

THE QUAKERS IN SOUTH AFRICA:  
A SOCIAL WITNESS

THESIS

Submitted in fulfillment of the  
requirements for the Degree of  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
of Rhodes University

by

BETTY KATHRYN TONSING

November, 1993

Table of Contents

Table of Contents	p.ii
Abstract	p.iv
Acknowledgements	p.vi
Abbreviations	p.viii
Introduction: The Quaker Setting	p.x
Chapter One: Evolution of a Religious Fellowship: Traditional Quaker Concerns	p.1
Chapter Two: The South African Historical Background	p.24
Chapter Three: Quakers in South Africa: An Early History	p.52
Chapter Four: South African Quakers and Segregation	p.75
Chapter Five: INCHANGA	p.101
Chapter Six: The Advent of Apartheid and the Quaker Conscience Among South African Friends	p.125
Chapter Seven: South African Quakers and the Defiance Campaign	p.165
Chapter Eight: From Defiance to Resistance: The South African Quaker Response	p.200

Chapter Nine: The South African Quaker Position on Sanctions and Reconciliation	p.231
Chapter Ten: South African Friends Define Their Social Witness	p.288
Chapter Eleven: Conclusion	p.314

### Appendixes

Appendix A: Organizational Structure of the Religious Society of Friends	p.332
Appendix B: Listing of Quakers Frequently Mentioned in the Study	p.338
Appendix C: Bibliography of Books, Articles and Papers by Hendrik van der Merwe Which Were Reviewed For This Study	p.347
Appendix D: Reprint of and Notes on the Conscience Clause Inserted in the 1912 South African Defense Act Which Excluded Quakers From Military Service	p.349
Appendix E: "Crisis in South Africa" by Rosemary Elliott	p.357
Appendix F: American Civil Rights Movement and the Accusation of Communist Linkage	p.366
Appendix G: Harold George Calpin	p.369
Appendix H: Soweto Monthly Meeting p.373	
Bibliography	p.375

ABSTRACT

The Religious Society of Friends, or Quakers, began their witness in the 1600s during a time of religious debate when competing doctrines reflected the political, social and intellectual turmoil of seventeenth-century England. George Fox (1624-1691), the founder, preached that people are guided by God's inner light which is present in the hearts and conscience of all people and reflects God's 'divine' will.

The Quakers form a small religious sect, its membership not larger than 200,000 people world-wide. Yet, historically, the group's impact on social issues has always outweighed its numerical strength. The earliest Quakers to reside more permanently in South Africa were British settlers, several of whom became outspoken civic leaders. Quaker humanitarian gestures led to the opening of a multi-racial school for poor children in Cape Town (1840) and investigations into the treatment of Afrikaner women and children in concentration camps during the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). Early Quakers are also credited with initiating the Joint Council Movement of Europeans and Africans (1920s), forerunner to the South African Institute of Race Relations.

This study traces the Quaker presence in South Africa from its earliest history to the present, with particular emphasis on the twentieth century. Specifically, the examination of the Quaker presence addresses the group's reaction to South African

society and politics in reference to segregationist and apartheid legislation. The study includes a comparative analysis of the response among South African Quakers to these issues with Quaker response in England and the United States. The purpose of this analysis is to attempt an assessment of the extent to which South African Quaker practices were consistent with the philosophies of their world-wide religious fellowship.

Relevant to the Quaker belief in peace and justice for all, with no discrimination, specific issues that involved South African Quakers and for which sufficient primary sources were available are closely examined. Of particular interest is the opening of a Quaker boarding school during the early 1930s, the Quaker response to the Defiance Campaign in 1952, and South African Quaker response to the call for international sanctions and boycotts against South Africa. More recent Quaker activities, including mediation between the African National Congress and the government, provide significant data.

South African Quakers have defined themselves as members of a religious body whose belief of pacifism and commitment to non-violence dictates to a certain extent their obedience to a higher authority -- which some call their conscience and others call God -- if a civil law is deemed immoral and unjust. Thus, the study seeks to define the individual and corporate Quaker witness in South Africa in relation to the Society's principles.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe 'thanks' to many people.

There are, of course, the librarians at Friends House Library, London with special gratitude extended for restricted access to closed files of the South African Liaison Committee: Minutes and Papers, 1952-1954; Jagger Library at the University of Cape Town; William Cullen Library at the University of Witwatersrand; Lilly Library at Earlham College (USA); the Transvaal State Archives at Pretoria; the South African Library at Cape Town; and most especially to those at Cory Library, Rhodes University.

I am grateful to Rhodes University Research Division for travel grants and the History Department for a departmental grant and employment. All was very helpful, and in this context a special acknowledgement is due to Cherry Charteris.

I met many Quakers throughout my research. I think South African Quakers will learn a great deal of their local history through this study and Quakers in general will enjoy it as well. Because this study takes us up to the present, its history is on-going with some Quakers able to recall decades of events. A great deal of personal knowledge I do not have and regret any errors of historical inaccuracies or judgements.

Without a doubt the most helpful Friend was Rosemary Elliott, who personalized so much for me. We had three 'formal' interviews, but many conversations. I am particularly grateful for our 'farm' chats.

Special thanks to my husband, George, for suggesting the idea of historical research on South African Quakers. My interest never flagged because the subject was so engaging.

I am very appreciative of my advisors. Chris Hummel, despite an incredibly pressed schedule, was always available, always helpful and always interested. We went many directions looking for a way to start, and he was absolutely correct in his ultimate suggestion. From there the voluminous material gathered flowed into place.

Critical to this flow has been Brenda Nicholls -- inquisitive, incisive, supportive and caring. She saw things others could have missed which has made a difference to this study.

Abbreviations

African National Congress	ANC
American Friends Service Committee	AFSC
All-African Convention	AAC
Dutch Reformed Church	DRC
Friends Service Council	FSC
Native Representatives Council	NRC
Quaker Peace Centre	QPC
Quaker Service Fund	QSF
South African Council of Churches	SACC
South African Defense Force	SADF
South African Institute of Race Relations	SAIRR
State of Emergency Relief Fund	SERF
United Nations	UN
University of Cape Town	UCT
University of Witwatersrand	WITS
World Council of Churches	WCC

Word Spellings and Vernacular

Spellings throughout the study will be of American versions: i.e., 'color' rather than 'colour'; 'practice' rather than 'practise'; 'colonization' rather than 'colonisation'; and 'center' rather than 'centre'. The reason for this is quite simple -- the author is an American. The only exceptions will be quotations -- the author has made no attempt to change

any original spellings or vernacular in quotations -- or names of institutions and organizations in South Africa and England such as the Centre for Intergroup Studies.

Single quotation marks are also used to highlight or to set apart a word that is not acceptable today. For example, the words 'Bantu', 'kaffir' and 'native' always appear with single quotation marks.

The vernacular in the study reflects a century of change. As the study crosses periods of time, words such as 'native' disappear altogether to be replaced with 'black' or 'African'.

Where possible, individual birth and death dates are indicated in parentheses, especially for significant historical figures. Unfortunately, aside from a few membership books among scattered years, South African Quakers have not kept a country-wide chronological listing of the history of their membership complete with this data.

The study conforms to the style guidelines set forth in Kate Turabian's A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses and Dissertations, 4th ed. (University of Chicago Press, 1973). This manual has been accepted by the supervisor.

### The Friend

The reader will note several references from a journal called The Friend. This is a publication by the British Quakers and not to be confused with a South African newspaper once published in Bloemfontein.

INTRODUCTION: THE OUKER SETTING

*A man can have no greater love than to lay down his life for his friends. You are my friends if you do what I command you. I shall not call you servants anymore, because a servant does not know his master's business. I call you friends, because I have made known to you everything I have learnt from my Father.*

John: vs. 3, 13-15

Over three hundred years ago a group of religious dissidents in England created their own particular form of religious faith. The group emerged out of the larger Puritan movement which had been present in England since the previous century as a political, social and religious protest against the authoritarian powers of church and state. Almost immediately the Quakers rejected the ceremonial formalities and rigid conduct of other religious practices. These dissidents quickly set themselves apart from other Puritan sects, believing that they represented true Christianity. They went about trying to prove this by various practices and behavior, initially often considered by many as more peculiar than Christian. They called themselves Friends, a reference inspired by the Bible and a name still used within their faith and organization. Today, however, most people would recognize them as being called Quakers.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Major works on the Quakers include William Braithwaite, The Beginnings of Quakerism (London: Macmillan, 1912) and The Second Period of Quakerism (London: Macmillan, 1921); Rufus Jones, The Faith and Practice of the Quakers (London: Methuen & Co., 1927); and more recently Hugh Barbour and William Frost, The Quakers

Early Quakers regarded every aspect of life as a sacrament; thus, their religious meetings -- called Meetings for Worship -- were conducted without communion or confession. The Quakers did not use ministers since they also believed that one did not need an interpretive intermediary to talk to God. As a result, Quaker meetings were very simple and conducted in silent prayer. Over three hundred years later, the Quakers still maintain this conduct of faith.

The Quakers constitute a small sect numbering 200,000 world wide.<sup>2</sup> The largest group of Quakers (60,000 people) can be found in the United States, the second largest in Kenya, and the third largest in England, its country of origin.<sup>3</sup> Many people have heard of the Quakers, vaguely. Quakers are often confused with members of the Amish and Shaker sects, people who still wear 'plain dress' and refrain from using personal pronouns, preferring to 'thee' and 'thou' everyone.

Early on in the development of their religion (1653), the Quakers established an organization which involved monthly, quarterly and yearly meetings to help members stay in touch with each other, to resolve business affairs and make critical decisions affecting the Society, for purposes of general worship and to give their 'Society of Friends' structure. The creation of an organizational structure was vital to the Quakers survival during the seventeenth-century as most

---

(Westport: Greenwood Press, 1988).

<sup>2</sup> Encyclopedia of Religion, "Quakers," by Hugh Barbour (New York: Macmillan Co., 1987), pp. 130-133.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

independent sects did not have such a structure and were primarily based on the personality and whims of one person. When that person died, very often so did the sect. The structure Quakers created over three hundred years ago holds today.<sup>4</sup>

The oldest yearly meeting is the London Yearly Meeting (established in 1668), sharing influence with the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting which was established soon after the colony of Pennsylvania was founded in 1682. While the decisions made by these two particular yearly meetings carry significant weight, each yearly meeting throughout the world is autonomous and cannot be dictated to by another yearly meeting. Thus, the Quakers have a form of religious organizational democracy not commonly found in other churches or faiths.

