisive alliance which had been established. The spur to such action was given by the worsening conditions and terms of employment occasioned by contraction and crisis in the mining industry, post war inflation, and pressure from the labour reserve created by the Land Act and related policies. Besides a few strikes prior to the World War, the first post-war manifestation of trouble came with the "Bucket Strike" of African sanitary workers on the Reef, in 1918[1], followed by food boycotts in the compounds[2]. Forty-seven strikes during the following year demonstrated the rising tension[3], reflected too in the widely spread pass campaigns during which thousands were arrested[4]. That same year Clements Kadalie established the latterly renowned Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU).

At a meeting between the State and Rand Africans in an attempt to resolve the deteriorating situation, the latter made clear the issues of greatest moment:

> ... the Africans attacked the system of coercive labour controls, which they blamed for their failure to secure wage increases and for keeping Africans 'in a state of economic bondage', and for preventing the African workers 'from selling his labour to the best advantage'.[5]

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1. E. Roux (1964), pp.130-1.
2. F. Johnstone (1976), p.173.
3. H.J. Simons and R.E. Simons (1969), p.220.
4. OX: p.445; F. Johnstone (1976), p.177; E. Roux (1964), pp. 117-121.
5. F. Johnstone (1976), p.178.

The Transvaal Native Congress similarly defined the problem as one directly connected to an exploitative economic system, declaring that 'civilization' was in their view

> a system that 1) causes artificial ways of living, 2) manufactures suffering, 3) perpetuates slumdom, 4) creates a chronic state of poverty and want, 5) brings about cheap and sweated labour, 6) exploits the masses.[1]

Given all the disturbances of the period, one may wonder to what extent socialist ideas had gained growth, particularly in the light of the successful Russian revolution. A Socialist Party established in 1910 was short-lived[2], as was the United Socialist Party formed in 1912[3]. Though many trade-unionists during the 1913 strike advocated socialism, the workers themselves were concerned with the improvement of working conditions (and work security) rather than a challenge to the dominant system[4]. Even leading radical socialists largely ignored black workers until the International Socialist League (ISL) came into being in 1915 as a breakaway group from the South African Labour Party[5]. But from 1916 the ISL 'called for the abolition of indentured labour, compounds, and pass laws in the interests of working class emancipation; and urged the lifting of the Native worker to the political and industrial status of the white'[6]. By and large, as with many dynamics in the period in question, certain trends were being set though the full impact of their development lay in the next decade.

Rather the period reflects on the one hand the consolidation of Union, and on the other, the flowering of various conflicting interests battling for a share of power.

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1. *Ibid.*, p.195.
2. E. Katz (1976), p.194.
3. H.J. Simons and R.E. Simons (1969), p.152.
4. E. Katz (1976), p.426.
5. E. Roux (1964), p.129.
6. H.J. Simons and R.E. Simons (1969), p.193.

Fascimiles of African Labour passes, 1909 and 1913
(note the character references)

No. 432799

NATIVE LABOUR PASSPORT. Serial No. 5093

(To be held by Employer.)

Labour District of . Form 1 L.

N.B.—The first columns below are for the use of the Pass Office only.

The particulars of these three columns are to be filled in by Employer only.

	Name of Employer.	Address of Employer.	Period of Service. From	To	Rate of Pay.	Date of Discharge.	Character.	Employer's Signature on Discharge.
1						7/1/13		
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								

Afdeeling.

VERLOFBRIEF

Uitgegeven aan

woonachtig te

om te gaan naar

over

op

De daarvoor te

Kantoor

No. 31050

TRAVELLING PASS.

25 JAN 1913

Endorsed to the remainder of the ... for 2 weeks

12 Feby 1913

NATIVE LABOURER'S CERTIFICATE OF EMPLOYMENT. No. 28592

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA. (To be held by Employer.)

Registered No.

Name (Native)

District FAURESMITH. Territory

Authority for Issue

Father's Native Name

G.N.L.B. or W.N.L.A. No.

Portuguese Pass No.

Tribe and Chief

District Letter and Register No.

Headman or Kraal

Place of Residence

Tax Receipt No. and Year

N.B.—The Four Columns below are for the Use of the Registering Officer only.

The Particulars of these Three Columns are to be filled in by Employer only.

Name and Address of Employer.	Period of Service. From	To	Rate of Pay.	Date of Discharge.	Character.	Signature of Employer.
					Good	

1913

(SEE INSTRUCTIONS ON BACK.)

World War One provided temporary relief from the strains of an increasingly tense society, though only after the Afrikaner rebellion had been put down and major strike actions had been crushed.

War also stimulated the expanding manufacturing sector, so that between 1915/16 and 1919/20 the gross value of output had more than doubled from £35,7m to £76,8m and the number of employees had risen by 53%[1]. Whereas mine-owners regarded protectionism as 'an expensive fantasy', manufacturers, who saw the mining industry as 'a relatively unproductive, elitist, privileged monopoly', wishes to protect their national base from foreign competition, and accordingly sought to woo all local groups with any power to their cause[2].

One further phenomenon deserves brief consideration - the emergence of a new, though ultimately unconstructive, form of resistance to the enormous pressures placed upon African work-seekers and unemployed, namely, the criminal gangs. By far the most famous, the Ninevites, also known as 'Umkosi wa Ntaba' (the Regiment of the Hills) and led by one Nongoloza, were so named because Nongoloza had read 'about the great state Ninevah which rebelled against the Lord and I selected that name for my gang as rebels against the Government's law'[3]. Established on the Rand before Union, organised along paramilitary lines, and operating both within and without the prisons with branches even at Bloemfontein and Kimberley, the gang 'offered a serious practical challenge to a repressive privileged white state'. Particularly threatening to the state and mine-owners was the fact that this extra-legal "army" was seriously undermining law enforcement and control in the compounds as well as in the cities, especially as the pass laws and contract regulations produced 'a very distinctive labouring population, one characterised by its high degree of nominal "criminal" experience'. It was these 'landless labourers seeking to return to a peasant life that

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1. L. Bozzoli (1973/4), pp.69-70.
2. _Ibid._, p.64 and p.67.
3. C. van Onselen (1975/6), p.80.

was being rapidly destroyed; urban bands with a form of rural consciousness resisting proletarianisation' that gave rise to the threat known colloquially in the churches and elsewhere as the "Black Peril"[1].

In summary, the post-Union years witnessed an intensifying conflict between capital and labour, within which a division between colonist (white) and colonised (black) workers was greatly extended acquiring in the process a strongly racist ideology. At the same time competition between fractions of capital, in particular agricultural and manufacturing (national) capital and mining (foreign) capital, increased as the former gathered steam. The specific manner in which these dynamics played themselves out gave rise to a growing alliance between capital and white labour, with the national capital fraction best able to utilize settler nationalism in the competition for hegemony. Colonised workers and blacks in general, were in consequence increasingly forced to transform their resistance into urban and industrial action against labour controls and wage policies, without much support from colonials other than from a few radical trade-unionists and politicians towards the end of the decade. The SANNC and its various member organisations found themselves increasingly having to respond to labour issues rather than matters concerning political and social access to the dominant society, though these latter did not disappear. In the reserves, continued alienation from the land and declining production generated a cheap supply of labour forced for all practical purposes to seek wage-labour on the farms or in the towns, and led to increased underdevelopment and poverty.

The dynamics described in the above pages provide the framework for the subsequent analysis of the churches in this second decade of the period under study.

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1. Ibid., pp.83-96, passim.

ii) The Church and Proletarianisation

As early as 1907, commenting negatively on the powerful, direct pressure brought to bear on blacks in the rural areas to drive them into seeking wage labour, the "Christian Express" pointed out the serious danger of the black proletariat in the towns becoming numerically too great to control. What was needed in its view, was effective administration of the Location Act, better agricultural education and, on the part of farmers, 'a little interest in the moral and intellectual welfare of their tenants'[1]. As has been pointed out previously, the Glen Grey Act provided an important model for land administration which would simultaneously encourage a select black peasantry under individual tenure, while driving the majority into wage labour. Yet despite having carried an earlier letter of protest from an African correspondent outlining the restricted forms of access to land through the working of labour or service mechanisms under white control - such as private farms, quit rent tenancy (called boroko, meaning "a place to sleep"), locations, servants, and Crown lands[2] - the same journal defended point by point what it referred to as 'a brilliant product of the genius of the late Mr Rhodes', the Glen Grey Act[3].

The Lagden Commission recommended policies not much different from these, indicating into the bargain that the establishment of African reserves should not deny the Crown the rights to all minerals and precious stones, and right to removal and re-entry in the case of rebellion, and the power to apply regulations[4]. By the second decade of this century the structures of land use and control more or less fitted these parameters. Accepting this as a given, the General Missionary Conference of 1912 resolved that the deteriorating

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1. CE, August 1, 1907, pp.122-3.
2. Ibid., July 1, 1906, pp.155-6.
3. Ibid., November 1, 1906, p.223.
4. SANAC Report, para. 209, p.40, "Lagden Papers", 25 July, 1907.

conditions of the reserves and their inhabitants demanded strong efforts to improve methods of cultivation and distribution of products, including 'the spread of Natives Farmers Associations, and the training and the employment of agricultural demonstrators in Native areas'[1]. No evidence of critical analysis by the Church of the structure of expropriation and exploitation is seen at this point, but the Land Act was to change this somewhat.

Prior to the official enactment of the Land Bill, missionary societies called for a commission of enquiry into the proposed legislation, while pointing out that black opinion was not uniform[2]. Both the "Christian Express" and Tengo Jabavu had expressed qualified approval, the former being taken to task in its own pages by the Reverend Amos Burnett and Sol Plaatje (who called the Act 'a carefully prepared, deliberate and premeditated scheme to compass the partial enslavement of the natives')[3]. The Methodist Journal took Jabavu to task for his 'mistaken view' though it also admitted in a revealing comment that 'our missionaries, and those whom we regard as Native experts have, for the most part, been silent'[4]. The same issue carried an address on the Act of Dube, then president of the SANNC, in which a powerful attack on the complicity of the Church was launched:

> And yet you tell us that with you might is not right, that your rule of life is to live and let live; to do unto others as you would be done by; that you are children of Christ and heirs to His Kingdom. guided solely by the eternal principles of blind justice, regardless of colour and creed. What contemptible cant! What a BLASPHEMOUS FRAUD![5]

The South African Missionary Society (Wesleyan) acknowledged that the Church had suffered as a result of the Act[6], while the Anglican Provincial Missionary Conference,

1. GMCSA: Summary, p.89.
2. TMC, June 16, 1913.
3. CE, December 1, 1913, pp.187-8.
4. TMC, November 24, 1913.
5. Ibid., loc. cit., emphasis in original.
6. SAMSR, (32nd), 1913, p.2.

responding to a call by the Reverend H. Mtobi to 'condemn the Act as a piece of class legislation', directed an appropriate and lengthy resolution to the government[1].

Confusion and ambiguity, however, continued to mark the response of various church bodies and publications, though the Methodists proved most consistent in their opposition to the Act, perhaps reflecting their strong rural base in the reserves[2]. Even then the official Methodist newspaper regarded as extremely important the response of Prime Minister Botha's reply to an SANNC delegation led by Dube and Rubisana: referring to his affirmation of the principle of territorial separation, and his promise of a better deal later, for blacks, it felt Botha 'gave them sound advice, and was certainly not harsh, or even unsympathetic'[3]. The Anglican equivalent, commenting on the approval of the principle of the Act by 'many of those who are most deeply interested in the natives and their uplifting', went even further: 'we are encouraged to believe', it avowed, 'that we are on the track of a right solution of the Native Problem'[4]. Later, the London-based Church Missionary Society's Review generally agreed, though it thought a better solution would be to offer Africans ownership or leaseholds 'in those parts of Africa where the white man cannot settle and rear children'[5].

Interestingly, the Christian Express changed its favourable attitude once the Act's provisions began to bite[6]. And in an article two years after the Act discussing a controversy between Africans and white farms over plans to allocate a piece of land to the former at Stutterheim, it analysed the issue in a remarkably contemporary manner as a

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1. Minutes, November 1913.
2. q.v. Minutes of Conference, 1914, p.126; and 1917, p.126; also TMC, March 9, 1914; and the 34th SAMSR, 1915, p.14.
3. TMC, May 25, 1914.
4. TCC, July 30, 1914.
5. The Church Missionary Review, CMS, London, February 1917, pp.89-90.
6. CE, May 1, 1914, p.67.

'manifestation of the world-wide struggle between the conflicting interests of the rich and the poor, the have's and have-nots', adding the insight that the whole conflict was embittered by rather than caused by racial feeling[1]. Similarly, the journal carried a later article on the deleterious effect of the Land Act and supplementary legislation, on the reserves and the colonial form of class division, projecting a rather intriguing view of the future hierarchy of wealth and privilege:

> Looking ahead we foresee South Africa peopled thus:
>
> I. A few wealthy farmers and employers of large bodies of Cheap Native Labour (... British and Dutch), large merchants and professional men.
> II. A body of mixed European Aliens living as only they can do.
> III. A large mass of most miserable Coloureds sinking steadily to the level of the Natives.
> IV. A much larger mass of Natives ....
>
> ... This is the inevitable consequence of unlimited cheap Native Labour.[2]

The actual situation among Africans on many farms and in parts of the reserves is most poignantly captured in the story of the farm labourer who asked a missionary if he would secure larger rations from the farmer if he became a Christian. This 'strange request' emerged from an implied conflict of values: 'Missionary', said the man, 'the words of Christ teach us not to steal. If I become a Christian I would stop stealing. But if I did not steal my family would starve'[3].

Generally speaking, the Land Act produced the second major conflict between the churches and the state, though protests never amounted to more than requests for reconsideration or delay in the implementation of the Act. After an initial flirtation with the Act, the Christian Express again proved to be the most penetrating in its critique, though no concerted policy or action emerged from

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1. Ibid., October 1, 1915, pp.148-9.
2. Ibid., July 2, 1917, pp.103-4.
3. Ibid., October 1, 1912, pp.159-60.

the churches as a result. In any event, opposition to the Act on the part of the churches appears to have been focused more on its intention to exclude blacks from reasonable access to land and agricultural facilities (where they could afford it), and less on the overall place of the legislation in the national system of exploitation and control. In this respect, earlier tendencies to follow social democratic principles and to champion blacks at a moderate level continue. A proper investigation of this point requires us to turn our attention to what one may term the other end of the labour supply chain - workers in industry.

The accusation that the churches, out of touch with the working classes, by and large directed their appeal to the leisurely and the comfortable, was clearly of concern after Union especially, as 'the sons of toil are mainly conspicuous by their absence from church worship'[1]. Although various ministers of religion were present on the invitation of labour representatives at a major meeting in Cape Town concerning the 1913 Rand strikes, they suffered the ignominy of being branded as a 'class alienated from the working man' having 'no sympathy with him in his struggle for what he believes to be his rights'[2]. One indirectly gains the impression, therefore, that the Church, undoubtedly convicted in the eyes of at least some significant bodies of workers, may not yet have stepped outside of the ideological constraints upon it. Certainly, the attitude of Reverend J.H. Riston, on an inspection tour of South Africa in 1913 and later president of the British Wesleyan Conference, betrayed no understanding. Referring to the roughly 225 000 black mine-workers as 'heathen' who are like 'oxen pulling at a yoke, and duly fed in return for content', he saw not exploitation and repression but 'raw material' upon which 'the Church should concentrate its forces'[3]. In similar

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1. TMC, July 18, 1911.
2. Ibid., July 28, 1913.
3. The Rand Methodist, November 1913.

fashion, the disruption by African strikers at Jagersfontein mine in the Orange Free State in 1914 and its subsequent closure which put large numbers of people out of work, produced only the complaint that missionary activity was thereby severely disrupted[1]. Equally oblivious to the life of the colonised worker, the General Missionary Conference of 1912 felt that conditions on the mines or in the location did not seriously hinder Christianity; many even felt that the strenuous life at a mine improved the men[2].

Other indicators of the attitude, practice, and 'functional dependency' of the churches include a declaration of 'indebtedness' to De Beers Consolidated Mines for helping establish religious work in the compounds and generating 'morality' and 'loyalty' among the workers, no-one appearing to question why the company should be so motivated[3]. On the Rand, two major church bodies, outraged by illicit liquor traffic, between them went so far as to seek the extension of the closed compound system to the Reef, to have compound police replaced by government police[4], to fence in compounds 'with corrugated iron or wire entanglements, such fences to have but one or two gates guarded by special police', and to have 'open spaces between such fences and the compound proper to be lighted and patrolled at night'[5]. Again, no sense of who was being kept in by such methods and under what conditions appears evident. On the other hand the Board of Missions in Pretoria, and the Wesleyan Conference had criticised township ('location') conditions, calling for State aid, use of revenue derived from blacks for housing and facilities and proper siting[6].

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1. SAMSR, (33rd), 1914, p.18.
2. GMCSA: Summary, p.71.
3. SAMSR, (31st), 1912, pp.24-5.
4. GMCSA: Summary, 1912, pp.77-8.
5. Board of Missions, Diocese of Pretoria, Minutes, 1915.
6. Ibid., Minutes 1913; Minutes of Conference, 1911, p.104; q.v. also GMCSA: Summary, 1912, p.89; and CE, November 1, 1912, p.182.

The apparently equivocal approach of the churches in these matters hides presuppositions that reflect a particular view on South African society at this point, a view undoubtedly influenced by humanitarian concern - frequently referred to as "fair treatment" - yet seemingly incapable of penetrating very deeply into the structures of the political economy and their fundamental impact on many of the humanitarian concerns. In short, a fair judgment would be that the churches felt the anguish and resistance of the indigenous people, and without being able to speak and act in solidarity with them nevertheless understood the need to take some responsibility, provided that the colonial 'white supremacist' structures were not radically undermined.

As a result many concerns ended up as resolutions directed to the government asking the authorities to rescind or debate certain pieces of legislation, or to provide relief for those most visibly suffering. Questions such as the extension of Pass Laws to women and children in the Orange Free State were dealt with by this means[1], as were hardships on farms and house raids by police in the Transvaal[2], advances by mine recruiting agents to blacks in reserve areas whereby indebtedness was occurred forcing them to seek wage labour[3], exploitation wages[4], and ill-treatment and inadequate representation of blacks in law courts[5].

Manifestly, the churches were morally obligated to their large black membership (though not financially) and frequently in a position to hear complaints, speak on behalf of the complainants, and even provide limited aid on occasion. But in the last analysis, they were dependent on those same powers which produced the problems of concern to them, not only in a material sense (documents throughout the period attest to financial dependency on settler communities, large capitalist

1. Minutes of Conference, 1914, p.93.
2. Diocese of Pretoria, Native Conference, Minutes, Sept.1, 1916.
3. CE, May 1, 1914, p.67.
4. GMCSA: Summary, p.89, (1912).
5. Minutes of Conference, 1918, p.134.

donors, and remittances from British churches and individuals who wished to see 'civilization' and 'industry' advanced), but on the ideological plane as well (shown in moderate reformism usually along social democratic lines, a fear of effective resistance, and an overly weighted concern with social morality).

One therefore discovers, not surprisingly, a mentality of domination still present in church circles. Commenting on the unsatisfactory character of domestic labour, the Church Chronicle accepted that the charges against 'natives' of being troublesome, independent, unconscientious, sulky, impertinent, and without obligation to their masters or mistresses are true. Nevertheless, the Church had in its new 'duties and responsibilities' towards the 'child race' on the basis of 'in loco parentis'[1]. The "Black Peril" on the Rand - the 'university of Crime', - sufficiently alarmed the churches that a commission was set up to investigate the matter and report to the General Missionary Conference. The composition of the commission, a fascinating and motley collection of churchmen, 'majistrates' (sic), business men and farmers, lawyers, educationalists, prison and police officials, inspectors, editors, public servants, and '8 Ladies', reflected a palpably bourgeois orientation. Perhaps then their findings are as unremarkable as they are astounding. Among many lesser reasons,

> ... the main reasons for the criminal instinct on the part of Natives is given as:
>
> (1) Criminal Instinct 40%
> (2) Undue familiarity and thoughtlessness on the part of women 25%
> (3) Alcohol 14%

While loyalty to 'Throne and Empire' remained a common article of faith, especially during the World War[2], the doctrine of segregated territories where Africans could 'develop in a natural, unforced way on lines suited to the

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1. GMCSA: Summary, pp.77-9, (1912).
2. q.v. for example, Transvaal and Swazi District Directory, 1915/16, p.1.

genius of their race' indicated the ongoing and peculiar neo-colonialism spawned by earlier events[1]. Within this milieu it proved natural to think of African labour under 'proper guidance and control, with firm and just treatment and strict discipline' as the means of prosperity[2]. It could not have been more bluntly put than in an editorial of the Methodist Churchman:

> The Native is, we firmly believe, one of the best assets this country possesses. We need him to assist us to develop its vast resources, and he will help us, if we allow him, to make it a country in which an ever-increasing number of Europeans will live in comfort.[3]

In summation, the proletarianisation of the indigenous people of South Africa, the particular nature of its process, the highly exploitative wage structures, the extensive controls over labour, the concomitant process of under-development in the reserves, and the resultant social problems of dislocation and ill-health in the towns, presented to the churches a complex set of phenomena which they were not able to assess critically nor to respond to adequately. However, like most if not all settler-dominated institutions benefiting directly or indirectly from the situation, they perceived the threats involved in the proletarianisation process, especially if some reasonably secure outlets to Africans were not allowed. For this reason, though territorial separation was already in practice and clearly served a major purpose, the Land Act appeared too restrictive and formal, closing down avenues of access into the dominant political and economic system and raising the temperature of resistance to a dangerous level. On the other hand law and order remained supreme, and loyalty to the state a high value.

All of these observations hold true for the material investigated during the period under scrutiny, but one significant abberation does appear. From the end of the World War One, unusual and insightful attention is paid to

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1. TCC, March 6, 1913.
2. TMC, June 18, 1917.
3. Ibid., May 18, 1914.

labour, in particular black workers.

Hints of such a change are contained in reactions to the Native Administration Bill of 1917, widely regarded as not in accordance with traditional British principles regarding treatment of a 'loyal aboriginal population'[1]. The possibility that the Russian revolution stimulated a new consciousness is partly sustained in another view on the Bill, describing it as one governed by the motto 'Isolate and Repress' and leading to 'a form of forced, or serf, labour'; an added comment slammed the Bill as a 'crying shame ... in the very year in which Russia has obtained her liberty'[2].

The overt expression of a new attitude, however, only comes into full bloom the following year synchronously with the upsurge of African industrial action and the Status Quo Agreement protecting white workers. Inflationary pressures, hitting black labour the hardest, probably added to the clearing of ideological clouds. In an open letter to Smuts, Bishop Furse of Pretoria called for a recognition of the contribution to the economy of blacks, commenting that exploitation, bitterly resented, had real meaning for them and rightly so[3]. In like manner, the Provincial Missionary Conference condemned continued exploitation[4], and the Board of Missions sought fair wages lest serious trouble arise[5]. Rising fears of the 'volcanic temper of mind' among blacks stand out starkly in an article in the Church Chronicle: commenting on a black woman patient's question to a medical officer whether her newborn was male or female, the author writes: 'To the reply that it was a girl came the disappointed cry: "I wanted a boy!" - "Why?" - "To fight for South Africa, our country!"[6].

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1. Minutes of Conference, 1971, p.126 and p.149.
2. CE, June 1, 1917.
3. RDM, March 20, 1918.
4. Provincial Missionary Conference, Minutes, Sept. 1918.
5. Diocese of Pretoria, Board of Missions, Minutes, 1919.
6. TCC, October 2, 1919; emphasis in original.

Another example of the new attitude is found in a Methodist Conference resolution on "Present Day Problems" stating its implacable opposition 'to every form of oppression and to all artificial inequalities and disabilities', and sympathising with the desire of workers for a 'worthier share in the products of their toil', the Conference pledged itself to 'the furtherance of every legitimate movement and effort to that end'[1]. The most practical expression of an attempt to connect church life with the expedence and aspiration of workers came from Canon Hodson in Durban who held periodic conferences to facilitate dialogue between what were obviously considered to be two groups. Topics from the floor were usually debated, among them "spirituality", the indifference of the Church to "gutter people", the 'unscientific' and 'superstitious' nature of Christianity, hell, socialism, Bishops (critically viewed), and the Archbishop of Canterbury's income. The Anglican newspaper, reviewing these events, concluded that the Church should support 'the rightful ideals of labour'[2].

Earlier the same journal had published and indicated support for an article by the Reverend A.F. Cox on wealth and Christianity, in which Capitalism was declared 'a crime against society .... It does not matter whether the Capitalist is a philanthropist or not - personal character has nothing whatsoever to do with the matter'. In a fascinating and bold critique of philanthropy the article proceeded to analyse the 'giving away' by the wealthy of large sums of their money:

> ... Put into bold language it consists in withholding the rewards due to one class of men in order to hand (part of) it to another class which never earned it. The Church has a very obvious duty .... But this duty does not consist in exhorting the rich man to give away his wealth nor of specifying exactly how it should be disposed of. The whole system of wealth production wants altering.[3]

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1. Minutes of Conference, 1919, p.135.
2. TCC, December 11, 1919.
3. Ibid., October 16, 1919.

Such rather astonishing and improbable pronouncements are all but unheard of previously, at least in South Africa; they virtually drop from the clouds in Zeus-like thunderbolts. Canon Hodson and the Reverend Mr Cox seem to have been well-known for their more radical positions, yet they were not entirely abnormal as the resolutions of various church bodies testify. Serious ambiguities could be discerned in official positions, however, including a propensity to support the stratification along class lines of African society[1], (a perspective inspired in part by Tengo Jabavu)[2], to blame white workers per se for the exploitation wages of blacks[3], and to regard the Church's role to be impartial 'as between master and men ... without bias, because the Christian ethic applies to all classes of society'[4].

A full assessment of the dynamics involved in what impresses one as a notable transformation in the attitudes of the Church after the war must await the consideration of developments in the following decade. For the moment, suffice it to acknowledge a novel approach, while noticing that little evidence of practical outworking of this tack is evident at this stage. Further insights may be gained, however, in turning to the Church's response to the active resistance of others in the period.

Quite remarkable in the first instance, is the almost complete absence of significant reference in the archival material to the African strikes of 1918 and 1919, to the formation of the ICU, to SANNC protests, and to the massive pass campaign in March 1919. One must accept the impact of these events; yet the churches show a lack of concrete interest in the historical moments these events represent, indicating a shallowness at the levels of both reflection and action in the declarations referred to. In fact, the only

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1. CE, November 8, 1918, p.166.
2. TMC, April 29, 1918.
3. CE, October 1, 1918, p.150.
4. TMC, March 31, 1919.

weighty statement on black unrest on the Rand comes from the Methodist Conference which deplored 'the state of unrest prevalent among the Native section of the population' and expressed its view of 'the greatest need for immediate action by the Government'[1]. One other noteworthy comment, printed by the Christian Express, concerned the Municipal workers strike (1918) and pointed out the role of ISL propaganda, low wages and the pass laws, and criticised the harsher measures taken against black workers compared to the treatment of settler workers[2].

In contrast, a relatively large number of references to serious conflicts appear in church records prior to the war, including the Indian passive resistance campaign, the 1913 and 1914 strikes, and the Afrikaner rebellion.

Ghandi's first satyagraha campaign initiated in 1907, continued into 1913: though some gains were made, the position of Indians in South Africa remained tenuous for the next fifty years[3]. At the end of Ghandi's campaign strikes broke out at the Newcastle coal mines and Natal Indians marched in large numbers into the Transvaal[4]. These events attracted worried notice among church bodies, some concerned with the debilitating effect of the 'outburst' on church work[5], others, while explicitly dissociating themselves from the passive resistance movement, more desirous of a repeal of the three pounds tax on ex-indentured Indians[6].

Arising out of the decision to invade German South West Africa in 1914, and spurred on by the government's mis-handling of the affair and unfortunate incidents such as the

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1. Minutes of Conference, 1919, p.136.
2. CE, October 1, 1918, pp.148-50.
3. T.R.H. Davenport (1977), p.182.
4. E. Roux (1964), p.107.
5. SAMSR, (32nd), 1913, p.2.
6. Prov. Miss. Conf. Minutes, November 1913; see also TMC, November 24, 1913.

shooting by government troops of General de la Rey, the Afrikaner rebellion flared briefly[1]. Led by Boer generals, perhaps capitalising on the resentment of landless 'poor whites' (estimated in 1916 at 100 000) and inspired by renewed republican visions, the rebellion received no sympathy from the English-speaking churches at all[2]. Blacks meanwhile were praised for their loyalty to the government during the whole affair[3].

When mineworkers struck in 1913, producing a general state of unrest on the Rand, both the Methodist and the Anglican newspapers carried considerable editorial comment. The positions they held clearly mirror the analysis previously discussed: while sympathising with 'the legitimate claims of labour', strong disapprobation of heavy conflict was forthcoming, warnings being directed in the first instance against workers; accompanying such censure came the call for harmony and partnership between capital and labour, and an infusion on both sides of a 'Christian Spirit', seen to be the only final answer to labour problems[4].

Quite obviously, especially when one considers the crudely exploitative nature of capitalism in South Africa, such views reflect not a conscious bias but an unequivocal ideological base in the bourgeois world of moderation, tolerance, and gradual reform without shaking the system. Archbishop Carter, in a private letter, discussed the crushing of the 1914 strikes in words which make the point clear: regarding the use by the government of what some

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1. T.R.H. Davenport (1977), pp.184-6.
2. q.v. Min. of Conf, 1915, p.137 and p.142; Transvaal and Swazi District Directory, 1915/16, p.1; CE, May 1, 1915, pp.69-71.
3. SAMSR, (33rd), 1914, p.18.
4. TCC, August 7, 1913; TMC, August 1, 1913.

called 'extreme measures', he declared 'I don't believe that labour generally in this country is discontented or had any reason for discontent'[1]. Possibly he thought only of white labour in this context; even so the point remains.

The questions implicit in these events received a fairly sophisticated and critical treatment from Canon Hodson in reply to a number of articles in the Church Chronicle, and occasioned an interesting debate of considerable value to the present discussion. Hodson, certain that previous writers would not 'press Christian principles in the matter beyond a certain point', regarded a non committal policy in the industrial issues as 'suspicious on the broad principle that it does not entail suffering: we take sides just as much by our silence as we do by our words'. After analysing the nature of capitalism, the resultant generation of conflict between rich and poor along class lines, and the non-accidental appearance of large-scale unemployment, he points out that the riots in Johannesburg resulted in a 'net gain' in human life for while 21 people died in the streets during one week of strike, an average of 24 people a week died in the mines. Consequently, when the Church refuses to take sides, 'the working man turns away with a snort of contempt'. The result of such policies, despite the proclamation of 'high Christian principles', is in his opinion the reason that the Church 'has nil influence in these matters with either capital or labour'[2].

Wilfred Parker came to the attack against Hodson, decrying his call for the Church to opt for a clear position in industrial conflict other than a position that stands above conflict and pointing to 'merits and faults' in both sides. Anything else would have been a compromise of the Church, thought Parker, and moreover would require a real knowledge of the technicalities of industry in order to be defensible[3].

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1. Archbishop W.M. Carter, ALS, January 16 and January 29, 1914.
2. TCC, "Social Unrest, Class and Christianity", August 21 and September 4, 1913, passim.
3. TCC, October 2, 1913.

Parker's position appears to have been general in the churches, and the contradictions within it are not perceived by any, at least in the public record, other than the earlier mentioned Canon Hodson and the Reverend Mr Cox. At this point the debate summarises the response of the Church to increasing proletarianisation, serves to highlight the existence of a small pocket of penetrating criticism in relation to the political economy within the churches, and illuminates by contrast the inability of most to escape their ideological captivity to the status quo. It also serves the purpose of demonstrating once again that a critical analysis of the Church's role is not post-historical luxury, but a contemporary possibility. With this in mind, it is appropriate to review ideological issues in the churches during this second decade.

iii) Church and Ideology

The years between Union and the onset of World War, shaped as they were by an increasing number and range of strikes as well as the land issue (to the forefront after the shape of the settler alliance had been settled), gave rise to some distancing on the part of the churches from imperial concerns. Only one significant reference to earlier imperial ideals, and that from a British churchman, colours the pages of Church records[1]. But the Church's relationship to 'social life' within the local context became a matter of considerable import, perhaps influenced by liberal and social democratic currents newly alive in Britain as well as two major gatherings recently held there - the first International Missionary Conference led by John Mott, father of the modern ecumenical movement (1910), and the Universal Races Congress in London (1911).

In any event, the language of 'Human brotherhood realizing itself' even in strikes, and the connection of human action to the theological notion of the Kingdom of God began

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1. Bishop M.R. Neligan, "The Church and the Expansion of the Empire", East and West, Vol. XI, 1913.

to grace the pages of church tabloids and journals[1]. But the Church and its task, nevertheless, are most frequently seen to be regarded as in some sense 'above' conflict, 'beyond' worldly aspirations, 'between' opposing groups (though this last was usually carried out only in speech). The 'cure of souls' was still of supreme importance, prior to all questions of admittedly 'belated social reform'[2]; the charge that clergy 'sit on fences in supine slumber' one editorial claimed, ignores that the weapons of the Church's warfare are not carnal - rather, patient endurance of wrong is required in contrast to the 'fierce assertion of rights'[3]. Ultimately, it was felt, all such assertions boiled down to 'the right Spirit, the Spirit of Christ' entering into all human relationships, for all groups and classes were to blame for the state of unrest surrounding the community[4]. And finally, in an editorial on the Land Act, the _Methodist Churchman_ added the rider _par excellence_, ordaining all things to the wisdom of God's providence: 'Man proposes; God disposes'[5]. Only when one realises how much land some men disposed of in the Land Act, making themselves the beneficiaries and depriving those whose entire economic life was threatened as a result, is it possible to discern the naîveté of such thinking, its ideological blindness, and the cynicism with which it was treated.

The catalogue of phrases and images that emerge here presuppose a position in society of privilege, access to power, relative stability and of sufficient material means - notwithstanding the occasional romantic view of the labour struggle as a sign of human brotherhood provided its challenge was legal and orderly, respectable and conciliatory.

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1. For example, CR, no.35, Michaelmas Day, 1911.
2. TMC, February 20, 1912.
3. TCC, August 21, 1913.
4. R.D.M., Bishop Furse, Pretoria, on "Church and Labour", October 14, 1913.
5. TMC, June 16, 1913.

In short, a view shaped by a position of dominance, or at least of dependency upon the dominant, stretches its hazy pattern before us. Given that such dominance in South Africa at this point in its history is demonstratably capitalist at root, one would expect to discover other indicators of a bourgeois ideology filling the mind, writings and speeches of churchmen and -women.

Thus the notion of "free" and fair competition, governed by 'immutable laws', and functioning in an open market oblivious to anything but purchasing power, is propagated as the necessary basis of any critique of the Land Act[1]. 'Service' rather than solidarity was the key concept in any actions the Church might contemplate[2]; the 'individual' was the special concern of Christianity whereas the transformation of material conditions should rightly be left to political 'reformers'; the Church's task was to 'arouse the consciences of its members' in declaring certain 'moral truths' and 'just principles'[3]. The spiritual was regarded as 'the only real', and any social work on the part of the Church should be characterised by 'self restraint ... patience ... and faith'[4]. Any untoward conflict, even in resistance to bad laws and practice, was regarded with hostility[5], and though Rhodes' dictum of "Equal rights for all civilized races south of the Zambezi" was seen as the touchstone of 'justice, Christianity, and political wisdom', it should be noted that 'civilized' meant 'capable and industrious'[6].

The actual function of such ideas in restraining those who were exploited and excluded from participation in the circles of social, political and economic power, and in

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1. TMC, loc. cit.
2. R.D.M., Bishop Furse, loc. cit; also Lent Pamphlet, Diocese of Pretoria, 1916.
3. Archbishop W.M. Carter, "Charge to Cape Town Diocese Synod", September 1914.
4. Bishop Furse, "Charge to Diocese Synod", Pretoria, 1913, in the Transvaal Leader, October 13, 1913.
5. SAMSR, (32nd), 1913, p.2.
6. TCC, May 21, 1914; also SAMSR, (37th), 1918.

reproducing the ideology of capitalism, is most dramatically announced in an ironically evangelistic tale told by Bishop Gaul at a public meeting concerning the positive effects of Christianity on black workers. After recounting a conversation with a farmer friend who distrusted Christianised Africans and who was subsequently persuaded to employ the same, Bishop Gaul, to applause from the meeting, repeated the farmer's final judgment:

> "I have got two of your boys working on my farm. They can say their prayers; but by Jove, they can do their work, too!"[1]

The religious apologetic connected to the ideology of dominance perpetuated and strengthened by the churches was contained most visibly in a particular notion of mission and evangelisation, a notion which separated the gospel from the historical and material context of the people addressed, producing as a result an uncritical self-justifying enthusiasm. Only thus can one understand the otherwise crude terms with which the following call rang out:

> Ethiopa stretches out her hands unto God! Africa cries, with bleeding heart and outstretched hands, for the sympathy, and love and help of the Gospel of Christ .... The call of a continent! A continent that still lies in darkness and the shadow of Death!
> "O Christians to their rescue fly!
> Preach Jesus to them 'ere they die!'"[2]

A question arises: what explains the continued ideologically captivity of the churches to the dominant capitalist, settler milieu in the face of enormous resistance from the indigenous people with whom the churches were so closely associated? One can point readily and obviously to the structures of control and finance in the churches, the close relationships of church leadership to the settler community, particularly government officials and leading

1. The Transvaal Leader, November 20, 1913.
2. SAMSR, (35th), 1916, p.4: Secretary's Report.

capitalists, the imperial connections of at least the Anglican and Methodist Churches, and the various elements in the prevailing view of European cultural supremacy. But there are also indications that even rural mission stations such as Lovedale were to a large extent separated, in practice at least, from the realities facing the proletariat and their dependants. In an article attacking the views of the Christian Express on the Land Act, Sol Plaatje decided to explain why he paid only an extremely brief visit, his first, to Lovedale in a tour of the country. His elucidation points to the somewhat protected situation of mission stations:

> I think my duty is with the suffering millions of our people, and not among the one thousand on the Lovedale Estate, who are well-fed and well cared for. I have satisfied myself that they need no outside assistance. Even Section 8 (h) of our latest plague, the Natives Land Plague (sic), 1913, attests that they are impregnable under the protection of the missionary agents.[1]

Another clue may be contained in the testimony of Bishop Gibson to the value placed in missions by the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, the mine recruiting body, who on at least one recorded occasion made a substantial donation to the work of mission[2].

During the World War years, as might be expected, a resurgence of imperial idealism made itself felt, and particular pride in the loyalty of 'our native people' was expressed[3]. However, with the end of international strife and the increasing tempo of national industrial unrest, new elements intruded into the churches.

Previously, the impetus to a new understanding of Labour was discussed. That such a development was novel is indicated by a London reporter's comment on the Pretoria

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1. CE, December 1, 1913, p.189.
2. Bishop A.G.S. Gibson, "Christianity among the Bantu in South Africa", East and West, Vol.XI, 1913.
3. For example, MCMC, 1915, p.141; Transvaal and Swazi Dist. Dir. 1916/17, p.6.