The basic business unit of the Society is the Monthly Meeting. The purpose of the Monthly Meeting is to deal with issues of membership and spiritual life of the Quakers represented by the Meeting's region. Presiding over the Monthly Meeting is the Clerk who is selected from within the region by the membership. While attendance is encouraged at the Monthly Meeting, as it is vital conduit of information and gives all members a chance to participate, it is not a prerequisite. Despite the importance of the Monthly Meeting, most Quakers would agree that basic to their organization is the Meeting for Worship. A Meeting for Worship held in silence is called an 'non-programmed meeting; one held with a minister and

---

<sup>4</sup> See Braithwaite, "Church Organization," The Beginnings of Quakerism, pp. 306-342 and "The Setting Up Of Monthly Meetings" and "Central Organization," The Second Period of Quakerism, pp. 251-288.

perhaps a homily and singing is called a programmed meeting.<sup>5</sup>

William Penn (1644-1718) is probably the best known Quaker. He founded the colony, now state, of Pennsylvania in 1682. Referred to as the 'holy experiment', the colony's Frame of Government was based on power in the people and influenced the future constitution of the United States. It guaranteed freedom of religious practice and elected -- not 'selected' -- legislatures. People in debt were not imprisoned as had been the case in England and the colony had no standing army, maintaining Quaker adherence to political principles based on peace and non-violence.<sup>6</sup> Penn's fair treatment of the Indians was legendary and, sadly, not widely practiced.<sup>7</sup> He began the unique practice of making treaties with North American Indians, purchasing land titles for Pennsylvania rather than seizing the land -- the usual method by other colonists. He was adamant the Indians be treated fairly, and relations between the Quaker settlers and the Indians were such that the Indians never attacked the young colony. By 1700 there

---

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix A, "Organizational Structure of the Religious Society of Friends, for a more detailed discussion on the Society's structure.

<sup>6</sup> David E. Shi and George Brown Tindall, America (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1989), p. 34.

<sup>7</sup> The study of Penn's life covers a breadth of books on American and Quaker history in addition to specific works on his life. Major biographies of Penn's life include Catherine Owens Peare, William Penn (London: Dobson Books, 1959); Edwin B. Bronner, William Penn's Holy Experiment: The Founding of Pennsylvania 1681-1701 (London: Greenwood Press, 1961); and William Endy, William Penn and Early Quakerism (New Brunswick: Princeton University Press, 1971). Still valuable is Samuel Janney's Life of William Penn published in 1850. It contains excerpts from Penn's letters.

were 40,000 Quakers in America, more than half of them in Pennsylvania.<sup>8</sup>

Persecution toward Quakers in England as religious dissidents essentially ended by the close of the seventeenth-century; many Quakers, however, still chose to emigrate to other countries. For some, it was for an economic advantage not found in England. For others, it was an opportunity to spread their religious faith. Many were influenced by William Penn to help establish a Quaker colony in the 'new world'. In America they did not altogether escape persecution. Those foolish enough to cross over into Massachusetts in order to proselytize faced harsh recrimination from the Puritan sect, including death. Several colonies were founded by various religious sects and quite often that particular religion so dominated local governing that it was imperative to be a member of the accepted faith. This practice seemed to emulate the state religion many wanted to escape from in the 'old world' and in part led to the separation of church and state enshrined in the Bill of Rights to the United States Constitution.<sup>9</sup>

Early Quakers believed that the best way to preserve the faith in their children was to provide personally for their education. They opened their first school in 1669, and several early boarding schools are still in operation today. In North America Quakers often built schools close to their meeting house or place of worship. The oldest

---

<sup>8</sup> Hugh Barbour, The Quakers in Puritan England (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), p. 247.

<sup>9</sup> Barbour and Frost, The Quakers, "The Mission to America," pp. 49-59.

public school in New York city was originally a Quaker school, and many public schools in Ohio, Indiana, Iowa and Kansas were started by Quakers.<sup>10</sup> While the Quaker schools were not initially revolutionary in their teaching methods, what distinguished Quakers was their belief in universal education; i.e., that every child should have some form of basic education. The schools were unusual in that many admitted girls. The Quakers also included silent worship as part of the daily curriculum of science, mathematics and agriculture. At that time Quakers were a rather strident, rigid and humorless sort of people. They ignored such 'frivolities' as music, art, dancing and drama, which modern Quaker educators historically regard as a severe gap in their educational past.<sup>11</sup>

Today, Quaker secondary schools in Europe and the United States increasingly draw brilliant students of "all faiths and none."<sup>12</sup> American colleges of Quaker origin include Haverford, Swarthmore, Bryn Mawr, Cornell and Johns Hopkins, outstanding academic institutions that require exemplary academic records for admission.<sup>13</sup>

Historically, Quakers have been associated with humanitarian activities. They reject war, stress peace education and have been pioneers in removing barriers to

---

<sup>10</sup> Jones, The Faith and Practice of the Quakers, pp. 146-148.

<sup>11</sup> John Reader, Of Schools and Schoolmasters (London: Quaker Home Service, Swarthmore Lecture, 1979), p. 28.

<sup>12</sup> Barbour, "Quakers," pp. 130-133.

<sup>13</sup> In addition to Barbour, "Quakers," see Harold Loukes, The Discovery of Quakerism (London: George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., 1960), p. 170.

racial equality. In his contribution to The Quest for Peace Nigel Young states that "The...Quakers, despite their often small numbers, had a strong influence on the sustenance and growth of the peace movement through more than 300 years in the English-speaking countries and beyond."<sup>14</sup> As a form of alternative military service during World War I, British Quakers started the Friends Ambulance Service, a medical unit willing to work in the front lines of battle caring for the wounded and gathering the dead. The unit began with forty-three men and ended with over six hundred. The unit ran a dozen hospitals, fed and clothed refugees, carried 33,000 men home in their hospital ships, convoyed 260,000 sick and wounded and transported over a half-million patients in Quaker ambulances. Twenty volunteers were killed and many more wounded.<sup>15</sup>

The British Friends Service Council and American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), 'service arms' within the Quaker organization, have for years attracted some of the finest experts in health, social welfare and mediation for its various international projects and activities. American Quakers started the AFSC in 1917. Its purpose was (and still is) to promote international peace and reconciliation. Throughout the century, the AFSC and its

---

<sup>14</sup> Nigel Young, "Peace Movements in Industrial Societies: Genesis, Evolution, Impact," The Quest for Peace: Transcending Collective Violence and War Among Societies, Cultures and States, edited by Raimo Vayrynen, in collaboration with Dieter Senghaas and Christian Schmidt, with a forward by Javier Perez de Cuellar (London: SAGE publications, Inc., Social Science Council, 1987), p. 303.

<sup>15</sup> Margaret Hirst, The Quakers in Peace and War: An Account of Their Peace Principles and Practice (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1923; reprint ed., 1953), p. 500; and Jones, The Faith and Practice of the Quakers, p. 119.

British counterpart, the Friends Service Council, gained such respect as negotiators for peace and justice that the United Nations (UN) granted the Quaker service agencies consultative status as a 'non-governmental organization' with offices at UN headquarters in New York and Geneva.<sup>16</sup> The best recognition of the Quakers' historical commitment to peace and justice was the award in 1947 of the Nobel Peace Prize.

The word 'Quaker' has been used commercially on a number of products including a breakfast cereal, motor oil and an insurance company. The businesses which use the name are most likely headquartered in Pennsylvania. But there is another reason for using the Quaker name...a psychological reason, if you will, of linking the word 'Quaker' to a consumer product. While the Quaker faith is largely a mystery to most Americans, the name implies integrity, reliability and honesty.

Despite their profound achievements, if the Quaker faith is a mystery to most Americans, it is an even larger mystery to the average South African. The earliest recorded Quaker activities in South Africa are in 1728, although Quakers did not begin to settle in South Africa until the late 1800s. Early Quaker immigrants were British settlers. Most settled in Cape Town; however, in later years others also settled near Grahamstown and Cradock. Correspondence and journals indicate that the early Quaker settlers were distressed by the behavior of their fellow British compatriots. Hope Hay Hewison, Quaker historian, writes that they had "...much to say of

---

<sup>16</sup> Meet the Quakers, (London: Quaker Home Service, Friends House, 1971).

the godless lives of some of the settlers...Others, too, felt keenly that, as a group associated with Christianity, white men by and large did little to enhance its image, maintain its standards or reveal its values."<sup>17</sup> Among the 1820 settlers there was Richard Gush (1789-1858) of Salem, who became a well-known figure for his courageous and non-violent attitude and approach with neighboring Africans.<sup>18</sup>

There were few Quakers, however, who settled in South Africa in the nineteenth century. It was not until the early twentieth century that South African Quaker activity became more pronounced. Some of these Quakers very often became outspoken civic leaders willing to take personal and professional risks if witnessing social injustice. Prominent South African Quaker Howard Pim (1862-1934) served on Johannesburg's town council and as deputy mayor for Kimberley. Pim's opposition to importing Chinese labor for South Africa's gold mines resulted in his employer, the British South Africa Chartered (Accountancy) Company, losing the audit of mining company books.<sup>19</sup> One of the early British Quakers to emigrate to South Africa was James Butler (1854-1923). Butler, founder and editor of Cradock's Midland News, practiced moderation while always pushing for honest and open

---

<sup>17</sup> Hope Hay Hewison, Hedge of Wild Almonds: South Africa, the 'Pro-Boers' & the Quaker Conscience, (London: James Curry, Ltd., 1989), p. 15.

<sup>18</sup> See Chapter Three for further details on Richard Gush.