Diocesan Synod of 1915, in which he expressed surprise at 'a touch of socialism' among certain clergy, and one instance of 'almost passionate affection' for the working classes[1]. One earlier reference could be found which analysed the mining companies and other capitalist industries as governed by impersonal considerations of profit, as secured by the state, and as responsive to public opinion (but only via the share market), rather than as moral decision-makers. However, despite implying an option for the workers as 'the weaker party', the conclusion is made that the present order should remain because a 'socialistic' solution was 'not immediately practicable, even if desirable'[2]. But after the war a note of radicalism crept in, suggesting that a fundamental change in the system itself may have been required from an economy based primarily on a doctrine of competition to one based on co-operation, a transformation moreover regarded as potentially far more compatible with Christian 'morality' or 'conscience' than the present system[3]. The full extent and seriousness with which socialist alternatives were considered will be analysed after discussing the following decade.

Finally, one other major trend may be discerned in the latter part of the second decade, one reflecting the rise of manufacturing in South Africa and a strengthening of a black bourgeoisie connected to the churches. With respect to the latter, pressures to include blacks more fully in the hierarchical structures of the churches became more prominent, though - unlike the independent church movement - without suggesting that those structures themselves and settler control of them should be seriously challenged[4]. Although it remains for the moment an hypothesis, it seems likely that the surfacing at this point of an unusually deep concern on the part of Africans themselves to have a formal and officially

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1. Sunday Times, London, October 17, 1915.
2. TCC, July 10, 1913.
3. Prov. Miss. Conf. 1918; Archbishop W.M. Carter, "Charge to Cape Town Diocese Synod", 1919.
4. For example, Native Conference, Diocese of Pretoria, Minutes, September 2, 1915.

recognised catalogue of 'Christianised' names for African converts is connected to the stratification of the African population and the particular superiority felt by converts or Kholwas over their 'heathen' compatriots[1].

The ideology of the manufacturing class wells up at this stage in the distilled phrases that could also be found on the lips of successful merchants or rising manufacturers as located by B. Bozzoli[2]. Thus 'common sense' is increasingly expressed in terms of categories of behaviour and attitude that include 'Christian patience', 'moderation and self-restraint'[3], 'moral greatness', 'pioneers of the land', 'family altars and worship', and the 'revival of soul converting power and of deep and satisfying experience'[4]. Similarly, at least one leading churchman proposed a possible breaking of somewhat tenuous relations with the SANNC, not on political grounds but for reasons of the questionable morality of some of its responsible members[5]. The instrumentalist world-view of a manufacturing class may perhaps be discerned too in some church support for a plan of 'scientific study of native problems' by the government and universities, by which was meant the establishment of academic chairs to indicatively named 'ethnological bureaux'[6].

Summarising, the dominant ideological patterns in the English-speaking churches by the beginning of the 1920s are recognizably similar to those evident in mid-Victorian England when a successful business middle-class influenced by

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1. Ibid., August 30; and for several years afterwards.
2. B. Bozzoli (1973/4), pp.62-7.
3. TMC, February 24, 1919; MCMC, 1919, p.135.
4. MCMC, 1918, pp.64-7, passim.
5. Archdeacon Lee, Prov. Miss. Conf., Minutes, September 1918.
6. Cape Town Diocesan Synod, 1919.

Protestant evangelicalism began to reshape convention and practice: 'industriousness, tolerance, self-reliance, and self-help, earnest endeavour, liberality of mind' - these were the characteristic virtues; 'piety, fidelity, to the pledged word, good faith, ... and charity' - these defined the crucial values[1]; and the whole could be captured in the concepts of restraint and responsibility[2].

c. Consolidation and Control: 1920-1930

> If he is not much more (sic), he is the beast of burden; he is the worker and you need him. He is carrying this country on his back.[3]
>
> - Jan Smuts

> To keep us wallowing in the mud the white man must wallow along with us to keep us down there.[4]
>
> - Transvaal Native Mine Clerk's Association

i) Overview: Political Economy

The various political and economic forces that marked the first twenty years of the new century came to a temporary climax soon afterwards, occasioned by deep-seated challenges to capital on the part of labour as a result of the numerous contradictions arising in the earlier historical process. These challenges formed themselves along the lines already present, generally resulting in diametrically opposed responses to white (settler) workers and black (colonized) workers, as manifested most conspicuously at the political level in the form of the 'Civilized labour policy' and the Herzog 'native bills' respectively.

At the same time competition between the national and foreign fractions of capital intensified, affecting the outcome of white labour struggles in particular and resulting in

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1. D. Thomson (1950), p.229.
2. G.M. Young (1964), p.2 and pp.24-5.
3. Cited in J. Stone (1973), p.128, footnote.
4. Memorandum from the Transvaal Mine Clerks Assoc. to the Mining Industry Board, 1922, T. Karis and G. Carter (1972), Vol.I, p.323.

political victory for an alliance of manufacturing and agricultural capital in the form of the Pact Government.*

'The largest number of workers on strike in South Africa's entire history', comments Johnstone, referring to the period 1919-1921[1]. Of the sixty-six strikes during 1920[2], two were especially momentous: the first involved some 70 000 African mineworkers on the Rand (it also received SANNC support)[3]; and the second, led by Samuel Masobala at Port Elizabeth, ended with twenty-one killed[4]. A quotation from Shakespeare, from an article published years earlier during the importation of Chinese labour, is peculiarly appropriate to the native and industrial unrest boiling over at this time:

> Apothecary: "My poverty but not my will consents."
> Romeo: "I pay thy poverty and not thy will."[5]

High levels of inflation also contributed heavily to the discontent of workers; the retail price index increased by over fifty percent between 1916 and 1922 while 'black wages, unlike those of whites who received war bonuses and cost of living allowances, remained relatively unchanged'[6]. African mineworkers in particular bitterly resented the high wage gap between themselves and settler workers, especially in relation to the amount of work performed[7].

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* The theoretical debate among revisionists over the precise identification, location and even validity of 'fractions' of capital has not yet been adequately resolved. For that reason I would prefer here to use the term 'internal capital priority' rather than 'national capital' to indicate both the indisputable shift in political hegemony represented by the Pact Government, and to avoid the impression that capital as such could easily be divided into fractions that are not presumed to interlock with each other at important levels (particularly over and against labour per se). However, the invention of the cumbersome term 'internal capital priority' is too tentative and theoretically unexplored to be utilised here without possibly causing considerable confusion.

1. F. Johnstone (1976), p.126; q.v. also R.K. Cope, "Comrade Bill", Ts, papers, 1941-50.
2. H.J. Simons and R.E. Simons (1969), p.220.
3. F. Johnstone (1976), p.180.
4. R. Davies (1979), p.179.
5. CE, October 1, 1904, p.149.
6. P. Bonner (1980), p.5; Index calcu ted on the basis of 1938 prices = 100.
7. F. Johnstone (1976), p.197.

The authorities could not stand by as these forces grew; a new 'native policy' able to cope with the challenges had to take shape. Its initial features may be seen in three statutes which 'did more than any other legislation to depress the African's wages, depreciate his status and isolate him from the rest of the working class' - the Apprenticeship Act, 1922; the Natives (Urban) Areas Act, 1923; and the Industrial Conciliation Act, 1924[1]. However, before these isolation and control tactics took effect, some solidarity among workers as a whole could be perceived in the white Mine Workers Union's attack on capitalism and their call in 1920 for a worker-controlled economy[2]; in fact the competition between left-wing trade unions and Afrikaner nationalism for the allegiance of white factory operatives and white unskilled workers continued for some three decades[3]. (It is worth pointing out at this juncture that Dunbar Moodie's contention that Afrikaner Nationalism presents an immanent critique of class analysis, a thesis somewhat uncritically favoured by those who resist an historical materialist approach to South African history, is somewhat undermined by recent research - see for example Dan O'Meara's critique of 'the myth of inherent cross-class Afrikaner unity')[4].

The turning point which consolidated new alliances and led to the Pact Government, culminating in the first systematic formulation of 'native policy' by Herzog, was the general strike of 1922, commonly called the 'Rand Revolt'. By the end of the decade the topography of the South African political economy could be perceived in bold relief, naked in its oppression and exploitation, a solid mass of laws and structures reinforced by a racist ideology that would be maintained with increasing force from then onwards in the face of regular and mounting waves of resistance.

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1. H.J. Simons and R.E. Simons (1969), pp.319-20.
2. F. Johnstone (1976), pp.126-7.
3. H.J. Simons and R.E. Simons (1969), p.327: 'two decades', is the actual statement of the book, but in the light of research by O'Meara and others it is safe to say 'three'.
4. D. O'Meara, "White Trade Unionism, Political Power and Afrikaner Nationalism", in E. Webster (ed.) (1978), pp.164-180.

The precipitative cause of the African mineworkers strike in 1920 was their earlier exclusion from wage increases on the mines. Twenty-one mines were affected by the strike, itself a consequence of the distinctive features of African wages - 'their ultra-low level, the stabilisation of this ultra-low level over time, and their falling real value'[1]. White labour leaders gave no support[2], and the only achievement of the strike was a reduction in prices in Rand stores[3]. Fears of what lay behind the strike in terms of a potential danger to the bourgeoisie, were expressed not only by settlers but by leaders of the aspirant black middle-class, small as it was. D.D.T. Jabavu, for instance, son of Tengo and influential in the churches, confirmed the economic roots of the problem, but went on to attack the rise of 'Bolshevism' whose most alarming features he saw in a drive to fabricate an independent African religion and a united resistance to economic enslavement. Pointing to the role of 'agitators', he attacked the brand of socialism being propagated (as opposed to the 'harmless commonsense system advocated by Phillip Snowden and Ramsay Macdonald in their books) and called for counter-acting forces, including the production of 'well educated Native leaders trained in a favourable atmosphere'[4].

At the same time, anti-colonial sentiment gathered strength giving impetus to resistance directed along black nationalist lines, often influenced by American movements, particularly Garveyism. 'It is the law of economics as well as that of psychology' wrote one James Theale in an article on Christianity and "native" policy, 'that the beneficiary of a system will not antagonise it'. Discussing the calling of the Dutch Reformed Church sponsored "European-Bantu Conference" of 1923, a result of the pressure of the 'awakening' of Africans, he felt, he attacked the practical hypocrisy of the settler

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1. F. Johnstone (1976), p.180.
2. H.J. Simons and R.E. Simons (1969), p.233.
3. F. Johnstone (1976), p.183.
4. D.D.T. Jabavu, "Native Unrest", paper to Natal Miss. Conf., July 1920; in T. Karis and G. Carter (1972), Vol.I, pp.119-125, passim.

churches as well as the 'good boys ... none other than men of our own race ... luminaries ... graduates', whom he believed to have become 'beneficiaries of the system'[1].

The movement that rose up to the forefront in leaps and bounds during this period, a movement at its climax perhaps powerful enough - but for certain crucial organisational and political errors - to have changed the face of South Africa, was Kadalie's burgeoning ICU. In May of 1920 it was launched nationally and within a few years had a mass base across the country[2]. The exploitation wage structure was recognised by it as the basis for the division between white and black labour[3], while the attack of the ICU landed squarely upon the heads of capitalists and the bourgeoisie in general[4]. Consequently hostility began to arise as the ICU prospered, leading well-known reformist Father Huss to complain that 'where at one time I would have been heard with respect, I am faced with bitter antagonism and bombarded with questions', a situation attributed to 'this deadly threat, to the peace of the country, the ICU'[5].

At this stage the ICU had already expelled communists in the movement, influenced Roux believes, by the Joint Council of Africans and Europeans established earlier in Johannesburg in response to the widespread unrest at the beginning of the decade[6]. However, by the end of the decade the ICU was in decline, their opportunity lost through a combination of a lack of 'a firm base in large-scale industry

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1. J.S. Theale, "Christianity, Basis of Native Policy?", The Workers Herald, December 21, 1923; in T. Karis and G. Carter (1972), Vol.II, pp.214-5.

2. T.R.H. Davenport (1977), p.210, gives a brief historical description of the ICU.

3. q.v. C. Kadalie, "Open Letter to Blackpool", The New Leader, September 30, 1927, in T. Karis and G. Carter (1972), Vol.II, pp.214-5.

4. q.v. C. Kadalie, African Labour Congress, The Workers Herald, December 21, 1923, in T. Karis and G. Carter (1972), Vol.I, pp.324-5.

5. The Star, September 1927, cited in E. Roux (1964), pp.173-4.

6. Ibid., pp.161-2 and p.166.

(on the shop floor), recognition by employers, and a record of successful strikes'[1], as well as elements of 'intrigue, incompetence, mismanagement and dishonesty'[2].

Other manifestations of resistance of a totally different order, were to be seen in the last stand of Enoch Mgijimas "Israelites", who refused to remove themselves from traditional religious ground at Ntabalenga and in consequence faced the deadly violence of the state at the so-named Bulhoek massacre[3]; in the millenarian movements of Wellington Buthelezi and others; in the Bondelswartz rebellion in South West Africa[4]; and in various outbursts towards the end of the decade including riots and pass burnings[5]. But these events, hurtful as they were, were less significant in relation to the political economy than the upsurge of militant trade unionism between 1928 and 1932. The 'new unions' arose largely among those employed in the now substantial secondary industry, and consisted of an inter-racial class alliance among workers largely owing to a 'considerable overlap of functions within the labour process between the different racial groups'. Strike action, dormant since 1922, increased dramatically, bringing the entire industry to a standstill in two instances[6].

Thus we have the one salient feature of the decade, namely, the growth of black (colonised) resistance in the industrial context, its increasing sophistication in the maturity of the proletarianisation process (not yet complete), and its inclusion of several class alliances across caste lines. At the same time, contradictions resulting from the effects of the colonial character of capitalism served to

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1. T.R.H. Davenport (1977), p.180.
2. E. Roux (1964), p.197.
3. q.v. T.R.H. Davenport (1977), p.178; E. Roux (1964), pp.135-9; B. Sundkler (1961), pp.72-3.
4. q.v. T.R.H. Davenport (1979), p.191; E. Roux (1964), pp.141-3.
5. For example, the Bloemfontein riots of 1925 (5 killed); Natal riots in 1929; and pass burnings in Natal in 1930 and 1931.
6. J. Lewis, "The New Unionism: Industrialization and Industrial Unions in South Africa, 1925-1930", in E. Webster (ed.) (1978), pp.137-8.

introduce tensions within the working class that were frequently exploited by capital and settlers in general, a phenomenon perhaps most observable in the decline of the ICU and the existence of another separate body of unions more radically socialist in nature, including those which formed the South African Trades and Labour Council in 1930[1].

But a further feature of the period, the incorporation of white labour by the state in an attempt to eliminate certain 'politically threatening forms of class practice and class struggle', requires us to retrace our steps somewhat.

The particular conditions of class conflict at the end of the previous decade led to a situation requiring state intervention, a predicament precipitated by the peculiar structure of the mining industry and the profitability crisis of the early 1920s. The effect of intervention was 'to create the conditions for the white wage-earning classes to emerge as supportive classes for the form of state'[2]. The result was the Pact Government; the occasion of the Rand Revolt.

Contraction of the gold-mining industry since 1914 led to the point in November 1921 at which seven mines were already running at a marginal profit or at a loss; one month later it was fifteen. Rising costs, inflation and a return by Britain to the gold standard at pre-war parity (a 35% drop in price)[3], combined with a generalised post-World War recession, forced the Chamber of Mines to propose 'a reduction of the wages of the highest paid miners, the abolition of the Status Quo Agreement, and a reorganisation of underground work ... to make greater use of native labour in semi-skilled occupations'[4].

At the beginning of 1922 the mines laid off two thousand white workers, and on January 8th a strike ballot was called. Coal-miners were already on strike and two days later white

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1. q.v. E. Roux (1964), p.327ff.
2. R. Davies (1979), p.32, passim.
3. OX: p.26.
4. F. Johnstone (1976), p.130.

workers on the gold mines, in power stations, and in engineering shops came out. The situation deteriorated over the next weeks until the proclamation of a general strike on March 5, and following in short order, the first white assault on Africans, a widespread uprising including street war, the declaration of martial law and a violent end to it all.

The diverse forces at work during the Rand Revolt have been variously analysed[1]. But what was an essentially economic struggle over the 'precise mode of operation of the system of racial discrimination (based on exploitation colour bars)' according to the specific and in some ways contradictory class interests and problems of the mining companies and white workers[2], resulted in a profound separation of the bulk of the white labour movement from the black proletariat, (even the recently established Communist Party, contrary to its principles, appeared to support this division)[3]. The threat to the interests of white labour, coming as it did from the mine owners on the one side and the competition of many times cheaper black labour on the other[4], produced the fertile ground of an alliance between national capital - in the form of Herzog's National Party - and white labour over and against mining capital - in the shape of the newly enlarged South African Party led by Smuts[5]. Whereas the economic goals of the employers were secured in the crushing of the revolt 'through the direct substitution of African workers for whites in semi-skilled work ... through work extension ... through techno-logical innovation (jack-hammer drill)' - in short, through more profitable labour reorganisation - the manner of resolution of the crisis proved to be politically costly[6].

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1. Ibid., pp.125-136; also T.R.H. Davenport (1977), pp.192-196; H. Houghton (1967), pp.143-147; R.K. Cope, "Comrade Bill", Ts, Papers, 1941-50.

2. F. Johnstone (1976), p.136.

3. H.J. Simons and R.E. Simons (1969), p.299; q.v. also the United Front Manifesto (SALP and SACP) of 1922, directed against both Smuts and the Chamber of Mines, W. Hills, Diary, 1922, CPSA Archives.

4. E. Roux (1964), pp.134 and 144.
5. T.R.H. Davenport (1977), pp.187-8 and pp.193-6.
6. F. Johnstone (1976), pp.138-145, passim.

Long term structural developments and conditions in the political economy of South Africa came to a head in post-war changes, producing a convergence of interests between the groups represented politically by the Labour Party and the National Party[1], and in the wake of the 1922 upheaval, they were able to capitalise on the conflicts involved to assert the primacy of their own particular interests[2]. Their election pact represented a class alliance over and against mining capital and its imperial interests. The victory of the Pact Alliance in 1924 enabled the new government to appropriate parts of the mining surplus:

> (a) to allow the emergence of a national bourgeoisie based on industry and agriculture, and
> (b) to protect white labour in a position of privilege.[3]

The industrial policy of the Pact Government thus sought to do three things:

> to protect South African industry against outside competition and thus conserve foreign exchange, to protect poor whites against black and Coloured competition in the unskilled field, and to protect skilled white workers from undercutting by black competition in the higher trades.[4]

The particular historical moment of these events coincided with the rapidly growing organisation of African workers; the specific trajectory of the development of capitalism that resulted from this 'critical conjuncture' meant that the possibilities of a solid and widespread convergence of the whole working class were eliminated, and 'any possible reinforcement ... of the struggles of the African dominated classes' avoided for the forseeable future[5]. Thus the trends of the earlier decades of industrialisation solidified into explicit policies in the hands of the Herzog Government, appearing most clearly in the earlier Smuts-sponsored Industrial Conciliation Act (1924: Africans being excluded from the

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1. <u>Ibid</u>., p.152.
2. R. Davies (1979), p.169; T.R.H. Davenport (1977), p.197.
3. D. O'Meara in E. Webster (ed.) (1978), p.70.
4. T.R.H. Davenport (1977), p.361.
5. R. Davies (1979), p.198.

definition of 'employees'); the 'Civilized Labour Policy' (1924: work creation and support for unemployed whites); the Wage Act (1925: laying down minimum wages for white unskilled workers); the Mines and Works Amendment Act (1926: colour bar in mining ratified); and the proposals generally known as the Herzog Bills, introduced in 1926 (formalising and systematizing 'native policy' on the lines already established and first annunciated in most aspects by Lagden).

The Industrial Conciliation Act seriously undermined independent Union action among white workers, and excluded African workers totally from the negotiating and bargaining processes of the new industrial councils, while 'coloureds' and some Indians were drawn in to the system. Those in the councils were able to protect themselves against undercutting, the 'chief bargaining weapon' of African labour, and to enter into agreements prejudicial to consumers and lower paid workers. The total effect of the Act was to extend the pattern of labour organisation on the mines to manufacturing industries, perpetuating the huge wage gap between the settler and colonized workers and giving the former a stake in the white power structure[1].

Processes of capitalist development affecting blacks did not discriminate on the basis of skin pigmentation; whites were also negatively influenced. Many rural settlers were forced off the land by some of the factors pressuring the black peasantry, especially 'as land became more commercially viable', as 'class differentiation in Afrikaner society deepened', and as black peasants undercut some less favourably placed white _bywoners_[2]. The rinderpest epidemic (1896/7), the burning of farms by the British during the Anglo-Boer War, the sustained drought between 1903-8 - all these factors played a role in the genesis of a landless, dependent, unskilled body

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1. H.J. Simons and R.E. Simons (1969), pp.334-6, _passim_; also R. Davies and J. Lever, both in E. Webster (ed.) (1978), pp.67-108.
2. C. Bundy (1979), p.210.

of 'poor whites'[1], estimated by the Carnegie Commission in its 1932 report to have risen to 300 000, all but ten percent being Afrikaner[2].

The cost of employing unskilled whites - whose families' subsistence and reproduction unlike most black workers had to be included[3], who were not subject to the controls of the forced labour system (such as contracts, compounds, recruiting monopsony), and who had some political rights as colonial settlers - meant that the mines, the largest employers, found their employment unprofitable, especially given the marginal profit structure of the industry[4]. However, representatives of national capital, desiring an expanded market and a strengthening of their power bloc, saw in the 'poor whites' a possible 'supportive class'[5]. This concern underlay the attention paid to the 'poor white problem', what E.G. Malherbe described as the peculiarity of the South African situation in which 'poor whiteism' rather than 'poverty as such' dominated debate[6]. To this end the Pact Government strengthened the colour bars in industry and pursued its 'civilized labour' policy, ultimately leading those unskilled whites most affected by capitalist development to seek jobs and security from the government and the white supremacy parties, who acquired their support by defining the problem as racial and provided racially protective legislation in return for support[7].

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1. T.R.H. Davenport (1977), p.225. Church records show little interest in the 'poor whites' as such, and what references there are tend to be very superficial in their view on the issue, sometimes even contemptuous. q.v. The Net: Zululand Miss. Assoc. Quarterly, December 1922; TCC, October 30, 1924; SAO, March 1925, p.61; and G. Callaway, "The Native Problem in SA", Pamphlet, Oxford 1926, p.7.
2. D. Welsh, "Growth of Towns" in OX: p.176; also F. Johnstone (1976), pp.59-60.
3. S. Trapido (1977), p.32.
4. R. Davies (1979), pp.54-65, passim.
5. Ibid., pp.76-7.
6. J. Stone (1973), p.124.
7. q.v. H.J. Simons and R.E. Simons (1969), p.339; also F. Johnstone (1976), pp.70-71.

The job colour bars in the mining industry came under severe judgment in the Hildich-Smith case of 1923, in effect a test of the legality of the bars which were contained in the Regulations of the Mines and Works Act (1911) but not in the enabling Act itself[1]. The bars were consequently declared <u>ultra vires</u> leading to a somewhat anomalous and unclear situation. Pressures from white workers pushed the Pact Government into formalising the matter in return for continued loyalty, beginning with the Wage Act, an effective protection for white workers and work-seekers against competition from black labour through minimum wage stipulations[2], and ending in the Mines and Works Amendment Act which rejected the earlier anomaly by including job colour bars in the enabling Act[3]. An opposing and widely held view was clearly stated by Smuts on behalf of the South African Party:

> When you had effective de facto racial discrimination, there was no need to raise all this feeling all over the country, and thus to threaten the status quo by making it more overt. The position of his Party was: 'Let us stick to the old colour bar Regulations as they have been working in the mines, a course which would lead to no outcry in the country'.[4]

Black reaction to the 'colour bar' was mixed; the 'limits placed on their capacity for capital accumulation' drew strong and emotional reaction from the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie (small business owners, petty commodity producers, professionals and the 'salariat')[5], whereas African workers found this issue of far less concern than the various elements of 'the system of ultra-exploitation of labour constituted by the exploitation colour bars of the employers'[6].

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1. F. Johnstone (1976), pp.145-6 and p.69; see also p.149, articulating reasons for the acceptance by the mining companies of a limited colour bar rather than their complete removal.
2. <u>Ibid</u>., p.158; q.v. also pp.72-4; E. Roux (1964), p.152.
3. Arguments for the job colour bars are elucidated in F. Johnstone (1976), pp.162-66.
4. <u>Ibid</u>., p.165.
5. P. Bonner (1980), p.19.
6. F. Johnstone (1976), p.184.

Finally, the 1920s witnessed several events encapsulating the trends of twentieth century development in the South African political economy. Crises were occasioned at almost every point by a rising conflict between capital and labour, and in some cases by the ongoing dynamics of colonial subjugation and expropriation as the process of proletarianisation continued in the rural areas. The characteristics of settler colonialism, a unique cost structure in the dominant mining industry, and the growth of the national capital combined to produce the main features of a social formation still today largely intact, and an attendant racist ideology by which certain alliances were cemented and overall control over, and division of labour was confirmed. Thus the struggles of the following few decades, it may be concluded, took place within a framework and a milieu largely determined during the first three decades of this century notwithstanding further transformations in the political economy enforced by historical developments in capitalism and by national and international resistance. From the Lagden Commission to the Herzog Bills: a period during which the trajectory of capitalist development resulted in the rise to power of national capital, in the incorporation of white labour, in the support of the 'poor white' proletariat for a nationalist state under settler control, in the flowering of a racist ideology still to gain in force, and in the division of the labour movement; a period too of increasingly sophisticated and organised industrial resistance accompanied by the march of African nationalism, most visible by the end of the period in the ICU and the African National Congress (the renamed SANNC, 1923) respectively.

ii) The Church: Crisis and Contradiction, 1920-1925

> I will never forget the cruel and terrible history of the demand for cheap labour. Modern industry since the industrial revolution has shown itself again and again to be anti-social and inhuman in its passion for cheapness, and to be ready to plead economic necessity to justify the exploitation of the worker.[1]
>
> \- Bishop of Pretoria

> ... it was the period ... when the Church really discovered what its function was in social and political affairs.[2]
>
> \- Peter Hinchliff

'It is a melancholy truth', wrote W.C. Scully, for forty years a civil commissioner and stipendiary magistrate in the Cape Colony, 'that South Africa has no policy relating to the native or the Coloured man'. Yet he was sufficiently sensitive to add that what policy did exist was aimed at 'getting them to work as hard as possible for the lowest possible wage, and keeping them from having any hand in the shaping of their own - so far dolorous destiny'[3]. Such sentiments virtually filled the pages of church newspapers, journals and reports at the beginning of the decade, testifying to a sudden awakening on the part of the Church to the economic plight of the African working class, and producing an upsurge of interest in socialism at the same time.

The historian of the CPSA describes it as a period when 'the championship of the underprivileged was the great ideal', when many in the Anglican Church shared 'a muscular Anglo-Catholic, vaguely socialist Christianity that would not be suppressed'[4]. The Church Chronicle carried a series of "Essays in Socialism" through the middle months of 1920, the

1. The Kingdom, Diocese of Pretoria, April 1922.
2. P. Hinchliff (1963), p.216.
3. TCC, January 8, 1920.
4. P. Hinchliff (1963), p.232.

Methodist Conference laid out principles for the relation of Capital and labour, the Christian Express debated the issues, and many leading individuals called for a new deal. Why this rather dramatic critical spirit at this point? Why the apparent shift of the Church from dependency on the ruling class and its ideology to a 'vague' alternative?

No judgment on the matter can be made without first reference to the powerful impact of massive industrial resistance. Clearly it was no coincidence that the new critical spirit should arise in the year of the African mine workers strike after a two year period (since 1918) of well over one hundred other strikes. One churchman drew the lesson that 'there is nothing to be gained by fighting trade unions but everything to be gained by working with them'[1]. Later, a CPSA newspaper analysed the root cause of all the restlessness and discontent to be 'the realization of the worker of the position that is due to him as a human being'[2]. And in July 1920, the Natal Missionary Conference heard from D.D.T. Jabavu a long paper on the cause and cure of the wide-spread discontent and unrest: 'Feelings ... are seething like the molten volcanic lava in the breasts of these inarticulate people', he declared, pointing to wages earned as the immediate cause of trouble, and criticising as well, taxation without representation, the unification of whites against blacks in the Union Act, the Land Act, the failure of all appeals for restitution locally and internationally, a host of other laws including 'the most signal way to repress and humiliate another ... the system of the Pass Laws', and the felt injustice of the Department of Justice[3].

Church records reveal that the 'awakening' of a critical spirit must be understood by analogy to a slumbering body falling from an overturned bed, rather than something

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1. TCC, January 22, 1920; comment by M.O. Hodson.
2. TCC, August 11, 1921.
3. CE, October 1, 1920, pp.153-6; continued in CE, November 1, 1920, pp.167-171.

emerging from the internal dynamics of church worship and proclamation. Fright is thus also evident: 'I am afraid and disturbed by the attitudes of our Christian natives and better educated ones ... it is very grave and unsatisfactory', confessed one gentleman of the cloth[1].

Crisis was producing criticism. Even so, the limits to the critical spirit were defined by the concept of law and order above all. The massacre of the Israelites at Bulhoek, though regarded as somewhat unnecessary and tragic[2], was felt by Archbishop Carter to be an inevitable result of threatening behaviour against the government[3]. Similarly, the churches by and large responded to the Rand Revolt in praise for a government 'brave, fearless and honest'[4], while also lauding the loyalty and the respect for law and order shown by blacks[5].

In short the Church battled with itself in the midst of unavoidable turmoil as it sought to discover what its function was. Renewed attention was paid to land issues, some seeing this as the very essence of the problem[6]. Though the South African Missionary Society saw the deterioration in the rural areas, appearing in the 'mournful tragedies of drought, pestilence, starvation, and death', as a serious menace to 'our fine labour supply'[7], the more general view mirrored a belief that blacks were 'robbed of their land and thus, ipso facto, of freedom as well[8]. In appropriate imagery, South African Outlook (previously Christian Express) warned that 'we

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1. Rev. A.W. Cragg, Diary entry, September 1, 1921.
2. q.v. for example CE, July 1, 1921, pp.104-5; Archbishop W.M. Carter, ALS, June 2, 1921.
3. Archbishop W.M. Carter, ALS, May 25 and June 9, 1921.
4. The Net: Zululand Miss.Assoc. Quarterly, June 1922; also MCMC, 1922, p.107.
5. MCMC, loc. cit.; Tvl and Swazi Dist, (1923/4), p.6; TMC, February 5, 1923.
6. TMC, October 8, 1923; Tvl Missions Quarterly, January 1924; MCMC, 1924, p.141.
7. SAMSR, (39th), 1920, p.2.
8. q.v. for example CE, April 2, 1923, p.92.

are engaged in sowing a most appalling crop of undying (and justifiable) hatred. God knows what the harvest will be, and when; but we shall undoubtedly reap'[1].

But land problems concerned not only expropriation of space; by 1920 there were roughly half a million farm workers whose conditions of employment were comparable with, perhaps worse than, mine workers[2]. The effective price paid for farm labour was believed to be equally exploitative[3]; womenfolk of male farm workers were in practice required to add their labour to the production process without compensation[4]; wages were sufficiently low on many farms to induce stock theft to supplement food[5]. These matters too were taken up by churches, most notably Lovedale Mission, producing in the long run considerable sympathy for the aspirations of the colonised people as manifested in various forms of resistance[6], and even causing one observer to point to Garveyism ("Africa for the Africans") as popular evidence of white oppression[7].

One may point to further evidence of the relatively strong interest of the churches in the effects and practices of a colonial form of capitalist exploitation at this juncture. Undue taxation of blacks was attacked, especially as it was administered without representation or a just share in benefits[8]; recruitment practices and the migrant labour system came under fire once or twice[9]; the 'dog tax rebellion' of the Bondelswartz people received astonishing support from

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1. Ibid., May 1, 1923, pp.117-8.
2. H. Houghton (1967), p.47, gives a 1918 figure of about 488 000 wage-earners on farms.
3. CE, April 1, 1920, p.63.
4. Ibid., May 1, 1923, p.118.
5. 'Advance', June 1923, p.106; SAO, November 2, 1925, p.250.
6. MCMC, 1926, p.189.
7. Church Times, London, July 29, 1925, from a SA Correspondent.
8. The Kingdom, Diocese of Pretoria, July 1921, Native Conference Diocese of Pretoria, Minutes, 1921.
9. CE, February 2, 1920, p.25.

some (though their cause was favourably contrasted with the Israelites of Ntabalenga, who were thought to be stirring rebellion among blacks throughout the Union - an illuminating indication of the limits of criticism)[1]; the Bloemfontein riots of 1925 were regarded as a demonstration of 'the evils and dangers of the popular white policy of segregation', and the subsequent treatment of black residents as unjust[2]; and the legal system, especially in the rural areas, was thought to be wholly imbalanced against blacks, with punishments and fines out of proportion to offences and earning capacities, improper favouritism to colonials, widespread perjury, and loaded juries being common features[3].

When the political fabric of the whole country was being shaken apart, the material contradictions inherent in the political economy creating strains that threatened to overwhelm the structure already in existence, the Church found itself forced to face the situation critically by virtue of its tenuous position in the society between those it depended upon, the dominant groups - and those who claimed its attention from within, the large body of black membership. But those same material contradictions intruded upon the Church, generating incongruencies that bring into question the nature of its criticism. Thus, whereas labour and labour issues were on the one hand to be taken seriously for the first time, on the other hand no coherent understanding emerged of what this meant. The reaction of the churches to the Rand Revolt exhibits the ambiguities most directly.

Initially, the protectionism of the job colour bars on the mines was tilted at[4], and as the strike began, a call was made for the raising of African wages to that of white mineworkers[5].

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1. SAO, July 1, 1922, pp.138-40; also August 1, 1922, p.161.
2. Ibid., May 1, 1925, p.104; also September 1, pp.202-3, and November 2, p.242.
3. Prov. Miss. Conf. Minutes, November 1923; Bishop A. Karney, Jhbg, Charge to Diocese, Ts, May 1924, and LS, February 11, 1925.
4. TMC, May 31, 1920.
5. SAO, March 1, 1922, pp.52-3.

Such illusory suggestions were not of course taken seriously, and as the strike persisted one Church organ sought a 'reformed spirit' among conflicting parties, and a reformed system[1]. In like manner, thirteen pastors of seven denominations on the East Rand published a document calling for a conciliatory spirit and co-operation between capital and labour, while pointing out the need for workplace reform and a fairer utilisation of profits, though they were careful to indicate that there was no intention 'to pronounce on the rights of this struggle'[2].

Once the conflict had erupted into an armed battle, however, attitudes changed rapidly. Blacks, it was declared, must 'at all costs' be kept out of the struggle between capital and labour; in this respect the role of indunas and mine clerks who had recently been upgraded in establishing and maintaining control of workers was treated as a tribute to the wisdom of the Chamber of Mines[3]. That black workers belonged to the labouring class was evidently a dangerous admission in this respect.

The distinction between white and black workers, viewed as that between 'the real mine labourers' and a white 'labour aristocracy'[4], became the basis for differing attitudes to the two fractions of labour as well as to the state which acted at this point on behalf of mining capitalists. White mine workers were increasingly rejected in speech and practice[5], though one vicarage did attempt a policy of meditation between police and strikers, albeit simultaneously acquiring the wrath of both the strike committee and mine officials[6]. When it was all over, general

1. TMC, February 6, 1922.
2. The Star, Monday, February 6, 1922.
3. SAO, March 1, 1922, pp.46-7.
4. Ibid., loc. cit., p.52; The Church Times, London, March 23, 1922, a SA correspondent; TMC, August 11, 1924.
5. q.v. for example, TMC, April 10, 1922; implied also in the Martial Law Commission Report, 1922, evidence of Rev. Olifant, p.524, and evidence of D. Snowdon, p.125; also Bishop E.T. Paget, "Address to Benoni Congregation", papers, 1922.
6. This was St Dunstan's vicarage; q.v. Bishop E.F. Paget, papers, 1922.

relief was expressed at Smuts' handling of the situation, at the 'loyalty' of blacks, and at the quelling of the attempt of the National Party to ally itself with the white Labour Party now representing a majority of Afrikaner mine workers (this last relief was of course premature)[1].

Taking into account the precious little available evidence that the churches displayed any substantial interest in the actual conditions of workers on the mines once the revolt was over (at least until the rise of the militant 'new unions' after 1925) and bearing in mind an obvious and growing hostility towards the political representative of national capital and white labour, the reaction of the churches to the 1922 upheaval parallels remarkably closely the position of the mine owners themselves and mining capital in general. This is true in relation to the competition between national and foreign fractions of capital, to the privileged place of white labour in the industrial system, to the desirable division between settler (white) and colonised (black) fractions of labour, to the controls over black labour in particular, and to the rise of radical socialist doctrines.

Therefore, one must conclude that the unstable conditions of the first years of the 1920s, while producing a flurry of critical moments and ideas in the Church did not, in the last resort, prove strong enough to shake the foundations of the Church's functional dependency on the ruling class. Rather, the general position of the earlier decades, for a while in serious doubt, replicated itself in the years after the Rand Revolt. Perhaps this is most conspicuous in the 'vagueness', the lack of historical specificity, of the Church's brief flirtation with socialist ideas.

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1. SAO, April 1, 1923, pp.66-7.

'Socialism of the worst calibre is claiming our people', stressed D.D.T. Jabavu, describing its features in terms of opposition to Christianity, which was called the 'white man's religion', and of opposition to economic enslavement[1]. Neither of these features made him comfortable. Commenting on the Martial Law Commission Report (1922), Outlook expressed the hope that a 'human native policy' would soon be formulated to counter the influence of 'Communistic Bolshevism'[2]. And the Provincial Missionary Conference of 1923 heard a confidential statement from Colonel Kirkpatrick, Chief of Police in Grahamstown, concerning 'criminal and Bolshevistic movements now taking place among the Natives', with a request 'to do their utmost to check this movement'[3].

Evidently, any interest in socialist thought and practice that the Church might have had stopped at the point where it became a tool for the potent organization of black labour. Consequently one expects to find that concern for the working class stayed within a particular ideological framework - Capital and labour as two necessary counter-balancing sectors of society; harmonious relations between the two sectors as the prime good; a relatively unselfish use of profit on the part of capital and an understanding of the limits to labour power on the part of the workers; co-operation rather than repression or resistance - in short social democratic presuppositions concerned with system reform rather than a new system entirely. All these elements appear in Church records of the time[4].

It is important to recognise that whatever might be the particular impact upon another political economy of social democratic practice, in the context of South Africa during the 1920s the workable implications of such a position in an economy overwhelmingly characterized by 'ultra-

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1. CE, November 1, 1920, pp.170-1; Address to Natal Missionary Conference.
2. SAO, December 1, 1922, pp.258-9.
3. Prov. Miss. Conf., Minutes, November 1923.
4. q.v. for example MCMC, 1921, pp.128-9; TCC, March 23, 1922; TMC, April 3, 1922; Bishop A. Karney, "Charge to Diocese of Johannesburg", Ts, May 1924; RDM, 1925, in Rev. W.A. Palmer, Scrapbook, 1925-1945.

exploitation' (to use Johnston's rather awkward but accurate term) were severely limited. Thus although the churches gave some expression on occasion to fairly radical demands - such as the participation of workers in decision-making and management of industry, the idea of industry as a public service rather than a private enterprise[1], and alignment with the cause of labour[2] - no specific analysis, no particular programme, no unambiguous policy, and no theological clarification appears to have been carried out. Moreover, little evidence may be found of the Church forging a close relationship to labour as such, either black or white, while, on the contrary, its connections to sections of capital and to the small but influential black bourgeoisie were deepened[3]. The Dutch Reformed Church's growing contact with a sector of labour (white Afrikaner essentially) by contrast highlights the middle-class base of the CPSA and Methodist Churches, though none showed any great capacity to relate to colonised workers.

One must conclude therefore that the possibilities for a new debate, for a revised understanding of the Church, its theology, and its role in a colonial, capitalist form of society, and for a new practical congruent with such developments, were by and large lost even as they were discovered. Thus when Hinchliff writes that ...

> the influence of theologans like F.D. Maurice, and the historic crusades of Anglo-Catholic priests in the English slums had a profound effect upon the Anglican Church in this country. The ideal of the priest became that of the Christian socialist, struggling to bring to Faith the poor and underprivileged, fighting their battles in matters of housing, of political and civil rights, striving for social justice, for fair wages and no sweated labour ....[4]

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1. TCC, December 23, 1920.
2. Ibid., September 30, 1920; and to a lesser extent, ibid., November 16, 1922.
3. P. Hinchliff (1963), makes an interesting observation in this respect, p.232; q.v. also Bishop J. Williams, St Johns Pastoral Letter, Lent 1922; W.C. Atkins, "The Cash Value of Native Education", Pamphlet, Adams Mission Station 1923; Archbishop W.M. Carter, ALS, 6 letters, January 12-April 6, 1972, in which Smuts and his government receive great sympathy and admiration; and TMC, October 8, 1923; among many other similar references which support the point made here.
4. P. Hinchliff (1963), p.231.

... he describes a certain intellectual ideal attached to a practice defined by service rather than solidarity, and within the terms and the limits of the dominant and prevailing political economy rather than the resistance of the colonised and of workers in general. To that extent, the ideal remained an abstraction maintained by an institution still functionally dependent upon the ruling powers.

iii) The Church: Religion and Reform, 1925-1930

> And to our Native people we say: "Be loyal to the Church which has done so much for you. Use all its ordinances and enter into life's relationships with its sanction and blessing. Above all, do not be misled by those who would have you believe that your awakening race-consciousness can be satisfied and your true development secured simply by the improvement of political, educational, and economic conditions."[1]
>
> - Address of the Methodist Conference to members of the Church

> Give the people their rights before they demand them and you will be saved the indignity of being forced, soon or late, to surrender them.[2]
>
> - W.D. Cingo

Consonant with the English-speaking churches' proclivity to reflect the interests and views of mining capital on the one hand, while on the other being bound as a body organised on the basis of voluntary association to respond to the press of its black membership, the last half of the decade saw a growing conflict with the newly empowered Pact Government, and a revived concern for the place of blacks within the South African political economy. Arising out of the strong interest displayed earlier in questions of industrial ethics and the relationship of the Church to labour, relatively more notice is paid to labour organisations and the material conditions of workers, though generally within the limits outlined before. But the dominant issue of the time unquestionably became the 'colour bar', with the Herzog Bills of 1926 providing the

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1. MCMC, 1929, p.208.
2. Forward, August 10, 1926, p.3.

primary impetus to furious debate and some action in this respect[1]. As a result, for the first time the anti-colour bar syndrome (more recently, 'anti-apartheid') of the English-speaking churches blossomed into firm antagonism to the state - or at least, to the particular form of the state governed by the hegemony of national capital.

The struggle of the English-speaking churches to define the role of Christianity in the conflicts of South African society was thus increasingly characterised by a critique of the particular trajectory of capitalist development at this stage, in favour of an alternative trajectory embodying policies of reform broadly similar to what has become known as English liberalism. Consequently, the capitalist nature of the political economy receded as a critical topic, while the major focus of battle became the specific form of capitalism suitable to South African conditions; this distinction it is argued, notwithstanding certain exceptional instances, remains true of the churches for the next fifty years.

Prior to the election of the Pact Coalition, the Dutch Reformed Church had initiated a widely attended conference to discuss 'native policy' and relations between 'European and Bantu'. This, and the Pact's policy platform, spurred discussion of these matters both among churches and black political bodies[2]. Amidst numerous warnings about the exclusion of blacks from decision-making processes and the proper benefits of their labour[3], various proposals emerged, some supportive of systematising segregation policies, others desiring their relaxation in order to allow the incorporation of suitably 'civilised' blacks under strict conditions, but all solicitous of clear policies for the management of the 'native question'.

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1. q.v. T. Karis and G. Carter (1972), Vol.I, p.353; also TMC, October 8, 1923.
2. TMC, June 11, 1923; SAO, June 2, 1924, pp.128-9.
3. q.v. for example, TMC, September 22, 1924; Canon Palmer, address, <u>Cape Argus</u>, November 24; <u>Forward</u>, October 1, 1925, p.1; SAO, May 1,1926, p.117.

The most notable figure in support of a segregationist approach which he termed a 'policy of economic differentiation', was Edgar Brookes (though he changed his opinion later)[1]; Bishop Karney too thought this the ideal, but too late to be applied, education, therefore, being the only alternative other than 'extermination'[2]. Similarly, Reverend J.W.W. Owen, having attacked a recent ANC congress for their 'immoderate and truculent attitude', proceeded to praise Herzog's policy direction, and in order to 'set Native aspirants on right lines, quoted Brookes as follows:

> ... "While we should wish to do our utmost to save them from oppressive or restrictive legislation, while we should strain every move to assist them in progress, social, political and economic, it is not to be expected that we should abdicate ... in their favour the position in South Africa that is ours by a right every whit as sacred as any which they possess."
>
> I wish these words could be learned by heart by every Native man who poses as a leader of his people.
>
> And the Native people must realise that they cannot do without our help![3]

But by far the bulk of comment from the English-speaking churches turned on a liberal policy of limited, controlled incorporation of Africans, expressed perhaps most lucidly by the Bishop of George's contention that Africans 'must be made fit to be the Junior Partner in this country, but on our conditions' - though he made it clear this referred only to those who were 'clean, intelligent, well-educated, civilized men (sic)'[4]. From this point of view, segregation policies were roundly criticised[5], while the selective inclusion of Africans was variously described in terms of 'infancy to maturity', a 'willingness to co-operate with Europeans'[6].

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1. SAO, March 2, 1925, p.62.
2. Bishop A. Karney, Jhbg, Ls, February 11, 1925.
3. TMC, January 18 and 25, February 1 and 8, 1926, passim.
4. TCC, October 30, 1924.
5. q.v. for example, Forward, May 10, 1926, pp.1-2; James D. Taylor (ed.) "Christianity and the Natives of SA", Year Book of SA Missions, 1928.
6. MCMC, 1925, p.177.

A dual policy of rural 'native parliaments' and an urban qualified 'separate vote'[1], the Cape franchise policy as outlined by Sir George Grey in 1854, and the Glen Grey Act ordinances[2], were championed in order to maximise the value of 'a combination of white man's brain and organising power, and black men's hands and sweat'[3]. The key mediating role of educated Africans envisaged by this general option was supported by leading Africans, themselves among those who would benefit accordingly, including the renowned Dr A.B. Xuma who regarded those like himself, and them alone, as qualified to 'interpret the European to the African, and the African to the European'[4].

In short, as opposed to a segregationist 'system of legal peonage', built upon 'reservoirs of labour into which at will employers might freely dip to obtain cheap, unskilled or semi-skilled labour'[5], the English-speaking churches supported something very much like the policy of 'Trusteeship' - a gradual inclusion of suitably 'matured' blacks into 'the responsibilities and privileges of adulthood'[6] - in order to produce 'a Bantu citizenship in South Africa, good in character, economically efficient and contented ... a blessing and not a menace in the land'[7].

These issues evince the first signs of a comprehensive opposition of the English-speaking churches to the state which was to harden from then onwards into a distinct antipathy tinged with bitterness and hostility[8]. Yet it must not be

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1. Forward, March 1926, p.16.
2. D.D.T. Jabavu, SAO, October 1, 1926, p.225; Forward. October 1, 1925, p.3.
3. Advance, May 1926, pp.82-3.
4. Bantu-European Students Conference, 1930, papers.
5. Rev. W.W. Rider, TMC, November 4, 1929; Rider attacks such ideas.
6. q.v. MCMC, 1952; also in CCD, 1952, p.10.
7. MCMC, 1929, p.177.
8. This is already evident in Tielman Roos' infamous attack on the Anglican Church in 1925, carrying with it the threat of police action: RDM, September 7, 1925; q.v. a similar attack by Dr T.C. Meiser, Member of the Legislative Assembly for Vrededorp, RDM, October 28, 1925.

assumed to be an opposition to the state per se - rather it reflected the competition for political hegemony between the major fractions of capital in South Africa, the English-speaking churches being aligned with mining capital and foreign capital in general (with its liberal capitalist ideology), over and against national capital and its alliances supported by the Dutch Reformed churches, with an exclusive (racist) nationalist capitalist ideology. Both positions, let it be said, reflected broad agreement about the role of colonised labour; both took for granted the prevailing structures. Their differences lay in the direction in which those structures should be developed, and in the most appropriate policies for managing them. (For the purposes of this study, the issue does not revolve around which of the two options was (is) 'better', but around the position of the churches in a given political economy.)

The Herzog Bills proved be the fulcrum upon which the opposition of the English-speaking churches turned, though - perhaps not surprisingly given the hope for a consistent, ordered native policy - initial reaction was not all unfavourable[1]. The continued dominance of colonists (whites) was held to be a _sine qua non_[2], but from the middle of 1926 on, rejection of the tenets underlying the Bills became a virtual point of honour. Both Anglican and Methodist leaders and publications described and criticised the Bills in numerous ways; the major target was the Mines and Works Amendment Act which legalised the job colour bar in industry rather than leaving it an informal practice[3]. As one journal put it quite succinctly:

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1. q.v. for example, TCC, December 24, 1925; Bishop A. Karney, "Charge to Diocese of Johannesburg", May 1926.
2. q.v. for example, Bishop A. Karney, loc. cit.; _Forward_, January 10, 1926, p.13.
3. _Forward_, 1926: June 10 (pp.9-10), October 10 (pp.1-2), November 10 (pp.1-2); _Tvl and Swazi Distr. Directory_, 1926/7, p.6; TCC, October 28 and December 9, 1926; TMC, 1926-1930, _passim_; Bishop A. Karney, LS, February 7, 1927; _Primitive Methodist Year Book_, U.K., 1927; MCMC, 1927, p.197, and 1928, p.151; GMCSA, Summary, 1928, pp.112-3.

> What began as a local, possibly temporary measure and certainly wise and cautious set of mining regulations, that came into force about 40 years ago by the decision of the Transvaal Republic government of that time has widened out and into a law that will depress the status of natives everywhere in the Union. No one had complained of the working of the old regulations; all accepted the necessity ... But this new law![1]

The most concrete proposal emanating from the torrent of disapproval and occasional invective was the calling of 'round table conferences' to include 'Native Chiefs and leaders' with whom consultation might occur prior to the drafting of legislation affecting blacks[2]. The hypothesis that the English-speaking churches reflected albeit unconsciously, the position of a particular fraction of capital rather than the colonised as a class is not diluted by their 'championship' of Africans for, as has already severally been pointed out, this position adopted a policy of incorporation for 'civilised' - that is, aspirant bourgeois or petty-bourgeois - Africans, and of 'fairer treatment' for the working class on the lines of social liberal democratic principles[3]. On the other hand, concern for the colonised workers per se was markedly less evident among the churches, with the notable exception of a remarkable editor of South African Outlook, Dr James Henderson. This too supports the hypothesis.

Thus, despite the massive reaction to the Herzog Bills, implying a radical solidarity with blacks, almost no attention was paid to the Industrial Conciliation Act, the 'Civilized Labour' Policy and the Wage Act (1925), all of them more potent in maintaining the exploitation and oppression of Africans than the Herzog Bills, as inimical as the latter were.

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1. Forward, July 10, 1926, p.2.
2. MCMC, 1926, p.153; Forward, March 10, 1927, p.1; MCMC, 1930, p.127; CCD, 1930, p.7.
3. e.g. Forward, January 10, 1926, p.3; E. Smith, "The Christian Mission in Africa", Le Zoute Conference, 1926, pp.90-1; Prov.Miss.Conf. Minutes, November 1928, GMCSA Summary, 1928, p.118.

With only two exceptions, significant references in church records to wages and wage policy came exclusively from South African Outlook[1]. These dealt with such matters as the effects in South Africa of the industrial revolution, unemployment, silicosis and tubercolosis, farm wages, the Native Recruiting Corporation, exploitation wages, the injustices of contracts, the Labour Party, the absence of legal bargaining machinery for African workers, and the 'forced labour' characteristics of black workers' material and legal conditions. Much of it was both analytical and critical - valuable work that appears to have been widely respected among the churches, sometimes used as background material for resolutions and declaration, but seldom integrated into the policies and practice of the churches at the macro-level.

But on other aspects of labour, comments and articles did from time to time appear more widely, particularly in response to the challenge of the ICU and the deterioration of the 'tribal' reserves. Wage minimisation practices, the contract system, the recruiting monopsony, compounds, and pass laws fade out of the Church's public conscience, though the last named was vigorously denounced at the 1929 'Bantu-European' conference[2]. Interest in the compounds was even more religiously centred than previously, with no comment on the actual conditions of compound life other than an occasional acknowledgment of the help of the mining companies, as for example, in purchasing 'a portable Bioscope outfit' for showing 'scenes and stories of native life and life in other countries as well as nature sketches, educational subjects and humourous pictures of a healthy kind (sic)'[3].

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1. The two exceptions are Bishop Karney, "Charge to Diocese of Johannesburg", May 1926; and MCMC, 1930, p.51; otherwise q.v. SAO, March, pp.60-62, July 1, pp.155-6, and November 2, p.248, 1925; SAO, February 1, p.33, July 1, pp.151-3, August 2, pp.183-5, September 1, pp.210-2, 1926; SAO, July 1, p.133, 1927; SAO, January 2, p.18, February 1, pp.26-7, May 1, June 1 and July 2, passim, 1928; SAO, April 1, pp.66-70, May 1, p.103, 1930.

2. TMC, February 18, 1929.

3. Tvl and Swazi Distr. Directory, 1921/2, p.1; also ibid., 1922/3, pp.6-7, and 1923/4, p.6; Advance, November 1924, pp.210-2; Church Times, London, January 1928.

'The ICU is fast becoming one gigantic question to the whole of Christian South Africa, challenging the churches in no uncertain language to come out into the open and face the implications of their belief', thus wrote one person in the Church Chronicle, continuing with the challenge as follows:

> At the back of all ICU propaganda and personalities is the great human cry for justice and "a place in the sun"; with the unquestionably legitimate demand that every race, regardless of colour, shall be allowed to enjoy the good things it helps to produce. Will the churches move, regardless of the consequences, which may mean deportation or even imprisonment, in helping this native cause where it is right, and rebuking where it is wrong?[1]

How was the question answered? Sympathy for many of the aims of the ICU appears to have been expressed in several quarters, especially in respect of the right of workers to organise for collective bargaining and a decent standard of living[2]. Criticism, however, always accompanied such sentiments, and most frequently conveyed such attitudes as that the ICU should not attack whites[3]; that black unions should be sponsored by white unions[4]; that provocative speeches should cease and reform recognised as a 'bit by bit' process, that socialism should be avoided, drunkenness and vice given up, and decent homes and family life built before the Church could count the ICU as allies (sic)[5]; and that the ICU should hold itself 'strictly aloof from political activities' and stop 'flouting those who have been responsible for the Native's progressive development from the beginning of the missionary enterprise in South Africa'[6].

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1. TCC, August 4, 1927.
2. For example, Bishop A. Karney, LS, July 19, 1927; SAO, September 1, 1927, pp.168-9; SAO, February 1, 1928, pp.29-30, GMCSA Summary, 1928, p.117.
3. Bishop A. Karney, loc. cit.
4. SAO, February 1, 1928, pp.29-30.
5. Bishop W. Carey (Bloemfontein), in SAO, January 2, 1928, p.18.
6. Rev. Allen Lea, in Forward, January 1928.

The South African Missionary Society went so far as to rejoice in any failure of 'the political agitators of the Kadalie school' to win the allegiance of the Methodist Church[1].

That the ICU did not in fact receive the kind of support that positive church statements may imply, that solidarity was a word without substance, is confirmed in remarks by W.G. Ballinger, a senior officer in the ICU, to the 'European-Bantu' conference of 1929, where he emphasised that 'friendly Europeans and the better type of Native leader ought to have taken more interest in the movement and guided it in a helpful fashion'[2]. Once again one exception was Outlook which showed greater insight into the situation in defending the Union against attacks by Durban employers and Natal farmers, charging the latter groups with repression and exploitation[3]. On one occasion, also in support of the ICU, a Methodist periodical weighed in against the use of child labour and unpaid labour on farms[4].

The severe impoverishment of blacks in rural areas, visible in 'diminishing resources, declining agriculture, increasing population and increasing stock, mostly the usual features of congestion', was a direct result of colonisation and the exploitation of wage labour under harsh controls[5], and did not go unnoticed. References to the acute problems of housing, clothing, low crop yields and cattle wealth, diseases, lack of employment, scarcity of land, heavy taxation and trade monopolies are to be found, many of them traced to Henderson of Lovedale[6]. Various

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1. SAMSR, (45th), 1927, p.27.
2. TMC, February 18, 1929.
3. SAO, February 1, 1928, pp.31-2; also July 1, 1929, p.131.
4. Forward, January 2, 1928.
5. SAO, July 1, 1927, p.127ff.
6. SAO, April 1, 1925, p.99f; ibid., 1927, p.101, and March 1, 1928, pp.49-50; GMCSA Summary, 1925, pp.99-100; ibid., 1928, p.117; Forward, May 1927, p.16; Prov.Miss.Conf., Minutes, November 1928; MCMC, 1930, p.151.

suggestions were made towards land reform, among them tuition in working the land properly, providing a land bank for Africans, securing additional land, utilising title deeds and trust to protect ownership, and initiating a national land policy towards rural development[1].

Despite the heed paid to rural conditions, the call of one Methodist that the Church 'should abandon its attitude of non-intervention in matters economic'[2] (in itself an implicating challenge) appears to have been answered in an incomplete and inactive manner. One missionary council honestly admitted their inability to discover what practical steps could be taken[3]. The Methodist Church gave official support to the 'Native Bill of Rights' adopted earlier by the ANC[4]; others pointed to the 'profound unrest among the Native people'[5] arising from what the newspaper Umteteli 'wa Bantu, called 'sjambok rule'[6]; some thought that industrial education, something missions could undertake, would be best[7]. But in general the practical efficacy of Church concern, other than at the ideological level or in providing support for one or other opposition member in the formal political debate, was close to nil.

Such a conclusion is not intended to depreciate the Church, to deny or pour scorn on its well-intentioned efforts. Rather, one must face the evidence of the Church's inability to make powerful and effective its own proclamation in the processes and contradictions of material history, to become self-critical in the best sense of the term.

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1. Forward, December 1, 1925, pp.1-3; ibid., March 1926, p.16; ibid., February 10, 1927, pp.1-2; E. Smith, op. cit., p.121; SAO, March 1, 1927, pp.50-2; GMCSA Summary, 1928, p.118.
2. Forward, December 1, 1925, p.3.
3. Ciskei Miss. Council Report, in SAO, March 1, 1928, pp.49-50.
4. MCMC, 1927, p.154.
5. Forward, January 1, 1928; GMCSA, Minutes, November 27, 1929; Archbishop W.M. Carter, LS, July 5, 1930.
6. SA Correspondent, Church Times, London, March 1930.
7. MCMC, 1927, p.175, and 1928, p.161.

The poverty of Church action in the face of enormous challenges may be understood as a direct result of its lack of self-critical awareness - in the case we are investigating, in its ideological, and to a lesser extent political, captivity to a fraction of capital subordinate to national capital and its political representatives. At the same time a moderate, aspirant black bourgeoisie, desirous of an alliance with more liberally inclined foreign capital, pressured the Church in another direction, raising thorny issues easily related to colonised people as a whole, and producing profound ambiguities in the thinking of the Church, confusing its capacity to act decisively in solidarity with the more radical political bodies of the colonised and making solidarity with workers as such almost an impossibility.

Thus one sees many promising insights into the nature and extent of oppression and exploitation cut short before they can develop, curtailed before their practical implications are able to drive the Church into what might truly mean 'deportation or even imprisonment'.

In contrast, notwithstanding a social-concern arm, records show a growing interest in apolitical spirituality and demands for the Church to spend its energies on its specifically religious tasks[1], while seeking to use what influence it had in pressing the authorities for political and economic reform suitable to a 'civilised' nation.

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1. A representative example of what could be found more generally in archival material, is the list of major issues discussed by the Provincial Missionary Conference between 1906-1940 as reflected in Minute Books - these included:

   Separate church organisation (black and white); clerical structure; finances for missions; Order of Ethiopia; scriptural and doctrinal translation; conversion and evangelism; Mothers' Unions; African marriages; Polygamy; Liquor traffic; work among Indians and Moslems; Lectionary; Women missionaries; Religious instruction; 'Native' Councils.

iv) Church and Ideology

> Our society has come to represent that of the Athens of Pericles - an educated democracy, resting upon the foundation of what, when all hypocritical periphrases are swept away, is really slave labour.[1]
>
> - E.H. Brookes

> While joint interest in maintaining an adequate supply of cheap native labour has brought together the dominant classes, rivalry for the control of the limited supply has driven them apart, and in the issue - in spite of the assumption that native affairs can be put in a water-tight compartment - they have really constituted the essential driving force in the political life of the Union.[2]
>
> - W.G. Ballinger

> It is not enough to enunciate and reiterate the principles of Jesus if conditions exist which make it practically impossible for men to live as brothers. The thing to be done in that case by those who believe in the principles of Jesus is to set to work to alter the conditions and to lift men to the plane on which brotherly relations become a possibility.[3]
>
> - J.J. Oldham

At the very beginning of the 1920s, when Senator D. Roberts, earlier of Lovedale Mission, was asked what churches could do in the midst of the 'Native ferment', he replied that committees should investigate land, labour and social problems in depth, after which 'they would soon find out the need of doing something definite'[4]. Similar issues came up at the Le Zoute Conference of 1926; here the omission of economic questions from Christian mission was regarded as 'stultifying'[5], and two years later James Henderson declared that 'more than ever before it is necessary for (missionaries) to concentrate their study and effort on the material life and the economic position of Native people'[6]. The Natal

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1. SAO, March 2, 1925, p.60.
2. W.G. Ballinger, "Race and Economics in SA", 1934, pp.24-5.
3. "The Relationship of Christian Missions to the new forces shaping African life", in E. Smith (ed.), 1926, p.168.
4. TMC, August 2, 1920.
5. E. Smith, ibid., p.82.
6. In J.D. Taylor (ed.), "Christianity and the Natives of SA", Year Book of SA Missions, 1928.

Missionary Conference heard the same thing from the Reverend Ray Phillips in 1929, and in the same year the Methodist Conference supported the idea of a properly informed Christian opinion[1].

It would be expected that such opinions would, in the light of the events of the decade, receive immediate and substantial backing. In fact, by the end of the period, Phillips could claim that 'the only man in South Africa who has taken the time and energy to look carefully into the Native economic situation with its accompanying social effects' was Dr Henderson. An agency was needed to rectify the matter[2].

Only much later the Christian Council, established in part to meet this demand, was formed, and while doing much good work the task it undertook was seldom integrated into Church life as a whole. The transformation of individual men and women continued to be central to the gospel in South Africa, but the transformation of the world which so deeply shaped them remained at best an addendum to the task of the churches.

The reasons for this state of affairs in the historical developments of the time have already been discussed; it remains only to bring to the fore the language patterns sustaining the Church's view of itself and its context, in order to determine the knowledge by which its interests were upheld - and hidden.

The turmoil of the early years generated an unusually anxious drive to expand and intensify the 'social mission' of the Church[3]. 'Christian Socialism' was debated, stimulated largely by the influence of British writers such as F.D. Maurice and by the links of the Methodist Church in Britain with the growing Labour Party. A much discussed book by Reverend G.C. Binyon emphasised the gospel identification with

1. SAO, August 1, 1929, pp.150-2; CCD, 1929, p.11.
2. SAO, loc. cit.
3. MCMC, 1921, p.128, and 1923, p.144; TCC, May 19, 1921.

the 'poor', and it described class war as a conflict engendered by those who perpetuate exploitation, it interpreted socialism as atheistic 'only in the sense that it cannot be associated with the worship of a God who is not concerned with social justice', it called for the 'scientific spirit which analyses the wrongness of society and prescribes the needful changes in economic language', and it related the worship of the Church more closely to the common life of the world[1].

A fascinating judgment from a most unlikely source pronounced the Church to be bound together with capitalism in an 'unholy alliance', while needing to obtain a hold among blacks 'because without a very strong influence in that direction, it loses its market value, and capitalism will then cease to support it, having no time for useless or obsolete factors'[2]. The commentator was Donald Snowdon, a Methodist lay preacher on trial together with three others for playing a leading role with the Committee of Action in the 1922 strikes, who described themselves as 'members of the Boksburg Gaol Congregation of the Wesleyan Church'. They addressed a memorandum (at first suppressed by prison authorities) to the Methodist Conference of 1922, protesting against the Church's alliance with state and capital in the Rand Revolt, and backing their protest with a brief but quite remarkable theological argument[3]. In gaol Snowdon had attended church service twice each Sunday:

> Yes, in gaol. To worship? Oh dear no. But to study the type of parson and critically analyse his sermon. What was the usual theme? Love your enemies, bless them that hate you. And love all sections, the Corner House included. But Jesus gave humanity quite a different message. He commanded us to hate sin, and what is capitalism but sin? ... Because if you live for profit you lose your soul.
> The Church is a tremendously important factor, both in opening up new countries and controlling a country's labour supply, whether black or white.[4]

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1. SAO, May 1, 1922, pp.98-100, passim.
2. D. Snowdon, Martial Law Commission, 1922, pp.1298-9, passim.
3. Ibid., pp.1306-7.
4. Ibid., p.1297; the Corner House was the seat of the mining magnates.

A theology not far removed from Snowdon's exegesis continued to be heard from odd corners throughout the next years, sometimes from those likely to be more easily heard, such as Bishop Karney, D.D.T. Jabavu, and the 1930 Synod of Bishops[1].

It is tempting to draw the conclusion that significant strands of radically self critical consciousness and social action existed within the loom of the Church and were woven into the fabric of its life and structures; however, it seems one may say at most that a tradition grew up alongside the established perspectives, containing hints, clues, and challenges - a tradition accorded honourable mentions in the occasional battle but never incorporated into the grand strategies of the war. Direct and circumstantial testimony tends rather to confirm Snowdon's accusation.

Far more prevalent in the records, and most frequently manifested in practical activity, one finds an emphasis on the specifically religious or moral task of the Church in the life of the _polis_. Spirituality, prayer, an adequate idea of God, relief from fear, individual worth, moral behaviour, feelings of the heart, righteousness, the Church itself - these are the terms of reference for the truly efficacious role of the Church in the transformation of the world; these are what should be the guide and the goal of all activity[2]. Not surprisingly, therefore, when the General Missionary Conference met in 1932, despite that the four years since its previous meeting had witnessed momentous struggles and other events in the political, social and economic life of South Africa, its focus was exclusively religious[3].

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1. TCC, August 5, 1920; TMC, September 22, 1924, and February 27, 1928; Bishop A. Karney, "Charge to Diocese of Johannesburg", October, 1928; C.T. Wood, Papers, 1962.

2. For example: MCMC, 1922, p.127, 1923, p.144, and 1930, p.151; Bishop J.W. Williams, Pastoral Letters, 1902-22, _passim_; SAMSR, (42nd), 1923/4, pp.2-3; TMC, November 10, 1924, and September 6, 1926; GMCSA Summary, 1925, p.98; _Forward_, June 10, 1926, p.10; Bishop E.F. Paget, LS, July 31, 1926; Rev. E.H. Hurcombe, Note Book, 1926; _Tvl and Swazi District Directory_, 1926/7, p.7, and 1928/9, p.5.

3. GMCSA Summary, 1932, p.124ff.

Mission work as a whole revived in the late 'twenties; yet the critical evaluation of nineteenth century missions appears not to have penetrated very far. Although the nature and depth of oppression was by now fairly well established as a matter of public knowledge, yet the role of missions in assisting the administering of government, law and order, and behavioural control received significant public praise[1]. Besides evangelisation, mission activity focused on health care, education, hostels and workshop industries. Unquestionably, their work had great value, particularly in making an adequate education for an industrial era available to some indigenous people.

Without denying this, the bulk of missionary reports demonstrate the hypothesis that education generally was directed towards a particular place in society, one of service to the ruling elite - though access to that elite was possible for those sufficiently qualified. Thus one notices that blacks did not control the organs or finances of the churches, settlers always retaining final authority (with the one exception of the Order of Ethiopia, but even then its finances were controlled by whites). The role of missionary conferences also declined at this time as local congregations were established. Thus the minutes of the Provincial Missionary Conference of 1933, in a moment of profound self-evaluation of over a quarter of a century's work, concluded that this 'bloated debating society' had proven 'strangely ineffective and barren of practical results: time and again pious resolutions have been passed and forgotten, subjects have been discussed which could have been more profitably dealt with locally, and committees have been appointed which never met'[2].

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1. SA Correspondent, Church Times, London, October 1923; GMCSA Summary, 1925, p.101; Forward, July 1927, p.2; J.D. Taylor (ed.), "Christianity and the Natives of South Africa", Year Book of Missions, 1928; Advance, October 1929, p.194.
2. Prov.Miss.Conf., Minutes, October 1933.

In other respects the Church showed its colours firmly nailed to the mast of capitalism and a bourgeois ideology. Eschatological expectation often took the form of preparation for the 'hereafter'[1]; workplace alienation and the impecunity of labour often received a response that the morrow was God's concern[2]; values of 'cleanliness, industry, honesty, health and brotherhood', of the consumer market, of thrift, of personal peity, and of home religion were widely espoused[3]. One association, without any apparent awareness of the evidence of exploitation in what was said, heard a priest declare that 'the natives can teach us good things, such as cheerfulness even at the end of a long day's work on the road with nothing to eat. We know, too, their amazing patience'[4]. The desire among Africans for liberty was natural, said the Methodist Conference, but one should 'make haste slowly'[5].

On the Rand, mine companies continued to welcome and help the work of missions[6]. The 'native problem' remained a prime item for discussion[7], and 'white superiority' slogans raised their head on occasion[8]. Behind unrest lay 'agitators' some proclaimed[9], while other thought the problems to be a

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1. GMCSA Summary, 1925, p.100.
2. SAO, 1925, p.92.
3. SAMSAR, (40th), 1921, p.10; Bishop A. Karney, Jhb, LS, February 7, 1927; MCMC, 1927, p.196; Prov.Miss.Conf., 1928; see also SAMSR, (45th), 1927, p.5; and GMCSA Summary, 1928, p.118.
4. Fr Savage, congratulating the 23rd report of the Women's Missionary Auxiliary, 1925, Minutes.
5. MCMC, 1920, p.120.
6. Fr O. Victor, "A large room", Pamphlet, SA Church Office, London, 1926.
7. SAO, April 1, 1925, p.91; MCMC, 1926, p.181; Bishop A. Karney, "Charge to Diocese of Johannesburg", Ts, September 1927; TMC, February 18, 1929.
8. G. Callaway, "The Native Problem in SA", Pamphlet, Oxford, 1926, p.9 and p.11; The Kingdom, Diocese of Pretoria, May 1923.
9. Bishop A. Karney, Diocese of Johannesburg, Ts, February 7, 1923; W. Eveleigh, "Settlers and Methodism, 1820-1920", 1920.

result of progress in South Africa, progress engendered by a 'silent Christian Spirit' present in the process of changing the society[1].

All of these things are indicators of the ideological framework within which church practice and theory (theology) took place, and are consistent with the general hypothesis of functional dependency on the ruling class. One consequence was the possibility of gross misunderstanding of the growing poverty of blacks, as evidenced in the pride at the 'wonderful generosity' of the oppressed expressed by one gentleman who showed no sign of shock or anger at the rank injustice and deprivation revealed by his narrative:

> I know one native who walked 18 miles into Jamestown driving 2 sheep which he wished to sell. He had no money, as the farmer had given him sheep instead of money for many months labour. He proposed to sell the sheep. One was to pay his class money, the other to enable him to buy some articles of clothing. On the way one of the sheep died. He sold the other, paid his church arrears and returned without the clothing.[2]

In fact, the story of this unfortunate serves as a crude summary of what is more generally evident in all the data investigated: a preoccupation with the life and sustenance of the Church itself, a consonant emphasis on the religious in thought and activity, a fundamental separation from the existence and material life of dominated groups notwithstanding a frequently expressed concern for them, and an ideological blindness to the historical conditions and conflicts prevalent in the South African context through the period.

The credibility of such a verdict rests on the data, while it gains force when one discovers that the promise of an alternative tradition in the impetus given by the 'Christian socialism' debate faded into virtual oblivion at the end of the decade, to be replaced by attacks on

1. SAMSR, (45th), 1927, p.5.

2. Advance, June 1923, pp.107-8; q.v. also GMCSA Summary, 1928, p.118, comments by Rheinhalt-Jones.

'Bolshevism', historical materialism (opposed to spirituality in the eyes of critics) and communism - epithets by now widely utilised to characterise all that was inimical to Christianity and the Church[1]. Whatever the merits or demerits of these elements as they appeared in the contemporary situation, the Church sank into silence or bitter opposition - or, perhaps more accurately, refrained from exceeding the boundaries of debate set by the ruling powers, political and economic - until it took up the issues again, albeit temporarily, in the 1940s[2].

d. Summary and Conclusion: 1903-1930

> ... the ladder is a perfect symbol of the bourgeois idea of society ...: you go up the ladder alone .... For, in the end, on any reckoning, the ladder will never do; it is the product of a divided society, and will fall with it.[3]
>
> \- R. Williams

> We have used the Bible as ... an opium-dose for keeping beasts of burden patient while they were being overloaded.[4]
>
> \- C. Kingsley, 1848

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1. SAO, August 1, 1929, pp.148-50; ibid., September 2, 1929, p.169; E.H. Brookes, "The Racial Question in the Light of Christian Teaching", Bantu-European Student Conf., papers, 1930.
2. In particular, following the Malvern Declaration of the Church of England Conference, January 7-10, 1941 (on the 'Crisis of Civilization'), the CPSA set up a SA Commission to consider the significance of the declaration, itself a fairly radical analysis of Capitalism in Britain and a call to a strong socialism, which probably reflected what others have since called the most significant Socialist revolution, non-violent, represented by the stunning and dramatic Labour Party victory at the close of the World War; see Diocese of Johannesburg "Commission of the Church and the Nation", Records, 1941; also CPSA Provincial Synod, 1945, President's charge; and "Christian Reconstruction in South Africa", Christian Council of South Africa, Conf. Resolutions, 1942.
3. R. Williams (1961), p.317.
4. In A. Armstrong (1973), p.184.

> Perhaps the consensus was best summarized by the immigrant who declared:
> I believe but I'm not a fanatic, I don't practice it.[1]
> - South African immigrant

Whatever else the first quarter of a century after the Anglo-Boer War represented, there is no doubt that the trajectory of capitalist development and the shape of South African society for a long time to come, attained decisive form in the period. It is thus an auspicious time for an analysis of the role of the Church.

At the outset, the argument regularly adopted by many commentators to distinguish between Afrikaner and English-speaking churches - that the former express views harking back to a crude racist feudalism, the latter those of civilised liberalism - is minimally valuable, and then only in tracing a history of ideas in relatively abstract fashion. Thus to regard the seeds of 'separate development' (apartheid) as lying in Afrikaner religious belief, as many have (one very recently)[2], is to miss entirely the formative influence, in the genesis of segregation policies and an especially virulent form of racism, of the capitalist industrialisation process in a colony, the role of the British (in the Lagden Commission, for example), and the unique structure of the gold-mining industry in particular. While the policy of separate development is integrally linked to Afrikaner Calvinist roots[3], its origins and economic basis lie elsewhere.

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1. In J. Stone (1973), p.200.
2. J. de Gruchy (1979), p.33; q.v. also P. Hinchliff (1963), p.230.
3. Irving Hexham traces this connection through the Gereformeerde Kerk in his The Irony of Apartheid: The Struggle for National Independence of Afrikaner Calvinism against British Imperialism (The Edwin Mellin Press, N.Y., 1981).

An interpretation of ideas and their history abstracted from the specific material conditions under which they exist and gain substance - removed, that is, from their situation in an identifiable political economy - predominates in South African church history. One of the most recent publications in this respect, while paying lip service to the notion that 'it is just as false to gloss over the economic factor in interpreting South African social history as it is to make this the key to everything else', nevertheless, makes precisely that gloss.[1]

Why is this the case? The preceding analysis of the post Anglo-Boer war period attempts to discern the reason for this in the Church's captivity to the ruling class and its bondage to the prevailing ideology, despite its attempts to find for itself a unique voice and contribution. The lessons, it is argued, are not a matter of past history - they remain to be learnt.

A basic presupposition throughout the analysis has been that the model developed in Part One (see especially Table 4) would introduce when applied, a systematic set of insights into the ideological captivity of the Church, a new dimension as it were of historical materialist analysis. In fact the model provided the basis for directly analysing the various texts uncovered in archival material, the results of this preliminary investigation in turn constituting the foundation upon which the history of the 1903-1930 period has been written.

For reasons of summary and the elucidation of this foundation, it becomes worthwhile to articulate in detail the preliminary data resulting from the application of the analytical model. Thus hopefully, an overall picture is created of the period and its characteristics, of the language patterns and positions adopted by the Church, and of the general conclusions of the study.

1. J. de Gruchy (1979), p.19.

Initially, all relevant records in the South African archives of the Methodist Church and the CPSA were perused; extracts of any significant references to a variety of issues in the political economy were abstracted[1], the abstracts studied for material offering sufficient promise of analytical value, and such further selections gathered onto single-item cards[2]. The cards were then examined according to predetermined criteria, in order to ascertain any emphasis on issues and changes in emphasis through the period under study, to determine the dominant ideological patterns and constructs, including underlying pre-suppositions, and to correlate the results. Some thirty percent of the cards, those most substantial in content, were analysed in detail, the others generally proving to be relatively simple indicators. This process gave rise to the three-fold division of the total period used in the preceding section, the period emphasis being roughly appropriate to this division. The correlated results, in annotated form, follow.

i) General Periodic emphasis:

1903-1910: British Imperial presence still strong; Late-Victorian ideology dominant.

1911-1919: Post-Union crisis and transition in politics and economy, punctuated by World War.

1920-1930: Ascendancy of national capital and political hegemony, consolidation of earlier trends.

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1. These were: Land, Labour (general), Black Labour, White Labour, Trade Unions, Job Colour Bars, Wage Colour Bars, Compounds, Contracts and Passes, Taxation, Recruiting, Wage Structures and Housing, Ownership/Reserves, Capitalism and Capitalists, 'Poor Whites', Peasantry, Marginal people, Political exclusion, Resistance, Liquor, Role of State, Repression and Control, Ideological Aspects, African Independent Churches, Mission, Church and Doctrine (see Part One, p.31, Table 4).

2. A total of 626 cards were completed, drawn from close on two thousand abstracts.

ii) Level of Ideology:

The debate on what ideology is, is discussed elsewhere[1]. It is appropriate, however, to make certain distinctions at this point. Fierro has pointed to three broad uses of the term: (1) a consciously held system of representations, a mythos defining the matrix within which thought, value and action occur; (2) an unconscious degree of determination conditioned by the material base of a political economy and one's position in it; (3) conscious rationalisation of a specific class interest (usually meaning that of the ruling class)[2].