<sup>19</sup> See Chapters Four, Five and Six for Pim's major contributions to South Africa's political economy and to the South African Quaker Society.

journalism during a time of increasing press censorship and repression.<sup>20</sup>

The Quakers played a dominant role in investigating the appalling conditions in the concentration camps for women and children during the Anglo-Boer War;<sup>21</sup> additionally, they initiated and achieved whatever bit of humanitarian gestures could be offered to the women and children. While not a Quaker, Emily Hobhouse (1860-1926) was influenced by the Quakers in her exposé of camp conditions and received generous support from the Society of Friends in England for her work. Lawrence Richardson (1869-1953) represented the British Society as well in his travels to South Africa following the Anglo-Boer War. With fellow British Quaker William Henry Alexander (1855-1941), they returned Bibles stolen from the Afrikaner families by thoughtless British soldiers. Jan Christian Smuts (1870-1950) was so taken by the humanitarian efforts of the Quakers that he maintained a life-long admiration for the Society. When his United Party was

---

<sup>20</sup> The Butler family spans decades of involvement in the local Quaker society and South African life in general. James Butler, his children and his grandchildren feature prominently throughout the study.

<sup>21</sup> There have been many studies done on the Anglo-Boer War, available in Afrikaans and English. In his book A History of South Africa (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), Leonard Thompson cites some of the major works such as Thomas Pakenham's The Boer War (London: Futura, 1981) and Peter Warwick, ed., The South African War: The Anglo-Boer War 1899-1901 (London: Longmans, 1980). Thompson also states that the "debate on the origins of the war in 1899 started with the economic interpretation of Hobson and still continues." (p. 263) i.e., J.A. Hobson, The War in South Africa: Its Causes and Effects (London: James Nisbet, 1900).

defeated by the National Party in 1948, he sought quiet solace in a Quaker Meeting for Worship.<sup>22</sup>

By 1900 South African Quakers numbered between one hundred and fifty and two hundred people, including children.<sup>23</sup> Friends in South Africa gained Yearly Meeting Status in 1946; prior to that, they were considered part of London Yearly Meeting. Today, that number has not increased and now includes the membership of the southern African region. Despite their small membership, they frequently meet for worship, hold monthly and quarterly business meetings, conduct Yearly and General Meetings and accept the philosophies and engage in practices characteristic of Quakers around the world. As there are only two formal Quaker Houses in the country (Johannesburg and Cape Town, each of which maintains a library, meeting hall and administrative office) and a small Meeting House in Soweto, Quakers around South Africa generally meet for worship in one another's homes. They do not 'thee' and 'thou' each other, but as in the beginning of the Quaker movement, they meet in silence. There are no ministers, no sacraments, no music. The Quakers meet for an hour of meditative prayer or thought as each member draws on his or her own spiritual depth for what they regard as a personal communion with God.

Numerically, the group is too small, especially in so large a country as South Africa, to have had an organizational impact on its society. It is not unusual, however, to find Quakers involved in organizations such as Black Sash, the End Conscription Campaign and the International Fellowship of

---

<sup>22</sup> Natal Monthly Meeting, "By These Things We Stand," The Friend, 28 June, 1957, p. 579.

<sup>23</sup> Hewison, Hedge of Wild Almonds, p. 9.

Reconciliation. Thus, South African Quakers are most often found working in small community projects 'close to home' -- school feeding schemes, township nursery schools, medical care and social service organizations, handicraft centers and schools.

The Religious Society of Friends was founded the same year that Jan van Riebeeck landed at Table Bay and began the Cape Settlement (later called Cape Town) that was to serve as a refreshment station for the voyager ships of the United East India Company sailing under the Dutch flag. Each landmark shares a history of over three centuries of note-worthy events but in stark contrast to each other. One stands for a legacy of humanitarian commitments almost unparalleled to any other religious body; the other, tragedy with roots deeply entrenched in violence and aggression.

This study begins with a historical review of Quaker history and its evolution as a religious fellowship based on humanitarian principles in contrast to the development of a new nation with a political heritage based on discrimination and racial separation.

## CHAPTER ONE

EVOLUTION OF A RELIGIOUS FELLOWSHIP:  
TRADITIONAL OQUAKER CONCERNS

In 1652 an impoverished shoemaker and member of England's lower social class had a vision of truth that had been eluding his lonely religious search of many years. George Fox had sought this truth from man and been constantly denied it until he realized that truth did not lie in 'temples made by men's hands' nor with a clergy's elitist education...the truth was in his soul, and in each man's soul:

*...that every man was enlightened by the Divine Light of Christ, and I saw it through all, and that they that believed in it came out of condemnation and came to the Light of life and became the children of it; but they that hated it, and did not believe in it, were condemned by it, though they made a profession of Christ. This I saw in the pure openings of the light, without the help of any man, neither did I know where to find it in the scriptures, though afterwards, searching the scriptures, I found it...<sup>1</sup>*

This moment of truth, Fox's personal revelation of God's inner light within each one's soul, would inspire multitudes of followers. Religious radicals rebelling against England's monarchical tyrannies and social

---

<sup>1</sup> George Fox, The Journal of George Fox (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd.), 1924.

restrictions would join his movement, one of hundreds born during England's tumultuous seventeenth-century but one of very few that would survive. Fired with zeal, Fox came down from Pendle Hill, shared his vision and thus began the Religious Society of Friends, or Quakers.

In Quakers and the English Revolution, Barry Reay states that "The success of the [Quaker] movement was impressive. Within a decade there were certainly from 35,000 to 40,000 Quakers...perhaps as many as 60,000. They were as numerous as Catholics, more numerous than either Fifth Monarchists or Baptists. As Hugh Barbour has suggested, it must at times have seemed as if the whole of England would turn Quaker."<sup>2</sup> In his book, The Quakers in Puritan England, Barbour adds: "There were 500 Friends convinced before 1652, 5,000 by 1654, and at least 20,000 by 1657. Had the pace been maintained, the world would have turned Quaker within a generation. It was a glorious vision for which to live."<sup>3</sup>

There are two recorded versions as to how the Quakers, initially called the Children of Light, acquired their peculiar name. The first is that Fox often told people in authority, such as judges, that they must 'quake and tremble' in the name of the Lord.<sup>4</sup> The second shows the early Quakers to have been an ecstatic movement with some 'shaking and quaking' as an "outward manifestation of the inward workings of the power of God" during their

---

<sup>2</sup> Barry Reay, Quakers and the English Revolution (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985), p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Barbour, The Quakers in Puritan England, pp. 181-182.

<sup>4</sup> Braithwaite, The Beginnings of Quakerism, p, 57.

services.<sup>5</sup> Hence, Quakers believed that they did not need an intermediary such as a priest to talk to God; rather, it "is in the heart and will of a man that God's power and salvation are most deeply needed, insisting on finding these in the most direct way possible: silent worship."<sup>6</sup> Their public worship based on silence is what even today clearly distinguishes Quakers from other religious bodies.

Early Quakers were eager proselytizers. They were often referred to as 'ranter', mesmerized by an almost overpowering feeling for their new-found religion. Quakers became the most successful of seventeenth-century England's revolutionary sects. Its founder George Fox was a man with a peasant's background born during an era when people purchased or rented their own personal church pews. The wealthiest were closest to the altar, and thus to God.<sup>7</sup> Like other religious radicals of the day, Fox scorned ministers and religious forms such as elaborate cathedrals, sacraments, holy days of obligation and priestly gowns. Fox criticized people for putting their faith into symbols and making the symbols more important than faith. He protested loudly against what he felt was false homage to a monarch and unyielding class structures. He demonstrated his contempt by refusing to remove his hat to magistrates or those considered 'above' his class structure, refusing to address people by title

---

<sup>5</sup> Reay, The Quakers and the English Revolution, p. 35.

<sup>6</sup> Barbour, The Quakers in Puritan England, p. 143.

<sup>7</sup> A studied account of class structure, religion and society in England's seventeenth century can be found in Christopher Hill's The Century of Revolution (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1961).

(i.e., Sir, My Lord, Your Excellency) and refusing to swear loyalty to the government. Above all, Fox protested against tithing, a universal church tax he felt supported lazy vicars and only perpetuated the corrupt and powerful monopoly of a state religion.<sup>8</sup>

Fox was viewed as a crackpot. Worse, he was also viewed as a threat, for the very church he was attacking was the Church of England, a church sanctioned by the monarch. To attack the church was to attack the throne. Fox endured numerous incarcerations as did his followers. Many others were hunted down in their villages, banned and their property destroyed. Of all the religious dissidents, Quakers suffered most for their beliefs and acts of civil disobedience. Quakers would often ask to take another's place in prison so he or she could return to their families. By this act Quakers began to demonstrate the humanitarian convictions that would distinguish their movement.<sup>9</sup>

Quakers endured their sufferings as an expression of their loyalty and obedience to the law. This was a powerful statement of non-violence that would later earn

---

<sup>8</sup> In addition to the works by William Braithwaite and Rufus Jones, additional accounts of the life of George Fox include Henry van Etten, George Fox and the Quakers (London: Longmans, 1951); Ruth Fry, Quaker Ways (London: Cassell and Company, 1933); and Barry Reay, The Quakers and the English Revolution. Still available is George Fox's own writing, The Journal of George Fox, edited by Norman Penney (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1924) which is vital reading for one who is interested in a study of how Fox developed the Quaker faith. A classic in the Quaker field is Barclay's Apology by Robert Barclay. It is also titled An Apology for the True Christian Divinity (Glasgow: Murdoch, 1886).

<sup>9</sup> Etten, "In Journeyings Often...In Prisons More Frequent," George Fox and the Quakers, pp. 53-65.

them country-wide support and approval. Their reputation for being honest and hard working would eventually overcome the behavior of the outrageous few that walked about town squares, naked but for sack-cloth and ashes.<sup>10</sup> Theirs became a respectable religion and many connected to it would be among England's leading businessmen, educators, health and welfare professionals. They would later be identified as champions of the oppressed and defenders of individual liberties.<sup>11</sup> Quakers would express their humanitarian commitment and involvement as 'concerns'.

Since their inception, Quakers have been linked to specific social concerns. Health care and prison reform were among their earliest concerns. In 1695, British Quaker John Bellers wrote Proposals for a College of Industry which advocated ideas startling in their novelty at the time but taken for granted today. He envisioned hospitals for the poor, university medical clinics for research and testing, public research and testing laboratories, general practitioners paid at public expense, and information centers for doctors to share ideas and to help avoid repetitious medical mistakes and problems.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> Reay, "Popular Hostility Toward Quakers," The Quakers and the English Revolution, pp. 62-78.