Taking these distinctions, the first may be regarded as universal, for no human is totally without a symbolic life and an active imagination guided by a complex of meanings. In the present analysis, items evidencing a consciously held critical distance from the dominant ideology and based on the Christian mythos are treated as primarily reflecting this level of ideology. It should be added that the preceding historical investigation, in accordance with the earlier discussion on ideology, does not treat a system of representations (or a world-view) as ideological. Nevertheless, for the sake of convenience, the term 'ideology' is used at this point in its more general meaning, so as to make the distinctions between the three levels clear. The second level of ideology can only be discerned by imputation, through critical analysis. The historical study of the 1903-1910 period represents an attempt to do just that, and by far the bulk of references fall within this level. The third level reflects a position not susceptible to self-critical changes, for interests are here expressly defended. Items showing this tendency in relation to ruling class interest are thus separately tabulated. Utilising these distinctions, one is able to gain an impressionistic idea of the existence

1. q.v. Part One, Chapter Five.
2. A. Fierro (1977), p.245, somewhat expanded here.

within the churches of a critically aware tradition, the extent of ideological captivity, and the prediliction to defend the dominant elite. The results were:

Table 9: Evidence of Ideological function in Anglican and Methodist Archival Extracts

		no. extracts	% of total
1st level = Critical	:	11	5,9
2nd level = Base	:	126	67,0
3rd level = Legitimation	:	51	27,1
Total sample	:	188	

Though impressionistic, the distribution clearly supports the judgments made in the previous sections, that the Church was by and large dependent upon or actively propagating the dominant ideology of capital or at least a fraction of capital.

iii) Class Determination:

The Church, it has already been said, is quite obviously not a class in itself, either in classical Marxian terms or according to Davies' distinction between fundamental classes (bourgeoisie, proletariat) and 'non-Fundamental classes'[1]. Conceivably, however, the Church may play a role in various attempt to form alliances, it may introduce specific class practices into its life, and it may choose to opt for one or other fundamental class, leaving its leadership and direction in the hands of that class.

In the foregoing analysis these elements have been investigated and the conclusion drawn that the Church is in a relationship of 'functional dependency' on a fraction of capital in the South African political economy. The analysis of the selected cards reveal the following in this respect:

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1. R. Davies (1979), p.8.

(a) In general, even critical entries show little evidence of a relationship to the working class, their dependents, or the lumpen-proletariat.

(b) Where criticism, especially in opposition to the state is concerned, it usually reflects the views of mining capitalists, British and foreign capital in general, or the emerging black petty-bourgeoisie. The political emphasis thus falls on the selective incorporation of qualified colonised people along the lines of the Cape franchise, as well as on social democratic liberalism, and on imperial loyalty (later to become dominion loyalty within the Commonwealth).

(c) A predominantly bourgeois ethos is, however, to be expected, as the archival records stem overwhelmingly, in fact almost exclusively, from professionals or clergy in the Church, as well as certain political elites antagonistic to "Boer" authorities.

The last point bears comment: undoubtedly other views were present among colonised members of the Church; written material was bound to come from the settlers, given their relative abundance of skills and the English medium of almost all official documents. But the thesis of the study is not thereby invalidated for the records convey clearly the dominantly operative mind, structure, and activity of the Church, whatever other opinions and desires there may have been. In fact, the experience of domination and oppression in the Church itself gave considerable impetus to independent movements or to outright rejection of the Church on the part of the colonised indigenous people.

iv) Denominational Emphases:

Besides the CPSA and the Methodist Church, the testimony of South African Outlook, published from the Scottish Mission at Lovedale, is contained in the investigation. Each of the three bodies, relative to each other, gave differing weight to the issues studied, revealing certain preoccupations.

1) The Methodist Church appears to have regarded the following general issues as particularly worthy of discussion:

   - Political Exclusion of Africans
   - Land Policies
   - Independent Church breakaways
   - Compound mission

2) The CPSA:

   - Church identity
   - Christian doctrine
   - White labour
   - Marginal people in the urban setting (lumpen-proletariat)

3) South African Outlook:

   - Resistance
   - Recruiting
   - Wage Colour Bars
   - Peasantry

All three gave considerable notice to:

- Black Labour
- Labour issues in general

The Methodist and Anglican churches frequently debated the role of the state as well.

Very little attention by any was paid to:

- Trade Unions
- Contracts and Passes
- Taxation
- Wage structures and housing
- 'Poor Whites'

The same is true of the CPSA and the Methodist Church in respect of:

- Wage colour bars
- Recruiting
- Peasantry

Once again, earlier judgments receive confirmation in the impression given by this breakdown of categories, particularly

in respect of the value of Outlook on some issues and the predominantly political rather than economic emphasis of the two denominations, their relative lack of involvement in understanding and opposing structures of exploitation, and their concentration on the political exclusion of qualified blacks.

v) Period Emphases (specific):

In the process of analysing the card entries, it became evident that certain issues raised their head for a while and receded again, sometimes to return later. A breakdown of this process follows, with the specific issues dominating Church records in respect of 'social questions' listed in relation to particular periods.

1903-1910	:	Missions; state rule; resistance; political exclusion; black labour.
1913-1914	:	Land; labour (general)
1913-1919	:	Resistance
1920-1929	:	Resistance; labour (general)
1922	:	White labour
1923-1930	:	Land; political exclusion; state rule; missions.
1925-1929	:	Black labour.

Overall, the implication is that the 1911-1919 period was much less significant in the consciousness of the Church vis-à-vis the political economy, than at other times, with the exception of land issues occasioned by the 1913 passing of the Land Act, and the strikes in that and the following year. A fair assumption is that the desire to see a stabilisation of the achievements of Union predominated over other concerns in the first few years of the second decade, only to be overtaken by a consuming care for the progress and outcome of the World War in the latter part of the period.

The following notes are relevant to the period emphases:

A. 1903-1910:

(1) Lagden Commission a major topic, mostly approving

(2) criticism of early independent church growth

(3) 1907 strike and Bambata rebellion were major issues

(4) 'better' locations desired

(5) some criticism of recruiting practices

(6) strong colonial mentality, with emphasis on the Empire, 'civilization', morality, and the 'Native problem'

(7) major concern for behaviour of black labour, desire for control

B. 1913-1914:

(1) Land Act strongly criticised

(2) positive appreciation of state action against strikes and rebellion

C. 1913-1919:

(1) frequent, ambiguous references to Indian passive resistance

D. 1918-1922:

(1) strong interest in socialist ideas and the negative impact of capitalism

E. 1921-1922:

(1) Bulboek massacre and Bondelzwarts rebellion of concern

(2) enormous debate on 'Rand revolt'

F. 1923-1930:

(1) continuing interest in the relationship of Christianity to labour and industry, with emphasis on the 'impartiality' of the Church and the need for harmony between capital and labour

(2) demands for the extension of individual tenure for blacks, land reform

(3) great interest in the political incorporation of suitably qualified blacks

G. post-1925:

(1) Herzog Bills dominant between 1925 and 1928, a largely critical reaction

(2) some economic criticism emerges among missions, particularly Lovedale

(3) attacks on Marxism towards the end of the period

(4) ICU prominent

(5) focus on wage colour bars from South African Outlook

(6) first indicators of generalised tolerance for independent churches

(7) deterioration of reserves and African farming a worry

The earlier discussions of various events and forces at work between 1903 and 1930 indicate the way in which the issues and emphases arise at any particular point. The annotated summary illuminates changing emphases quite clearly.

vi) Language - Symbols and Images: Meaning-complex, Presuppositions:

In this and the next two categories, the analytical intent was to abstract from the carded items any indications of symbolic representations or catch-words by which a framework of knowledge could be discerned. 'Knowledge' in this respect is taken to mean the intellectual and imaginative constructs functioning heuristically to orient, inform, and motivate a person's or group's view on and action in history. From this one may further deduce the material interests sustained and protected by such knowledge.

In this sense, these three categories seek to allow a developed critique of the dominant ideology or ideologies in the Church and, as Habermas puts it, to 'take the historical traces of suppressed dialogue and reconstruct what has been suppressed' in order to decipher the unity of knowledge and interests[1]. The results of the card analysis are tabulated

1. J. Habermas (1971), p.315.

periodically with only key words listed, followed by brief comments at the foot of each column. The key words are derived from the carded items and indicate a pattern of terminology peculiar to the period, although certain terms appear to have a longer life in church parlance than others, indicating their greater influence throughout the decades studied.

Under 'Symbols and Images' are listed terms appearing in the literature which functioned to summarize an attitude or an opinion, thereby likely to generate in the subject a complex of attached representations which characterize the public language of the Church in relation to particular socio-economic issues.

These complexes of representations, often appearing in the literature as a composite of phrases and words, are also regarded as being tied into a larger complex of meaning. In this case, a meaning-complex is taken to indicate a broader ideological category within which several single symbolic representations come together to inform a way of orienting oneself in the world, at least attitudinally. The second set of columns seeks to list such broader categories as identified in particular entries. Here one is listing terms already functioning as an interpretation of the original text - a second level of abstraction - and to that extent the present writer's own orientation in the study is already critically at work.

Besides complexes of meaning, it was in many cases possible to ascertain on reasonable grounds what presupposition or presuppositions lay behind a particular text in order for it to be framed as it was within its context ('context' here includes the literary and the socio-economic framework of the selected text). Where such presuppositions could reasonably be assumed, they were also noted. The third set of columns lists in annotated form these notes. (See Tables 10, 11, and 12 respectively on pages 334, 335 and 336).

vii) General:

In studying Church responses to various issues, certain other aspects emerged not contained in the other categories analysed, yet adding some information or further insight to the general picture. These aspects are documented by reference to the relevant issue, as follows:

Comments on 'language, meaning-complexes and presuppositions:

1903-1910

(i) 'Civilisation' is still a key concept.

(ii) Significant late criticism of the basis for Union, mostly around the decision not to extend the Cape franchise system nationally.

(iii) After the Lagden Commission interest grows in utilising African traditional institutions in socio-economic control systems.

(iv) Compounds, locations, work conditions and reserves - all affecting the life of indigenous people negatively - are strongly romanticised, especially with respect to the role of religion.

TABLE 10: IDEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS, CPSA AND METHODIST CHURCH: LANGUAGE SYMBOLS AND IMAGES, 1903 – 1930

	1903 – 1910	1911 – 1919	1920 – 1930
EPITHETS USED	re: Africans – 'savages' 'barbarism' 'loafers' 'baboons' Morality Responsibility Good habits	re: Africans – 'heathen' 'menace' 'children' 'Black Peril' 'criminal instinct' 'finest worker' 'an asset' Morality and vice	re: Africans – 'dear heathen boys' 'patient' 'cheerful' re: socialism – 'atheistic' 'revolutionary' Morality and vice
NEED EXPRESSED FOR	Practical industry Well-prepared workers Dignity of labour Cheap labour (NB) White supremacy Character	Well-prepared workers Moderation Self-respect Righteousness Patience	Migrant labour system 'The Good Life' Dignity of labour Fine labour supply Potential consumers Solidarity of race Charity
RESPONSIBILITIES OF GOVERNMENT	Civilisation Home Loyalty Citizenship Property Dominion 'Crown and Throne' Empire Against agitators	Pioneers Family Loyalty Uplift 'Natives' Individual is NB Responsible government Authority Union of SA, a divine factor Against agitators Progress	Civilisation Family altar Loyalty Citizenship Individual is NB Bill of rights Trusteeship Reserves needed Against agitators 'Native Question' Colour Bar Living Wage Education of blacks Round Table Conference Welfare Reform Free-market
CRITICAL	Injustice 'Homelands' criticised 'Africa for the African'	Oppression Rich versus poor Class legislation Participatory government	Colonisation 'Rich man's crumbs'
RELIGIOUS	Providence at work Kingdom of Heaven	Spirit of Christ needed Africa – raw material for Church	Christ is teacher / Reconciles Conversions NB
OVERALL PATTERN	Images of Empire, primitive Africans, exploitation (quite open), and from an early manufacturing class.	Shift to images of crime, middle class virtues, and national consolidation.	Images now clearly national, religious, middle-class; also a shift to reform of system and a selective incorporation of blacks.

TABLE 11: IDEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS, CPSA AND METHODIST CHURCH:
MEANING – COMPLEXES, 1903 – 1930

	1903 – 1910	1911 – 1919	1920 – 1930
TRADITION	* Victorian *Colonial Free Trade	* Dominion and Empire Colonial exploitation Class a 'natural' divide	Segregation White unity
SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM	*Capitalism in general Liberal democratic Social democratic Bureaucratic Recruitment controls System reform	National Capital * Bourgeois rule Liberal democratic * Social democratic Affirmation of Union	National Capital * Bourgeois rule * Liberal democratic Social democratic System reform Incorporate qualified blacks Balanced economy
ETHICS / ATTITUDES	Division / control of labour force Security Stability of property * Inferiority of blacks	Harmony between Capital and labour Uphold state authority Individualist Assimilation	Harmony between Capital and labour Law and order Human rights Inferiority of blacks Danger of black culture Christian blacks best
IMAGE OF CHURCH	Bourgeois Liberal Evangelicalism Impartial, 'above' conflict Rebellion unChristian Imperial support	Bourgeois * Liberal Evangelicalism Impartial, reconciling should 'not get involved' Souls important Intentions always good Concern – people not systems	Bourgeois * Liberal Evangelicalism Impartial, universally Kingdom of God politics Charitable organisation * Concern – spirituality, not worldly struggles
OVERALL PATTERN	Victorian capitalist and merchantile expansionism is dominant, accompanied by a colonial mentality, and Imperial Church, and a crude policy.	The national state (Union) is in the foreground with evidence of emphasis on consolidation and the virtues of a local bourgeoise. Crude colonialism is much muted, and some social democratic thought is more strongly present.	There appears to be a clear shift to system reform along the lines advanced by local capital needs. Some evidence of a growing crisis mentality, but also a capitulation to the separation of the religious from the social realm.

General note: Capitalism and a Church to match are pre-eminent throughout.

* Asterisked items indicate a strong emphasis in the records as a whole.

TABLE 12: IDEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS, CPSA AND METHODIST CHURCH: PRESUPPOSITION

	1903 – 1910	1911 – 1919	1920 – 1930
ON BLACKS – GENERAL	Must work for reward Only need basic manual education Females trained as domestics Assimilation? Negative 'Homelands' provide needs Taxation – NB source of revenue * Leadership should be co-opted Easily run into credit difficulty Christian education NB American education bad Inferior race	Complaints should be made in 'legal, godly' fashion Crime – result of character deficiency Citizenship – a privilege Inferior race	Citizenship – a privilege Need sufficient land General leaseholding required * Alliance with the educated NB Inferior, must be guided
ON LABOUR	Control is first priority Influx control necessary Compounds good, but should be improved	Proper case of Labour – prosperity Unionisation suspicious Cheap black labour necessary for white wealth Labour unfair, government fair Farmers have difficulty Farm labour is exploited	Reserve army of labour NB Living wage NB ICU – a challenge, but too hostile Match supply to economic development Black workers need upgrading Workers need white goodwill Farm labour is exploited Racist white workers – problem
ON ECONOMY – GENERAL	* White security crucial Cape colony system safe, best Opportunity and property NB	Stability NB Land Act a problem Private property / business NB Worker role must increase Economic struggle basic, worldwide	Development NB Land reform necessary * System needs drastic changes Worker role must increase Collective bargaining system NB Capital and labour both must be responsible to community Black and white co-operation NB
ON POLITICS	White rule essential System OK, change gradual Union not a fair deal for 'good natives'	White superiority NB Conflict to be avoided White unity NB Link with Britain NB * Victorian manners and virtues NB Legislation – best for 'natives' Legislation OK if known 'negrophiles' support it Negotiation is right method Right spirit – harmony Individual change will bring social change	* White supremacy crucial * System OK White unity NB Segregation necessary Communism bad * Reform, not revolution 'Colour Bar' provocative Subject peoples should participate in government
ON THE CHURCH	Stands 'above' society * Allied with State / Crown Must fit blacks for labour Work holy, religion necessary Help to blacks unappreciated 'Saving' blacks central * Christianity – only answer Family NB for Church / Empire Missionaries need more sympathy for colonists	* Stands 'above' society * Capitalists and missionaries have common interests Hard work needs religion Should relate to workers Alienated from workers * Christianity – great hope	Stands 'above' conflict * Compounds – NB mission field Religion purifies character Religious values NB Concerned with totality of life Its work has improved situation Only Church can really help Family – basis of Church, society
OVERALL PATTERN	Strong role of Empire. In general, blacks seen as primitive and fit for labour only.	National state authority strong; also relationship to national capital. But conflicts with respect to workers and blacks in general is evident, while calls for moderation increase.	Reformist tendencies strong, in labour, land and political control issues. Church alliançe with national capital much stronger despite Herzog government. Emphasis on privatised religion to the fore.

Note: Constants – (i) White supremacy and economic security; (ii) Control over labour (necessarily increasingly sophisticated); (iii) Liberal capitalist economy and its values; (iv) Desire to see 'qualified' blacks co-opted or incorporated; (v) View of inferiority of blacks; (vi) Church 'above' society and conflict; (vii) Family and work ethics; (viii) Segregation in some form

* Asterisked items indicate a strong emphasis in the records as a whole.

1911-1919

(i) "Work" ethic ideology strong; also an individualist ethic

(ii) 'Moderation' and 'patience' frequently urged upon the colonised

(iii) Authority of the government, and law and order held very high

(iv) Strong concern over crime, but very biggoted

(v) New missionary thrust towards the end of the period and into the next

(vi) Fair amount of radical social and economic critique, especially towards the end of the period

(vii) Some leading blacks (e.g. John Dube) beginning to regard Christianity as "a blasphemous fraud"

(viii) Increasing attacks upon the churches from workers and the colonised in general, while these were responded to defensively and without much understanding

1920-1930

(i) A prevalent attitude: that the Church has no means or mandate to intervene in economic matters

(ii) On the other hand, growing attention is paid to the application of "Christian principles" in industry

(iii) The ICU regarded as basically legitimate, but too provocative

(iv) Socialism increasingly regarded as dangerous and unrealistic

(v) In respect of the 1922 Rand Revolt, some churches suggested conflict management strategies later incorporated in the Industrial Conciliation Act (1923)

(vi) In respect of the Herzog Bills, generally it was felt that the 'colour bars' should remain informal rather than be legislated

(vii) Growing unease with 'Pass Laws' evidenced

(viii) Criticism of an unbalanced legal system favouring settlers emerges

(ix) Increasing emphasis placed upon education for blacks

(x) Alliance with black aspirant bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie is called for more and more

(xi) Attacks on the PACT Government grow towards the end of the period, following along lines very similar to attacks on the National Party Government since 1948

General comments, 1903-1930:

(i) COMPOUNDS are not seen in any critical light, even mildly so, but romanticised. The only exception is one call to improve Johannesburg compounds to equal those of Kimberley.

(ii) CONTRACTS: No reference found prior to 1932.

(iii) WAGE STRUCTURES: Only one item was found specifically dealing with this issue.

(iv) MISSIONS & MISSIONARIES: Genuinely critical views from inside the churches on the role of missionaries only emerges in the late 1920s.

(v) PERIOD 1918-1922: Russian Revolution and post-World War I climate influential.

(vi) PEASANTRY: No perception of dynamics until late 1920s (Dr Henderson) - too late.

(vii) AFRICAN RESISTANCE: One era appears to end with Bambata rebellion, then Bulhoek massacre onwards.

(viii) LIQUOR: Besides items alluded to in the text, many more short references were found concerning the control of illicit liquor markets, prohibition, and the bad effects of liquor.

(ix) STATE ROLE: About 75% of the entries are on "colour" (race) issues.

(x) STATE ROLE: English church opposition on a large-scale and on a sustained basis against state legislation appears to begin only with a second look at the Herzog Bills, which were initially much praised for establishing a systematic and definite "Native Policy".

(xi) MISSION: Quick change in the conception of mission from the middle 1920s on, after renewed calls in early 1920s along traditional mission lines. A stronger concern for "economic well-being" arises.

(xii) CHURCH: Some emphasis on economic issues emerges during four periods, perhaps significantly connected to large-scale external dynamics as indicated:

1. 1913-15 = Recession + major strikes
2. 1921-22 = " " " "
3. 1928-32 = Emergence of "black" trade unions + British socialism
4. 1940-45 = War, and height of British socialism

Many of the themes unfolded in the earlier historical treatment of the Church reappear in the summary data of the preceding pages; thus from a different angle of view they undergird many of the earlier assessments made and conclusions

reached. It remains to weld these assessments and conclusions together into a structure of explanation, drawing the various elements into a perceivable and usable whole. For this purpose, it is necessary to step back from the particular to the more general, from the local context to a wider relation of religion to industrial society, from the specific historical moment to its preceding conditions.

Colonisation of Southern Africa by the British imperial vanguard included the work of missionaries who proceeded eastwards and northwards breaking ground before other colonial forces, or consolidating ground already broken. A symbiotic relationship between Church and Empire was both natural and inevitable[1]. Viewed as the 'pioneer period', any resistance encountered by the missions during this time (and there was much) could easily be rationalised as the opposition of the 'Devil' against the European 'invasion of a part of his dominion'. However, the unavoidable conquest and subjugation of the indigenous people, accompanied by their progressive incorporation into the colonial political economy as their own economy was largely destroyed, made mission work less hazardous and some inroads more likely. This, the 'seed time', eventually gave way to the establishment of local churches, conferences, synods and similar organised groupings wherein the 'harvest' could be reaped[2]. The elements of manifest destiny, conquest and possession formed the stuff of missionary ideology, as is vividly displayed in the final comments of du Plessis' famous history of missions in South Africa:

> Let us then endeavour to fulfil our divinely-appointed destiny. "There remaineth yet very much land to be possessed." The conquest is not yet complete ....We need leaders for the fight; we need soldiers for the ranks.... We need the sinews of war ....[3]

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1. Note L. Hewson's comment on Methodism (1950), p.8.
2. These stages constitute the interpretation of missions made by Samuel Clark, Secretary of the SAMS, 34th report, 1915, pp.1-3.
3. J.H. du Plessis (1911), p.408.

But the end of the nineteenth century brought the diamond and gold discoveries, transformed the economic geography of the region, introduced the first major phase of industrialisation, and set up labour supply and control systems matched to the unique conditions of a tight monopoly of the diamond market and a strict monopsony in the low-grade, highly capitalised gold reefs. From this point on the economy of South Africa was locked into structures that would produce a marked degree of exploitation of colonised labour, a white 'labour aristocracy', and an underdevelopment of the rural reserves. That the gold reefs lay in the Trekker Republics generated a peculiar and momentous competition between national and foreign capital, a competition for hegemony also destined to make its mark on local and imperial history. Thus one arrives at the post Anglo-Boer War period. And one arrives in a Church milieu characterised by enormous interest in the industrial education of the indigenous people to fit them for 'their place'[1], by a concern to consolidate 'the restraining and directing influence of the Christian religion' and to educate 'on the proper lines'[2], and by a desire to accept a select number of suitably qualified blacks into the dominant system. These elements remain characteristic, reflecting in a new economic environment a continuing debt on the part of the churches to the ideology and the practice of imperial capitalism[3].

The captivity of the churches to the ruling powers and their functional dependence on the settler economy, itself connected in important ways to the imperial metropolises, can be understood at a number of levels. The Victorian tradition, a colonial mentality, the structures of the Church itself, the material interests of its settler members, and the impact of European immigrants - all played a part in determining the theory and the practice of the Church along lines prejudicial to the colonised indigenous people and the

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1. G.B.A. Gerdener (1958), p.243, quote from Dr Roberts of Lovedale, to the 1904 Gen.Miss.Conf.
2. Ibid., p.209.
3. Similar developments in the German Missions are traced by U. Kistner, Africa Perspective, no.13, Spring, 1979, p.63 and preceding.

working class in particular, though the Church was buffeted into confusion, ambiguity, inactivity, and occasional protest by the resistance of its black members and its desire not to lose influence among them. Its undoubted contribution to their welfare, and to their ability to cope in a new environment imposed upon them, does not undermine or reduce the force of this assessment of the Church in relation to the colonized working class.

Studies of Victorian Christianity, especially of the 'church by law established' (the Church of England) and the Methodist group, reveal connections to the ideology and practice of early capitalism in the industrial revolution that are of considerable significance to the present argument. Young believes that Victorian England rested on two assumptions that began to fail as time went on: 'that the production of wealth by the few meant, somehow, and in the long run, welfare for the many, and that conventional behaviour grounded on a traditional creed was enough to satisfy all right demands of humanity'[1].

Conventional behaviour revolved around duty and self-restraint as characterised by the image of the English gentleman. 'Respectability' became an ideal - it captured the whole of middle-class aspirations and many, including Wesley, were obsessed by the desire to encourage the working-class to aim for the same. In close connection to these interrelated values, the dominating perspective of the churches in relation to newly developing conflict between proletarianised labour and free-trade capital was one of 'harmony' at all costs.[2] Consequently, 'restraint, tolerance, a live and let live attitude' were prescribed; while religion was to be regarded as the basis for co-operation on the part of all[3]. Thus when indeed social evils were recognised, pulpit speakers preached 'personal regeneration to the sufferers and advocated reform by the State', but 'they did

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1. G.M. Young (1964), p.100.
2. A. Armstrong (1973), p.92.
3. R. Moore (1974), p.7.

not advocate independent struggle by the workers'[1]. For them the relationship between capital and labour was contractual rather than conflictual; from this point of view exploitation could only be defined as an 'unfair' contract requiring an adjustment in its terms but not a challenge to the nature of the relationship.

Methodism in particular served as the religion for both the industrial bourgeosie and sections of the working class, but its focus was predominantly moral and individual. E.P. Thompson points out three major means of obtaining obedience: requirement of service to the Church itself, the cultivation of one's own soul, and self-discipline in labour as a 'pure act of virtue'; and he fittingly adds elsewhere that

> So long as Satan remained udefined and of no fixed class abode, Methodism condemned working people to a kind of moral civil war - between the chapel and the pub, the wicked and the redeemed, the lost and the saved.[2]

In his view the Church weakened the poor from within through an active demand for submission, and through an ideology admirably suited to the needs of manufacturers and aimed at work-discipline in the new economic climate.[3] Moreover, in the churches as a whole, active responsibility within the society at large towards assisting in various needful situations was conceived of more in terms of service than solidarity; 'service' it has been demonstrated, is the idea of intervention arising out of the middle-class, 'solidarity' out of a working-class base. Ultimately, 'the idea of service ... is no substitute for the idea of active mutual responsibility'[4].

When one adds to these various insights the knowledge that philosophical idealism reigned supreme in the churches, as is witnessed most profoundly in the Victorian regard for

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1. Ibid., p.11.
2. E.P. Thompson (1968), p.401 and p.50.
3. Ibid., p.390.
4. R. Williams (1961), pp.314-6, passim.

the sermon as 'the standard vehicle of truth' and for the written and spoken word as the power for change[1]; when one recognises that 'the clergy as a body stood in a class apart' from workers and peasantry by virtue of their education, their relations with the gentry, and their local power[2]; then it is not hard to discern the connections of the Church to the dominant political economy, and the many parallels to the early industrial period in South Africa. In both cases the churches 'do not as a rule accept the validity of the struggle between employer and employee', they 'do not produce leaders who would articulate and pursue class interests as such', and they emphasise 'traditional values and activities ... increasingly disconnected from current political issues'[3].

The impact of such an ideology and its attendant practice upon the indigenous population of South Africa has also been well documented. The land became increasingly conceived of as 'yet another form of personal property, realizable and profitable in terms of money'[4]. Prestige was measured in terms of the accumulation of goods which required money to purchase, which meant a stimulus to wage labour and a cultivation of aspirations defined by the manufacturing class[5]. Thus the indigenous society had to be confronted and transformed, rudely if necessary, while the doctrines of work, private property and individualism were made to replace old values. The Church itself became a measure of status, many of the aspirant black middle-class associating with it for pragmatic, political or social reasons[6]. Africans who were Christianised were referred to by others as ositshuzana, that is, the "excuse me" people, because of their particular concern about politeness and refinement, and their concern

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1. G.M. Young (1964), p.15.
2. Ibid., pp.63-4; see also R. Moore (1974), p.224.
3. R. Moore (1974), pp.26-7.
4. D.H. Reader (1966), pp.70-1.
5. A. Vilakazi (1962), p.139: Vilakazi's study focuses on a more modern community, but there appears no reason why certain aspects should not apply to earlier periods, and many reasons why such application seems entirely appropriate.
6. Ibid., p.99.

for respectability as defined by the conquering colonists[1].

The Church in South Africa could not help be what it was. It could not avoid being structured so that its finances were derived from the dominant class, both locally and internationally[2]; so that its clergy were paid differential wages according to their place in society - colonised or colonial; so that only one African priest had reached the rank of canon by 1934 and the diocesan monthly, The Watchman, had yet to carry an article written by an African[3]. Additionally its ecclesiastical system of administration closely followed and often assisted the imperial[4], the symbiotic relationship between leading clergy and rulers predominating even when the Church felt constrained to protest in the name of its less fortunate members against injustice and inhumanity. The role of women too, never to the fore in the material analysed in this study, demonstrated the fundamental bondage of the Church to the ideas and the praxis of the class upon which it depended[5].

In these respects, Davies contends that the principal role of the state is

> to ensure that the political class struggle between the dominant and dominated classes does not assume forms which threaten the continued existence of the essential social relations of the formation. This role imposes upon the state a twofold task - to politically organise the dominant classes and to politically disorganise and maintain in isolation the dominant classes.[6]

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1. Ibid., p.133.
2. Figures for the CPSA in 1931, for example, illustrate the point, as do Conference minutes and Synod records generally; see also "With One Accord", Unified Statement, Church of England Assembly, Britain, 1933.
3. A. Paton (1973), p.46.
4. q.v. W. Crokat, "Government in the English Church", English Church House, Cape Town, 1905.
5. q.v. for example, MCMC, 1921, p.129.
6. R. Davies (1979), p.26.

Accepting this, one must on the basis of the foregoing analysis situate the Church in a supportive position to the state in terms of the struggle between the dominant and dominated classes in the 1903-1930 period, even when it protested against the particular form of state assumed under the hegemony of national capital under Herzog.

Besides the factors already mentioned that explain why this should be so, it is clear that the controlling position of settlers in the churches was also highly significant. English-speaking whites as a group for long had the highest average income in South Africa[1]; their material privilege and relative affluence, once established, and not threatened by the state despite their increasingly 'embattled cultural position'[2]; the prospects of immigrants in terms of standards of living and income and even education were generally very good, entrenching their interests; and immigrants themselves were a weapon in the competition for hegemony between fractions of capital[3].

All things considered - the history, the structures, the interest, the practice, and the thought of the Church in South Africa through the period studied - what one author has described as a 'crisis of faith, commitment and hope' in the white English-speaking community accompanied by a 'failure on the part of the churches to meet the crisis in a creative way'[4], is no such thing at all. The problems of the Church lie rather in the practical and theoretical homage paid to an exploitative and oppressive political economy, in an incapacity for critical and self-critical analysis carried through in a sustained manner, in the refusal to countenance a clear and active option for the poor and the disinherited, in ideological captivity and a fear of exceeding acceptable boundaries of debate, in theologies and theological education inimical to the needs and the situation of workers and

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1. H.L. Watts, "A Social and demographic portrait of English-speaking white South Africans", in A. de Villiers (1976), p.63.
2. L. Schlommer, "English-speaking South Africans Today: Identity and Integration", *ibid.*, pp.96-7.
3. J. Stone (1973), pp.186-7 and elsewhere.
4. J. de Gruchy (1979), p.95.

colonised people, and in structures of organisation and finance favouring the control of the Church by the skilled, the affluent, the educated, the well-connected, the articulate and the powerful. The testimony of those people and occasional groups who have been different and done otherwise is an honoured one, held strong within the Church itself, but - one suspects - more as a placebo and a gratification rather than a stimulus to renewal from the ground up.

In this sense, the Church struggle in South Africa is not at root a struggle against a particularly disliked form of state - it is a struggle of the Church with itself and within itself; it is a battle to determine who will be where in the struggle for South Africa itself and in the achievement of a just and participatory democracy. In this respect, the present study seeks to contribute to the formation of a Church which looks for ultimate peace through the penultimate construction and sustenance of a realistic, intelligently assessed contemporary structure of peace.

APPENDIX A:

SYNOPTIC CHART OF SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY, 1903 – 1928

Selected events indicating matters of concern for the analysis of political economy in the designated period

KEY

——— (underlining) key event

* organisation or body established

⟷ direct correlation of events

┌── period during which event pertains

DATE	EXTERNAL EVENTS	POLITICS	ECONOMY	LABOUR ACTION	RESISTANCE
1903	MARCH – Inter-colonial Conference.	FEB – J. Chamberlain tours Cape Colony. SANAC (Lagden) begins.	Customs Union formed. Gold-mining: expansion in output and profit. Recession begins. Drought.		SA Native Congress: memo to Sec. of State for Colonies on political discrimination. Herero uprising.
1904		Natal Locations Act. NOV * Tvl. Progressive Assoc. Chamber of Mines interests (P. Fitzpatrick and G. Farrar.) * Tvl. Labour Party. y. DEC * Tvl. Responsible Govt. Assoc. (diamond interests).	Ordinance 17: controls access of black workers to Tvl. and reserves jobs. Labour Importation Ord. (Tvl.): Chinese labour for mines. 4 778 factories in the four colonies: Goods valued at 19,3m. Begin period relative apathy in Trade Unions.		* Natal Native Congress. * Orange River Colony Native Vigilance Assoc. * Tvl. Congress. * Bapedi Union. * Basuto Assoc. Dr. A. Abdurahman on C. T. City Council.
1905	DEC – Britain: Liberal Party in power.	JAN – * 'Het Volk' (L. Botha) MAR – Tvl. granted representative govt. JUL – * 'Orangie Unie' AUG –* Political Labour League of WTLC (Pres. W. H. Andrews). 'Afrikaanse Taal' movement School Boards Act (Cape)→ excludes 'Coloureds'.	Natal enacts Poll Tax – 1 per head. Natal: Delimitation Comm. releases 2,6m ex 6,5m Zulu land effectively for settler purchase.		* African People's Org'n. in Cape (Dr. Abdurahman).
1906		JAN – Smuts to London: Lobbies for Tvl. Responsible Govt. Tvl. granted self-govt, L. Botha Cabinet.	Mines fully productive after war: Labour – 163 000 * Tvl. Land Bank. WNLA crisis Tvl. Indigency Commission.		Zulu Poll Tax Rebellion (Bambata): killed – 30 militia / 3 000 blacks. 1st Indian passive resistance campaign: against extension of pass laws. * Ilanga Nase Natal, (J. Dube).
1907	World Trade Recession	OFS granted self-govt.	Importation of Chinese labour stopped (but used until 1910). * First General Workers Union.	4 000 white mine-workers strike.	2nd Indian passive resistance campaign. Gandhi's 1st Satyagraha campaign.
1908		National Convention: Durban	Report of Tvl. Indigency Comm. on squatters.		Indians burn passes in J'bg. Dinuzulu on trial. * Cape Native Convention, (T. Jabavu).

DATE	EXTERNAL EVENTS	POLITICS	ECONOMY	LABOUR ACTION	RESISTANCE
1909	AUG – SA Act passed in Britain.	National Convention: Cape Town National Convention: Bfn. * SA Labour Party	Tvl. Industrial Disputes Prevention Act. 6 894 miles of rail in SA	APR / MAY – Railwaymen's strike (white).	MAR – A. P. O. meeting on National Conv. – against. – SA Nat. Cong. meeting on Nat. Conv. – against. * Ohlange Institute in Natal, (J. Dube). DEC – SA Socialist Federation.
1910	1st International Missionary Conf. (Edinburgh: John Mott.)	MAY – (31st) UNION of SA JUL – Socialist Party, (shortlived).			Rubusana & Abdurahman elected to Cape Prov. Council.
1911	Universal Races Congress, London: Jabavu & Rubusana present.		Mines and Works Act no. 12: (i) job reservation (blasting cert.) – job colour bar. (ii) strikes by African contract workers outlawed.	J'bg. Tramwaymen's strike, (IWW)	'Native Union' proposed by Pixley ka I. Seme
1912		Miners' Phthisis Act Botha resigns, forms govt. with Hertzog. Union Defence Act Govt. Commission to investigate 'black peril'.	325 000 miners, of which whites – 36 000 * Land Bank * Native Recruiting Corp.		JAN – (8th) * SA Native National Congress (later ANC). APR – * SA Races Congress. opposition to SANNC, (T. Jabavu). MAY – * Utd. Socialist Party * Abantu–Batho (SANNC) * SA Teachers' League
1913		Hertzog forms National Party Commission on Assaults on Women: proposes separate residential areas.	LAND ACT SEPT – Economic Commission to investigate workers' grievances.	JULY – Miners' strike: riots, 18 000 workers. – 'The Workers' Charter' publ. (white grievances). Newcastle: Indian coalminers strike. ↔	↔ Natal Indians march into Tvl.
1914	AUG – (4th): World War 1 begins.	JAN – (14th): Martial Law ↔ * National Party Riotous Assemblies Act Commission on TB – proposes segregated areas. SEPT (10th): Union joins War: 91 vs. 12 votes. Military expedition to German SWA.	Union Income Tax begun Gold-mining: contraction and crisis.	↔ JAN – (8th): Industrial disturbances on Rand. African strike, OFS at Jagersfontein. (1914) – 12 strikes.	JAN – (16th): Smuts and Gandhi meet. JULY – Gandhi leaves SA. SANNC delegation to colonial Sec. & House of Commons, Britain. T. Jabavu opposes Rubusana in Cape Prov. Council election – both lose. * War on War League (Jones, Bunting and Wade). Afrikaner Rebellion.
1915		(Surrender of German forces in SWA.)			* International Socialist League: left-wing break from SA Labour Party.
1916		Union expeditionary force to German East Africa. * SA Native College at Fort Hare. * Die Burger Smuts in Imperial War Cabinet, Britain.	Beaumont Commission: 'Native Lands Comm.' – on enlargement of reserves. 100 000 'Poor Whites'.		
1917	Russian Revolution	Native Administration Bill: segregated political institutions based on Lagden Commission principles and Glen Grey system of District Councils.	* Industrial Development Corp.	JAN – White mine-workers' strike at Van Rhyn Deep: against semi-skilled employment of blacks.	* Industrial Workers of Africa (ex ISL).
1918	NOV – (11th): Armistice.	* Afrikaner Broederbond SEPT/OCT – Influenza epidemic.	Status Quo Agreement: Ch. of Mines and White TU's. 488 000 farm workers.	'Bucket strike' in J'bg. ↔ Africans boycott food in Rand compounds (high prices).	↔ SANNC protest against conviction of sanitary workers under Masters & Servants Act.
1919		AUG – Botha dies, Smuts PM – Mandate over SWA		MAR – Bfn. wage strike (Msimang). OCT – CT dock strike (ICU). (1919) – 47 strikes.	MAR – Rand Pass Campaign. * ICU in CT (Kadalie) African delegation (SANNC) to Versailles. * Bantu Union (Meschach Pelem).

DATE	EXTERNAL EVENTS	POLITICS	ECONOMY	LABOUR ACTION	RESISTANCE
1920	Lenin's 'Colonial Thesis' publ.	MAR – General election: Nat. Party largest – 44 seats. * 1820 Memorial Settlers' Assoc. (Inc. Selbourne, Milner, Smuts). Native Affairs Act: based on Lagden principles.	* SA Reserve Bank NOV – 7 gold mines working at loss or marginal profit. DEC – 15 " " " " " est. 120 000 'Poor Whites'.	FEB – African Miners' strike: 40 – 70 000. OCT – Municipal workers' strike, PE: ICWU (S. Masabaiala) 21 killed. (1920) – 66 strikes.	MAY – ICWU (Kadalie) launched nationally. * SA Indian Congress.
1921	Post-War Depression. 2nd Pan African Congress, London. J. Dube present.	SAP & Unionist Party merge mining capital interests. FEB – Special General Election, new SAP win. JULY – * Communist Party ex ISL.	* SA Reserve Bank NOV – 7 gold-mines working at loss or marginal profit DEC – 15 " " " " " est. 120 000 'Poor Whites'.		MAY – Bulhoek Massacre of 'Israelites' at Ntabalenga. Wellington Buthelezi: anti-settler campaign (millenarian). * Joint Councils of Africans and Europeans, J'bg.
1922	Britain returns to Gold standard at pre-war parity – 35 per cent drop in price.	MAR – (10th): Martial Law Martial Law Commission	Mines lay-off 2 000 white workers. Apprenticeship Act: effectively limits skilled training to whites.	JAN – (8th): Strike ballot. – (10th): Strike of white workers on gold mines, power stations, engineering. MAR – (5th): General Strike. – (7th): 1st assaults on Africans. – (14th): Uprising quelled.	Delegation to London, Chief Sobhuza II of Swazi: against incorporation into SA. Bondelswarts Rebellion: SWA.
1923		APR – Hertzog-Creswell electoral pact. Native Urban Areas Act: 'Stallard doctrine'; locations policy and systemisation of migratory labour.	Drought Investigation Comm. * ESCOM AUG – Hildick-Smith case: test of job colour bar.		SANNC renamed ANC, adopts 'Bill of Rights'. * Workers Herald (ICU).
1924		APR – (5th): Smuts resigns. JUNE – (30th): Election: PACT Govt. under Hertzog.	Industrial Conciliation Act: Africans not defined as 'employees'. JUL – Civilized Labour Policy: favours white workers. NOV – Mining Regulation Comm: to investigate job colour bars.		* SA Assoc. of Employee's Organisations (W. H. Andrelos) (SAAEO)
1925		Afrikaans – 2nd official language.	Customs Tariff Act: protects national capital. Economic and Wages Comm. Wage Act: aid to unskilled white workers.		APR – Bfn. riots, beer raid, 5 killed.
1926	Imperial Conf. (London). Balfour Declaration. Le Zoute Conf.	Hertzog at Imperial Conf. 'Hertzog Bills': Representation of Natives/Natives (Councils) Act/Native Lands Act/ 'Colour Bar' Act. Conf. between SA and Indian govts. re: status of Indians in SA.	MAY – Mines and Works Ammendment Act: colour bar in mining.		* SA Trades Union Congress ex SAAEO. Kadalie arrested in Natal ICU expels communist members.
1927	Congress of Oppressed Nationalities, (Brussels).	Native Administration Act: extended Natal colonial/tribal system to Union. Immorality Act Nationality and Flag Act	Agricultural sector income drop: falls between 1927/8 & 1932/3 by 42 per cent.	Coal Strike, N. Natal. JUN – African dockworkers' strike, Durban. JUL – Railway goods yard strike, J'bg.	* 1st African TU's on Rand. JUN – ICU at zenith: Kadalie goes to Europe. – 1st non-European conf. Kimberly (ANC/APO/ICU & SA Indian Congress).
1928	Butler Report to ILO on labour in SA.	Labour Party split: Creswell/Madley.	* ISCOR	African Diamond Diggers strike at Lichtenburg: 30 000 workers.	JAN – SATUC rejects ICU affiliation. MAR – * SA Fed. of non-European TU's: parallel unions. * SA Worker MAY – ICU yase Natal formed by Champion. W. G. Ballinger arrives to advise ICU.

APPENDIX B:

STATISTICAL TABLES

TABLE 13

Racial Composition of the South African Population in Thousands (1901-1921)

Year	Whites	Africans	Asians	Col-oureds	All non-Whites	Total all races
1904	1117	3491	123	445	4059	5176
1911	1276	4019	152	526	4697	5973
1921	1519	4698	166	546	5409	6929

(Sources: Official Year Book of the Union, No.27, 1952-1953, p.1089; W.H. Hutt, The Economics of the Colour Bar, p.181; South African Scope, Nov. 1966)

TABLE 14

Racial Groups as Percentage of Total South African Population (1901-1921)

Year	Whites	Africans	Asians	Col-oureds	All non-Whites	Total all races
1904	21.6	67.4	2.4	8.6	78.4	100.0
1911	21.4	67.3	2.5	8.8	78.6	100.0
1921	21.9	67.8	2.4	7.9	78.1	100.0

(Sources: M.H. Alsop, The Population of Natal, p.10; Official Year Book of the Union, No.27, 1952-1953, p.1089; South African Scope, Nov. 1966)

TABLE 15

Distribution of South African Population by Province in Thousands (1904-1921)

Year	Cape	Natal	Transvaal	O.F.S.	Total
1904	2410	1009	1270	387	5176
1911	2565	1194	1686	528	5973
1921	2783	1429	2088	629	6929

(Sources: A. Gordon-Brown, ed., The Year Book and Guide to Southern Africa, 1955, p.69)

TABLE 16

Percentage of South African Population
Living in Urban Areas by Race (1921)

Year	Africans	Europeans	Coloureds	Asians
1921	12	56	46	31

(Sources: Second Report of the United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa, 1954, p.47; W.H. Hutt, The Economics of the Colour Bar, p.181)

TABLE 17

Ratio of White to Black Wages in
Secondary Industry, South Africa (1915-1930)

Year	Ratio	Year	Ratio	Year	Ratio
1915-16	4.84	1920-21	5.13	1925-26	4.37
1916-17	4.90	1921-22	5.11	1926-27	4.29
1917-18	4.76	1922-23	4.75	1927-28	4.16
1918-19	4.76	1923-24	4.72	1928-29	4.08
1919-20	4.84	1924-25	4.55	1929-30	4.10

(Sources: Investment in Union of South Africa, p.105; J.M. Tinley, The Native Labour Problem of South Africa, pp.123, 1289

TABLE 18

Percentage of South African Manual Workers of
Each Racial Group in Various Skill Levels (1947)

	Whites	Africans	Coloureds	Asians
Skilled	81.4	4.1	14.5	31.9
Semi-skilled	16.5	12.7	30.7	32.2
Unskilled	2.1	83.2	54.8	35.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(Sources: Report of the Department of Labour; Muriel Horrell, A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1953, p.76, and 1957, pp.176-77)

Figures taken from P. van den Berghe (1967), pp.289, 305 and 307.

APPENDIX C

DATA ON MISSIONS

TABLE 19: Statistics on Missions in S.A., 1737-1904

Work Commenced	Society	Field(s)	European Workers	Native Workers	Stations	Out-Stations	Communicants	Baptised	Adherents
1737	Moravian Church	Cape Province, Native Territories	89	513	23	139	6,331	19,338	21,595
1799	London Missionary Society	Cape Province, Bechuanaland	50	126	41	141	21,250	21,250	75,344
1814	Wesleyan Missionary Society	British South Africa	102	1873	53	1853	96,489	179,953	361,606
1820	United Free Church of Scotland	Native Territories, Natal	123	856	28	509	15,994	19,411	35,039
1824	Dutch Reformed Church	British South Africa	225	457	92	56	31,270	31,270	137,295
1829	Paris Evangelical Missionary Society	Basutoland, Barotsiland	43	445	15	210	17,160	17,160	24,460
1829	Rhenish Missionary Society	German S.W. Africa, Cape Province	64	79	35	28	15,969	15,969	35,106
1834	Berlin Missionary Society	Cape Province, O.F.S., Natal, Tvl.	103	649	55	249	23,853	48,360	48,360
1835	American Board Mission	Natal, Rhodesia	41	560	15	27	5,532	5,532	19,711
1835	Church of England	British South Africa	177	910	134	301	43,403	156,059	206,501
1844	Norwegian Missionary Society	Natal, Zululand	31	58	12	63	2,231	3,842	5,089
1854	Hermannsburg Mission	Natal, Transvaal	51	518	47	133	22,760	22,760	67,184
1869	Swiss Romande Mission	Transvaal, Portuguese East Africa	73	81	14	65	1,992	1,992	4,462
1870	Finnish Mission	Ovamboland	37	35	8	15	708	1,772	2,529
1873	Church of Norway Mission	Zululand, Natal	19	29	5	31	761	1,845	2,800
1876	Church of Sweden Mission	Natal, Zululand, Rhodesia	28	82	6	60	1,281	2,735	5,124
1885	Free Methodist Church Mission	Natal	18	26	6	28	329	329	2,120
1889	South Africa General Mission	Native Territories, Natal, Swaziland	61	57	25	50	948	1,254	5,000
1890	Swedish Zulu Mission (Holiness Union)	Natal	9	3	2	8	122	122	160
1890	Salvation Army	British South Africa	33	56	33	27	1,763	1,763	7,523
1890	Hanoverian Free Church Mission	Transvaal	17	55	9	34	5,110	5,110	20,000
1892	Scandinavian Alliance Mission	Natal	10	70	2	-	350	350	945
1892	Scandinavian Independent Baptist Union	Natal	7	3	2	8	122	122	160
1892	South African Baptist Missionary Society	Kafraria	11	5	4	28	625	625	2,795
1896	South African Compounds and Interior Miss.	Johannesburg, Portuguese E. Africa	23	46	14	23	1,000	1,450	3,550
1896	Hephzibah Faith Missionary Assoc.	Natal, Johannesburg	9	20	3	1	40	40	160
1898	Brethren in Christ Mission	Rhodesia	11	7	4	3	106	106	266
1899	Methodist Episcopal Church	Rhodesia	18	47	3	14	1,245	1,245	6,498
1899	Norwegian Free Mission	Natal	5	2	1	-	42	42	71
1904	Presbyterian Church of S. Africa	Transvaal, Rhodesia	2	7	2	20	750	750	1,750
			1490	7619	693	4124	319,596	563,566	1,095,680

TABLE 20

Missionary Expansion, Statistics 1850 and 1911

	1850	1911
Missionary Bodies	11	30+
Missionary Personnel	150	1650

(Figures from J.H. du Plessis, 1911, p.404)

TABLE 21

Institutions of the S.A. Missionary Society, 1908

1.	Training Institution for Coloured Teachers and Evangelists, Cape Town					
2.	Heald Town Training Institution					
3.	Ayliff Institution (girls)					
4.	Lessington	Training	and	Industrial	School	(girls; closed in 1908)
5.	Lamplough	"	"	"	"	(girls)
6.	Clarkesbury	"	"	"	"	(boys)
7.	Shawbury	"	"	"	"	(girls)
8.	Pondoland	"	"	"	"	(boys)
9.	Bensonvale	"	"	"	"	(boys)
10.	Edendale	"	"	"	"	(boys)
11.	Indalem	"	"	"	"	(girls)
12.	Butterworth Mission Trade School					(boys)

(Data from the 27th S.A. Missionary Society Report, 1908)

TABLE 22

1st General Missionary Conference, 1904: Societies Present

American Zulu Mission
Baptist
Berlin Evangelical Society
Berlin Evangelical Society for German East Africa
Brethren
Brethren in Christ
Church of Norway Mission
CPSA
Church of Sweden Mission
Dutch Reformed Church
East Central Africa Mission
Free Methodist
Hanoverian Mission
London Missionary Society
Methodist Episcopalian
Moravian Mission
Paris Evangelical Mission
Presbyterian Church of S.A.
S.A. Compounds Mission
S.A. General Mission
Society of Friends
Swedish Mission
Swiss Mission
United Free Church of Scotland
Wesleyan Mission

TABLE 23

Data on Basis and Structure of the General Missionary Conference

(1) Conference met from 1904-1932

(2) Individual representation

(3) During its 28 years, 41 societies and churches were represented, but only 6 of those at all Conferences

(4) The aims of the Conference were:

a. to promote co-operation and brotherly feeling between different missionary societies;

b. to labour for the most speedy and effective evangelization of the native races of S.A.;

c. to enlighten public opinion on Christian mission;

d. to watch over the interests of the native races, and where necessary to influence legislation on their behalf;

e. to keep ever in view the goal of establishing self-supporting and self-propagating Native Churches in S.A.

(From the General Missionary Conferences of S.A. Summary, p.144)

P A R T   T H R E E

REVISIONIST THEOLOGY AND A CRITICAL ECCLESIOLOGY

10. Introduction

11. Notes on Theological Methodology
    a. The Problem of Correlation, and the Structure of Imagination
    b. Religion, Theology and the Analogical Imagination
    c. Hermeneutics and a Method of Correlation: a Revisionist Approach

12. Entr'acte: Material History as Source

13. Towards a Critical Ecclesia
    a. Introduction
    b. The Church in Contradiction
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    d. The Church-at-the-limits
    e. Concluding Remarks

10. INTRODUCTION

Throughout the foregoing discussion and analysis, certain principles of criticism have been developed, defended and utilised. From the beginning an assumption has been made that a type of criticism which reaches to the roots of a social phenomenon - in this case the Church - is not only reasonable but necessary to the purging of untruth and illusion regarding that phenomenon. For that reason some definition of truth and genuine knowledge was required. The former was located, along the lines of a historical materialist interpretation of reality, in praxis. The latter was further derived from praxis in the form of critical reflection upon the subjective and objective conditions of knowledge. In the shape of a critique of ideology, critical reflection on praxis becomes self-criticism.

In consequence then, the purging of ignorance is related to reflected practice, and the purging of illusion and untruth to self-criticism. The first corresponds to the attempt to analyse the political economy of South Africa in its early stages of industrialisation, and the second corresponds to the consequent critique of the role of the Church in relation to the penetration of Capital into the Southern African region.

However, the entire project has relied upon an assumption of the efficacy of reason, an assumption defended by recourse to a definition of the rationality of social structure, and by reference to a theory of the structure of human cognition. In both cases, reason is situated in a transformed understanding of historical materialism operating at the

levels of work and communication by which the Marxian concept of social labour is defined. As it stands, the previous discussion is fairly self-contained in these respects.

Yet the instant one seeks to move from there to an evaluation of theological categories, several critical issues leap to the fore. Can the object of reason be connected to the object of faith without reducing both to a caricature? Transcendentalist, scholastic, existentialist, and certain forms of positivist theologies have in the past regarded this problem as amenable to solution. But is this possible from an historical materialist point of view, which in its origins and ever since has rested on a radical critique of religion as an illusory reality? (Psychoanalytic concepts raise the same problem).

A further question arises: should a solution within the historical materialist framework be possible, how and in what way may theology incorporate into its reliance upon a relatively fixed and symbolically structured tradition, a norm arising from material history? Does this not transform tradition and all concepts of revelation into the confection of the human species, thereby obliterating any ontological basis for revelation while relativising all traditions? Additionally, what happens if one does take material history as a norm for theological reflection?

Finally, a Church shown to be profoundly captive to a particular ruling ideology is a Church without a clear identity of its own except insofar as certain sociological parameters may define it as an institution fulfilling a particular function in a specific social order. Then the Church is merely analogous to other institutions in society but with its own focus and role in the social matrix. Such a radically secular view of the Church is of course extremely common in industrial societies. Is there then - when one has analysed the role of the Church as in the present study - any place for a theological conception of the Church which is more

than functionalist or idealist? Can a critical ecclesiology be forcefully grounded? If so, what implications would it have for Church praxis?

These issues raise enormous questions, all of them the subject of widespread debate. Frequently their overwhelming impact gives rise to a resigned passivity in place of a dynamically critical and practical faith, or of despair in the validity of faith at all, or of a rejection of reason itself. All such reactions are a reduction of human becoming and human imagination, a denigration of what the Christian tradition at least proclaims as its own end, namely, the exaltation of human life[1].

Though the above-mentioned problems cannot be fully treated in the present context, they raise three matters which are of further concern. These relate to:

(i) theological method, its grounding, and its implications in practice;

(ii) the normative basis of material history within a theological method; and,

(iii) the nature of the Church and its mission.

Part Three of the present study aims to grapple with these matters at least to the point of sketching directions that churches and Christians may take in reshaping their tradition, their thought, and their practice along the lines of a critical and self-critical involvement in their total human context. Of course, the South African context is specifically meant here and any conclusions drawn in the discussion are limited thereby. However, this is not to say that wider applications of the methods and understandings derived from this study are not possible; on the contrary, whatever the situation of churches elsewhere, insights into the Church in South Africa, even when limited to the Anglican and Methodist Churches within a particular period, may resonate deeply in other contexts. At least that is the hope and the point of entering into theological dialogue, which is in any case the communal reflection of the Church universal.

1. This goal is expressed in images of incarnation, resurrection and adoption as sons and daughters of God (Paul).

11. NOTES ON THEOLOGICAL METHODOLOGY

> The facts are like fish swimming about in a vast and sometimes inaccessible ocean, and what the historian catches will depend, partly on chance, but mainly on what part of the ocean he chooses to fish in and what tackle he chooses to use - these two factors being, of course, determined by the kind of fish he wants to catch.
>
> - E.H. Carr, What is History, p.23.

One central matter should have become exceedingly clear in the preceding analysis of the Church's role in South Africa: that the Church in proclaiming its gospel did not recognisably understand itself apart from the major ideologies characterising the political economy within which it gave witness. However, that the gospel is unavoidably fleshed out in some or other ideology if it is to have any concrete meaning in history is a supposition of many contemporary theologians, in particular among Latin Americans. Only, most of them argue, the wrong garments have usually been in place - the tailored garments of the privileged few rather than the rag-clothes of the poor[1]. But within our framework, what is usually meant here by ideology is better regarded as "perspective" or "world-view".

With that proviso we may agree with the above claim, and then happily admit that the discovery of correlations between the language of the Church and the agents of a political economy is indeed, not especially illuminating. Nevertheless, what is to be discovered as a fact of prime importance is the serious hiatus between the intended values behind the Church's proclamation of the gospel and its

1. For example see J.L. Segundo's discussion (1977), pp.101-2, of ideology and faith. One may note that his use of the term 'ideology' is not consistent, for in an earlier section he uses it pejoratively to describe what he calls the 'ideological infiltration of dogma' (p.40ff), and though he notes his changed use of the term, confusion easily creeps in.

specific practices and uses of language in a particular context. There results a loss of intellectual credibility in the gospel if the gap between the Church's theory and its practice can be seen to be of the order of a chasm; and among the thoughtful at least (who need not be the educated), that chasm may sometimes become for faith an abyss.

What has been demonstrated in the preceding analysis then is more than the link of the Church to a particular political economic structure. For the Church the vital issue concerns its dual failure to become consciously and consistently self-critical, and to uncover in some depth what the gospel may be from the point of view of the ragged-clothed people, those upon whose sweaty backs was built an industrial power and a measure of great wealth for the elected few. In the end only a revolution in the Church itself is likely to change this situation, not the concerned debates and inflated resolutions of conferences, synods and theological gatherings. Yet where that revolution begins, catches fire and spreads, there some need exists to rethink totally the manner of the Church's doing and thinking. One immediate consequence to be drawn from that is the need to work out a theological method that self-consciously binds theory and practice together (it is always unself-consciously bound together in the actual praxis of Christians striving for a liberative transformation of people and persons, of society and personality). To that end, in the context of the present study, a further elaboration of the analytical model developed earlier is necessary.

a. The Problem of Correlation, and the Structure of Imagination

Many forms of theology (often termed 'political theologies')[1] which utilise the contemporary sense of praxis adopt a method strikingly similar to Tillich's famed 'method

1. A. Fierro (1977), p.17ff., develops this umbrella term to include theologies of protest, hope, revolution, liberation and blackness. One may add many examples of feminist theology.

of correlation'. Yet whereas Tillich regarded theology as the discipline providing answers to the questions philosophy raises (specifically existentialist philosophies), political theologies most often begin with 'facts and questions derived from the world and from history'[1].

To this must be added that the 'facts and questions' considered pertinent are now political rather than existential, and that politics is more than the Platonic art of exercising control and judgment in the city-state. Rather politics is meant to include (1) the life of the human being as it affects and is affected by the affairs of community and society[2], and (2) the science relevant to a positive analysis of these affairs.

Lastly, a further philosophical presupposition usually enters into political theology at this point, namely, that the proper science appropriate to the analysis of political life must encompass the dynamic of history as a process of transformation. The contemporary sensibility of history and change (for which Langdon Gilkey provides an eloquent testimony)[3] is here evident. Clearly it is no accident that political theologies are usually closely related to Marxian thought in one form or another.

The first question raised is to what extent the approach of political theologies is truly theological, meaning: operating with norms and sources distinctive of itself apart from categories derived from philosophy or politics (believing that such distinctive norms are down-graded or forgotten, the fundamentalist or biblicist response to much political theology is often quite simple - it is no theology but politics in religious guise). For those

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1. G. Gutiérrez (1971), p.12.
2. The "polis", from which the word politics derives, has as its Latin equivalent, "societas".
3. L. Gilkey (1976).

committed to a political theology such a question is seemingly inappropriate, for their commitment is usually motivated by urgently felt practical issues of ministry and mission. Nevertheless, political theologians themselves have increasingly stressed their own need to account more fully for their position as part of their global responsibility to the Church[1]. In fact, both for the long term well-being of the potent insights contained in the understandings of political theology and for the sake of its own intentions in praxis, the strictly methodological issues are worth grappling over and clarifying.

Most fundamentally, the question of the 'method of correlation' in general is at stake. The value of such a method and its limitations usually emerge in relation to discussions on faith and ideology, theory and practice, or science and religion. In each of these areas of debate, what is usually at issue in the final reckoning is the role and place of theology itself. Most commonly the resolution of the problems boils down to some form of the Anselmian definition of theology as <u>fides quarens intellectum</u>. However, well-fitted this may be as a general statement, its structure needs to be displayed so as to guide a self-conscious seeking of understanding able to integrate the best available tools. As Fierro puts it (despite his own commitment to political theology):

> The statements of much political theology are linguistically and theologically imprecise in many respects. They derive their representational material from a world, the world of the Bible, which is no longer our own. They ignore modern biblical criticism and modern epistemological criticism of every attempt to find God directly in history. They obtain their conclusions by forced and hasty connections with certain elements of the Judeo-Christian tradition. They continue to be mired in a theological positivism that is wedded to a concept of revelation as something given in fact - the fact of liberation, or resistance, or social change, or whatever.[2]

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1. For example, A. Fierro (1977); J.L. Segundo (1977); and more recently, R. Vidales in R. Gibellini, ed., (1979).
2. A. Fierro (1977), p.321-2.

However, overstated this may be in respect of the more careful political theologians, linguistic and theological imprecision is all too frequent. Consequently it is with some force that John Yoder could attack the common usage of the Exodus motif in liberation theology as sometimes dishonest rhetoric. He argues that if the Exodus motif is to function as a genuinely insightful historical symbol (and not just a metaphor), then it must be recognised that the Exodus event was not a programme but a miracle, not a takeover but a withdrawal, not a beginning but a culmination, and on the other hand, <u>only</u> a beginning, that led not to the promised land but to a desert where great disloyalties became evident[1].

Of course Yoder himself admits to more than that, but the point strikes home and is relevant to further general criticisms of "God-language" in political theology which we will later take up. At its simplest, the point is that too often the powerful and vital criticisms made by political theologies are aimed largely at their context and not at their own formulations and use of Christian language. Consequently Fierro raises the question of whether theology in the political mode is an ethic, a normative claim, or even talk about God. Can it become reflexive and critically discursive rather than rhetorical or merely symbolic? Can it reach into the genesis of faith and its fundamentals or does it leave that to other theologies, relying on what they produce for its own presupposition of a faith already given? In what sense is it real knowledge?[2]

Fierro himself points in a fruitful direction by distinguishing between the focus of a political theology (the political context) and the categories or representations it uses as interpretive tools, or hermeneutic instruments[3]. For present purposes a model proposed by T. Jennings leads us into a sharpening of this distinction[4]. Jennings' first

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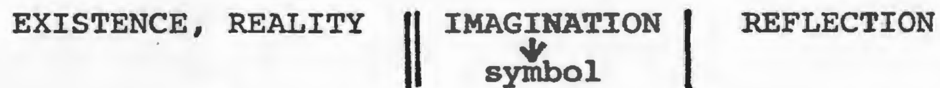
1. "Exodus and Exile: The Two Faces of Liberation", first presented in April 1973 as the Huston Memorial Peace Lecture in Oak Brook, Illinois. A similar critique is made by Calvin Cook, JTSA, no.27, (June 1979), p.13, concerning the images of Exodus, the monarchy (Davidic), and exile-images often present in South African theology.
2. A. Fierro (1977), pp.306-7.
3. <u>Ibid.</u>, p.183.
4. T. Jennings (1976).

concern is to argue for a restoration of the concept of imagination, and indeed of its activity. In this he builds on a great deal of work in contemporary hermeneutical philosophy (particularly Ernst Cassirer, Suzanne Langer, and Paul Ricoeur) to argue for the priority of the symbol in the genesis of thought (something which Lonergan also reaches for in his seminal work Insight (1957), beginning with a description of the symbolic base of mathematical and physical logic)[1]. 'The symbol gives rise to thought' is Ricoeur's oft quoted conclusion in his studies[2]. Following on this, Jennings' first presupposition is that 'imagination is the initial way in which existence and reality come to expression in such a way as to be available to human awareness and to serve as the legitimate ground of reflection'[3]. His presupposition may be modelled thus:



Existence and reality are given; the human, *homo symbolicus*, appropriates existence and reality in imagination, though not in their immediate totality (for consciousness could not exist in the face of a complete onslaught of everything-out-there without introducing differentiation and exclusion); symbols and images thus spontaneously arising in the encounter with reality provide the differentiated but already indirect data upon which reflection may occur.

Clearly in this view reflection is one step removed from an insertion into existence and reality. Its vitality and healthy connection to existence and reality, therefore, appear, as a consequence of this model, to depend upon a healthy, relatively undistorted imagination. Furthermore

1. Mathematics, the most precise and regulative language of the empirical investigation of reality, is pre-eminently symbolic, and its use in experimental science is also at another level guided heuristically by selected symbols or sets of symbols (e.g. "quantum jump", or "electron cloud"); moreover, all good scientists know that these symbols function to guide workable hypotheses rather than to give literal, inviolable descriptions of reality.

2. P. Ricoeur (1967), p.348; q.v. also *ibid.*, (1974a), p.299.

3. T. Jennings (1976), p.17.

then, the reflecting subject is only served by a healthy, relatively free imagination when he or she allows reality or existence to correct the products of imagination and reflection. We have here a model consistent with the insistence upon the unity of theory and practice, of subject and object. Equally clearly, the real effects of the distortion of reality and the disease of imagination can be taken into account, at least theoretically, and be seen to impact upon reflection in such a way as to falsify it. Finally, to the extent that it is healthy, 'reflection serves the task of distinguishing, ordering and interpreting this world of images' to illuminate reality[1].

Now the argument that the symbol gives rise to thought should not be regarded as an appeal to mere intuition or a call for fantastic speculation, but an attempt to reassert the reality claims of the symbolic life of the imagination whereby meaning and significance in human existence are capable of enriching reflection[2]. Ricoeur adds further that interpretation arises precisely in the difference between reflection and imagination, a useful adjunct to Jennings' model provided one means by interpretation a conscious activity and not merely what happens in the selective spontaneity of imagination (which in another sense has already 'interpreted' reality)[3].

Using this model of the role of imagination - to which we subscribe - one may argue that in its objective and critical function reflection loses touch with the finite, the concrete, the real, whenever it denigrates or reduces the value of symbolising activity. And wherever this happens meaning and significance are at the mercy of a manipulative, objectified or reified consciousness, and are subject to the tyranny of a theory which forces the differentiated richness of reality into a single mould.

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1. Ibid., p.18.
2. P. Ricoeur (1974a), p.296.
3. Ibid., p.238.

Precisely this manner of reflection is under attack in Habermas' distinction between praxis and techne in respect of the dominance of the latter in much of the contemporary sensibility[1].

On the other hand, the products of imagination run riot if they are not scrutinised by the critical power of reflection. For even if human beings grasp the meaning of reality and existence by means of symbols and images, in the medium of visions, myths, rituals, narratives or other ordered sets; nevertheless, such meaning must also be shown to be meaningful and truthful[2]. In this respect, a symbol may be said to have meaning when its claims for cognitive value (namely, that it refers to, and represents some reality) can be conceptually expressed with internal coherence. But this same symbol becomes meaningful for any particular human being only when it discloses for that human being an authentic dimension of his or her experience as a self (otherwise the symbol is merely 'of academic interest', and perhaps 'irrelevant'). Finally, even should this symbol be meaningful for a person or a group of people, the question of its objective truth still arises; that is, one legitimately asks, does the symbol adequately represent reality and existence or is it a distortion, an illusion, a falsification of reality and existence?[3]

Thus the positive recovery of the symbolic life of the imagination and the critical regeneration of meaningful sets of symbols is affirmed. As Tracy forcefully puts it:

> ... we need stories, fictions, and symbols to allow our own and our society's character to discover appropriate heuristic models. ... (but) common honesty demands that we bring to bear upon the reality claims of even our most cherished stories the most penetrating tools of critical analysis presently available. In that familiar theological word, we need to demythologize in order to eliminate the literalizing temptations in our

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1. C. Davis (1980), p.30, also reflects on the theological implications of this distinction.
2. D. Tracy (1979), ch.8.
3. Ibid., pp.70-71.

> appropriation of myths which can at best becloud, at worst completely distort, the ways-of-being-in-the-world disclosed in the myths. We need to develop whatever scientific analyses are available - sociological, psychological, political, philosophical - to allow these stories to become critically purified of all that is not essential to their disclosure of an authentically human mode-of-being.[1]

Two further related aspects of imagination are asserted here, neither yet clearly stated, namely (1) that symbols can and should be demythologised, and (2) that purified symbols disclose an authentic way-of-being-in-the-world. Both aspects need some elaboration at this point.

Ricoeur's distinction between the explanatory and exploratory character of mythic language becomes an important tool for levering open the demythologisation issue[2]. Myth (by which is meant a set of symbols and images representing some reality), as an attempt to explain reality in any critically reflective sense, has already foundered on the rocks of the modern scientific spirit. Thus for example the biblical view of the universe as a three-tiered layer - heaven above, hell below, and earth between - cannot today be taken seriously except as allegory. On the other hand the heuristic function of images and symbols in guiding inquiry adds an important mediating role in the empirical investigations so prized by the scientific mind. Thus, as Ricoeur has it, demythologising does not equal demythicising, but is precisely the means of restoring the meaningfulness and truth value of any symbol. Criticism and restoration go together[3]. (Of course, criticism may discover a symbol to be incapable of meaningful and truthful restoration, thereby requiring its abandonment). Similarly, one may conclude with Ricoeur that the power of a symbol is exhausted when it becomes mere mythology; and that a symbolic tradition may likewise be exhausted and require renewed interpretation, restoration and exorcisms[4]. These conclusions are significant for our later development of a critical theological method.

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1. Ibid., p.209.
2. q.v. T. Jennings (1976), p.48.
3. P. Ricoeur (1967), pp.350-2.
4. P. Ricoeur (1974[illegible]), p.[illegible]

The second aspect mentioned - the role of the symbol and of symbol-constructs in representing, orienting and communicating one's way-of-being-in-the-world - asserts that the dialectical interplay of imagination and reflection always occurs within the framework of a particular intentionality towards the world. In short, all reflection, however objective or critical, is always also reflection from a particular perspective. Yet a more important corollary emerges here, viz. that any human mode-of-being-in-the-world is organised around some set of symbols, or as Jennings prefers, around some mythos[1]. Moreover, one may posit a hierarchy of symbols, from those that are relatively trivial to those that heuristically guide inquiry in a selected domain, to those that are expressive of the totality of human life and existence. So for example, Ricoeur in <u>The Symbolism of Evil</u> (1967) demonstrates with great clarity the inability of pure reflection to grasp the real experiences of human persons which we name as evil. Only pathological withdrawal or the absence of feeling could allow one to ignore the historical force of evil, yet in order to grasp this reality, to order it coherently and meaningfully, its truth must seek some form in symbolic expression[2].

There are many such examples of what Tracy usefully terms "limit-language", and to this we will return in due course. For the moment the vital point for our purposes is the role of symbols in representing a reality not exhausted by critical reflection, a reality expressed in symbolic constructs upon which reflection does its work. We agree then with Lynch's claim that a healthy imagination fulfils the double task of (1) providing a passage to the finite concreteness of reality through darkness, fantasy or lies, and (2) naming the real and its location, giving it a perspective, a landscape[3]. What is left to us now is to situate the religious imagination within this framework, thereby establishing the ground for specifying the place of

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1. T. Jennings (1976), p.2.
2. P. Ricoeur (1967), p.347.
3. W. Lynch (1965), p.244; q.v. also Lynch (1960), p.xiii.

theology and for working out more fully a genuine 'method of correlation' for Christian praxis.

b. Religion, Theology, and the Analogical Imagination

Though the truth-status of religious language may be widely disputed, its practical use in every society is incontestable. Thus numerous attempts have been made to define phenomena called religious, for a variety of reasons. Anthropologists most frequently revert to a functionalist definition, psychologists to a behavioural or mental conception, philosophers to ontological categories of being and essence, and sociologists to generic, functional or ideological explanations. In the present case the location of religious categories is specified most precisely in terms of the symbolic structure of imagination insofar as the meaning and meaningfulness of the totality of life and human experience is grasped in a particular mythos.

Clearly there may be symbolic constructs which would not ordinarily be called religious but which function to interpret the totality of life in a way meaningful to some (e.g. a genuinely lived commitment to the ideals and practice of a market economy, i.e. the agnostic pursuit of wealth and success for its own sake). A further distinction is, therefore, necessary to specify the nature of a religious construct. Such a distinction, consistent with the terminology and analytical framework so far adopted, may be found in Tracy's notion of 'limit-language'[1].

'Limit-language' according to Tracy, may be regarded as a key "family resemblance" (Wittgenstein) of religions, deriving from two different moments of human experience, namely 'limit-situations' or 'limit-questions'. Tracy spells out some concrete examples in terms of limit-questions in science and morality (when questions emerge to which neither science nor morality may properly be able to respond, e.g. the possibility of self-transcendence contained

1. D. Tracy (1979), p.93.

in our ability to ask questions in the first place, questions such as "Is it clear? Is it intelligible? Is it reasonable? Is it responsible?")[1], and in terms of limit-situations in the everyday world (which include boundary experience such as guilt, anxiety or death, or ecstatic experiences such as intense joy or love)[2]. Thus Tracy distinguishes between limits given in the particularity of existence ('limits-to' our experience, our will or our rationality which we describe as finitude, contingency and transiency) and limits given by the universality of existence ('limits-of' our experience, in which are disclosed dimensions of reality such as trust or worthiness which are not meaningful as empirical truth but are so of representative truth). Thus Tracy argues that primordial symbols should be recognised as representative facts accessible to imagination and reflection - facts disclosive of real possibilities for human reality not yet fully actualised (an actualised possibility may be regarded as an empirical fact)[3].

In a different context (that of the literary imagination), William Lynch adds a further relevant insight, namely that images and symbols of limitation are not reductionist of the human imagination but on the contrary, set it on the path of reality by forcing one back from unrooted dreams and romantic ideals[4]. Thus the penetration into the finite and the concrete accomplished by a healthy imagination necessarily demands a limit-language so that one does not 'march too quickly or too glibly to beauty, the infinite, the dream'[5]. Thus even literary or dramatic expressions of tragedy and comedy - though hardly empirical in their method - may disclose reality in a genuinely

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1. Ibid., pp.94ff and 100ff, respectively.
2. Ibid., p.105ff.
3. Ibid., p.215.
4. W. Lynch (1960), p.23.
5. Ibid., p.xiii.

meaningful and truthful manner[1].

But to return to religious symbols and images, at least it can now be stated that religion is necessarily couched in symbolic expression and remains ultimately irreducible to strict cognitive knowledge[2]. Yet the investment of meaning by which decisions may be made and actions performed meaningfully also has something to do with religious symbol-constructs and the cognitive process in general[3]. This investment of meaning orientates the person in the world, tends to push action in certain directions, establishes a 'hierarchy of possible actions', sets up 'preferences for action', and decides possible 'conflicts of aims' in advance on the basis of prefixed objectives[4]. Thus values are integrated into cognition by symbolic structures; simultaneously an organisation of the inner emotional situation of the person is established, though not as an isolated event but in a community of dialogue (which exists in the form of a tradition as well as in the form of a real group of people to whom one relates) where the same fundamental mythos is shared.[5]

Therefore, Gustafson may make the legitimate claim of religious symbols that they operate to interpret the significance of circumstances and events in which human

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1. In this respect Lynch argues passionately against "heroic" tragedy in which, in the end, just when all seems lost, the hero or heroine speaks the triumphant word or makes the triumphant gesture. For Lynch this sort of "tragedy" is no real tragedy, for real tragedy reaches into the concrete and finite by revealing the actual human experience of many of a real defeat and brokenness from which no cheap victory emerges. Tragedy thus expresses a limit-situation. Similarly, comedy for Lynch is not escapist entertainment nor a 'laughing-at', but that other side of reality which brings things down to their real size, cutting below the falsities and illusions of the mighty, the vaunted, the haughty, the arrogant and the proud to reveal the rock-bottom humanity of all. See Ibid., p.78ff and p.99ff, respectively.
2. A point emphasised also by T. Jennings (1976), pp.46-7.
3. q.v. V. Drehsen, "Dimensions of Religiosity in Modern Society", Social Compass, vol. XXXVII, 1980/1, p.52.
4. Ibid., p.53.
5. Ibid., p.54.

action is required, thus determining what values are at stake, what attitudes are fitting, and what principles and intentions are applicable in a particular situation[1].

Until now one further issue has been neglected. The meaning and potential meaningfulness of religion has been discussed, but what of the truth-value of religion? We have already indicated earlier that this question becomes particularly acute in an historical materialist framework and cannot ultimately be avoided. For the moment, until we return to the issue further on, suffice it to indicate that the model of imagination/reflection developed above must be subsumed under the notion of praxis before an adequate response to the question is possible. Firstly however, the question of theological discourse in relation to religious symbol-constructs must be clarified.

Jennings gives a succinct summary statement of theological discourse fitted to the methodology we are elaborating here:

> Theological pronouncements derive neither from Olympus nor Sinai as thunderbolts from heaven but rather from the earnest and open inquiry of perplexed human beings who operate on the assumption (always open to critical scrutiny) that decisive clues to the meaning of our life on this earth are present in the Christian mythos.[2]

Theology on this basis is clearly a discourse fashioned around a particular religious mythos or set of symbols and images (which may include visions, narratives, mythic elements, ritual and other formal structures of symbol organisation)[3]. To be more exact, theology here is that sort of thought given by the Christian mythos in which a certain 'limit-mode-of-being-in-the-world' is disclosed, elaborated upon and critically reflected on[4]. Conversely, when critical reflection

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1. J.M. Gustafson (1975), p.130.
2. T. Jennings (1976), p.4.
3. Ibid., pp.49-53, passim.
4. D. Tracy (1979), p.221; note that what Jennings terms the 'Christian mythos' is virtually identical to Tracy's 'Christian fact': ibid., p.15, fn.5.

and practice are no longer fundamentally informed by the Christian mythos then they cease to be theological (though of course they do not cease to be critical reflection and practice)[1]. The dialectic between imagination informed by a particular mythos and critical reflection upon that mythos (in terms of its meaning, meaningfulness and truth) is the basis of Ricoeur's understanding of the hermeneutic circle: 'we must understand in order to believe, but we must believe in order to understand'[2].