<sup>11</sup> In addition to Henry van Etten's George Fox and the Quakers, excellent examples of eighteenth-century Quakerism and their development as social humanitarians and activists can be found in Loukes, The Discovery of Quakerism and John Punshon, Portrait in Grey (London: Quaker Home Service, 1984).

<sup>12</sup> Braithwaite, The Second Period of Quakerism, pp. 580-588.

In 1792 British Quaker William Tuke opened the first British hospital for the national treatment of the insane. Elizabeth Fry (1780-1845), member of England's Gurney family, was famous for her tireless efforts toward reform in British prisons, especially for women. She was also appalled by the nursing profession in England. She felt it attracted the "meanest and most insensitive of people"<sup>13</sup> and set about establishing a nurses training program so successful that Florence Nightingale (1820-1910) later recruited trained nurses from the school. In 1817 American Quaker Thomas Scattergood initiated the opening of a Friends' Hospital in Pennsylvania which was the first private asylum in the United States. Aesthetic buildings and grounds and a farm for work were part of the therapy; patients and staff ate together. There was a religious atmosphere and all patients were Quakers until 1834. The doctors shunned cruel practices of treatment commonly accepted such as constraining patients with chains. Of the sixty-six patients treated in the first three years, twenty-five were discharged as cured or much improved, in an era when insanity was considered incurable.<sup>14</sup>

Part of the Quakers' humanitarianism was the emphasis they gave to education. Starting in the seventeenth-century by developing schools for Quaker children of both sexes, Friends led the way towards universal primary education in England by opening several schools and libraries throughout the country.<sup>15</sup> Quakers continued

---

<sup>13</sup> Loukes, The Discovery of Quakerism, p. 128.

<sup>14</sup> Barbour and Frost, The Quakers, pp. 165-166.

<sup>15</sup> van Etten, George Fox and the Quakers, p. 123.

this trend as they emigrated to America. In the nineteenth-century, their concerns expanded into the field of industrial relations. Quaker numbers included the prominent industrial families of Cadbury, Rowntree and Clark. Cadbury and Rowntree (of the confectionery industry) built the English towns of Bournville and New Earswick to provide good, cheap housing. These and other Quaker firms also pioneered good working relationships, pension schemes and research into poverty.<sup>16</sup> The Barclay, Gurney and Lloyd families, people who had gained their financial success in the fields of banking and commerce,<sup>17</sup> practiced John Bellers' concept that linked high productivity and profit with decent wages.<sup>18</sup> The Clark family (major shoe manufacturers) were outspoken social humanitarians during the nineteenth-century and the family name today is still linked with social and philanthropic causes.<sup>19</sup>

A major Quaker concern has been resistance to slavery and efforts to correct racial inequalities. Beginning with George Fox, individual Friends began to voice their uneasiness about slavery. They pointed out that slavery was inconsistent with the Society's belief in non-violence and that to 'own' another person could not be considered Christian. In 1657, Fox reminded slave-holding Friends in the American colonies that everyone was equal in the eyes of God. When Fox visited Barbados in 1671 to

---

<sup>16</sup> Meet the Quakers (London: Quaker Home Service pamphlet, Friends House, 1971).

<sup>17</sup> Braithwaite, The Second Period of Quakerism, pp. 580-588.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> See W.K. Hancock, Smuts: The Fields of Force 1919-1950 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 7.

meet with Quaker missionaries, he preached to the blacks and Quaker slave-holders, telling the latter to limit their slaves' term and to educate them. The Society was not yet ready to denounce outright the practice of slavery.<sup>20</sup> Probably the first Quaker to denounce slavery was William Edmundson who accompanied Fox to Barbados and issued his own indictment of slavery in Rhode Island in 1676.<sup>21</sup>

The center for the growing Quaker abolitionist movement in the American colonies was Philadelphia<sup>22</sup> and among its leaders were John Woolman (1720-1772) and French Quaker Antoine Benezet (1713-1784), both well known for their influential writing. Woolman spent much of his adult life traveling throughout the colonies urging Quakers as well as non-Quakers to give up their slaves. People were willing to listen to him because he was eloquent and gentle, not abrasive as many other abolitionists. Benezet was one of the few eighteenth-century figures who believed blacks were capable of learning. Benezet was instrumental in opening a racially mixed Quaker school in Philadelphia in 1770.<sup>23</sup> In 1775 Benezet founded the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting

---

<sup>20</sup> Hirst, The Quakers in Peace and War, pp. 307-315.

<sup>21</sup> Jean Soderlund, Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), p. 3.

<sup>22</sup> James M. Banner, Jr., Michael D. Bell, Laurence B. Holland, James M. McPherson and Nancy J. Weiss, Blacks in America: Bibliographic Essay (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1971), pp. 94-95.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 174-175.

the Abolition of Slavery.<sup>24</sup> Twelve years later (1787) British Quakers were the major influence in starting the Society for the Abolition of Slave Trade. In 1807 British Quakers supported William Wilberforce (1799-1833) who succeeded in persuading England's Parliament to prohibit the slave trade in all the British Empire.

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, American Quakers continued to be confronted with the issue of slavery. It was not a comfortable confrontation, and Quakers demonstrated a principle for which they have been well known -- obedience to a higher authority. This is called by some Quakers obedience to their conscience and by others obedience to God. In Braithwaite's The Second Period of Quakerism he explains the principle:

For conscience' sake to God, we are bound by His just law in our hearts to yield obedience to [Authority] in all matters and cases actively or passively;...but...if anything be commanded of us by the present Authority, which is not according to equity, justice and a good conscience towards God...we must in such cases obey God only...and patiently suffer what is inflicted upon us for such our disobedience to men...And this is our principle, and hath ever been our practice.<sup>25</sup>

As a result of this principle, many Quakers felt driven for the first time to break laws secretly in order to help fugitive slaves and in doing so started the famous

---

<sup>24</sup> The full name of the society was the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage, and for Improving the Conditions of the African Race. van Etten, George Fox and The Quakers, p. 124.

<sup>25</sup> Braithwaite, The Second Period of Quakerism, p. 17.

'Underground Railroad'. Quakers provided safe homes, called 'stations'; key places were referred to as 'junctions' and a 'conductor' was one who travelled with and helped slaves escape to freedom.<sup>26</sup> According to Barbour and Frost, this "'railroad' was the first reason for which Friends had felt a duty to break an unjust law *secretly* (as the risk was not to Quakers' but to the slave's lives)."<sup>27</sup> Some Quakers were considered exceedingly radical among the more moderate membership because of their anti-slavery fervor and actions. Elias Hicks, who had already been responsible for a theological division within the Quaker community, loudly accused as accomplices "anyone who bought slave-grown produce, since Quakers had always disowned those who profited by 'prize goods' seized in war."<sup>28</sup>

Following the Civil War and the emancipation of all slaves, there was still considerable work to be done toward reconciliation. It had been illegal in the South to teach slaves to read and write; thus, in 1861 at least half of the free Blacks and 90 percent of the slaves were illiterate.<sup>29</sup> After the Civil War, scores of Friends were among the first volunteers to teach in the Freedmen's schools. These schools were one of the social services set up by the Freedmen's Bureau, established in March, 1865 with the purpose of providing "'such issues of provisions, clothing and food' as might be needed to relieve 'destitute and suffering refugees and freedmen

---

<sup>26</sup> Loukes, The Discovery of Quakerism, p.112.

<sup>27</sup> Barbour and Frost, The Quakers, p. 197.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 193.

<sup>29</sup> Banner and others, Blacks in America, p. 119.

and their wives and children'...providing medical care and setting up schools."<sup>30</sup>

Similarly, the Quakers had long been the only discernible group of 'white friends' of the American Indians. The Indians were feared and reviled by most early settlers, but Quakers practiced fair trade with the Indians and set up schools and mediation centers for tribes evicted from their land. Friends "met and worked with, rather than for the Indians in the eras of William Penn and John Woolman."<sup>31</sup> In 1869, President Grant (1822-1885) asked Quakers to provide major assistance with setting up Indian Agencies.<sup>32</sup> Their success extended into the next century as President Hoover (1874-1964), in his one term in office between 1928-1932, asked two Quakers to head the Indian Service. They inaugurated surveys which provided the first accurate information about the Indian population, opened numerous day schools, and introduced policies that slowed down the loss of Indian land rights.<sup>33</sup>

Perhaps the principle which Quakers are best known for is their commitment to pacifism and willingness to serve as conscientious objectors rather than in a military capacity, even if it means imprisonment. The earliest Quakers, however, were not necessarily pacifists. Before 1660 many Quakers were in the army and were considered

---

<sup>30</sup> Shi and Tindall, America, pp. 672-673.

<sup>31</sup> Barbour and Frost, The Quakers, p. 191.

<sup>32</sup> Lawrie Tatum, Our Red Brothers (University of Nebraska Press, 1970, reprint from 1899 edition by John C. Winston & Co).

<sup>33</sup> Jones, The Faith and Practice of the Quakers, pp. 153-155.

excellent soldiers. Jubilation was short-lived, however, following the English Civil Wars as Quakers saw a country divided and little else accomplished for all the bloodshed. The Quakers "took a comprehensive view of life, religion and the social order, and could see so clearly that force solved none of the problems which divided the country at the time, that they inevitably came to translate the personal into a social testimony."<sup>34</sup> Quakers would soon refer to this commitment as their 'peace testimony'. William Penn defined war in simple terms: that which men wage not for the sake of peace as so often claimed, but that they may have their own will.<sup>35</sup> More horrifying to Quakers was when both sides involved in war invoked the name of God as being on 'their side'.

The Quaker position on war meant more than fighting in a battle field. Friends were disowned, or asked to leave the Society, if they had a factory that manufactured guns or sailed ships carrying ammunition and other implements of war. For others not confronted by a war it meant taking a pacifist position when threatened by personal danger. The Journal of Joseph Hoag, a Vermont Quaker in 1812, reveals how Quakers felt when their lives and their family's lives were in real danger. He was challenged by an army General who said surely, if an Indian was about to kill his family, he would first attempt to kill the Indian. No, said Joseph, that would condemn the Indian to eternal damnation. He walked with Christ, to whom he

---

<sup>34</sup> Martin Wyatt, "The Peace Testimony and Racial Justice," There is a Unity (London: Quaker Home Service, 1984), p. 17.