These two moments of theological discourse - imagination and reflection as belief and understanding - have been widely recognised in a variety of formulations. Thus H.R. Niebuhr spoke of the necessary dialectic between the rationality of theological reflection and the utterances of faith[3]. In fact, long before him the 'father of modern theology', Friedrich Schleiermacher, had called for a unity of the ecclesial interest and the scientific spirit in theology[4]. More recently Lonergan has motivated the same task with the aim of generating 'well-informed and continuously revised policies and plans for promoting good and undoing evil both in the Church and in human society generally'[5]. But a clearer distinction between the two moments of belief and understanding remains to be drawn in order to provide a model for theological method sufficiently differentiated to encompass the variety of tasks mature theology usually undertakes.

Both Fierro and Jennings help us forward: Fierro in his distinction between (1) 'theological' language (the direct language of faith which apprehends and communicates the narratives, rituals, texts, etc. of the mythos - what one may term theological poetics), and (2) 'strictly theological' language (the indirect and reflexive language which attends to

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1. T. Jennings (1976), p.94; q.v. also H. Assman (1975), p.62.
2. P. Ricoeur (1967), p.351.
3. H.R. Niebuhr (1943), p.14.
4. F. Schleiermacher (1970), p.22, item no.12 of "Introduction".
5. B. Lonergan (1972), p.366.

cognitive questions of the coherence, consistency, adequacy, etc. of the mythos[1]; Jennings in his recognition that critical reflection upon what Fierro calls 'theologal language' drives towards a distinction between faith (Glaube) and superstition (Aberglaube)[2]. For both of these theologians, moreover, faith and reflection are only properly defined in relation to praxis, although Fierro states this more clearly than Jennings[3].

We may now summarise the discussion to this point by claiming that properly theological discourse sets out to test the meaning (coherence), meaningfulness (relevance to experience) and truth (adequacy to reality) of the Christian mythos, and that in doing so it operates critically and self-critically within its own distinct domain. This task is, how-

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1. A. Fierro (1977), p.316; Fierro therefore asserts that theology cannot be content to elaborate and systematise (or communicate) Christian beliefs, but must treat them on the level of 'a truly critical theory' (p.317). What is not clear is whether a 'truly critical theory' allows any positive content to theology, or if all that remains is a methodological skeleton. In this respect a further distinction made by Charles Davis (1980), pp.23-5, who prefers to call what Fierro terms 'theologal' and 'theological' language, 'original theology' and 'scientific theology' respectively, is better. Davis further distinguishes between positively scientific theology (the grounding and elaboration of the Christian mythos) and critically scientific theology (which analyses the mythos as a source of untruth and false values as well as truth and freedom). Thus Davis will later argue - meaningfully in our opinion - that Christian praxis from its own resources adds more to processes of liberation than a merely negative principle of transcendent criticism. On the other hand his dialectic includes the negative principle of criticism and thereby prevents any theological justification of a new Christendom or any of its political analogues.

2. T. Jennings (1976), p.91; this distinction he sees as central to the Judeo-Christian heritage, reflected for example in the critical principle which the prophets manifest as well as the self-critical possibility that enabled a distinction between false and true prophets. Jesus' conflict with the pharisees and Paul's polemical letters stand within this tradition.

3. Jennings' definition of theology is 'reflection upon the Christian mythos' (ibid., p.2), though he means to include in his notion of mythos a transforming function in which there is 'no severance of theoria and praxis, of theology and ethics, of faith and obedience, of hearing and doing, of indicative and imperative', (ibid., p.66). Fierro defines theology as a 'theory of the praxis of Christians' (1977), p.313.

ever, carried out in relation to an already existing tradition and with a particular language which unites tradition and contemporary praxis. Just what this implies must now occupy our attention; the problem of hermeneutics is in view, but the specific issue at hand is the nature of analogical imagination.

We begin by referring to Ruben Alves' discussion of magic, a phenomenon that has characterised the world-view of societies or groups of people throughout history. Magic obviously cannot be apprehended by empirical scientific analysis, for the moment it succumbs to such analysis, its force as magic disappears. Yet its frequently powerful symbols, evocative of the deepest fears and desires of human beings, do express some reality. Alves concludes that magic is the symbolic realisation of impotence on the one hand, coupled on the other with an affirmation of the axiological priority of the desire for potency over that which obstructs it[1]. Fatefulness and the hope of overcoming fate combine. But the truth of its insight into impotence and its accompanying intention for potency is not fulfilled by magic[2]. Its acts are repetitive and remain captive to fate.

The language of Christian faith may also function as a kind of magic. In fact it is in exactly similar terms that Marx described the Christian religion. On the one hand, it was for him false, an illusion, a means of engendering repetitive behaviour (prayer, ritual, church-going, etc.) among oppressed peoples which directed their attention towards an unrealisable supernatural and supra-historical source of salvation. On the other hand, it was expressive of the cry of the oppressed in their pain and humiliation. Christianity for Marx expressed impotence and engendered it. Does this always remain so? Clearly there are many groups of Christians around the world whose praxis proclaims, "No". How is their claim for the Christian faith in praxis made good in theological method?

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1. R. Alves (1972), p.83.
2. Ibid., p.84; a study, for example, on the role of magic in African Independent churches may reveal much about the experience of political impotence among their members, and the affirmation of the desire to conquer this impotence.

In order to answer that question we must consider the nature of the Christian understanding of knowing, and the role of tradition in that knowing. The key here lies in the structure of analogical language, and in its need to be supplemented by strictly empirical language and logical criticism. This will then lead us to a hermeneutics of the referent and its implications for praxis.

We have already said that religious language is best understood as a limit-language, and have indicated that the limit-situations and limit-questions which engender religious sensibilities are of a different order than those situations and questions which science and morality (in the Kantian sense) legitimately investigate. An obvious corollary is that in each of these three domains - science, morality, and religious sensibility - an appropriate method of investigation is to be found. Similarly each requires, and in practice utilises, a different logical language: science that of the formal logic of mathematics and the experimental logic of empirics; morality that of the formal logic of philosophy and the practical logic of possibilities and probabilities. To the situating of both of these in history, one may finally add the logic of the historical-hermeneutic sciences to complete the picture.

What then is the appropriate language and logic of theology, which seeks to elaborate and critically reflect upon a religious mythos? In the first place, let it be said that to make these distinctions does not imply that there is no cross-fertilisation between the various realms of discourse; on the contrary, collaboration is essential as we shall further argue.

In the second place, we have earlier noted that theology has the task of investigating the meaning, the meaningfulness and the truth of the mythos. What the mythos discloses is a human reality apprehended by the person beyond the boundaries of scientific, ethical and historical logic in terms of what we have described as 'limits-to' experience and

'limits-of' experience. Thus the meaning of a mythos, whose coherence it is part of the task of theology to investigate, may legitimately be spoken of as transcendent, i.e. passing beyond the limits of critical reflection and in doing so uniting experiences of the past with expectations of the future in order to inform practice in the present. Such meaning is transcendent in a second derivative sense as well: that of bringing to life in symbols and images those representative facts which proclaim real human possibilities not yet actualised. The appropriate medium for this kind of meaning is found in the analogical imagination.

William Lynch has drawn on a long history of writers and thinkers who have sought to describe the structure of the analogical imagination, and to him we turn for help[1]. Clarification by contrast provides our initial insight into analogical language, indicating what it is not by reference to univocal and equivocal imagination.

The basic tendency of the univocal imagination and its language is to reduce everything to a unity of sameness and thus to empty symbolic truths of their complexity by imposing upon them the one single idea or form. It thus exploits reality without respect in search of narrow aims. Therefore, the univocally minded person may often have rigidly defined but passionate energies capable of producing both enormous good and bad. Thus the univocal imagination puts aside specifity, temporality, uniqueness, difference - and abstracts the one thing to which all other things should conform[2]. Thus the products of imagination become only illustrations and examples of the one thing thereby losing their richness, complexity and ability to represent reality. Biblicism and dogmatism both exhibit these characteristics.

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1. A significant book on <u>The Analogical Imagination</u> has been published by David Tracy, but unfortunately too late to be utilised in the present study (SCM, London, 1981).
2. W. Lynch (1960), pp.118-20, <u>passim</u>.

The equivocal imagination on the other hand opts for difference alone, loosening the bonds of experience to make way for isolated entities and thereby weakening any directed thrusts towards freedom. The passion for autonomies is its mark, and the permissiveness of 'each to his own' its philosophy[1]. In their place difference and autonomy are of course essential aspects of personhood, society and freedom; but diversity for its own sake and as a matter of principle reduces everything to a privatised world (an absurdity given the sociality of human being), and moreover leads to a despising of the weak, the poor and the oppressed who cannot seem 'to stand on their own'.

Symbols, in the sense we have developed here, have a representative logic that stands against both 'univocity' and 'equivocity'[2]. Yet analogical language, their medium, insists on a tight interlocking of sameness and difference, of the general and the particular, of the one and the many, seeking in this unity of the contraries a sense of depth and complexity in human existence and reality[3]. In this respect analogical language is the form of limit-language, operating in a dialectical manner that seeks to overcome the dichotomies of existence and reality by transforming them rather than by suppressing them in favour of a false harmony or by forcing them into false unity by the imposition of the one idea. Thus Lynch takes the position that genuinely analogical language is the fruit of human action and even the form in which that action is expressed in a process of emancipation from apathetic privacy or dictatorial terror[4]. Consequently it seems correct to link analogical imagination quite directly with Tracy's insistence that the limit-language of the Christian mythos (in this case) discloses a certain 'limit-mode-of-being-in-the-world', a living of this life-at-the-limits which 'dares to tread beyond the limits-to the every-day'[5].

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1. Ibid., pp.133-4, passim.
2. q.v. B. Lonergan (1972), p.66.
3. W. Lynch (1960), pp.136-7.
4. Ibid., p.155.
5. D. Tracy (1979), p.221.

In sum, the analogical imagination does not produce any 'clear idea' as this has been technically understood in the history of philosophy; it thus seeks to be true to reality in its richness, its complexity and its mystery (that which is "hidden", to which there is no direct access of thought but only a mediated access). But at the same time the analogical imagination achieves an interpenetration of the contraries, the dichotomies of reality, so as to organise them into a meaningful totality rather than leave them as so many isolated entities[1].

Analogical language should therefore be seen as proportionate to being, to an act of existence, not merely an illustration of it. This may perhaps be made most clear by indicating the difference between metaphor and analogy. However powerful a metaphor, it seeks to proclaim and demonstrate a sameness, a likeness, by evocative illustration. So as Lynch explains: 'My God may very well be a mighty fortress, as the Lutheran hymn declares, but we also know very well that He is not a mighty fortress'[2]. In contrast one may discern the effect on one's own person of the depth of time contained in the following image, clearly much more than a metaphor, drawn from T.S. Eliot's Four Quartets:

> Fare forward, travellers! ...
> You are not the same people who left that station
> Or who will arrive at any terminus ...[3]

One senses that in the gap of time to which Eliot directs us, one may have encountered others, seen things one has not noticed before, thought something new, moved out of or into depression, or gone through any of hundreds of such moments of existence. And one has changed, however slightly. But the analogical power of the image pushes one to reflect more deeply on larger chunks of time, greater distances in life, and correspondingly more significant changes in one's person, changes that are irrevocable, unforgettable (though perhaps repressed). Thus an

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1. q.v. W. Lynch (1960), pp.142-3.
2. Ibid., p.154.
3. Ibid., p.170.

aspect of being and becoming is disclosed and, to use Lynch's words, one 'moves into a differentiating thickness of reality'[1].

Two related indications from the New Testament of the theological imagination at work may usefully add to the discussion at this point, briefly indicating the way in which theology at its source is already bound up with analogical truths which seek to disclose an otherwise hidden dimension of reality and existence.

The first is to be found in the structure of the parables, the earlier allegorical interpretation of which has been found wanting as a result of modern scholarship. More recent interpretations develop a metaphorical understanding of parables in which the literal meaning of each aspect of a parabolic narrative is challenged and finally subsumed under an overarching meaning for which the parable _as a whole_ reaches. Thus we have the contemporary understanding of the parable, relying on the work of people like Bultmann, Jeremias, Dodd and Crossan, which sees the narrative as in each case saying something central about what is otherwise hidden - the 'Kingdom of God'[2]. At the same time Tracy points out that parables are more than metaphors, that they exhibit a further complexity that goes beyond disclosing the 'likeness of the Kingdom of God' in order to confront the hearer with a new meaning and meaningfulness in existence itself. Here we may speak of the way in which parables function for the hearer (if one takes the context in which they were told seriously) to shatter old perceptions of the world and one's place in it, particularly the dominant perceptions of the religious, political and economic elite of Jerusalem. Parables in this sense subvert the _status quo_, making incomprehensible to those who wish to defend it, the real point about the kingdom of God[3]. Thus one may rightly speak of the analogical function

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1. _Ibid_., p.156.
2. q.v. D. Tracy (1979), pp.127-30, _passim_.
3. I am indebted for this formulation to Prof. Herman Waetjen of San Francisco Theological Seminary, who is busy developing this understanding.

of parables insofar as they reach further than the "likeness" of metaphor to reveal a new reality in their penetration of the dichotomies of reality. Though Tracy does not say so himself at this point, we would regard this going beyond the metaphor as the signal of analogical imagination at work. Given that minor qualification, Tracy's description of the way in which parabolic language functions is wholly apt:

> The parables, as stories, take the reader to the point where the course of ordinary life is broken; an intensification of the everyday emerges; the unexpected happens; a strange world of meaning is projected which challenges, jars, disorients our everyday vision precisely by showing us the limits of the everyday and projecting the limit character of the whole.[1]

The second example of the analogical imagination at work in the New Testament is to be found in the positive affirmations which 'theologal' language makes through some of its central symbols such as 'the Kingdom of God' and the 'resurrection'. When these are used as metaphors (e.g. "after yesterday's depression, today I feel resurrected"; or in relation to a group with a special sense of their task who say "we are building the Kingdom of God")[2], then nothing much is disclosed about the sense of depth and hidden complexity contained in their analogical meaning. For the analogical intent of these symbols is precisely to prevent any positivist specification of reality. As Fierro rightly argues, these positive affirmations which are spontaneously produced in the theological imagination are not knowledge in any strict, reflective sense, about God or about the world. They are rather a limitation on the human attempt to ignore the "limits-of" experience, and as such they function negatively and critically to stress the consciousness of non-knowing at-the-limits, rather than to detail any positive cognitive content[3]. At its roots the analogical nature of these symbols would disappear altogether, robbing them of any permanent significance, if there had been any attempt by the

1. Ibid., p.130.
2. Of course the two examples are not equivalent, the latter being somewhat less trivial.
3. A. Fierro (1977), pp.354-7; it should be added that the positive content of such affirmations lies not in any cognitive conception but in the meaningfulness of the symbol for the one who utters it.

man Jesus of Nazareth to speak of the kingdom of God in positive or literal terms; or if the gospel writers were to have tried an empirical description of the experience they understood as resurrection; or if Paul in the epistles had sought to specify the nature of the resurrected body in language other than the conceptually empty term 'glory'.

The above two indications of the function of analogical language in the primary Christian texts bring us to another matter of considerable importance, namely, the affect of the past on contemporary existence. For what we have here is not just a set of symbols and images with a language of their own but a tradition in history, which claims to disclose something of reality and existence now as well as then. As part of its thrust towards the concrete, the finite and the real, the analogical imagination in general participates in this acceptance of temporality (past-present-future) and attacks the notion of simultaneity which crowns the 'now' (the present moment) as the ruler of every existence[1]. In fact one of the prime insistences of the Christian mythos in particular is that history is the locus of meaning.

As Jennings points out, 'the horizon of meaning thereby established induces a consciousness of history and thus makes necessary a dialectic which moves between past and present in the quest for understanding'[2]. The received heritage of tradition is not, therefore, merely a set of symbols and images that happened to have emerged at some point, but it constitutes rather a 'continuity of an historical memory across the biological discontinuity of the generations'[3] whose transmission as tradition provides the locus for the emergence of values in history[4]. A helpful

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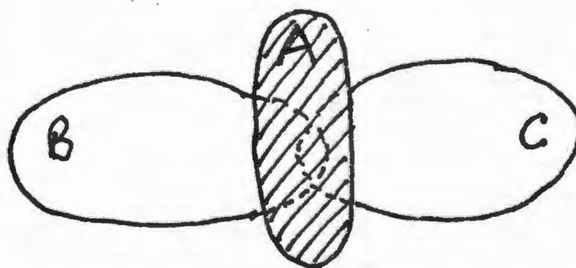
1. q.v. W. Lynch (1960), p.47f.
2. T. Jennings (1976), p.110.
3. P. Ricoeur (1974b), p.246.
4. <u>Ibid</u>., p.248; q.v. also C. Davis (1980), p.151.

way of picturing these aspects in relation to the analogical imagination is provided by Enriques Dussel who, along with those others already referred to, also treats the doctrine of analogy as that which bridges the gap between the univocal and the equivocal[1]. If we regard the horizon of meaning disclosed in the Christian mythos, (A), to be meaningful to two groups of people, (B and C), who are contemporary but whose geo-political experience differs (e.g. Christians in Nicaragua and Christians in South Africa), then the analogical significance of their shared tradition makes it possible for them to seek the embodiment of similar values and 'ways-of-being-in-the-world', but only in relation to the distinctiveness of each group's situation, which provides for each a non-identical point of entrance into the mythos. Dussel diagrams this as follows:[2]

The Analogous Significance of Participation and Distinction



Thus there is not a different mythos for each group (equivocity), nor does each group apprehend the same mythos identically (univocity). Moreover, this same pattern involves not just contemporaneity but also temporality. Previously people have entered into the tradition down through history and in so doing have enriched it by their own experience and reinterpretation. Thus analogical significance arises in terms of the heritage of the past as well as through participation in the present. If we then label such other distinct groups down through history as D, E, ... etc., and extend Dussel's diagram along a time line to take into account the effect of tradition, then we may picture the dimensions of

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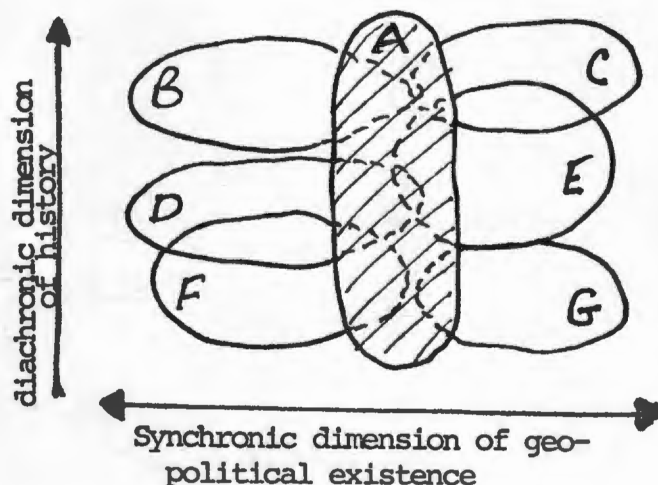
1. E. Dussel, "Historical and Philosophical Presuppositions for Latin American Theology", in R. Gibellini, ed., (1979), p.191.

2. Ibid.

analogy as follows[1]:

The Synchronic and Diachronic Dimensions of Analogy in Theology



Dussel continues to develop his understanding of analogy to show why it functions as liberating language, a language of the real conditions of human existence and the real possibilities whereby those conditions may be transformed towards a wholly fulfilled human existence. But that is not our specific concern here, especially as enough has been said previously to indicate the basic correctness of his direction.

At this point, however, we must briefly consider how the claim that tradition may embody and regenerate emancipatory values relates to Habermas' claim that such values are in contrast to be found in the structures of communicative competence. Habermas' whole aim as Davis sees it is to establish a non-arbitrary basis for the emancipatory interest, a task not undertaken by Marx himself who largely assumed such an interest in his theory of history[2]. So, for example, there is no specific verification for the belief that justice and freedom are 'better than' injustice and unfreedom (thus

1. Ibid., p.193.
2. C. Davis (1980), p.74.

one could - and many do - speak merely of the survival of the fittest). Such beliefs are anchored in non-verifiable, goal-directed values. The question arises then as to whether Habermas' theory of communicative competence and its supposition of an ideal speech situation as the foundation of value succeeds in finding a non-arbitrary basis for emancipatory praxis independent of tradition[1].

Davis argues that a real experience of the emancipatory interest cannot rely on the fact of communication where such communication is 'locked in institutionalised unreason and unfreedom'. For Habermas the fact of communication is itself already an assertion of the intentionality towards unrestricted communication, free from domination, however constrained that intention may be in practice. But Davis is not convinced, believing that in practice one may discern other non-arbitrary bases for the emancipatory interest, in particular: in a tradition which deposits in human memory a history of emancipatory experience. In his view, discourse only draws a map towards a destination, yet does not set the destination nor provide the 'vehicle and motive power' by which that destination may be reached. The freedom of discourse and the historical authority of human experience encapsulated in tradition are the two sides of the emancipatory coin, while tradition as the repository of a rich and differentiated experience contains within itself a transforming self-validation, insofar as one recognises one-self and one's possibilities in it[2].

The final issue to be considered in order to complete the present discussion revolves around the fact that the Christian mythos is not totally open but, as a mark of its own peculiar structure, finds its primary reference in a fixed body of writings upon which its entire heritage depends, namely, the Christian scriptures. It is necessary, therefore, to indicate the manner in which these may be appropriated without

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1. <u>Ibid</u>., p.79.
2. <u>Ibid</u>., pp.102-3.

undermining all that has been said about the analogical imagination (for biblicism, dogmatism and unconstrained interpretation do just that). It is necessary in short, to specify the kind of hermeneutic required and the method of correlating the past and the present in imagination and critical reflection by which the Christian mythos as such may be made accessible to the tests of meaning, meaningfulness and truthfulness.

c. Hermeneutics and a Method of Correlation: a Revisionist Approach

A veritable Babel of Christian voices in our time, and the ineluctable demand to come to terms with what Bonhoeffer so deftly termed a 'world come of age', has made the problem of hermeneutics a major theme in contemporary Western theology. The jump between the Christian 'text' (scripture and tradition) and the contemporary 'context' remains the focal problem. H.R. Niebuhr in his own fashion specified the issue thus:

> (Christians) cannot understand themselves or direct their actions or give form to their conduct without the use of the symbol Jesus Christ, but with the aid of that symbol only they never succeed in understanding themselves and their values or in giving shape to their conduct.[1]

A whole set of issues is implied in this statement: the judgment of the meaning of the mythos in tradition, the way in which that meaning is interpreted to become meaningful in one's own experience, and the need to flesh out that meaning with other methods of thought in order to discern its adequacy to reality. For our purposes a more precise statement of these relationships comes from Jennings:

> The concern of theology is not the preservation or conservation of the meanings of an ancient text or of the mythos it represents, but the elaboration of meaning for present existence .... But it is also necessary to cultivate as keen a perception as we are able of our contemporary world - for it is here that theology must perform its task.[2]

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1. H.R. Neibuhr (1963), p.158.
2. T. Jennings (1976), p.129.

The specific hermeneutic required in this case is not what may 'display the multiple and inexhaustible intentions of each symbol, to discover intentional analogies between myths and rites, to run through the levels of experience and representation that are unified by the symbol'[1], though such a task is the proper territory of discipline such as the history of religions. Rather, it is what Tracy, following Ricoeur, calls a hermeneutics that explicates the referent as distinct from either the sense of the text or the historical reconstruction of the text (the latter tasks being given to the literary-historical disciplines)[2]. That is, one asks of the mythos, what is its import, what mode-of-being-in-the-world does it <u>refer</u> to; and finally, what is there in it for me. In this more precise sense we are back with Ricoeur's hermeneutic circle (we must understand in order to believe, but we must believe in order to understand). It need only be noted here that there is in fact one element not specified but implied in this formulation, namely, that initially one is outside of that circle and that entering it via any particular set of symbols and images is firstly a choice, a decision, an option taken[3].

An example of the referent approach to hermeneutics is provided by Jennings (although he does not set out himself to make it an example). In the course of a discussion on the composition and the structure of the Christian mythos he posits - on the basis of literary-historical scholarship as it stands today - a set of terms which he believes to be descriptive of the import (or mode-of-being-in-the-world) of that mythos. Thus he concludes that one is invited to orient oneself towards (1) concreteness (the particular, the actual - in contrast to the gnostic position), (2) temporality (<u>chronos</u> and <u>kairos</u>, not cyclical, repetitive time), (3) the past (history as the locus of meaning), (4) the future (the openness of history and the demand for its transformation), (5) the present (active love informed by the heritage of the

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1. P. Ricoeur (1967), p.353.
2. D. Tracy (1979), p.52 and also pp.73-8.
3. Ricoeur does in fact point this out: q.v. (1967), p.355.

past, the real possibilities of the present and an anticipation of a renewed future, expressed through rituals of relationship, an ethics of recognition and a politics of compassion)[1]. Of course there are other ways of expressing the referent of the Christian mythos; our intention here is simply to make clear what a hermeneutics of the referent drives towards. Similarly, the history of theology may best be viewed as a series of renewed attempts, more or less successful, each with its own insights and failures of insight, to reconstruct the originative memories embedded in the Christian mythos in a manner determined by the forces of history and development of the human species as a whole.

Bearing in mind that the hermeneutic here described is not strictly speaking a separate discipline entirely but an intentionality which all other disciplines in the end must serve (because it forces a confrontation with the question of value and decision), it only needs to be added that the relevant disciplines for an explication of the meaning, meaningfulness and truth of the Christian mythos aim at two overarching investigations, namely:

(1) strictly empirical analyses of actual situations in which one is placed, their historical possibilities and their limit conditions,

(2) Historical-hermeneutic retrievals or interventions of its symbol system and its emancipatory referent[2].

What one really intends to specify in this way is the content of phrases such as Fierro's that theology is a 'theory of the praxis of Christians', so that theology can be precisely described in terms of its 'critical theory,

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1. T. Jennings (1976), pp.71-8, passim.

2. Here we are very close to what Tracy regards as the necessary content of critical reflection in a revisionist perspective: (1979), pp.246-7, but also to three levels of knowledge and interest specified by Jürgen Habermas, namely, the empirical-analytic, the historical-hermeneutic, and the emancipatory.

symbolic reinterpretation and responsible social and personal praxis'[1]. The radically critical nature of the hermeneutic involved and its demand that the mythos concerned be not only coherent and relevant but also adequate to existence, is only properly grasped when one recognises that it unites an interrogation of the unconscious with an investigation of the conscious. For in this the pretensions of consciousness to knowing itself completely are destroyed (as Marx and Freud understood) and the meaning of consciousness is deepened by discovering that 'it is not a source, but a task, the task of becoming more conscious'[2].

We are now at the point where all the necessary elements for an appropriate method of correlation for theology are at hand such that the proper needs of reality, imagination and reflection may be met. In the process we have argued that an authentic mode-of-being-in-the-world is governed by praxis, by critical reflection and by an appropriate system of meaning. Moreover, we have argued that an appropriate system of meaning cannot be trivial but must be capable of representing truth at the limits of human existence. Thus a dialectical unity between the phenomenological (that which <u>analyses</u> the dynamics and structures of human existence) and the kerygmatic (that which <u>testifies</u> to

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1. This is Tracy's formulation of the aim of a revisionist theology which he insightfully contrasts with four other contemporary models of theology, namely the orthodox, liberal, neo-orthodox and radical ('Death of God') models. <u>Ibid</u>., p.24ff.

2. P. Ricoeur (1974a), pp.323-4, <u>passim</u>.

the transcendence of human experience at-the-limits)[1] is demanded. In short one must know reality and its possibilities (theory) and one must be involved in transforming that reality in terms of its possibilities (practice).

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1. q.v. T. Jennings (1976), p.98ff. It is worth noting here that the general perspective adopted differs from the one extensive attempt by a contemporary Latin American theologian, J.L. Segundo (1977), to detail the steps involved in an appropriate revisionist hermeneutic. Segundo's version of the 'hermeneutical circle', on which he builds a theological method, begins with 'profound' and 'enriching' suspicions derived from practical experience. One then proceeds, on the basis of the 'suspicion' to analyse the ideological superstructure of a social context and the ideological content of theology done in that context. The third step is to make consequent judgments in the exegetical tradition used to back such theology and thus to critically reinterpret the tradition in such a way as to denude it of its ideological clothing (here Segundo uses 'ideology' in the negative sense, though elsewhere he means more than that and will argue that some ideology <u>is</u> necessary, but that it should be one consistent with liberation). Finally this leads to a reinterpretation of scripture itself and hence back to step one. (For the full discussion, see p.9ff, as well as p.35, fn.22 and p.36, fn.55; q.v. also H. Wells, JTSA, no.34, March 1981, p.25ff). The most basic point of difference with Segundo lies in the inability of his hermeneutic to reach 'below' method into the structure of human consciousness and its motivation for utilising and reflecting on a particular tradition in the first place. In short his hermeneutic does not allow one to meet the challenge Fierro lays before revisionist theologies when he says that 'a sound political theology must be formulated as fundamental theology, as a theology of conversion, and its possibilities' (1977, p.360). Ironically Segundo does recognise that somewhere the foundational issue of 'conversion' or commitment is necessary (p.81ff), but elsewhere he again confuses the issue by declaring that 'a theology worthy of the attention of the whole human being is not the outcome of abstract scientific or academic interest. It stems from a pre-theological human commitment to change and improve the world' (p.39). Yet it is evident that a pre-theological human commitment need never issue in theological language and affirmations, in which case one is left again asking what kind of commitment does do so. It is the unity of commitment to praxis <u>and</u> a particular mythos that needs explanation for a fully developed hermeneutic, and it is for this reason that the direction taken in the present study is via the structure of imagination and reflection in the first place.

Theology in this view therefore necessarily involves a collaboration of disciplines without which it fails to be responsible. At the same time, if the proper object of theology - the mythos it investigates which orients and fills with value a particular way-of-being-in-the-world - is merely utilised to provide 'an arcane and vaguely Christian translation of an otherwise secular theory and practice', then it is 'not worth anyone's trouble to read or write or seriously entertain'[1]. In Tracy's words:

> ... for an adequate praxis we need both rigorous theory and appropriate symbolization .... Besides theory and practice, true praxis also needs appropriate personal and societal symbols.[2]

Finally, critical reflection operates not just upon experience from the point of view of the mythos, but it also operates upon the mythos from the point of view of experience. This is the dialectic of praxis (in the sense that a historical materialist perspective understands the term), and some of its implications for a traditional view of theology will be dealt with further. Firstly, however, one final matter requires completion in this section: the relationships of the hermeneutic here developed to the analytical model worked out in Part One of this study and subsequently utilised to investigate the history of the English-speaking South African churches.

A long digression is unnecessary in this respect, for it was already indicated in Part One, via Lonergan's model of the structure of cognition, how the empirical and the kerygmatic may be drawn together in a coherent and consistent epistemology[3].

To recall Lonergan's model briefly: the dynamic process of cognition involves experience (the apprehension of which is mediated initially by symbolic representations),

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1. T. Jennings (1976), pp.104-6, passim.
2. D. Tracy (1979), p.210.
3. See Part One, Chapter Four, section d: 'The Structure of Cognition'.

understanding (whereby what one has apprehended is organised by insight, into intelligible wholes), judgment (in which the truth or falsity, the certainty or probability of the intelligible is assessed), and decision (by which one exercises options and adopts values on the basis of what is experienced, understood and assessed). It was then shown how a complex of such operations, more or less differentiated in any one instance, produces in the human being a set of values and goals which function to represent and orient a way-of-being-in-the world. These are foundational values and goals capable of being in turn theoretically elaborated, systematised and communicated. Lastly, in the dynamic process of cognition, one therefore comes to an awareness not just of objects 'out there' (e.g. by seeing, there becomes present to one what is seen), but also an awareness of the cognitive subject, oneself.

Also discussed was the goal-directed nature of a way-of-being-in-the-world, and its ambiguities in the possibility of the repression and systematic distortion of reality. Thus the term 'primary orientation' was introduced and the task of critical reflection to test reality indicated. Here was located symbolically structured religious meaning, arising from a communally shared tradition and inhering in a decision for a particular set of values and goals. Such a decision provides the foundations of one's way-of-being-in-the-world while remaining dynamically open to being shaped, limited, contradicted or even destroyed in experience, or being tested for meaning, meaningfulness and truth by processes of reflection[1].

Applying the model, it was finally stated that it provided a sound epistemological basis by which empirical-analytical discourse could be integrally correlated (not simply juxtaposed) with the reconstructive disciplines, and that if one designated a religious mythos as the object of

1. The reader will note that many terms used in the first discussion are here transposed (though not really altered) so as to reflect the language that has been developed in the discussion of the analogical structure of imagination.

the latter, the unity of sociological theory and theological reflection could be seen to be both responsible and reasonable.

However, the point thereby reached is not in the end satisfactory. For it ignores the question of whether or not reconstructive sciences have anything to deal with in a religious mythos other than irrational archetypes, merely mythological tradition (symbols emptied into dogma), or ideological or psychological illusions, and so on. Consequently, the complete picture could only be drawn once the structure of analogical imagination had been explored. Thus, in a sense, we arrive back at where we started and know the place for the first time.

Now it can be said that the empirical-analytical and reconstructive (historical-hermeneutic) specialities operate in two directions - upon the structures of existence and reality (thus we have utilised critical sociological theory and economics to understand the history of South Africa), and upon the structures of imagination and the symbol-systems which give it flesh and bones (thus we have attempted to describe how a revisionist theology proceeds to study the Christian mythos). Lonergan's structure of cognition makes clear that these two paths of reflection, passing between one's experience and one's valuative foundations, are in dynamic interaction, and that an increasingly differentiated consciousness proceeds systematically to elaborate on both, to systematise them, and to communicate them in such a way as to correlate the imperatives of both.

In short one's foundations (i.e. 'primary orientation' or 'lived mythos') makes experience meaningful and thereby injects into experience and one's reflection

certain values and choices embodied in relevant goals[1]. At the same time however, one's experience produces insights, oversights and flights from insight which challenge, alter, confirm or destroy aspects of one's foundations. Herein lies the roots of any genuine method of correlation, and unless critical reflection - the task of becoming more conscious - is allowed sway in both directions, one fails to live in contact with reality (and must, therefore, cope with reality by dogmatic, manipulative or tyrannical means) or one fails to live with any real commitment to reality (and must, therefore, sink into superstition, illusion, apathy or cynicism).

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1. q.v. for example T. Jennings (1976), pp.96-7, where he spells out the four aims of theology as he sees it, as follows:
   a) critical testing of the authenticity of expressions of the mythos (in Lonergan's terms, the fundamental discipline);
   b) clarifying of the import of the mythos to make it intelligible (the doctrinal discipline);
   c) making clear the interconnectedness and unity of reality as represented by the mythos (the systematic discipline);
   d) facilitating the transformation of personal and social existence in obedience to the imperatives of the mythos (the communicative discipline).

   See also G. Ebeling (1971), pp.53-9 for another approach.

12. ENTR'ACTE: MATERIAL HISTORY AS SOURCE

The task of this chapter is to indicate in what way the specific method adopted for investigating the churches in South Africa, informed as it is by historical materialism, may be considered normative in a revisionist theology, and what kind of implications this may have for the object of theology itself, namely the Christian mythos. Here we merely build on all that has been said so far, many indications having been given of the crucial significance of understanding contemporary existence and of the drive of the analogical imagination to do so in terms of the concrete, the finite and the temporal.

In accordance with the model of cognition and the method of correlation already developed, there is clearly no reason to disregard the contribution of the empirical-analytical and reconstructive tools offered by the historical materialist tradition. But more than principle is involved, for we have shown at various stages that the reflective processes called for in our model demand a critical intention capable of penetrating the structures of existence in their conscious and their unconscious moments, and of disclosing thereby the unwilled (as well as the willed) repressions and illusions which distort and falsify reality[1]. No-one doubts today that the tools made available by the Marxian tradition are ineluctably part of that kind of criticism, however much one may reconstruct that tradition or find it unwelcome, especially when one is considering political-economic social structures. Still more can be said: both the temporal character of the analogical

1. q.v. also P. Ricoeur (1974b), who discusses this point in relation to the 'opaqueness' in the nature of action in modern society which demands that one's best intentions be critically and self-critically worked through lest actions that flow from them produce unexpected and unwanted results which could have been avoided: pp.106-13.

imagination and the integral place of tradition in a religious mythos drive one to consider the subject in history and in the development of the species. Even the Buddhist finally depends on a tradition to guide his or her search for enlightenment, even though the philosophy of the path ultimately intends the elimination of history.

The question may now arise as to the need to adopt a materialist understanding of history, for there are alternatives. Here one can only admit that nothing insists on this, nor can exclusivity be made the price of the freedom of critical reflection. But one can say that critical reflection insists on taking such a perspective seriously - very seriously indeed when one considers its potency in uncovering and illuminating the unspoken assumptions of the dominant in their language, theory and practice. For there is sufficient evidence available from a wide range of disciplines to indicate that the strong interests of the dominant in maintaining their position, coupled with the usually heavily overbalanced weight of resources and power available to them, are highly likely to produce precisely those manipulations, illusions and tyrannies that imagination and critical reflection on reality healthily seek to overcome.

We are, therefore, in this study making a judgment of value in arguing for the importance of the historical material perspective in a contemporary analysis of existence. This all must do, either attentively, intelligibly, reasonably and responsibly, or in an unreflected, undifferentiated manner (then one remains confused, uncaring, apathetic or concerned for one's own interests above all - and as a result claims to have made no choice, or alternatively chooses blindly out of fear, prejudice or something similar). The final question left for us in the framework of the present study is whether or not the particular valuation made here (in the adoption of an historical materialist analysis) finds any support in the Christian mythos.

Once again there can be no dogmatic response to this question. Yet enough has been done in biblical scholarship, church history and the study of theological tradition to show that central themes in the Christian mythos - the humanity of God incarnate; the drive to transform the present in anticipation of a remade, just and peaceful future; the practical imperatives of love; the polarity in the scriptures between the poor and the oppressed who are defended and the rich and powerful who are judged; the locus of meaning in history and the centrality of acts in history (rather than merely ideas, morals, precepts and philosophies, although acts may give rise to these) - are certainly very close indeed to the intentions and goals of the Marxian tradition[1]. Consequently we judge a collaboration between Christian goals and historical material analyses to be not only reasonable but also responsible[2].

But the hermeneutical circle is not complete nor the method of correlation fully applied if we leave it at that. For if historical materialism (in the minimal sense of being an adequate analysis of contemporary existence) is to be a norm for a revisionist theology, then its implications, critically reflected back upon the Christian mythos, must also be considered[3].

The writings of a growing number of people provide some clues in this respect. By way of preparing the ground for a discussion of the nature and function of the Church in the following chapter, a few of these clues will now be developed. But before proceeding to that task, a response to the claim made by some that an historical materialist

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1. B. Meland (1953), in discussing what is needed to reconstruct the 'Liberal' church if it is to connect its concern for justice, peace and humanity together with a much more solid, less idealistic perspective on reality, makes points similar to ours, though he was not specifically dialoguing with Marxism; see pp.32-46.

2. Paul Tillich considered the whole issue in some depth in a book he himself prized highly, namely his The Socialist Decision, (1977). See especially Ch.6 on "The Socialist Principle and Problems of Marxism".