<sup>35</sup> Gene Sharp, The Politics of Non-Violent Action (Boston: Porter Sargent Publisher, 1973), pp. 719-720.

owned supreme allegiance, and in death his family would be with God in His eternity. By letting the Indian be, even if it meant he and his family would be killed, the Indian was therefore 'safe' for the hopeful possibility he would later repent and he, too, would come to know God's glory in heaven.<sup>36</sup>

The London Society reminded its members not to put candles in their windows over British victories during the Seven Years War. This ceremony was viewed as a jubilation, and "as they could not join others in shedding the blood of their fellow creatures, neither could they be one with them in rejoicing for the advantages obtained by such bloodshed."<sup>37</sup> Even this simple act of 'active resistance' earned Quakers scorn by many of their neighbors who viewed their refusal as disloyalty to their country.

The long years of the bitter Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars left the European continent utterly weary of war, and England was open to a peace movement. The first Peace Society -- the Society for the Promotion of Permanent and Universal Peace -- was started in London in 1816 by the Quaker William Allen.<sup>38</sup> A similar society was started in the United States. The organizations were open to all who were committed to the promotion of peace over war. In the United States, those Quakers who chose not to fight in the War of Independence and the Civil War either met with understanding commanders or with severe treatment. During

---

<sup>36</sup> Hirst, The Quakers in Peace and War, pp. 418-419.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 196.

<sup>38</sup> Michael Howard, War and the Liberal Conscience (London: Temple Smith, 1978), p. 40.

America's Civil War, the government excused those who would not fight on religious grounds if they were either willing to pay a fine or hire a substitute to serve in their place.<sup>39</sup> Quakers were certainly not willing to hire someone to take their place, and they viewed paying a fine as a penalty for obeying their conscience. They did not think they should be penalized for obeying God rather than obeying man.<sup>40</sup> Many chose to go to jail rather than pay a fine which illustrated another Quaker principle: that of accepting responsibility for obedience to a higher authority. If being obedient to a higher authority meant breaking a civil law, then Quakers were willing to abide by the penalty of that civil law, even if it meant imprisonment. This practice originated in the seventeenth-century when British Quakers were willing to accept cruel incarcerations and treatment for their unwillingness to embrace a national religion.

During World War I in England, conscientious objectors, including many Quakers, were either imprisoned or did 'alternative service' of "national importance under civil control."<sup>41</sup> Many viewed this as a government scheme to get conscientious objectors to perform tasks still in violation of their peace principles. Others saw in the alternative service an indirect approval of England's involvement in the war. For those who went to prison, harsh treatment was such that, when the United States imprisoned those who refused to be drafted during the

---

<sup>39</sup> United States draft laws of 1864.

<sup>40</sup> Guy Franklin Hershberger, War, Peace and Non-Resistance, 3rd ed. (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1969), p. 105.

<sup>41</sup> John Graham, Conscription and Conscience: A History 1916-1919 (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1971), p. 223.

war, the Secretary of State "added his personal assurance that brutalities such as had occurred in Great Britain would be avoided."<sup>42</sup>

While Friends, since their inception, have consistently opposed war, Quaker historian Rufus Jones credited World War I with forcing the Quakers to come out of their withdrawal which had started during their Quietist period. Jones wrote that during World War I, Quakers set aside their "petty concerns"<sup>43</sup> such as interest in what people wore and how they spoke to one another and assumed new roles of responsibility as civic leaders and international peace-makers. Jones was in the vanguard of that 'new spirit'. He channelled the service of the Quaker peace movement during World War I by helping to found the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). In 1919, American President Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924) asked the AFSC to feed the severely diseased and malnourished children of Germany. It involved raising massive funds and organizing an extensive food-distribution system which, at its height, was feeding one-million children a day.<sup>44</sup> The American public responded generously to the call for help and the Quakers themselves financed all the costs of maintenance and distribution.

Between the 'Great Wars' the three peace churches -- Quakers, Brethren and Mennonites -- appealed to the U.S. government to establish a National Service Board for Religious Objectors (NSBRO) to work with the Selective

---

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, p. 370.

<sup>43</sup> Jones, The Faith and Practice of the Quakers, p. 114.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 118.

Service Agency. President Roosevelt approved the NSBRO in December 1940, just in time for World War II.<sup>45</sup> Civilian Public Service Camps (CPS) were set up to handle those who registered with the NSBRO and were not sent to prison instead. Twelve-thousand men were assigned to CPS camps during World War II; however, almost as many were also sent to prison. The British government, on the other hand, granted complete exemption to those men who had conscientious objections to conscription.<sup>46</sup>

The Quaker commitment to pacifism renounces force as a method of solving problems; it also endorses the use of active and obedient resistance to violence, repression and injustice. It is this hallmark for which Friends around the world were recognized when the Nobel Peace Prize was granted to the British Friends Service Committee and the American Friends Service Committee in 1947.

Given all their humanitarian commitments, it might appear that Quakers can 'do no wrong'; this would be misleading. Without question, the Quakers have a fairly high-minded religion composed of righteous ideals, but they are as prone to prejudice and flaws as any other religious body. Along side their illustrious history of good works there is also the record of internal conflict over the Society's principles, and of some pettiness. When George Fox died, the Quakers entered a period of 'Quietism', moving from an open society urgently reaching out with a message of challenge to 'all men everywhere' to a closed

---

<sup>45</sup> Guy Franklin Hershberger, War, Peace and Non-Resistance, 3rd ed. (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1969), p. 124.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 206.

group, traditional, withdrawn and rigid, their enthusiasm blunted by persecutions they had endured for decades. Members who married outside the Quaker faith were immediately expelled. The Society risked extinction in its intolerance and strictness, demanding their own loyalties much like the government they once opposed.<sup>47</sup> Elizabeth Fry feared humming to her baby lest she instill in him a love of music.<sup>48</sup> Musician and teacher Solomon Eccles renounced music teaching and sold his virginals and viols but, still feeling guilty, bought them back and burned them.<sup>49</sup> Fox's widow, Margaret Fell, criticized the Quakers for the "low, mean orders [they were] imposing on each other."<sup>50</sup>

One can find grounds for criticism in the lives of even the greatest Quakers. William Penn, for example, received land from King Charles in payment of a debt owed to his father and, since Penn insisted on receiving rent, some of the Pennsylvania settlers wondered whether his interests in the 'holy experiment' were more financial than religious.<sup>51</sup>

The Quaker record in regard to slavery is not one of universal condemnation. William Penn, as many wealthy people of his time, owned slaves since they spared him

---

<sup>47</sup> For further discussion, see Loukes "Withdrawal," The Discovery of Quakerism, pp. 66-84.

<sup>48</sup> Geoffrey F. Nuttall, The Puritan Spirit (London: Epworth Press, 1967), p. 172.

<sup>49</sup> Barbour, The Quakers in Puritan England, p. 161.

<sup>50</sup> Loukes, The Discovery of Ouakerism, p. 71.

<sup>51</sup> Peare, William Penn, p. 209.

from 'tedious' work, allowing him to "polish his passions and tempers with books and conversation."<sup>52</sup> Most Quakers agreed that slavery had a degree of violence to it and refused to 'import slaves' as though that were more abhorrent than buying one at the local market. However, for the most part Quakers were surrounded by the 'peculiar institution' and, while many opposed the practice, they allowed it on the condition that slaves were well treated. Quakers, who seek unanimity and cohesion and do not vote when making decisions affecting the Society, often work slowly and carefully when dealing with serious issues. While many were in agreement regarding the prohibition of slavery, the consent was not unanimous. Without complete agreement the Society would pass no rule against slavery. Thus, it took one hundred years and the tireless, persuasive efforts of Quakers such as John Woolman<sup>53</sup> and other leading Quaker abolitionists to convince the entire powerful Philadelphia Yearly Meeting by 1776 (after Woolman's death) to prohibit slavery and disown those who kept slaves. It was only possible after most "weighty slave-owning Friends had either died or left influential positions."<sup>54</sup>

While many Quakers had become involved in the Underground Railroad, the sad reality is that only an "average of 2000 slaves escaped annually between 1830 and 1860;

---

<sup>52</sup> Endy, William Penn and Early Quakerism, p. 358.

<sup>53</sup> John Woolman is held in high regard among the international Quaker community for his gentle and unwavering commitment to end slavery in North America. Sections of his book, The Journal, are often used for inspirational readings.

<sup>54</sup> Soderlund, Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit, p. 173.

compared with the millions held in bondage, these runaways are numerically and economically inconsequential."<sup>55</sup> Additionally, the end of the Civil War did more to save the 'Union' than to alleviate the personal inhumanities endured by what were now former slaves.

Despite their charter membership in the abolitionist movement, many Quakers treated blacks with paternalism<sup>56</sup> and refused to accept black members until the 1790s, a "most glaring example of their clannishness."<sup>57</sup> Blacks often found benches reserved for 'Negroes' in those Meeting Houses that did 'accept' them.<sup>58</sup> Overall, members had grave difficulty viewing blacks as their social equals: "They will give us good advice" wrote Samuel Ringgold Ward. "They will aid in giving us a partial education -- but never in a Quaker school, beside their own children."<sup>59</sup>

Ward's resentment was well-founded. While American Quaker benevolence lent itself to opening schools for black children, most scholarly Quaker schools admitted whites only. Perhaps the earliest school for blacks was the Quaker African School founded in Philadelphia in 1789 by

---

<sup>55</sup> Carl Degler, Out Of Our Past: The Forces That Shaped Modern America, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1984), p. 183.

<sup>56</sup> Soderlund, Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit, p. 185.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 177.

<sup>58</sup> Benjamin Quarles, Black Abolitionists (Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 72-73.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

Anthony Benezet.<sup>60</sup> Quaker schools in Philadelphia remained segregated until World War II with one exception -- Media Friends School admitted a "colored child" in February, 1937.<sup>61</sup> Guildford College in North Carolina did not admit blacks until the late 1950s.<sup>62</sup> Quaker primary and high schools in the South, all considered private schools, remained staunchly opposed to the U.S. Supreme Court's decision of 'Brown vs. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas' where 'separate but equal' was stricken from the laws, replaced by integration for public schools. Quaker schools in Indiana were more liberal. Indiana Yearly Meeting reported as early as 1829 that some "colored" children were enrolled in its school and the first Black student was enrolled at Earlham College in 1876.<sup>63</sup> In contrast, many British Quaker schools seem to have always maintained an open enrollment policy to all races.<sup>64</sup>

---

<sup>60</sup> Philadelphia Friends Council on Education letter to Betty Tonsing, 18 November, 1991, author's personal papers.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 17 October, 1991.

<sup>62</sup> Earlham College, Professor Thomas Hamm letter to Betty Tonsing, 12 November, 1991, author's personal papers.

<sup>63</sup> Hamm to Tonsing, 12 November, 1991.

<sup>64</sup> I use the word 'seem' advisedly. Certainty on this point is impossible. My judgement is based on 1) the history of select students from England's vast number of colonies attending schools in the United Kingdom, and 2) the history of British Quakers starting the abolitionist movement, in addition to their general commitment to racial justice. A telephone interview with a librarian at the Friends House in London revealed also the 'likelihood' that British Quaker schools have had a multi-racial history. In a subsequent letter from another Friends House librarian, he apologized for being "non-committal" stating "There has been no extended treatment published on London Yearly Meeting and racial questions in the mid 20th century. The work of the Friends' Colour Bar committee, the Slavery & Protection Council of Native Races Committee and of the Friends Education Council may

In some areas Quakers efforts were not enough to overcome a problem they may have been asked to help mediate. Throughout North America, the quest for economic opportunity and frontier expansion continued at the expense of the American Indian and no amount of Quaker support saved the tribes from being deprived of most of their land and liberties. As for rejecting war and embracing peace, a recent study by Jacquelyn Nelson, Assistant Dean at Ball State University, reveals that more than 1200 Quakers from the state of Indiana alone fought in the American Civil War. That is far more than the three hundred experts previously believed had served in the entire Union force. Almost a fifth were killed, a fifth expelled by their local Meeting, and a fifth reinstated after they apologized. The others apparently returned to their churches without a problem. Quaker historians now question how many more fighting soldiers will be 'uncovered' in other states.<sup>65</sup>

Despite their flaws, the Religious Society of Friends is one of the most universally respected organizations in the world. One has to ask, what sets them apart from other religions? Why do governments trust them so much that the Society has often been asked to mediate in extremely sensitive and volatile situations: the Middle East in 1955; the two Germanies from 1962 to 1973; the India-Pakistan War of 1965; the Nigeria-Biafra War, 1968-1969; again, the 1967 war in the Middle East and continual mediation to this day between Palestine and

---

have to be looked at in some detail to attempt your questions."

<sup>65</sup> "Quakers' War Role Re-Examined," Fort Wayne Journal Gazette, 20 October, 1991, page unknown.

Israel; Southern Rhodesia/Zimbabwe between 1972 and 1980.<sup>66</sup> Quaker mediation has been involved for several years with developments in South Africa.<sup>67</sup> Why do opposing political figures feel safe to speak their minds when in the secure rooms of a Quaker House? Why does their impact seem to outweigh their numerical strength? It is in part due to their reputation for honesty, credibility and integrity. Quakers do not draw attention to themselves and generally seek no publicity. It stems also from their staunch commitment to actively pursue peace and justice and to shun violence. Less known by those who seek their help and assistance, but of critical importance to Quakers, is their fundamental belief that there is something of God in everyone...absolutely everyone...even the most awful tyrants of the world. God has abandoned no one, even those who seem furthest from any possible shred of grace. Given this belief, when Quakers deal with others they try always to remember that by speaking to this person they speak also to God. This belief emerges in their role as mediators, believing that all sides have worth and truth and must be heard. They take no sides at all, seeking instead to reconcile all opposing groups to a consensus. Some situations, however, can exhaust even the patient and able abilities of calm and rational Quaker mediation. Quaker mediators have

---

<sup>66</sup> Sydney D. Bailey, "Non-official mediation in disputes: reflections on Quaker experience," The Royal Institute of International Affairs Quarterly (1985), pp. 205-222.

<sup>67</sup> See Hendrik W. van der Merwe, Pursuing Peace and Justice in South Africa (London: Routledge, 1989).

accepted if not failure certainly an impasse in their efforts in northern Ireland.<sup>68</sup>

In this study, we shall see how South African Quakers applied the principles of their religious ancestors to their homeland. Attitudes, practices and characteristics that had evolved in England were part of the inheritance of these Quakers in South Africa who themselves originated in England, or whose ancestors were English. Like the contemporary Quakers in England, they had ceased to be 'ranters' but they continued to travel about, 'intervisiting' (as they called it) with other Quakers in order to support one another in their shared faith and in the ideals that were associated with their faith. They were willing to share their faith, opening their silent 'meetings of worship' to all who wanted to attend; however, they were primarily concerned to support one another as Friends, and friends, and to apply the principles they cherished in the wider society in which they were placed. In order to understand the role of the Society in South Africa, it is important to begin the study with a brief narrative of the history of South Africa.

---

<sup>68</sup> Address given at the Southern Africa Yearly Meeting, 1991, by Quaker mediators Sue and Steve Williams, American Quakers who were at the time members of the Belfast Yearly Meeting.

## CHAPTER TWO

THE SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

*Look thy last on all things lovely  
Every hour.*

Walter De La Mare

When Jan Smuts, one of South Africa's greatest leaders, bade farewell to visitors as they left his country, he often quoted Walter De La Mare's line, pointing out with reverence to departing officials, guests and friends the loveliness of the land they were leaving.<sup>1</sup> It is true that visitors to South Africa often note that the country has been blessed with stunning natural beauty and a comfortable moderate climate. Huge mountain peaks jut up out of vast areas of semi-arid land. Much of its shoreline is unspoiled and undeveloped. Large tracts of fertile, green land benefit from the few areas of bountiful rain in a region otherwise gripped in frequent drought. Despite the drought, South Africa is abundant in unique flora and fauna that bring appreciative travelers from all over the world. So lovely was this land to some that in their minds it was to become their paradise. A white man's paradise, as they hoped.

Many early books on the history of South Africa began with the white man's arrival in the 1600s. As for the 'native' encountered along the way, he was relegated to

---

<sup>1</sup> Trevor Huddleston, Naught For Your Comfort (London: Collins, 1956), p. 13.

a minor role as it was established that he surely must have migrated from somewhere 'way up north'. It became the obligation of the white man to bring Christian civilization to this 'native' and also to make clear who was in charge. Unfortunately, this historical narrative was presented as fact in government school textbooks until recent years.

The Oxford History of South Africa, first published in 1969, pioneered a new approach to the historical writings about South Africa. Edited by Leonard Thompson and Monica Wilson, it demonstrated that white colonists did not arrive at an empty land but that southern Africa had been inhabited for centuries by indigenous groups of hunters and pastoralists who had a complex development of language and culture. In the first of this two volume series, as much research was devoted to the culture of these groups, collectively referred to Khoisan, as to the presence of the white man. The second volume emphasized that the majority population of South Africa remained non-white.<sup>2</sup>

One of the chief works since the Oxford History on the effects of white colonization on the Khoisan has been The Shaping of South African Society 1652-1820, edited by Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee. They describe Khoisan societies fragile in their economy since much of it was based on available natural resources -- i.e., water, food gathering and agriculture, meat and fish. Many were led by chiefs who sometimes influenced the

---

<sup>2</sup> Leonard Thompson and Monica Wilson, The Oxford History of South Africa (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969-1971).

spiritual or ritual life of the community.<sup>3</sup> South African historian Rodney Davenport estimates that "in historic times the San south of the Orange may never have exceeded 20,000" and that with the arrival of the Dutch the Khoikhoi numbered 100,000.<sup>4</sup>

In 1652, the year that George Fox had his 'revelation' on Pendle Hill, Jan van Riebeeck (1619-1677) landed at Table Bay and began the Cape Settlement that would serve as a refreshment station for travelling ships of the United East India Company (in Dutch, the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, or VOC). van Riebeeck had a reputation for fairness and was instructed to keep peace in the settlement but to develop it no further than its ability to furnish Company ships with vital food and eventually wine. He initially fostered good trade relations with the indigenous Khoikhoi and exercised "tact and wisdom in dealing with the Khoikhoi...[T]hrough his friendliness, patience and insight, he gained the confidence of Khoikhoi in a way no other Dutch official was able to do in the seventeenth century."<sup>5</sup> However, he refused to acknowledge their title to land which they had occupied as a dominant society for centuries. Despite van Riebeeck's friendliness, the Khoikhoi were dismissed with a name by which they were referred to for years -- Hottentots -- defined in the Oxford English Dictionary as

---

<sup>3</sup> Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee, eds, The Shaping of South African Society (Cape Town: Longman Penguin Southern Africa [Pty] Ltd., 1979).

<sup>4</sup> T.R.H. Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History 3rd ed. (London: MacMillan & Co., 1977), p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Richard Elphick, Kraal and Castle: Khoikhoi and the Founding of White South Africa (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), p. 96.

a "person of inferior intellect or culture."<sup>6</sup> He warned the VOC that the Khoikhoi were not to be trusted as they had no conscience and referred to the Khoikhoi as a "dull, rude, lazy stinking nation."<sup>7</sup> Elphick maintains that van Riebeeck used such strong language to persuade his superiors to reassign him to an Asian post. He hoped they would recognize that, given his "experience and 'subtlety' of mind" his talents were "wasted on the degraded natives of the Cape."<sup>8</sup> On previous tours to Tonkin and Japan, van Riebeeck had enthusiastically attempted to learn the local language, but cared to learn nothing of the Khoikhoi culture or language. Despite his attitude and harsh language, however, Elphick describes van Riebeeck as a benevolent man whose "most difficult policy was restraining other whites from mistreating the Khoikhoi."<sup>9</sup>

In 1657 the VOC released a number of men enabling them to become free settlers in the colony. Their primary purpose, however, was to provide livestock and crops to the company's refreshment station so the VOC could reduce its reliance on the Khoikhoi. The Khoikhoi felt threatened by these 'free white settlers', a fear which was provoked by their being cut-off from traditional pasture and long-established sources of water. Violence also ensued. No longer under the watchful eye of van Riebeeck, the white settlers were hostile to the

---

<sup>6</sup> In Kraal and Castle, Elphick provides a detailed exploration of the societies and experiences of the Khoikhoi and San people and analyzes the reasons for their impoverishment and disintegration.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 96.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 98.