3. A similar point is made by D. Tracy (1979), p.239.

philosophy is incompatible with the Christian mythos because of the former's declared atheism must be made. Two points are worth noting. Firstly, as Dussel remarks, the attack by Marx on religion can only be conceived of in relation to his general viewpoint which aimed at destroying illusions and falsifications of reality. In other words, Marx was atheistic towards a particular conception of God (there can be no analysis of God as such, only of the concepts people have of God), a conception which made of God a fetish and which a Christian might label an idol or a graven image[1]. Secondly, the critical challenge from historical materialism does not come in the form of a competing mythos in the strict sense, but in the form of usually well-defined concepts (such as alienation, fetishism, knowledge-as-praxis, the material basis for human development, and so on)[2]. In fact there is a sense in which Marxism cannot be considered a mythos at all except insofar as some very basic assertions are made on the strength of images of the human being as _homo faber_ and _homo politicus_[3]. (This is not of course to claim that no-one has tried to fashion on the basis of Marxism a comprehensive mythos).

Recently it has been further argued that a reassessment of the Marxian critique of religion undermines the now classical imputation of doctrinal atheism to Marx. This reassessment does not seek to make of Marx a hidden theist, but seeks rather to discern the methodological limits within which his critique should rightly and consistently be situated[4]. Thus Charles Davis points out that Marx's early

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1. E. Dussel, in R. Gibellini (1979), pp.199-200; Dussel's discussion extends considerably beyond the minimal statement made here.

2. B. Lonergan discusses the distinction between concepts and foundational values at many points in both _Insight_ (1957) and _Method in Theology_ (1972).

3. H.R. Niebuhr (1963), p.160, sees these two images as among the 'three great symbols of our age', the third being _homo dialogicus_.

4. q.v. C. Davis (1980), p.125ff.

critique of religion does not utilise an historical material framework but exists more in the form of purely negative assertions. Marx never came back to the question of religion; but in a single text in Capital he does refer to the need to extend principles established for a critical history of technology to the history of religion. Davis discusses P. Frostin's analysis of the implications of this claim and concludes that 'a scientific critique of religion must therefore always rest upon a detailed study of the actual, concrete material conditions of life at every particular time and place'[1]. The critique of religion in the Marxian sense is then seen to be a particular instance of the general critique of ideology, and its results point not to the destruction of religion *per se* (any more than a critique of the role of technology destroys technology *per se*), but to an exposure of the relationship of religion to the interests of the dominant and the role of religion in concealing reality through illusion or systematic distortion.

A critical theology would, therefore, accept the critique of religion as belonging to the dynamic of religion itself insofar as it specifies (1) sources of experience for an emancipatory praxis, (2) the nature of unfreedom and freedom, and (3) the identity of the structures and dynamics of domination and alienation[2].

Bearing these points in mind we wish to consider the critical impact upon the Christian tradition of the concepts of praxis, ideology and labour. In each case not much more than directions for further detailed investigation are sketched.

(i) Praxis

The unity of theory and practice, of subject and object, is the central aspect of the notion of praxis upon which is built the proposition that all genuine knowledge of

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1. *Ibid.*, p.127.
2. *Ibid.*, p.131.

history (and of the human being in history) derives from activity that changes the world, and not in the first place from ideas. In accepting this many contemporary theologians point out that one is driven thereby to regard as most central to the Christian mythos those symbols and images which emphasise discipleship and mission. In turn discipleship and mission must be historically specified, and in terms of emancipatory practice, related to the struggle of the poor and oppressed. The doctrines of incarnation, crucifixion and resurrection are reinterpreted accordingly; likewise study of the New Testament focuses more clearly on the contrasting relationship of Jesus of Nazareth to the poor and oppressed and the rich and the wealthy respectively.

So, for example, Assman declares that faith 'can only be historically true when it becomes true: when it is historically effective in the liberation of man'[1]. Elsewhere he adds that 'evangelisation, whose handmaid theology is, should be the historical articulation of love-in-practice, not the mere annunciation of a message'[2]. In slightly different language Tracy similarly points out that 'rendering Christianity relevant to contemporaries' misses the real problem, which is to 'make our Christian self-understanding meaningful in our own life-styles and in our own reflection'[3].

There is, however, a warning to be made here. As Fierro argues, one cannot take it for granted as a general presupposition among the poor and oppressed and their allies that Jesus Christ has something to do with their history[4]. Rather, this is something to be demonstrated in the praxis into which Christians enter and not merely proclaimed from without. Consequently a Christian contribution to praxis has nothing to do with a doctrinal a priori standing above the praxis of the poor and oppressed by which alien conditions are imposed upon them prior to making any commitment[5].

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1. H. Assman (1975), p.81.
2. Ibid., p.64.
3. D. Tracy (1979), p.177
4. A. Fierro (1977), pp.333-5.
5. q.v. J.L. Segundo (1977), p.90; also p.132.

The use of some doctrinal a priori most frequently occurs by appeal to notions of eschatological proviso or the de-absolutisation of all programmes and systems, on the basis of which guarantees are sought that certain conditions will be met before support will be forthcoming. This then functions as a contradiction to commitment, an excuse for no commitment, and even perhaps a reason for opposing the struggle of the poor and oppressed (a struggle that may be expressed in ways that do not match the sensibilities of the Christian)[1]. In this refusal a much needed contribution of limit-language to the struggle for human dignity and shared dominion on earth is undermined or lost, a practical difficulty of all "third-way" theologies.

(ii) Ideology

The critique of ideologies sets out to expose the manner in which language and practice functions to serve the interests of the dominant while presenting themselves as the 'natural law' of a particular epoch, thus concealing those interests. Clearly the whole of Part Two of the present study demonstrates this critique at work on Church practice and language. But one may go further than was intended there to critically reflect on the symbols and images of the Christian mythos as well. So, for example, several writers have pointed out the frequently ideological nature of many concepts of God. Fierro remarks on the way in which the image of God operative in society is usually conditioned by the class position and perception of a particular person or group to which they belong; he draws the conclusion that Christian talk of God is necessarily alienated as long as it emerges from an alienated situation[2]. A similar point is

1. Of course it should be noted that a recognition of where commitment is demanded (blind leaps into action are not meant here) is not given immediately in action, which of itself does not produce theory and in fact may be wholly misguided in the absence of solid reflection. Recognition rather implies an a priori insight into what a genuinely transformative, liberative praxis might be, remembering that insights arise in experience in the first place and not in the form of mere ideas. Thus a particular choice of action 'presupposes personal motivations and a conception of the overall process'; ibid., p.101.
2. A. Fierro (1977), pp.385-7.

made in a report on a discussion among South African Christians puzzled by the contradictions between the kind of God projected in public and the contrary practice engaged in by those among the dominant classes[1].

From a slightly different angle Tracy shows that the question of the Christian God is 'fashioned by the aims and methods of one's general theological model'[2]. It remains to add in the present context that one's general model is also fashioned by one's specific history and class position. That is, the symbol may give rise to thought; yet symbols do not arrive de novo but as part of a social history and in connection to the interests of a particular group (without which they would not remain meaningful). Consequently one may draw the conclusion that theological talk of God cannot know anything directly about God, and that in 'shedding light upon its ignorance through imaginative illustrations'[3] theology proceeds negatively and critically vis-à-vis the claims it nevertheless makes. Thus the validity of any concepts about God - who may be believed in but cannot be cognitively known - is judged in the historical materialist idiom against transformative praxis. Put another way, doctrine cannot be regarded as exempt from the hermeneutical circle which makes of one's values, decisions and primary orientation also an object of critical scrutiny. For this reason the critique of ideology, drawing on the insistence of a unity between theory and practice, destroys the traditional structure of religion as a fixed orthodoxy[4].

(iii) Labour

A central presupposition of Marx was that history is the product of human labour acting on nature to transform it, in the process (and according to the limits of prevailing

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1. q.v. South African Outlook, Sept. 1980, vol.110, no.1311: A. Nolan, "Method for a Theology from the Underside", p.132ff.
2. D. Tracy (1979), p.175.
3. A. Fierro (1977), p.411; q.v. also p.351ff, where he discusses the negative and critical function of theology in a manner which makes it clear that this is one way of describing God-language as limit-language.
4. C. Davis (1980), p.130.

technology and means of social organisation) reproducing as well a characteristic pattern of social relations. Here we have _homo faber_, the human being as maker. One may rightly treat this image of the human as integral to modern sensibility, a fact about human potency - whatever its ambiguities - impossible to avoid in an age of steel, computers, nuclear power, and so on.

But if humans fashion history with such obvious and sometimes terrifying effect, what does God do in history? The question is painfully acute in the Judeo-Christian tradition which asserts so strongly that God is the one who acts in history. One may with momentary relief declare that God and human beings are co-creators, thus leaving room for human freedom and responsibility in history. But as Fierro points out, this formula really changes nothing for it remains a faith statement not yet opened to criticism[1]. The question is whether any reference to God has meaning at all when faced with modern criticism (by meaning we mean here as before, 'coherence'; of course such talk of God may well be _meaningful_ for certain people).

The traditional, classical theistic notions of absoluteness, impassibility, omnipotence and omniscience are under attack here, for the kind of critique introduced by the doctrine of labour is quite directly connected to the general Marxian attack on the classical notions of being and essence. If, therefore, the notion of God acting in history is to retain any meaning at all (at least for those for whom the classical and mediaeval patterns of thought are no longer defensible), then new categories for understanding theistic language are needed. Tracy, for example, argues for the use of categories largely derived from process philosophy, in which God is understood and conceived of as subject to time, to sociality and to the historical process[2]. At a less sophisticated level others have begun to speak of God in Jesus Christ who suffers

1. A. Fierro (1977), p.327.

2. D. Tracy (1979), p.133; this whole question is also taken up by Langdon Gilkey in his excellent discussion of the doctrine of providence in _Reaping the Whirlwind_ (1976), especially pp.161-187 and p.211ff; q.v. also P. Tillich (1977), p.114 and pp.119-20.

with them, who feels their suffering, who despairs with them and who celebrates with them. Quite clearly we have here the sensibility of the poor and oppressed; ironically there is also some sense of this very human God - though in a highly gnosticised, apolitical form - in the fundamentalist evangelical notion that "Jesus walks with me and talks with me". But the central issue in the problems raised here remains that of the meaning of the mythos, an issue not to be avoided by a quick and shallow retreat into claims that the knowledge of faith transcends all other knowledge and therefore stands outside of all critique, an issue to be dodged only at the long-term cost of all meaning.

Sufficient has been said to make the general discussion of theological method a little more concrete. In summary of the whole chapter it may be pointed out that the method developed does not allow the professional theologian or the clergy to hold for themselves an elevated position above 'ordinary' Christians, either by virtue of training or calling. On the contrary they are servants of the people with a major responsibility for assisting a 'doing of theology' in the general life of the community as it engages in emancipatory praxis, so that the powers of imagination and critical reflection may be strengthened among "the least" of one's fellows, and thereby enable a more penetrating apprehension of contemporary structures of reality and of the Christian mythos. As such the professionals are only there to introduce resources as required, and by means of their skills, to help in the communal formulation of the general theory of the Church and its mission for which praxis in solidarity with the dispossessed, the poor and oppressed, must remain the sounding board. (We do not here refer to the strictly priestly functions which may be exercised on behalf of the community). Such formulations will include the process whereby the dispossessed (dispossessed of their rightful dignity and shared dominion, to use theological terms), the poor and oppressed, find their faith both real and liberating as they critically

grasp their situation and its demonic character. With these thoughts in mind the specific question of the nature and function of the Church will now be addressed, drawing on the conclusions of the earlier analytical investigation of the Church in South Africa.

13. TOWARDS A CRITICAL ECCLESIA

With the drawing of this Love and the voice of this Calling

We shall not cease from exploration
And the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started
And know the place for the first time.

- T.S. Eliot, Four Quartets

a. Introduction

The Church is a human community, and as such is in continuity with other human communities[1]. This assumption lies behind the possibility and the relevance of the earlier analysis of the English-speaking churches in South Africa. That the results of this kind of analysis are important for a contemporary ecclesiology is not always accepted, but, as Gustafson has pointed out, if the question of the truth and the function of the Church are dealt with in terms meaningful only to properly initiated theologians, then not much has been explained or understood[2].

The proposition that a theology of the Church must take the Church seriously as a human, historical entity may be accepted as a general consensus today. In Church history the high role of non-theological factors in shaping doctrine and practice is unavoidable[3]; moreover, that doctrines of the Church begin from experiences in and with the Church is also evident[4]; the New Testament documents themselves testify to the priority of the real life of the Church which occasions, for a variety of reasons, a subsequent reflection on its work

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1. J.M. Gustafson (1961), p.5.
2. Ibid., p.7.
3. G. Ebeling (1979), p.78.
4. q.v. J. Moltmann (1977), p.18; H. Küng (1968), p.4: Küng believes that 'every age has its own image of the Church, arising out of a particular historical situation; in every age a particular view of the Church is expressed by the Church in practice, and given conceptual form, post hoc or ante hoc, by the theologians of the age'.

and its identity[1]. At the same time, the Church not only reflects on its circumstances but is in a real sense at their mercy[2]. In what way this latter may be true cannot be discerned by theology itself. Thus, the very fact of the human nature of the Christian community drives it towards taking sociological and other empirical data seriously, for theological reasons[3]. Therefore, one may agree with de Gruchy that the identity of the Church in South Africa must be worked out in relation to the concrete realities of the contemporary context[4]. The significance of even entering into such a task, is much less a question of explaining doctrine than it is helping to specify the content of Christian existence in the world[5]. Or as Moltmann has expressed it, the sociology of religion must become a theological critique of the Church in terms of the question: 'how does the Church become true?'[6].

Black theology (from its practical basis in resistance to oppression) has since the late nineteen-sixties been the greatest force within the Church for raising the issue of the Church's identity in South Africa, especially in frequently renewed debates on whether to form a Black Church, what the status of Blacks in the Church is, and whether the European-originated churches in any case have any acceptable place for Blacks. Yet very recently a leading Black theologian has admitted that no adequate and developed theological statement on the life and work of the Church in South Africa yet exists[7]. Among several possible reasons for this - not the least being heavy demands made upon those who are critically engaged, and

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1. H. Küng (1968), p.5; this kind of fact alone makes meaningful the desire of New Testament scholars to ascertain the Sitz im Leben of biblical pericopae.
2. A. Dumas (1978), p.20.
3. G. Ebeling (1979), p.106; J.M. Gustafson (1961), p.ix.
4. J.W. de Gruchy, JTSA, no.8, Sept. 1974, p.43.
5. T. Rendtorff, "The Problem of Revelation in the Concept of the Church", in W. Pannenberg, ed., (1969b), p.162.
6. J. Moltmann, "The Rose in the Cross of the Present", (1971), p.141; q.v. also M. Douglas Meeks (1974), p.150.
7. B. Goba, "Towards a Black Ecclesiology", Missionalia, Vol.9, no.2, (Aug. 1981), p.55.

who have sufficient resources - one strong reason would be the lack of a developed analysis of the concrete reality facing the Church in South Africa. The same Black theologian points out - significantly in our opinion - that one may talk of an ecclesiology of the 'have and the have-nots' in South Africa[1]; yet no-one has spelt out what this central insight implies for a contemporary ecclesiology, except in the now commonplace assertion that the Church is the Church of the poor.

Of course we are here in the domain of political economy, and though Black theology from its beginnings was linked with philosophical aspects of Black communalism which framed general principles about work and the use of land, the symbol of 'Blackness' reigned supreme in analysis of the actual context. Not surprisingly this de-emphasised tools of economic analysis that did not deal directly with racism or traditional African economic values. To this there is a positive side - the refusal to allow certain aspects of domination ('racism') to be side-stepped, and a negative side- the neglect of potent analytical resources able to specify the issues raised by industrialisation and proletarianisation, by exploitation and underdevelopment. It is not surprising, then, that the reviewer of a recent intensive conference of theologians and other churchmen and -women on Marxism, socialism and capitalism in the South Africa context, should observe that the role of the Church in structural change remained a most controversial issue despite a widespread agreement on the need of the Church to relate to poverty and issues of labour, and that the conference 'time and again' fell into 'the discrimination groove'[2]. The connection of 'racism' to economic structures is likely to be increasingly noticed in the Church, however, as local conditions change to accommodate internal pressures from Blacks (from two angles: those few who are increasingly being allowed to help slice the economic cake, and, those many who increasingly attack the foundation upon which the cake is laid), as well as external

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1. Ibid., p.59.
2. K. Nürnberger, ed., (1979), p.19.

pressures from multi-national corporations and their client states[1].

On a more general level, some would inquire whether the Church has any mandate to be concerned with issues of political economy in the first place. But as Tawney pointedly remarked, 'the criticism which dismisses the concern of churches with economic relations and social organisation as a modern innovation finds little support in past history. What requires explanation is not the view that these matters are a part of the province of religion, but the view that they are not'[2]. Secondly, some discern in the increasing influence of Marxist thought in South Africa a sign of the failure of the Church[3], as if a properly fulfilled role on the part of the Church would have made it easier to avoid an empirical-historical analysis of capitalism. It is correct to see 'self-criticism, repentance and rebirth' as a proper response on the part of the Church to the Marxian critique[4]; but not as if that critique itself could not be positively incorporated and utilised in the Church as such[5].

To the next possible objection that the Church is not permitted to model its practice upon theories of a social system, one may readily respond by demonstrating the extent to

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1. Among theologians this process is enhanced by the linking of racism to modern economic imperialism by interlocuters such as James Cone (q.v., for example, "Black Theology and the Black Church", in G.H. Anderson and T.F. Stransky, ed., (1979), p.131), as well as in dialogue with Latin American liberation theologians whose analysis of international economic forces becomes more relevant to South Africa. It should also be pointed out, at least, that the input of feminist theology on sexism heads now in similar directions, though the impact of such theology in South Africa is yet small (q.v., e.g., E.S. Fiorenza, "Feminist Theology", ibid., p.195; C. Davis (1980), p.11).
2. R. Tawney (1926), p.272.
3. J.W. de Gruchy (1979), p.215.
4. Ibid., p.216.
5. Paul E. Hoffmann, in "The Origin and Nature of Marxism as a Challenge to the Church", Missionalia, vol.6, no.2 (Aug.1978), is more aware of the issues involved, recognising the complexity of Marxism and its value, and thus pointing in the direction of the Church's need to understand the challenge of relating to it.

which this occurs in any case, though presently as if the given structure and order were in some unfounded sense 'natural', i.e., the way things are ipso facto. Thus, as the social system, upon which to a considerable degree the Church in most instances models itself, is brought into question by rapid social change, one is likely to see a growing solidarity between the Church and groups that favour the status quo. Sociologically this may be understood by recognising, in general, that as guardians of the institution and its relations with society, the hierarchy are most likely to react against radical pressures for social change. Moreover, as those most dependent on the authority and power of the hierarchy, the clergy are likely to follow a parallel path[1]. One may add that increasing instability in the social system is also likely to produce a group among the hierarchy and clergy, more responsive to pressures for change, who take a counter-position and thereby introduce at those levels the conflict situation that generally pertains in the society.

In these senses then, one may investigate the churches in South Africa as part of the problem, that is, as imbued with the contradictions characterising the society of which it is a part[2]. Thus various theologians speaking from the point of view of the oppressed in South Africa have called for judgment to begin at 'the house of God' itself, feeling that the '... Church in Southern Africa has to admit that she is actually an urgent object of mission'[3]. The Church Commission report of the Study Project on Christianity on Apartheid Society (SPRO-CAS), published in 1972, concluded that three

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1. F. Houtart, "Extra-Ecclesial Interests and Maintaining the Status Quo of the Churches", in J.B. Metz, ed., (1970), pp.15-19.

2. We take this to be one sense in which J.L. Segundo (1973), p.118ff, among other Latin Americans, suggests that economic development challenges the Church.

3. Z. Kameeta, "The Liberated Church and True Freedom", in T. Sundermeier, ed., (1975), p.124; q.v. also M.S. Mogoba, "The Church in Future South Africa", in SACC Conference Papers, (1975), p.49ff; Ephraim Mosothoane, "Toward a Theology for Southern Africa", Missionalia, vol.9, no.2, (Aug. 1981), p.101; C. Desmond (1978), Ch.4, who discusses the issue as 'religious schizophrenia'.

basic hindrances obstructed mission in the life of the Church: (1) ecclesiastical self-concern - evidenced in the disproportionate energy, time and money invested in strictly internal affairs; (2) pragmatic pietism - by which was meant that individualistic, inward attitude to religion fundamentally apathetic to the life of the polis; (3) clericalism - an emphasis on the Church as constituted by professionals and ordinands[1]. Thus it was declared that the structure of the Church itself, 'the form in which its life and mission in the world is arranged', are essentially problematic[2]. However, the final recommendations of the Commission proved to be rather limited, focusing mostly on attitudinal and educational change actions, their overall weakness being perhaps best demonstrated in a sole reference to the issue of poverty, and that, merely a call to church leaders to simplicity of life[3].

The analysis of the role of the English-speaking churches during the first thirty years of this century produced a somewhat more precise structural critique of the Church, summed up in the notion of its functional dependency upon the dominant political economic system despite its public criticism of certain policies and directions of development espoused by the national capital sector in particular. Consequently, the evidence pictured a Church unable as a rule to accept the validity of the struggle between employer and employee, fearing conflict that might threaten the dominant social order sufficiently to preach personal regeneration and state reform but not independent struggle by workers, and consequently seeking to establish where it had any influence a harmony of interests along contractual lines - a picture in many ways reduplicating that of the Church in Britain in the

1. P. Randall, (ed.), (1972), p.61.
2. Ibid., p.67.
3. Ibid., p.69ff.

nineteenth century[1].

A second commission of SPRO-CAS, that given the task of reflecting on the economy of South Africa, went much further than the Church Commission, recognising that the extension of the notion of Christian love into the social dimension called for more than moral or attitudinal action[2]. The Economics Commission therefore concluded that the goal of society should not simply be economic growth, that development existed for the sake of humans and not vice versa, that the great gap between rich and poor should be regarded as obscene, that the sharing of power meant the inclusion of workers in decision-making processes (and in the sharing of risks), and that equality of opportunity implied equality in the means of production (land, human capital)[3].

These fairly radical ideas had, as we have seen, antecedents in the brief flirtation of some churches in the early nineteen-twenties with socialist ideas[4]. But even now, some fifty years later, the recommendations flowing from the SPRO-CAS commission for actions the churches might take, says little about trades unions, strikes, and workers struggles in general, remaining content with a general recommendation that the Church restructure itself to evidence greater solidarity

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1. q.v. R. Moore (1974), pp.26-7, on Methodism and the working class. A rather explicit statement along the lines indicated is to be found in the report of the CPSA 'Commission on the Church and the Nation' which met from 1946-9, in which the Church made clear that '... contrary to some social theorists, we do believe in the organic nature of society which implies a co-ordination of the interests of the state, the community as a whole, employers and employees in questions concerning wages and conditions of work.' See the Commission Records 1946/9, Diocese of Johannesburg, CPSA Archives.
2. q.v. also C. Davis (1980), p.53.
3. P. Randall, ed., (1971), p.12ff.
4. As a result of developments in Britain, the Anglican Church was induced to flirt a second time, also briefly, in the mid-forties, inspired by a comprehensive Church and Nation report produced by the Church of England.

with labour, but without specifying what this might mean[1]. More significantly for the present discussion, the report of the Economics Commission, though leading to several constructive actions in some quarters (on such issues as community development projects, credit unions, and literacy programmes), did not lead to any great examination of the power structure of the Church itself[2], nor to any deeper reflection on its implications for a contemporary ecclesiology.

If, however, we take the analysis of the Church's captivity to the dominant structure of the political economy seriously, and if we recognise that characteristic marks of this structure are domination and dependence, exploitation and poverty, then it must be faced that the conflict lies not essentially between Church and state in South Africa, but within the Church itself. It is itself a sign of deep contradiction, at the same time as it proclaims itself in contemporary terms the sign of the kingdom of God[3]. The experience of this contradiction has led many to seek an understanding of the Church that contrasts the defective, visible body with its ideal, invisible image. From the point of view of historical materialism, such a procedure is both an error of philosophical idealism and historically unscientific. An image transcendent of the present construction of reality may function in an emancipatory manner (and for Marx communism is precisely such an image), but not when it is removed from historical material reality. For ecclesiology, this implies the need to define the Church in full acceptance of its historical material reality, including the fact of its contradictions, before an image of the Church can emerge that

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1. Ibid., pp.110-12.
2. One of the recommendations of the Commission: q.v. ibid., p.111.
3. The understanding of the Church as a sign of the kingdom is by now almost a universal consensus in theology in Protestant, Roman Catholic and Orthodox traditions, and in South Africa as well. q.v., for example, conciliar statements of Vatican II; the Conference of Latin American Bishops at Puebla (J. Eagleson and P. Scharper, eds., 1979, p.15); G. Gutiérrez (1973), p.261; Ion Bria, ed., (1980), pp.8,9 and 237; J. Moltmann (1967), p.325, and (1977), p.293; W. Pannenberg (1969a), p.73 and p.77; A. Biéler (1974), pp.84-5; D.J. Bosch, Missionalia, vol.5, no.2, (Aug. 1977), p.16; J.W. de Gruchy, JTSA, no.8 (Sept. 1974), p.42.

is both conceptually valid and generally emancipatory[1].

A further implication is that, in a capitalist milieu, the fact of contradiction within the Church is necessarily related to the conflict between classes. In short, we begin to speak of an ecclesiology of 'the have and the have-nots'. It is in this context that the question of the unity of the Church now emerges (its identity in relation to both its historical and its eschatological aspects), as well as the question of its life and work (its praxis in relation to mission)[2]. As Miguez Bonino makes clear, such an ecclesiology will also drive towards unmasking class conflict within the Church (in accordance with the recognition that the critique of religion is a moment in the general critique of ideology), and in respect of the emancipatory interest, towards a combating of the Church itself insofar as it is a sociologically identifiable part of a system of domination or oppression[3]. In turn, further implications arise in respect of favourite concepts such as reconciliation, justice and non-violence. At this point we must turn to a more extended consideration of the question of the unity of the Church.

b. The Church in Contradiction

The crisis in the unity of the Church and in ecclesiology as such may be related to 'lack of cultivated fellowship' among those who by definition are gathered together for a particular purpose[4]. This visible lack of fellowship extends not only between the dominant and the dispossessed as we have suggested, but also between confessions. In the modern global market economy, pressures of industrialization, proletarianisation and communication have forced into the foreground the concerns of a united Church fellowship and an emancipatory Church practice. In the process the painful contradictions highlighted in the visible Church have given

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1. It need hardly be said that drawing an implication such as this from historical materialism is an extension of the Marxian method, and not something he personally would ever have pursued However, the grounds for doing this have been discussed in Ch.12 which obviously revises aspects of classical Marxism.
2. q.v. M. Bonino (1975), p.154; also G. Gutiérrez (1973), p.276.
3. Ibid., p.159.
4. J. Moltmann (1977), p.334.

rise to a search by many for the 'true' Church, a search that has had both a practical and a theological aspect.

One study has documented some of the historical responses to these crises of identity, beginning with Archbishop William Wake, Anglican primate from 1716, who believed that one should distinguish doctrinal fundamentals 'in which all ought to agree' from other teachings in which error or difference could be tolerated. On this basis the identity of the Church could be re-established in his view[1]. In the first part of the nineteenth-century, J.H. Newman and William Palmer (both of the Oxford Movement) conceived of the true Church as comprising three regional branches of the one Catholic Church in the form of English, Roman and Orthodox catholicism. In this view the Church was regarded as not divided at all but merely in a state of suspended communication[2]. At about the same time an idea was put forward in the USA for a 'comprehensive Church' based on the selection by all of an already established ecclesiastical system, its imperfections to be ironed out subsequently[3]. In the nineteen-twenties the idea of an international fellowship grew, a fellowship above the conflict between states and particular nationalisms, an idea suited to the emergence of the World Council of Churches, but also perhaps not unrelated to the growth of international socialism on the one hand and to the multi-national-corporations of later capitalism[4].

Proceeding in an opposite direction, many sought the 'true' Church not in the uniting of fellowships, but precisely in separation from the mass of nominal Christians. This development begins in modern times with the Reformation, of course, which yielded various forms of what Durnbaugh terms the 'believer's Church'. Just what form such a Church takes is a matter of perspective. As Durnbaugh's analysis demonstrates there are those who separate themselves from

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1. R. Rouse and S.C. Neill (SPCK, London, 1967), p.154.
2. *Ibid*.
3. *Ibid*., p.248.
4. This would suggest that an analysis of international Christian fellowships could be carried out in relation to political economy.

the 'established' Church in terms of the 'apostolic succession of suffering dissenters' (sectarian definition), those who do so in nonconformity to any doctrine, polity or discipline of the established Church (puritan definition), and those whose path leads from the radical Reformation, with both scripture and the practices of the early Christians as norms (anabaptist definition)[1].

The variety of theological definitions of the Church is as wide, if not more so, than the practical models, and there is clearly no agreement on what the 'true' Church is. In an attempt to overcome this, Avery Dulles isolates five overarching theological models of the Church (as Institution, as mystical communion, as sacrament, as herald, and as servant), highlights the strengths, weaknesses and implications of each, and finally argues for the complementary validity of each, though some have greater merit than others in his opinion[2]. Thus he seeks a mutually enriching recognition of the validity of each model in its own way, time and place. One may speak of this as an harmonisation approach.

A somewhat different procedure is to establish a strictly theological definition of the Church in which the ecclesial images of the New Testament and later tradition, themselves of considerable variety as Küng points out[3], are compared, assessed and systematically related in relation to historical scientific investigations of the relevant texts. Such doctrinal style involves a necessary clarification of the symbols and concepts of the Christian mythos, but this approach too easily and too frequently describes a Church relevant to

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1. D.F. Durnbaugh (1968), p.9ff.
2. A. Dulles (1976), p.35ff.
3. H. Küng (1968), p.17.

initiated theologians alone. In short its reliance on a history of ideas leaves the historical material reality of the Church high and dry, and the 'visible' Church becomes practically unrecognisable in the theological formulation which is a form of philosophical idealism[1]. A different form of idealism may be discerned among those whose definition of the Church is deliberately and radically contrasted with their experience of the Church. Biéler, for example, speaks of the Church as a source of development, where political awareness comes about; a source of action in the world and a seedbed of social transformation, standing as a sentinel for humanity; a source of reconciliation engaged in the necessary criticism of powers[2]. But then he continues by pointing out numerous ways (nineteen in all) in which the real historical Church fundamentally fails in fact to be what it should be[3]. Such practical idealism may function as a form of negative utopianism, a projection beyond what actually is, to describe what ought to be, as a means of directing criticism and action towards the transformation of the present Church. But unless it becomes clear how such a utopian projection arises out of present historical reality, where its transformative agents are located in the present, and what real possibilities exist for the desired transformation, it remains severed from reality and is consequently more likely to breed cynicism, bitterness and despair rather than concretely situate a real hope.

A manifestation in South Africa of the conclusions of the dualistic and idealistic notions of the Church described above may be discovered in the seemingly interminable demands that the Church be an 'alternative society', a 'confessing

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1. Probably dozens of examples could be listed. Two that come close to being idealist in our opinion are J.G. Davies (1954), e.g., p.83; and W. Pannenberg (1969a), Ch.II. Going further back to the 'father of modern theology', Friedrich Schleiermacher similarly - in Trutz Rendtorff's opinion - 'does not refer to definite, concrete historical problems, but to the mere existence of the Church'; q.v. W. Pannenberg, ed., (1969b), p.164.

2. A. Biéler (1974), p.78ff.

3. <u>Ibid</u>., p.89ff.

community'[1]. Notoriously little clarification of the real meaning and possibility of such a demand has occurred, leading frequently to the anomaly in various quarters of fervent resolutions being passed, responsibilities for action assigned but little further work taking place. What remains are not structures embodying the demands, but documents declaring them[2]. On the other hand, impoverished notions of what the Church as alternative society means have often led to practices which Ernest Baartman (among other Black theologians) labels cheap identification and cheap reconciliation (which may be paralleled with Bonhoeffer's development of the notion of cheap grace during the Third Reich)[3]. Sometimes, on the other hand, where there is a desire to avoid cheapness, there is no clear detailing of what costly reconciliation might require[4].

A great deal of the mediocrity (so deplored by Jacques Ellul)[5] of the Church in its political action, intellectual activity and life-commitment, derives from the inability - evidenced in all the ways enumerated above - (1) to come to terms with the deepest contradictions in the visible Church, (2) to recognise their intimate connection to the contradictory structures of society (in South Africa, racially discriminatory practices have been partly confronted, but not those other

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1. e.g. Ephraim Mosothoane, quoting S. Gqubule, in "Toward a Theology for Southern Africa", Missionalia, vol.9, no.2, (Aug. 1981), p.106; also J.W. de Gruchy, "The Identity of the Church in South Africa", JTSA, no.8, (Sept. 1974), p.49.
2. So widespread has been this problem that it would be insiduous to pick out any one instance.
3. E.N. Baartman, "The Significance of the Development of Black Consciousness for the Church", JTSA, no.2, (March 1973), p.22ff.
4. e.g. J.W. de Gruchy (1979), p.235; also S. Govender, "Reconciling Mission in the Contemporary South African Situation of Cultural Pluralism and Identity", Missionalia, vol.7, no.2, (Aug. 1979), p.89.
5. J. Ellul (1977), p.132ff.

profound structural rifts which this study has attempted to specify), (3) to accept these as defining the Church in fact and not just in failure, (4) to analyse their implications, and (5) to develop strategic actions realistically capable of confronting them head on. Consequently, even much theological reflection on the contradictory situation of the Church in South Africa, while speaking of the need for 'prophetic witness' and 'pilgrim service'[1] (or of pastoral care situated in social transformation[2] or of an historical engagement and metanoia)[3], finds itself unable to delineate in non-theological, concrete terms, just what implications lie therein for Church structures, policies and practices. The Church is implicitly always contrasted with the world (or more specifically, the apartheid state), conflict is situated in that particular opposition[4], and the contradictions in the Church itself are again played down or side-stepped. And lastly, a tendency to define liberation (which most theologians we are dealing with accept in some sense) in abstract, ideal terms follows on all else[5].

In contrast to the approaches and concepts considered above, we would stand with T.C. Oden against an uncritical use of the notion of the 'invisible' Church, and thus against any de-historicised, idealistic or docetic ecclesiology[6]. The

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1. D.J. Bosch, "The Church in South Africa Tomorrow", SACC Conference papers (1975), p.33ff.
2. B. Goba, "The Role of the Black Church in the Process of Healing Human Brokenness", JTSA, no.28, (Sept. 1979).
3. J.W. de Gruchy, "English-speaking South Africans and Civil Religion", JTSA, no.19 (June 1977), p.50ff; also in "The Identity of the Church in South Africa", JTSA, no.8, (Sept. 1974), p.47ff.
4. e.g. D. Hurley's article on "An Ecclesiology of Confrontation", in K. Nürnberger, ed., (1979), p.361, criticised by Nürnberger for precisely this reason. Nürnberger himself points to the need to deal instead with the confrontation within the Church of different ideologies (as he puts it): p.361, fn.
5. So, for example, D.J. Bosch claims that the only definition of true liberation is 'shalom, biblical peace'; that this is no definition at all but merely an image capable of directing a definition yet still requiring its content to be given, appears not to be of concern. See "The Church and the Liberation of Peoples", Missionalia, vol.5, no.2, (Aug.1977), p.39.
6. T.C. Oden (1970), pp.20-1.

traditional doctrine of the invisible Church found in various forms throughout Church history would, therefore, have to be reinterpreted not merely in terms of a future-oriented eschatology as is commonly the practice among many, but also in terms of its possible function as a utopian (in the Marxian sense) concept validating the mission of the visible Church[1]. Our argument up to this point may therefore be summed up in Oden's words:

> Ordinarily theological treatises on the Church dwell at great length upon the non-empirical, non-organisational dimension of the Church: its holiness, its catholicity, etc. Theology has regrettably left the empirical Church to sociology and Church administration. Our critical need now is to reverse that pattern: to provide a serious theological statement on the visibility of the Church, and to explore its consequences.[2]

The need to recognise the visible Church as the fundamental starting point for an ecclesiology implies too that, as a sociological entity, it must be seen to be constantly modified by the experience of its members[3]. In this sense, as Gustafson points out, the Christian community is marked by its 'naturalness': it acts as an agent of social integration and belonging, it meets certain human needs, and it has institutional sanctions for regulating its goals and the means of attaining them[4]. Thus Trutz Rendtorff suggests that the Church known in history should not be contrasted with an eschatological Church, a Church of origins, a primitive Church or a Reformation Church[5]. Because the memory of actual Church history conjures up its failures, its suspect alliances and its ambiguity - because, as Küng puts it, the Church is historically unavoidably affected by evil and cannot, therefore, take the _status quo_ as its yardstick[6]: a contemporary ecclesiological hermeneutic involves not a better interpretation, but a new praxis[7].

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1. _Ibid_., p.69.
2. _Ibid_., p.27.
3. q.v. A. Dulles (1976), p.187.
4. J.M. Gustafson (1961), pp.15-27.
5. T. Rendtorff, "The Problem of Revelation in the Concept of the Church", in W. Pannenberg (ed.), (1969), p.177.
6. H. Küng (1968), p.28.
7. J.B. Metz (ed.), (1971), p.11.

A further implication emerges here: the images of the Church in scripture and tradition are multiple; they are frequently out of harmony with each other in their incarnation among various groups of Christians; and they are discarded or rediscovered as time passes and situations change. From an historical material point of view this is not surprising for it demonstrates the practical impossibility of arriving at some 'essential', abstract and universal concept of the Church unrelated to its historical reality. But more than that it indicates what Dulles' analysis of models of the Church concluded, namely that 'within the myriad possibilities left open by scripture and tradition, the Church in every generation has to exercise options'[1]. One need only add in our view that these options are not simply a question of the choice of the most appropriate image under particular conditions, but even more so a question of praxis.

We arrive again at where we began, in order once more to connect the demand to recognise the historical, corrupted Church as the 'true' Church, with the realisation that precisely this true Church is fraught with contradiction, and that in a capitalist milieu such contradiction also takes the form of class conflict. To exercise an option then, is to do so within this field in these terms; or, as Bonino argues so clearly, the existing ecclesia is 'the field in which the struggle for the Church takes place'. Therefore, 'to belong faithfully to the Church means to claim our place within this field and to engage in the struggle for a true, faithful historical obedience'[2]. The unity of the Church lies then in this field, not with a false (and therefore ideological) reconciliation or fellowship where there is none, but with the aim of entering into its contradictions in the acceptance of conflict and the exercise a concrete historical praxis within that conflict, in order to overcome the contradictions by transforming their conditions. One enters as a Christian, therefore, into a struggle for liberation from domination and

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1. A. Dulles (1976), p.188.
2. M. Bonino (1975), p.170.

oppression not by adding a religious component to that struggle, nor by blessing it, butby taking seriously the conditions from it which it arises for the Church itself, and locating the struggle there as well. As unusual as this conclusion sounds, it is in fact merely an extension on the basis of further analysis, of the presently widespread realisation of the need to combat racism in the Church itself. In practical terms, this means a struggle against both structures and persons who wield those structures, a common enough experience in Church politics however forcefully the language of fellowship, comradeship and familial relations may be sounded.