Khoikhoi.<sup>10</sup> When the Khoikhoi attempted to protest they were crushed back. In Kraal and Castle, Elphick states that this "formation of a society of free white farmers was probably the most significant event in the history of modern South Africa, and it would one day affect the lives of millions of the region's inhabitants."<sup>11</sup> Those who lived within the confines of the tiny Cape colony felt threatened by the Khoikhoi. To ensure separation from these "black stinking dogs"<sup>12</sup> van Riebeeck planted a thorny hedge of wild almonds around the tiny settlement. Parts of this hedge survive in Cape Town's Kirstenbosch Botanic Gardens.

By 1680 the Khoikhoi had battled with and been defeated twice by the Dutch over land and livestock disputes, and the process of their dispossession and disintegration had begun. In South Africa: A Modern History, Davenport wrote that the "European advance eventually cost the Khoikhoi their land, their stock and their trading role."<sup>13</sup> Numbering 100,000 when the Dutch initially arrived, their nation was now decimated by smallpox epidemics from which they had no immunity, war, greed and migration. They eventually "lost their identity as a distinct cultural group."<sup>14</sup> Intermarriage with slaves and others occurred and in time the people known today as the 'Cape

---

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 110.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Allister Sparks, The Mind of South Africa: The Story of the Rise and Fall of Apartheid (London: Mandarin, 1990), p. 30.

<sup>13</sup> T.R.H. Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History, 4th ed. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1991), p. 8.

<sup>14</sup> Davenport, South Africa, 3rd ed., p. 6.

Coloureds' emerged.<sup>15</sup> Throughout the eighteenth-century, Khoikhoi and Dutch had skirmished constantly over land and cattle disputes. Trading trinkets for livestock, the Dutch had so depleted the Khoikhoi's stock they began to retreat. The Dutch responded by raiding cattle herds until the Khoikhoi were eventually left with no cattle and no land. To survive, they offered their services as laborers to farmers, eager for cheap labor. In later years, Khoikhoi wandering about the land made the colonial government so nervous they made unemployment among the Khoikhoi illegal and for a few years (1804-1828) compelled them to carry passes at all times. Thus, they entered a state of permanent bondage.<sup>16</sup> Even when Ordinance 50 recognized the principle of legal equality, the de facto situation of the Khoikhoi was one of economic subordination.

Meanwhile, slavery had flourished. 'Free burghers', the farmers who once worked for the VOC, became as dependent on slaves as the company-government and senior officials. Apart a delayed effort in the early nineteenth-century, no abolitionist society sprang up in the Cape in outcry and few slaves gained their freedom. Cheap labor became

---

<sup>15</sup> See W.M. Macmillan, The Cape Coloured Question (London: Faber & Gwyer, 1928); J.S. Marais, The Cape Coloured People 1652-1937 (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1957); and Gavin Lewis, Between the Wire and the Wall: A History of South African 'Coloured' Politics (Cape Town: David Philip, 1987).

<sup>16</sup> Elphick, Kraal and Castle, "Processes of Decline Among the Western Cape Khoikhoi 1652-1701", pp. 151-207. Thomas Pringle, British journalist and poet who emigrated to South Africa in 1820, provides an interesting narrative on colonial treatment toward the Khoikhoi in Narrative of a Residence in South Africa (London: Edward Moxon, 1835). While not an historian, Pringle's sharp views were that of a reporter who was also a humanitarian. During his return to England, he was appointed Secretary of the anti-slavery society.

for many free labor and ill treatment was rife. In his contribution to The Shaping of South African Society 1652-1820, James Armstrong states that the "the growth of the slave society at the Cape in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is one of the most neglected themes of South African history and in the history of slavery."<sup>17</sup> According to Armstrong's study, there were no slaves at the Cape in 1652. By 1798, there were at least 25,754, exceeding the free population (excluding the Khoikhoi) which numbered 21,746. Slaves were held not only by prosperous farmers with large tracts of land, but also by farmers of more modest means and by free blacks. Armstrong argues that although it has been apparent that the presence of slaves in such large numbers had an impact on the Cape's social and economic development, the issue has received little detailed study. Nigel Worden, who wrote the first comprehensive analysis of slavery in early colonial South Africa under the Dutch East India Company, also states that slavery was a vital part of the colonial Cape economy. In Slavery in Dutch South Africa, Worden further refutes what he calls the false notion that slave conditions were mild compared to those found in North America and the Caribbean. Worden presents evidence in his study which highlights the degree of cruelty often displayed toward the slaves.<sup>18</sup>

As southern Africa was the 'half-way house' to India, the Dutch encountered a new foe -- the British -- who in a time of international, including maritime, war recognized

---

<sup>17</sup> James Armstrong, "The slaves, 1652-1795," in Elphick and Giliomee, eds., The Shaping of South African Society 1652-1820, p.75.

<sup>18</sup> Nigel Worden, Slavery in Dutch South Africa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

the vital strategic importance of the Cape peninsula and captured it in 1795. The transfer of the Cape Colony from Company to British control took place in three stages. First came the temporary British occupation of 1795. In 1803, when the Dutch East India Company no longer existed, the Batavian Republic (i.e., the United Netherlands) took repossession. Then, in January of 1806, the British invaded for a second time with the idea of establishing permanent occupation. They took formal possession in 1814-1815 as part of a triangular deal involving the governments of the United States, the United Netherlands and Sweden.<sup>19</sup>

In acquiring the Cape Britain acquired the responsibility for further defense, initially against the Xhosa in the east. British plans for further security included bringing in British settlers, securing more land and finding people to work as laborers. The arrival of the British settlers to the eastern Cape in 1820 created more labor demands which led to a labor shortage. In "Rethinking the Roots of Violence," Julian Cobbing addresses the extent of slavery in other areas of South Africa, in particular eastern and northeastern Cape and the Natal region. He states that expansion in the Delagoa Bay area made the slave trade one of the dominant trades in the Bay. Additionally, massive labor shortages were offset by labor raids during which men, women and children in land north of the colony were seized and parcelled out as labor appendages. The labor raids reached such a pitch that between "March and September

---

<sup>19</sup> Davenport, South Africa, 3rd ed., p. 29.

1835 must surely constitute the biggest single labour raid in the history of the African continent."<sup>20</sup>

The Abolition of the Slave Trade Act was passed by the British Parliament on 25 March, 1807. The British officials in the Cape colony, however, could not enforce London's slave restrictions in the colonies as significant numbers of slaves continued to be smuggled into the Colony during the 1810s and 1820s. Stiffer British penalties soon discouraged this trade. This did not end, however, the abuse of free or cheap labor. In a revised edition of his study on slaves in the Cape during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Armstrong, with Nigel Worden, wrote that:

...a major source of labour for the Cape was created by the very fact of the British abolition of the trade. From 1808 slaves aboard slave ships were eligible for capture and 'liberation' by the British navy. These 'Prize Negroes' were released at Freetown, Sierra Leone and also at the Cape. No fewer than 2,100 slaves, almost all from Madagascar and Mozambique, were released at the Cape from December 1808 to December 1816. 'Apprenticed' for fourteen years, they formed a major increment to the unfree labour of the Cape.<sup>21</sup>

This scenario was the background to a meeting of fifteen people who met in Cape Town on 27 June, 1828, to found the "Cape of Good Hope Philanthropic Society for Aiding Deserving Slaves to Purchase Their Freedom. The Society

---

<sup>20</sup> Julian Cobbing, "Rethinking the roots of violence in southern Africa, c. 1790-1840," a paper presented at Oxford and published in Comment no. 7 (Summer, 1991), pp. 7-16.

<sup>21</sup> James C. Armstrong and Nigel A. Worden, "The Slaves 1652-1834," in Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee, eds., The Shaping of South African Society (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1989), pp. 120-121.

was the only organized attempt by whites in South Africa to end slavery in South African history."<sup>22</sup> In his book, The Slave Question, Watson states that the Society's impact was weakened due to the fact its own members owned slaves. Ultimately, they were only able to "manumit 102 slaves in four years"<sup>23</sup> and overall 126 by 1833. In The Shaping of South African Society, Richard Elphick and Robert Shell state that "The imperatives of the labour-intensive agricultural economy and its associated culture may have formed the main obstacles to the manumission of the majority of Cape slaves. As a result, by the late eighteenth century the Cape Colony had become one of the most closed and rigid slave societies so far analysed by historians."<sup>24</sup>

Vital to South African history, but often overlooked, is the existence of what is still called 'the Cape liberal tradition'. This liberal tradition has its roots in the nineteenth-century and is illustrated by early economic and political practices which benefited Africans as well as whites, and the fight for a free press. The Cape Colony from the first inception of elected bodies had a 'color-blind' franchise for local governing and for the election of the Cape Parliament which was instituted in 1854. Though qualifications existed, the franchise was still 'color-blind' in the Cape at the time of unification in 1910. In "The Cape Liberal Tradition to

---

<sup>22</sup> R.L. Watson, The Slave Question: Liberty and Property in South Africa (Johannesburg: Watwatersrand University Press, 1990), p.67.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 85.

<sup>24</sup> Richard Elphick and Robert Shell, "Intergroup Relations: Khoikhoi Settlers, Slaves and Free Blacks 1652-1795," Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee, eds., The Shaping of South African Society (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1989), p. 214.