Notwithstanding the argument made here that the historical material reality of the Church is the necessary basis for a thorough revisionist ecclesiology, it must also be recognised that the meaning of the Church is not exhausted in its present existence. Its present existence, furthermore, contains images and practical possibilities capable of 'negating its negations'[1]. The doctrinal form in which this truth - also an historical material truth concretely visible through its contradictions - usually finds expression today is eschatology. To a consideration of this other side of the coin we now turn.

c. The Church in Anticipation

Although raised in a different context, Bonino's question of Hugo Assman's claim that the true Church is disclosed by the struggle of the poor, is a question of relevance here too:

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1. V. Lossky (1976), p.175ff, from an Eastern Orthodox point of view, expresses this relation in terms of the unity of persons and nature.

> Can we rest satisfied with a definition of the Church which coincides entirely with certain - real and important - needs formulated from an extra-ecclesiastical viewpoint? What is the meaning for the world of such a Church (except in a purely pragmatic, tactical game)?[1]

In traditional terms, following Irenaeus, one may relate this question to an incarnational Christology. Hendry in this respect quotes the central formula of Irenaeus ('He became what we are in order that he might make us what he is') and points out that we confront here an expression of a relation to reality which uncovers an otherwise hidden potential in human agency and makes it efficacious[2]. Thus, for the Greek fathers the 'physical' is not an antithesis of the 'spiritual' but is comprehended in it[3]. Going further and picking up on a clue provided by Paulo Freire, we may relate this potentiality to the notion of praxis. Freire develops the idea that language which historically discloses for a people their conditions of oppression and their possibilities of emancipation is not just a word, but a form of work joining action and reflection. Hence it is also praxis[4]. To translate this into theological discourse, one may begin to speak of the Word of God made flesh in the work of Christ and issuing in a praxis of transforming love.

But then we must ask more specifically, what kind of Christian language appropriately proceeds in this fashion? Who is the historical bearer of that language? How does it relate to the past history of the Church? Here our focus concerns the double characteristic of a Christologically addressed community, as isolated by Moltmann: (1) 'whoever hears you, hears me', and (2) 'what you do to the least, you do to me'[5]. For we are

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1. M. Bonino (1975), p.163. Assman's claim could be interpreted as pointing to the fact that the struggle of the poor for liberation occurs in the Church too, and that the contradiction of which the Church thereby partakes may be said to disclose the actual position of the Church in relation to the poor and their struggle, a disclosure which may show it to be aligned with the dominant.
2. G.S. Hendry (1959), pp.60-1; M. Bonino (1975), p.164, also points to the source of this concept in Irenaeus.
3. G.S. Hendry (1959), p.56.
4. P. Freire (1971), p.75 fn.
5. J. Moltmann (1975), pp.116-7; q.v. also G. Gutiérrez (1973), p.14.

concerned to designate the specific relation of the Church as a community of language (Word and sacrament) and as a body of believers expressly tied to an identification with the poor, the captive, the outcast, the oppressed, without losing the reality of fundamental contradiction within the Church.

A particular language shapes the Christian community and thereby establishes its uniqueness, but the meaningfulness of this language lies only in its integration into the life of the members of the community (by which an intersubjective sociality of a certain kind is established)[1]. Gustafson observes four ways in which this may be sociologically observed in the Christian community, namely, in its communication, its interpretation, its understanding and reliving of history, and its commitment in action[2]. The root source of its inter-subjective possibility lies in a common memory stored in a scripture and a subsequent tradition[3]. The link of the community's memory to its present intentions is in its 'distinct - and certainly scandalous - claim' that the fulness of humanity is disclosed in Jesus Christ[4].

At this point the history of millenarian expectation helps us to grasp more clearly just what such a claim implies when made critically in an oppressive context. Lanternari shows that millenarian movements expect a world in which the whole human race is fully integrated and free from oppression[5], while Cohn concludes that the picture of salvation coming from these movements is painted as collective, terrestrial, imminent, total and miraculous[6]. Both indicate, however, that these movements usually emerge from crises in traditional life and structures which face destruction, especially among those most poor, disoriented and therefore relatively powerless[7].

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1. J.M. Gustafson (1961), pp.10-13.
2. Ibid., p.45.
3. q.v. ibid., p.73.
4. M. Bonino (1975), p.167.
5. V. Lanternari (1963), p.x.
6. N. Cohn (1970), p.1; also p.281.
7. Ibid., pp.52 and 53ff, and p.282; V. Lanternari (1963), pp.248-9 and p.254.

The crisis, and the contradictions which occasioned it, are vividly depicted in language intended to identify and gather a community with a common experience of suffering and a need for some weapon against anomie. Two examples in South Africa are provided by Enoch Mgijima and Isaiah Shembe. Mgijima, leader of a group forced off the land by processes of proletarianisation which were often justified with Christian language, called his group the Israelites on the basis of the struggle of Israel against the land-possessing Midianites and Philistines. But his radical conclusion from this was that Jesus Christ was plainly not the God of the dispossessed, only Jehovah was[1]. Shembe, the famous Zulu prophet, is depicted as standing at the gate of judgment to turn away all white settlers, for they, as the rich, 'have already in their lifetime received their good things', while he opens the gate only to his followers[2].

Now clearly, the use of apocalyptic language which so marks the millenarian tradition places a heavy emphasis on the radical disjunction of history through an external agency. In this respect, an historical material viewpoint must regard millenarianism as ideological, for although it represents a marked and powerful cry of the oppressed, it also alienates their action from the real possibilities of history. Not for nothing, then, is the history of such movements marked by cataclysmic disasters rather than triumphant victories. On the other hand, the cosmic drama usually invoked drives towards a concrete historical specification of the source of pain and calls for the exercise of a practical option aimed at the goal of emancipation, usually through the medium of visions[3]. The reversal of the present order is the emphasis, albeit a

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1. Mgijima and the Israelites, as was mentioned in Part Two, were the victims of the 'Bulhoek Massacre'.

2. Ibid., p.291. M. West, "People of the Spirit", in JTSA, no.7 (June 1974), pp.28-9, notes also the importance of Spirit experiences those otherwise deprivated and powerless, for their comfort and healing.

3. q.v. Amos N. Wilder, "The Rhetoric of Ancient and Modern Apocalyptic", in Interpretation, vol.XXV (1971), p.453; the 'strikingly rational element in apocalyptic vis-à-vis the desire to know and understand the world and its history' is uncovered by W. Zimmerli (1968), p.138.

reversal viewed as a function of faith rather than as a function of human potency (which these groups so badly lack under normal circumstances). Moreover, this reversal embraces not just society, but the established church of the society[1]. Apocalyptic thus understood has no intention of being descriptively analytical but rather seeks to propagate a pattern of meaning in analogical fashion capable of representing reality for a group of people, orienting them in that reality, and motivating them to a transformation of it[2].

Our argument, therefore, is that eschatology divorced of apocalyptic is not only unfaithful to a major note in the origins of Christian tradition[3], but forces it away from history and its contradictions towards some form of enlightenment, individualist, romanticist or existentialist subjectivism[4]. Not coincidentally then, contemporary political theologies recognise in apocalyptic eschatology a language appropriate to the poor and oppressed and focused on what has yet to occur in human history[5]. Equally its language - especially, Vos notes, the Pauline images of the anti-Christ and the concept of apostasy - warns against taking for granted one's cause, as well as against dependable hopes in gradual amelioration[6]. In short, the full force of highly conflicting situations is granted without recourse to cheap solutions.

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1. A point E. Käsemann emphasises in his discussion of the relevance of apocalyptic, in New Testament Questions Today, (SCM, London, 1969), p.137.
2. D.S. Russell (1978), p.43, is, therefore, accurate in describing Christian apocalyptic as essentially kerygmatic.
3. Johannes Weiss' conclusions (1971), pp.129-31, still stands in this respect despite occasional attempts to dispute them, none of which to our knowledge has succeeded in substantially undermining them. One author who does not accept the apocalyptic framework as true to the original thrust of the gospel is W.G. Kümmel (1957), p.155.
4. Amos N. Wilder, op. cit., p.453.
5. A. Dumas (1978), p.7.
6. G. Vos (1972), p.135.

The kind of understanding of eschatology adopted here will not be spelled out in full. But it does assume the validity of the tension between present-past and future, or in more familiar terms, the tension between the "already" and the "not-yet" dimensions of the New Testament texts on the kingdom of God. In this respect we would argue, along the lines of everything so far said, that the "already" justifies the notion that the Body of Christ participates in the kingdom of God through its mission, and in so doing "builds" the kingdom of God within historical material reality. On the other hand, this thrust in Christian history frequently leads to an uncritical assumption that the Church or a group of Christians somehow "has the truth", and that its/their activity produces the kingdom quite directly, and therefore is the basis of society. This _is_ the Christendom assumption, which we criticise. Consequently, we would regard the eschatological notion of the "not-yet" to be a crucial addition to the "already", asserting the limit to any claims we may make, and in doing so, establishing the principle of self-criticism.

In all these respects then, apocalyptic eschatology may function as the distinctive language of a critically engaged Christian community. Yet there are two problems. Firstly the language involved remains fundamentally analogical, and at the same time negative. That is to say, its concrete, historical impregnation is imprecise and analytically incapable of specification. Secondly, as Moltmann so clearly points out, the 'signs of the times' which are the analogical key for historical specification are not self-evident[1]. In South Africa for example, the apocalyptic symbol of the anti-Christ is equally well used by the ruling regime (against 'communism') and by the ruled (against 'apartheid'). Other criteria than language must needs be applied. Who then is the historical bearer of the true vision? - this would be one form of the question. We shall respond to this question and with it the issue of past history, via a consideration of the 'committed minority', the memory of suffering, and the concept of a Church-at-the-limits.

1. J. Moltmann (1977), p.41ff.

What Moltmann refers to as the paradoxical identity of the Church - that it is at once an object of faith and an empirical object[1] - may be understood by recognising that the Christian community is not only a natural community (such as a village might be) but also a covenanted community expressing itself in three forms of action: worship, witness and mission[2]. The aspect of covenanting oneself has an extremely high profile in its tradition and may be regarded as the main door into its historical meaning; but what is sociologically clear is that the group of covenanted and committed believers is considerably smaller than the community founded by Christian language[3]. Here is one source of tension in the Church which has given rise to the wide range of more or less exclusive claims to be the 'true' Church on the one hand (a particular Protestant and non-conformist problem), or on the other to an acceptance of the popular base of the Church but with highly centralised, hierarchical controls over the 'truth' which the mass are required to accept (a problem of Catholicism). Overlaying this tension are the social structural conflicts characterising a particular period and place. The intensive language of covenant and commitment is itself evoked to support various practical options. It is with this realisation, which disallows any abstract assertion by a particular group that they are the guardians of truth, that we must consider the relationship between minority and mass.

Segundo argues that 'the most elementary pastoral experience teaches us that mass conduct ... rejects (participation in an active way). It is looking for security, not responsibility, in its membership in the Church'[4]. Lynch, from a somewhat different angle, sees in popular church-going among the bourgeoisie of advanced capitalism at least, an escape from the demands of temporality, on a level of visiting the cinema after a hard day's work: 'Having soaked themselves in time and experience, they feel they are now entitled to something

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1. *Ibid.*, p.22.
2. J.M. Gustafson (1961), p.86ff.
3. *Ibid.*, p.93.
4. J.L. Segundo (1977), p.200.

different', something safe and removed from the temporal process[1]. This is natural, and the Church as a natural community cannot seek to by-pass its humanity here. At this level much of what goes on in Church ritual and liturgy undergirds a 'magical morality', external events being regarded as efficacious in themselves for the production of moral life among those who hear, speak or otherwise participate in them. At the 'critical moment' the moral development of the human being involves a move from this 'magical morality' to a life of actions intentionally directed towards specific goals[2].

When one reaches this stage one begins to experience the Christian demand along the lines of Durnbaugh's definition of the 'believer's Church' - a 'covenanted and disciplined community walking in the way of Jesus Christ'[3]. One becomes part of a 'responsible minority'[4]. Quite easily then one may overstep the boundaries of the natural community in order to establish an elite, exclusive or sectarian practice for the chosen few who hold similar commitments and convictions over and against the popular base. Yet the popular base is the locus of a people's theology and therefore the real check on all attempts to do theology out of contact with that base, a theology which moreover then lacks historical meaning. On the other hand, the very notion of a covenant which calls forth a particular people attacks a simplistic understanding of theology governed by the will of the people without reference to any other authority[5]. The problem becomes even more acute when the popular base, as in South Africa, is non-homogenous and divided by internal contradictions.

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1. W. Lynch (1960), p.59.
2. J.L. Segundo (1973), p.51.
3. D.F. Durnbaugh (1968), p.33.
4. J.L. Segundo (1977), p.204; also S. Hauerwas (1974) on John Howard Yoder's ecclesiology, pp.211-2, and passim.
5. The New Testament picture of the people calling for Christ's crucifixion is an original warning against such concepts of people's theology.

Nevertheless, bearing these qualifications in mind, the 'committed minority' requires to be theologically understood as a central aspect of Church life, and its precise nature specified. That the extended community who share a Christian language is connected to a 'responsible remnant' is recognised by some through the concept of 'partial identification'. So Rendtorff distinguishes between an identification of the believer with an ecclesiastical life-style (full identification) and the partial identification of one who makes the institutional Church a point of reference but from a critical distance[1]. The role of the 'committed minority' is thereby affirmed as well as their essential relationship to the popular base. We still have no means, however, of designating what kind of minority the 'committed' are, and in what sense their commitment functions for the edification of the whole[2]. We, therefore, turn to what it is that the Christian community remembers, what constitutes its continuing regeneration of the past in order to instruct the present and evoke the future.

The kind of sociality established and continually enhanced by the fundamental memory of Christ cannot be found merely where a group of people fervently proclaim the divine name. A consciousness which has the power to constitute a world, a self, an identity and a developing journey is called into being, capable of interiorising other people who have encapsulated the desired way-of-being-in-the world[3]. This is in accordance with our earlier designation of consciousness as

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1. T. Rendtorff, "Christianity without the Church", in J.B. Metz (1971), p.57ff; also H. Schlette, "On So-called Partial Identification with the Church", in ibid., pp.44-8.

2. The mark of edification is for Paul of course one crucial test on whether any role is valid; see especially I Cor. 13 and 14.

3. In a slightly different context this aspect of personhood, grounded in a Meadian notion of Sociality-in-process, finds eloquent expression in R. Snyder, "Boisen's Understanding of Religious Experience with Implications for Theology and for a Pastor's Work with a Congregation", Chicago Theological Seminary Register, vol. LXVll, no.1 (Winter 1977), p.35. An interesting reference to the African sense of ubuntu ("humanity"), illustrating one meaning of this sociality in process through the historical interiorisation of the other, is found in the period studied in Part Two: Rev. G. Callaway, in a criticism of the 1930-2 Native Economic Commission Report, described ubuntu as at least the recall of 'the Great Chiefs, the heroes of the past, the exploits of brave men, the tradition of the tribe, the great bond of social fellowship' as the essential heritage of each person: q.v. archival material, Dr A.B. Xumu, Papers, 1 March 1933.

a task, a project, and not a state. But the formulation of consciousness as an interiorising of other people unites more clearly the social foundation of the psyche with its experienced individuality[1]. Moreover, this notion is intended to refer to a process of interiorisation that draws from the historical experience of a people. It is in this sense that the memory of Christ drives towards an intentional, committed community.

The central location of this memory in all its analogical fruitfulness, for the Church universal and for the ordinary person, lies in the eucharist (notwithstanding the Protestant emphasis on the Word expressed as sermon). It is the type of memory uncovered here that defines the practical meaning of the 'committed minority' and their connection to the popular base. But what memory is this? The eucharist meal has been impregnated with a wide variety of doctrinal flavours. In Gutiérrez's opinion the fundamental meaning of this memory is in Christ's total giving of himself to others; it is the place, therefore, where mission and the creation of human solidarity simultaneously begin[2]. This is substantially also the Eastern Orthodox understanding of liturgy[3]. Consequently mission in the Orthodox view does not have as its object a geographical conquering of territory in the name of Christ, but a holding of people to faith in a permanent historic continuity[4]. The expansionist adventures of the Western Church and its tendency since Augustine towards a psychologising of faith have tended to make the eucharistic memory somewhat degenerate.[5]

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1. Earlier, in Part One, Ch.4 section (d), we had occasion to refer to the potential for a historical material development of psychology in George Herbert Mead's work.
2. G. Gutiérrez (1973), p.262.
3. q.v. A. Schmeman, "The Missionary Imperative in the Orthodox Tradition", in G.H. Anderson (ed.), (1961), p.255.
4. q.v. Schmeman, <u>ibid</u>.
5. <u>Ibid</u>.

In the context of the Orthodox tradition a richer understanding of liturgy is expounded. Liturgy here _is_ the work of the people (_leitourgia_ derives from the Greek words _laos_ and _ergon_), and the eucharist in this respect centres that work, restores and extends it, so that 'the believers are called to prolong, so to speak, the eucharist so that it penetrates all of their life'[1]. Consequently one speaks of 'the liturgy after the liturgy', in which the sacrificial memory of Christ is expressed in concrete diakonia. To quote Bishop A. Yannoulatos:

> ... the continuation of liturgy in life means a continuous liberation from the powers of the evil that are working inside us, a continual reorientation and openness to insights and efforts aimed at liberating human persons from all demonic structures of injustice, exploitation, agony, loneliness, and at creating real communion of persons in love.[2]

Consequently another Orthodox Bishop could say that 'the altar of the eucharist leads directly to the higher altar of the poor and the oppressed: for us there is no theological difficulty here'[3]. Clearly the eucharist in the Orthodox conception is not merely a vicarious sacrifice of Christ's requiring nothing further than that one says one believes and is thereby 'ushered in among the saints surrounding the throne of God'. Rather, here Jesus is the _way_ in a dynamic historical sense: there is 'a road which must be walked'[4]. But - and this is, nevertheless, crucial - the historical gravity of this way as it is expressed in the eucharist is, as Koyama calls it, a 'suffering gravity'[5]. Thus, in the eucharist one remembers not the Bible, nor the apostles, nor the Church, nor the Christian tradition in general - one remembers rather a body broken and blood shed. Thereby the

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1. Ion Bria, _op. cit_. and "The Ministry of the Laity", by P. Nellas, p.61.
2. _Ibid_., "The _Liturgy_ after the Liturgy", by I. Bria, p.67; also _Ibid_., A. Yannoulatos, "Discovering the Orthodox Missionary Ethos", p.28.
3. I am indebted here to a conversation with Bishop George Khodr, Metropolitan of Mount Lebanon, on Dec. 1980.
4. R. Snyder, _op. cit_., pp.48-9.
5. K. Koyama (1974), p.3; Koyama develops this image in a Japanese context by uniting two Japanese words, _tsutsumu_ (to enfold) and _tsurasa_ (feel pain for the sake of others).

responsible Christian is driven to walk the way of the broken and the bleeding, if he or she is not already one of those broken and torn, and if the memory is to have any flesh. It is trivial to add that this journey is imbued with emancipatory intention.

At this point we return to the implications of eucharistic practice in respect of historical materialism. Davis' discussion of the importance of remembering those who have suffered adds considerably to an insight into the importance of the eucharistic memory for the Christian community. Referring to a debate between Horkheimer and Benjamin, both members of the Frankfurt School of critical sociology, Davis reports Horkheimer's conviction that 'past injustice will never be made up; the suffering of past generations receives no compensation'. Benjamin in turn sought a conception of history capable of generating a 'basic solidarity with the past generations of the oppressed and slain', and thus grasping history as the history of suffering[1]. At this point one is forced to the limit of rationality, and thus as Horkheimer noticed - though he found it unacceptable - to the beginning of theology. Without this memory the sacrifice of the lost generations becomes the occasion for a new practice of domination but now resting on what others had suffered for and thereby reifying their history and oneself along with it. This is what Davis, following Lenhardt, names as the crucial significance of 'solidarity in remembrance'[2].

We are now able on the basis of the location of the Christian memoria in the eucharist, to specify more precisely the kind of committed minority which the Christian mythos intends, and its commitment relates to the edification of the

1. C. Davis (1980), pp.142-3.

2. Ibid., p.145. Note that African ancestor veneration comes very close to this limit-experience of memory, and may thereby have a powerful role to play in generating an African theology linked to a liberative praxis. Some brief comments in this direction are made by B. Goba, "An African Christian Theology", in JTSA, no.26 (March 1975), p.10; and B. Goba, "Towards a Black Ecclesiology", Missionalia, vol.9, no.2 (Aug. 1981), p.55. The Orthodox use of ikons also functions to regenerate the memory of those who have exemplified the sacrificial life in the Christian tradition, in order to press the believer to renewed commitment and action.

larger community which recognises in the Christian mythos a relevant language. In short, the demands of the Christian tradition and the thrust of historical materialism meet in an identification of the poor and the oppressed, the broken and the bleeding (in the broadest, sociologically most profound sense), as the locus of transforming action with an emancipatory intent. In partial identification with the whole Christian community the committed minority undertakes to engage in an historical task for their sake as well as for the sake of the poor and the oppressed in general, and it does so on the basis of a memoria injected into the present and directed towards a hopeful future. The historical meaning of the analogical constructs of liturgy, memory, and apocalyptic eschatology may, therefore, be seen to be invested in a particular kind of minority among other minorities that may exist in the Church. Therein lies the theological identity of the Church which gives to its total historical concreteness the sense of faith even while it does so in the face of contradiction and conflict.

But finally one vital caution is called for: we cannot establish on this basis a new definition of the 'essential' Church as if its truth could somehow be abstracted from the reality of the real Church's ambiguity. Rather, the committed minority, far from being a particular political grouping within the larger community, is defined in relation to praxis, and therefore in relation to a changing, developing historical experience incapable of final definition except in the process. Therefore, Rendtorff can say: 'if we take the latest development of theology seriously, then it is clear that we shall not be able to determine the identity of Church and theology unless first belief in practical terms achieves a wider spread across the world'[1]. We are forced, therefore, in our intent to designate the practical referent of the Christian mythos, to deal with the meaning of the Christian-community-in-praxis.

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1. T. Rendtorff, "Christianity without the Church", in J.B. Metz (1971), p.60.

d. The Church-at-the-Limits

> ... when the Ark of the Covenant is eaten by termites, when the empty tomb is filled with our hermeneutics, when the Kingdom of God is a political product, when the life in Christ is a mere symbol, when the dethroned King takes refuge in speeches, then the dead of night has won the heart and darkened the eyes.
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> - J. Ellul (1977), p.155.

One major problem of the Church-in-praxis and its critical theologising is, as Davis (following Marcel Xhaufflaire) intimates its frequent inability to produce a politically coherent theory using its own presuppositions, especially in respect of theoretical, explanatory accounts of the conditions of freedom and oppression. Instead the tendency is to legitimate political interventions already advocated. Thus 'by that very fact its political interventions remain politically incoherent, voluntarist and badly opportunist'[1]. As a result, many Christians committed to an emancipatory struggle with the poor and oppressed find in practice that nothing distinctive exists in their being Christian other than their use of religious language to say what may be said more precisely in sociological or economic language. A necessary crisis of faith ensues. But there are also those for whom this is not the case even when they have critically reflected upon their faith from practice. What then may be regarded as distinctive, additional, or even corrective for such people in their faith?

We have already gone some way in dealing with this question, via a consideration of the Church as the field in which the struggle for liberation also takes place. Also hinted at is the distinctive claim that the fulness of humanity is disclosed in Jesus Christ. Both of these elements remain rational and reasonable if the assumption is made that the analogical language utilised by Christians in fact discloses a prized way-of-being-in-the-world otherwise not available. If this were not so then the proper response to the language of the Church, its memory, and its intentionality in practice would be

1. C. Davis (1980), pp.60-1.

rejection, on the grounds that nothing more is disclosed there. Following on the previous development of the conception of the analogical imagination, and connecting it to practice, it may be said that ecclesiological language engaging at the political level must also address the 'limits-of' and 'limits-to' the situation in which it exists. Precisely there religious discourse expresses a reorientation on a 'higher' level of meaning, introducing 'impossible' demands[1], and grounding moral action outside of itself (in Lonergan's terms this is the level of fundamental theology) in relation to a rich, complex and differentiated memory of suffering and emancipation. In sum, only in this way does the Christian mythos make any special claims.

In turn a Christian mythos which has praxis as a meta-criterion of the community it identifies, cannot be regarded as static. Thus, it is not seen as 'founding structures, doctrines or norms, but as launching an historical task drawn and oriented by its final destination'[2]. Because this is not a private task of the Church but an entrance into an already given cosmic task for the world as a whole, any relation to others in the same praxis who make no Christian claims cannot be aimed at denigrating them or undermining them by some attempt to claim for God a restricted sphere of action. Rather it is an occasion, as Bonino remarks, for humility and praise, not confusion[3], as one joins in the struggle for genuine autonomy, responsibility, dignity, and shared dominion[4]. On the other hand, the task is so comprehensive and complete that it may rightly be regarded from a human point of view as a 'limit-of' situation in which the 'limits-to' our resources are

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1. Ibid., p.134; J.L. Segundo (1973), p.57, responding to much the same issue, develops the idea of 'self-giving' as a 'limit-of' possibility, by which the 'scope of love' is extended beyond what may be rationally grounded (though such love may nevertheless be reasonable for the person/people concerned).
2. M. Bonino (1976), p.156.
3. Ibid., p.168.
4. In this sense R. Vidales, in R. Gibellini (1979), p.38, refers to a "new ecclesiology" which establishes fellowship not just with believers but also non-believers.

quickly apparent, thus giving rise at this point to theological discourse.

The Christian mythos becomes historically meaningful then where it grasps, in an analogical language symbolically rich enough to represent, orientate and transform one way-of-being-in-the-world, the 'limit-of' a situation, and where it is able to integrate the 'limits-to' our potency and action into a practical emancipatory interest already projected in its own language[1]. Its embodiment in a covenanted and committed community gives rise, therefore, to a Church-at-the-limits in a politically pregnant milieu. It is because this kind of ecclesia is what political theology reaches for that its ecclesiology so often enters into a contrast with Christendom concepts of the Church in which appear a variety of forms of the idea of a society ordered along supposedly Christian lines, or at least inspired in this way[2].

As many have noted, the project of a Christendom began with Constantine's attempt to establish a Christian commonwealth in the face of the growing internal problems of the Republican Romanitas, and thereby to add to an already militarised bureaucracy a 'powerful ecclesiastical partner in the new regime'[3]. The Church, increasingly legally recognised as a corporation permitted to accept gifts and legacies, gained from this integration with the empire an ecclesial model similar to that of the Roman Civitas, while the ordo (clergy) and the plebs (laity) were respectively moulded according to the municipal roles of the curia and the populus[4]. Finally Theodosius transformed the New Republic of Constantine into the Orthodox Empire, thus sealing the direction of the Church for centuries to come.

But as Segundo remarks, Christendom - despite modern attempts to renew it in revised forms (e.g. Christian political parties in Europe) - was the product of an era in

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1. This latter gives rise to many attempts to understand Christian praxis in terms of 'anticipating' or 'building' the kingdom of God.
2. q.v., for example, G. Gutiérrez (1973), p.53ff.
3. C.N. Cochrane (1940), pp.179,205.
4. Ibid., p.219.

human history, a primarily sociologically derived phenomenon[1]. In contrast, industrial society, expanding globally, has destroyed the harmony between ecclesia and societas, making of Christianity in the process 'something it never was - cultus privatus', and thus giving to religion the 'saving and preserving of personal, individual and private humanity'[2]. Thus, as Moltmann notes, the 'sphere of the unburdening of the individual' where the Church is required to cohere a community is separated from the 'realm of practical and businesslike purposes'[3]. The Church-at-the-limits accepts neither the Christendom model nor the privatised model, entering instead into the historical contradictions of modern society on the side of those who suffer its tyrannies in order to involve itself in the emancipatory transformation of the society; it thereby takes upon itself the full impact of the conflict between the dominant and the dominated. In this sense Moltmann (among others) may speak of an 'Exodus Church', a 'pilgrim people of God'[4]. Here too emerges the Church which, to use the language of the Puebla Conference of Latin American Bishops, takes a 'preferential but not exclusive option for the poor'[5].

Keeping in mind that this Church-at-the-limits is the 'committed minority' of our earlier discussion and that it

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1. J.L. Segundo (1973), pp.44-7.
2. J. Moltmann (1967), pp.306-11, passim.
3. Ibid., pp.316-7.
4. Ibid., p.304.
5. q.v. J. Eagleson and P. Scharper, eds., (1979), p.264ff; in one form or another the demand to make a conscious choice in relating to oppression and its conditions, is also expressed by Black theologians in South Africa, among others, e.g. A. Boesak (1976); and D. Tutu, "Mission in the Old and New Testaments", in M. Nash, ed., (1977). The Eastern Orthodox Church has also recently made clear its support from a preferential option for the poor and oppressed. q.v. the text of Report no.4, "Confessing Christ Today", Bucharest, June 1974, in I. Bria, ed., (1980), p.228.

exists in a larger Christian community divided by the same contradictions which mark its socio-economic context, it will be seen that an option for the poor introduces into the Church at large a clear mirror of the underlying tensions and conflicts otherwise concealed or repressed[1]. In this respect the communication of the gospel has a conscientising function aimed at 'politicising' the Church so that the conscious exercising of an option for the poor becomes possible[2]. Of course some option is always willy-nilly exercised by those who wield the instruments of power in the Church, whether consciously or not (e.g. in the 'civilising' thrust of the missionary Church in South Africa); the question, therefore, is not whether the Church exercises political influence, but in which direction it does so[3]. Moreover, it does not do merely to call for a witness in respect of the poor and oppressed without specifying its content, for thereby 'the Church in anticipation' is not concretely related to 'the Church in contradiction'[4].

In fact we must agree with Moltmann in his claim that the Church will become poor in a spiritual <u>and</u> material sense only when and if it 'becomes a Church of the poor, and if the <u>real</u> poor find themselves and their hope in the Church'[5].

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1. A point the Puebla Conference also recognised; q.v. J. Eagleson and P. Scharper, <u>loc. cit</u>.
2. G. Gutiérrez (1973), p.269.
3. <u>Ibid</u>., p.267; the idea prevalent among many in the English-speaking churches that they have no political influence is itself a sign of ideological captivity, for it really only signifies that, for whatever good or bad reasons, they are withdrawn from praxis.
4. For example, J.W. de Gruchy (1979), p.225, makes such a call without any specifics, while at the same time finding the opportunity to be quite specific about the witness of the Church to the state. The result of this procedure is evident in his repetition of the axiom that the Church must support the state in the task of maintaining order, without any real consideration of that to which much of the rest of his book testifies, namely, that the state is marked profoundly by disorder, at least from the point of view of the dispossessed and disinherited bulk of the population.
5. J. Moltmann (1977), p.356.

Similarly we must regard as ideological (in the sense of concealing the interests of the dominant and the real conditions of existence) the kind of claim that J.A. van Wyk makes in speaking aginst 'an ideological view of the poor' (by which he appears to mean, an identification of the poor in terms of exploitation and marginalisation) and for a concept of poverty that 'reflects man's basic hunger and thirst for God'[1]. The emphasis on the real poor is unavoidable in an historical materialist idiom, for only then is an authentic solidarity with the poor and a genuine protest against the conditions of poverty capable of concrete specification[2], and only there can what Frederick Herzog termed servanthood 'at the boundary of life where no-one else cares' become meaningful[3].

Finally the real situation of poverty, predicted upon exploitation and oppression, cannot be grasped in abstract terms which assume a situation of open communication and of discourse relatively free from domination. Thus the attempt by K. Nürnberger to ascribe to the 'rich' a model of modernisation for the future, to the 'poor' a model of liberation, and on the basis of that distinction to develop an analysis of the situation of poverty which calls for the poor to modernise, is a false road. For he uses the distinction to ask the rich to share and engage in liberation, and the poor to achieve and engage in modernisation, a completely ahistorical approach oblivious to the realities of power and powerlessness. Thus his conclusion that 'if Whites would believe in a better distribution and Blacks in a better utilisation we would easily solve the (economic) problem' is the height of abstract philosophical idealism[4].

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1. J.A. van Wyk, "Latin American Protestant Theology of Liberation", Missionalia, vol.5, no.2, (Aug. 1977), p.91.
2. q.v. G. Gutiérrez (1973), pp.287ff; here we also criticise the notion of P. Bigo (1977), p.125, that 'evangelical poverty' cannot be defined in sociological terms.
3. F. Herzog(1972), p.181.
4. K. Nürnberger, ed., (1978), p.226; q.v. also "Reconciliation in a Situation of Severe Economic Discrepancies", Missionalia, vol.7, no.2 (Aug. 1979), p.59ff, where similar ideas are put forward.

Moltmann is much closer to the real situation in his recognition that the liberation of oppressors contradicts their interests and desires, and therefore evokes a religious task that transcends all moral power[1]. Consequently, on the one hand it is the struggle of the poor and oppressed that will force the oppressors to reconsider their position and seek a situation of discourse freed from domination; on the other hand, for the 'rich' person, liberation necessarily involves what Moltmann insightfully terms 'the betrayal of the betrayers', a desertion of the cause of one's own position and class, a way of discipleship that may well lead to 'self-denial, suffering and shame (Mark 8:34)'[2]. At the same time, voluntary solidarity with the real situation of the poor is capable in itself of introducing freedom into that situation, for as D.J. Arntz makes particularly clear,

> ... The really poor man is too poor to free himself from poverty, which he and the generations that follow him regard with a certain fatality.
>
> The man who voluntarily shares the life of the poor therefore acts as a piece of the leaven of freedom in the lives of the poor. Because he chooses his poverty, it does not contain that note of fatality .... He can draw attention to the breaches of the law, express grievances and find his way for the poor through the bureaucratic maze. A slight improvement may lead to a loss of that sense of fatality among the poor and reveal possibilities which had hitherto been concealed. The man who voluntarily embraces poverty can therefore be a sign giving hope.[3]

But any such solidarity escapes a discourse free from domination unless it occurs without attempting to use 'instruments of domestication', which in discourse includes monologue, slogans, communiques and instructions. An inability to trust the reason of the oppressed prevents one from avoiding a discourse of domination, for then one inevitably takes advantage of the 'emotional dependence of the oppressed - dependence that is the fruit of the concrete situation which surrounds them and which engendered their inauthentic view of the world'[4].

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1. J. Moltmann, "The Liberation of Oppressors", JTSA, no.26 (March 1979), p.25.
2. Ibid., p.35.
3. D.J. Arntz, "Is there a New Openness to the Church's Charismatic Testimony", in J.B. Metz (1971), p.88.
4. P. Freire (1971), pp.52-3, passim.

Clearly then the reinterpretation of the gospel that begins with the struggle of the poor and oppressed presupposes a location in history different from the dominant section of society[1]. For the Church-at-the-limits this necessarily implies a re-examination of ecclesiastical structures and the life of its members, a condemnation of poverty as anti-evangelical, an effort to understand and criticise the mechanisms which generate poverty and oppression, a support of the aspirations of labourers and peasants and their marginalised dependents, a defence of the fundamental right of these people to freely organise and promote their interests, and finally, a promotion of the undeniable values available in the indigenous culture[2]. These considerations also drive the Church-at-the-limits to develop its practice and accompanying theory where the poor and the oppressed gather together in the name of Christ. Here lies the source for a new ecclesial reality already discovered for example by many Latin Americans in the form of small groups of poor and oppressed Christians whose commitment and involvement in the struggle for their own and others liberation creates 'centres of communion and participation which produce a Church of the poor, where the real poor find themselves and their hope in the Church[3]. Here is the sense of the plea for a God 'who respects my traditions as media in His communication with me, the God whom I can experience in the fields, in my hut, on the factory floor, in the homeland-bound bus or train ....'[4] Here too is the form of a theology born from

> the songs and hymns of peasants as they till the ground; from the impromptu prayers of Christian parents as they nurse their sick child; from the unorganised sermons of the village catechist; from the charismatic leadership of an illiterate founder of an Independent Church; from the old man who is steeped in traditional religious life....[5]

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1. G. Gutiérrez, in Gutiérrez and R. Shaull (1977), p.75.
2. We are indebted here to the proclamations of the Puebla Conference of Latin American Bishops; q.v. J. Eagleson and P. Scharper, eds., (1979), p.267.
3. Ibid., p.204 and pp.211-3.
4. C. Ramusi, "Church and Homelands", in T. Sundermeier, ed., (1975), p.122.
5. J.S. Mbiti, "Theological Impotence", in G.H. Anderson and T.F. Stransky, eds., (1976), p.15.

e. Concluding Remarks

The critical analysis of the Church in relation to the South African political economy has enabled us to diagnose hidden interests and unconscious illusions in its practice and theological reflection, and thus its insertion as a human community into the same contradictions that bedevil South African society in general. By implication a demand for a much clearer and more specific commitment emerged, to be dealt with in terms of the notion of a Church-at-the-limits. In general, however, the Church as a whole, because of the contradictions that inflict it too, and because of its theological confusion and practical mediocrity, is likely to withdraw from its full responsibility, or worse, to sink into a defence of what it already possesses and thereby to ally itself with the dominant powers.

In this context, a contemporary form of apostasy is likely. Apostasy concerns the critical choice, in a situation where one is confronted by contrary demands, as to whether one serves the mission of the Church (manifested for the edification of the whole by the Church-at-the-limits), or not. The choice is thus never personal, merely made in private, but calls one to account for one's actions and one's words. Thus the primary reference point for a concept of apostasy is found in the limit-language of the Lordship of Christ, where an 'impossible demand' confronts one as the occasion for a real option exercised in history. Conversely, the notion of apostasy thereby also says something about the world, declaring a public rejection of those things that destroy the intent of the gospel: where people are broken, where some manipulate others in their image, where the mind and spirit of a people are crushed, and where they are dispossessed of their rightful shared dominion in the world. Consequently, apostasy concerns a critical choice and a critical judgment capable of recognising the 'powers and principalities' and their agents and instruments of death, capable of naming - in a specific historical material

concreteness - the demons of our time. Apostasy then is the desertion of the cause for which Christians have been called and freed, and to which they have committed themselves. The choices in South Africa are particularly stark but a failure of the Church in these choices is likely to bring its own judgment.

The dialectic of apostasy is completed by the notion of edification, the 'making holy' of the Christian community whereby its testimony to the generative existence of a liberated and liberating life through Christ in the midst of the world is intensified and fleshed out in praxis. Edification of the body thus correctly emerges out of the commitment which apostasy betrays. Those who live out of this reality, whose behaviour and action as far as may be humanly expected, is congruous with what they claim to honour, are on their way to overcoming for themselves and for others the madness of our time of which Boris Pasternak wrote: '... that what people say is different from what they do'. Their testimony to the transforming power of God where people are dispossessed of their dignity and shared dominion, their testimony to the gift of life (in its earthiest sense) which animates the struggle, is the mark of the Church. In that context liturgia, diakonia, koinonia, and other activities of the Church will surely evidence a vitality and reality which is sorely lacking in the congregations which bear the mark of the affluent, the powerful and the privileged.

In conclusion words from Luke chapter twenty-one may serve to remind us of the emancipatory intent of the analogical imagination, to refer us to a particular way-of-being-in-the-world borne by the Christian mythos, and to drive us into that critical praxis which the Church captive to the structures of a political economy so badly needs:

> ... and there will be terrors and great signs from heaven,
>
> ... and upon the earth distress of nations in perplexity
> at the roaring of the sea and the waves.
>
> This will be a time for you to bear testimony.
>
> ... look up and raise your heads, because your liberation
> is drawing near.

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