1910," Davenport writes that the fight for a free press devoid of censorship provided not only a forum for white liberal thinkers such as Olive Schreiner, it enabled African intellectuals and 'native' leaders such as John Tengo Jabavu, editor of Imvo Zabantsundu, an opportunity for their own expression. Furthermore, he stated that without this free press "the institution of a parliamentary system would not have been possible, for parliamentary government required the continuous communication between legislators and the general public that only a free press can ensure."<sup>25</sup> When press censorship was imposed during the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902, and some editors convicted and imprisoned for what the government called sedition, "public indignation over these actions was enough to suggest that the general concern for the existence of a free press was alive and well."<sup>26</sup> Davenport also maintains that the 'Cape liberal tradition' had its roots in the presence of Christian humanitarians who came to South Africa primarily as missionaries. While their first task would have been to secure souls for God within a Christian base, they were also at the forefront of opposition to a growing tide of racial injustice.

In the Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry, Colin Bundy describes a period of African farmers contributing to and benefiting from an agricultural market. Between 1860 and 1880, the Cape government encouraged a multi-racial, market-oriented political

---

<sup>25</sup> Rodney Davenport, "The Cape Liberal Tradition to 1910," in Democratic Liberalism in South Africa, Jeffrey Butler; Richard Elphick; and David Welsh, eds. (Middletown, Conn: Wesleyan University Press, 1987), p. 25.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

economy and Africans were visible as farmers and merchants.<sup>27</sup> During this same period, in some rural communities as in the eastern Cape, these African merchants represented a considerable percentage of the voting electorate -- between 15 and 34 percent of the total in fifteen of forty-one constituencies.<sup>28</sup> In "Friends of the Natives," Stanley Trapido argues that the growth of the mining industry and capitalist farming which shunted out the small-scale contributor led to the decline in acceptance of the African as a business associate and voter.<sup>29</sup> Bundy states that the intensification of anti-squatter legislation between 1894 and 1909 -- which affected other Africans -- represented a Cape liberalism which was becoming more cautious and less optimistic about the possibilities of a multi-racial economy and society.<sup>30</sup> This movement would lend itself to other forms of 'paternalistic' legislation and policies which would retard liberal principles.

When Britain acquired the Cape Colony, she governed it as a 'conquered colony'. To administer the Cape colony, the British appointed a governor with supreme power, the efficient and autocratic Lord Charles Somerset (1767-

---

<sup>27</sup> Colin Bundy, The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry (London: Heineman, 1979), pp. 65-108.

<sup>28</sup> J.L. McCracken, The Cape Parliament (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 80.

<sup>29</sup> Stanley Trapido, "The 'Friends of the Natives': Merchants, Peasants and the Political and Ideological Structure of Liberalism at the Cape, 1854-1910," in Shula Marks and A. Atmore, eds., Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa (London: Longman, 1980), pp. 247-274.

<sup>30</sup> Bundy, The Rise and Fall of South African Peasantry, pp. 109-145.

1831).<sup>31</sup> Many Cape Afrikaners liked some of the material advantages of British occupation as Cape Town was becoming more cosmopolitan, more European, with its shops, schools and libraries. There was a trade-off, however, for anglicization. In 1840 Dutch was prohibited as a medium in the schools and English was made compulsory in the civil service. Somerset brought out Scottish ministers to serve in Dutch Reformed Churches and the Dutch were excluded from juries because the British considered their knowledge of English as too faulty.<sup>32</sup> When the British abolished slavery in all their colonies, this exacerbated the tension. In The Great Trek, Eric Walker wrote that the Afrikaners viewed emancipation as a violation of the principle that "a man might do what he would with his own, including the slaves and Hottentots the good Lord had provided for the service of Christian men."<sup>33</sup> Thus, "something must be done to get these people [British authorities] under control and save the economic and social foundations of the Colony."<sup>34</sup> While the Afrikaner linked the slavery issue to one of colonists' rights, perhaps, more importantly, it was also viewed as a matter of economics. In The Rise of Afrikanerdom, Dunbar Moodie writes that "The

---

<sup>31</sup> Early South African historian, Sir George Cory, wrote about Somerset in his classic The Rise of South Africa, Five Volumes (London: Longmans, 1910-1930). Other works include Hyman Picard, Lords of Stalplein: Biographical Miniatures of the British Governors of the Cape of Good Hope (Cape Town: H.A.U.M., 1974); and Anthony Millar, Plantagent in South Africa: Lord Charles Somerset (London: Oxford University Press, 1965).

<sup>32</sup> T. Dunbar Moodie, The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid and the Afrikaner Civil Religion (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), p. 4.

<sup>33</sup> Eric A. Walker, The Great Trek, 5th ed. (London: Black, 1965), p. 63.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 86.

emancipation of slaves throughout the British empire in 1832 (sic) was not in itself the cause for increased resentment among the Afrikaners. Rather it was Britain's failure to keep their promise of full compensation which led to embittered feelings."<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, compensation was to be paid only in London.

For many Afrikaners, it was too much. By 1838 Dutch settlers called voortrekkers, or Boers, had enough of 'arrogant' British rule and policies. Additionally, for more basic reasons of exploring new economic opportunities, they started their historic Great Trek into southern Africa's barren interior. They took no teachers, no printing press, few links with their Dutch heritage and often no books save the Bible. The Bible was their inspiration, the tool used to teach their children to read and to record individual family histories.<sup>36</sup>

The voortrekkers were driven by their desire of a promised land and looked for an affirmative sign from God. Blood River was thought to give them such a sign. Ten thousand Zulu warriors attacked 468 voortrekkers, their wagons encircled in a tight laager. Prior to

---

<sup>35</sup> Moodie, The Rise of Afrikanerdom, pp. 4-5.

<sup>36</sup> Many of the studies on the 'Great Trek' are written in Afrikaans. One of the leading works is C.F.J. Muller's, Die Britse Owerheid en die Grout (Cape Town: Academica, 1969). In addition to Walker's The Great Trek, other English works include M. Nathan, The Voortrekkers of South Africa: From Earliest Times to the Foundations of the Republic (London: Gordon & Gotch, 1937). André du Toit and Hermann Giliomee documented scores of voortrekker letters, speeches, diary entries, petitions, reports and newspaper editorials previously unpublished or not translated into English in their first volume of Afrikaner Political Thought: Analysis and Documents 1780-1850 (Cape Town: David Philip, 1983). The material reveals pre-Nationalist origins of Afrikaner thought on labor, legal, social and constitutional issues of the period leading up to the Great Trek and a few years beyond.

battle, the voortrekkers prayed and made a vow to God of their eternal thanksgiving should they win. When the fighting stopped, 3000 Zulu were killed, two Boers were injured but none dead. This was indeed a "holy...victory",<sup>37</sup> an assuring sign from God of their white superiority over the black heathens. They dismissed the Africans in their midst as people, good only as 'kaffirs' to perform cheap and dirty labor. The Boers would commit the rest of their lives to keeping Africans in what they saw as a rightful and inferior place.<sup>38</sup> They would impose their beliefs in their new land. The Boers wanted to establish their own republics, and this became a focal point of Afrikaner political aspirations, or as Davenport wrote: "...a symbol of his group independence."<sup>39</sup> The first republic the Boers created was a short-lived state called Natalia (today the general area of Natal) which was annexed by Britain in 1843-1845. More durable later republics were established in the areas that we now call Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

During the late nineteenth-century, mineral discoveries in South Africa quickened the pace of political change. In 1867 diamonds were discovered; almost twenty years later, in 1886, gold was discovered.<sup>40</sup> These discoveries

---

<sup>37</sup> Davenport, South Africa, 3rd ed., p. 78.

<sup>38</sup> See Leonard Thompson, "The Covenant," The Political Mythology of Apartheid (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), pp. 144-189.

<sup>39</sup> Davenport, South Africa, 3rd ed., p. 57.

<sup>40</sup> For major sources see William H. Worger, South Africa's City of Diamonds: Mine Workers and Monopoly Capitalism in Kimberley (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987); Charles van Onselen, Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand 1886-1914, two vols. (London: University of London Institute of Commonwealth

would eventually catapult the sleepy backwater into one of the wealthier countries in the world. Despite their fervent anti-Imperialism, even the Afrikaners devised a scheme by which they could hopefully reap some reward for their economically struggling republics. Not everyone benefited, however, from the country's mineral bonanzas. Once again, black labor was required in unprecedented numbers, and as cheaply as could be had. Payment strategies echoed the sentiments of Robert Godlonton, journalist and businessman, who argued that wages should be no more than adequate and that "labor must be cheap to make investment worthwhile."<sup>41</sup>

The economic transformation of South Africa worked against the continued survival of independent black polities and accelerated the pace of white conquest. All had been subjugated by 1900 and this was the prelude to the conflict between the Boers and the British. The Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902 led to British domination in South Africa and resulted in the elimination of the independent Boer Republics which was the prelude to the formation of a union. By 1910, the Union of South Africa, under the rule of a dominant white minority, had been created.<sup>42</sup> Sensing a dangerous future, black South

---

Studies, 1982); and Geoffrey Wheatcroft, The Randlords: The Exploits and Exploitations of South Africa's Mining Magnates (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1985).

<sup>41</sup> Reader's Digest Illustrated History of South Africa, 1st ed. (Cape Town: Reader's Digest Association, South Africa (Pty) Ltd., 1988), p. 133. For more definitive works in this area see Colin Bundy, The Rise of the South African Peasantry (London: Heinemann, 1979) and Rob Turrell, Capital and Labour on the Kimberley Diamond Fields 1871-1890 (Cambridge University Press, 1987).

<sup>42</sup> See Chapter Five for the discussion of the parliamentary debate on the formation of a union, and references cited in Leonard Thompson's Unification of South Africa 1902-1910 (London: Oxford

Africans founded the African National Congress (ANC) in 1912, the country's first national opposition by Africans.<sup>43</sup> Those assembled began proceedings with a prayer and by singing '*Nkosi Sikelel'i Afrika*' which became their anthem. The song was composed by a Xhosa teacher named Enoch Sontonga in 1897. The moving strains reflected the sufferings of Africans and "made a strong impression at the inaugural meeting of the South African Native National Congress in 1912..."<sup>44</sup> Two years later, the Afrikaner National Party was formed in opposition to British domination.<sup>45</sup>

Despite their different ideologies, there were few differences among the white political factions regarding 'native' policy. Racial miscegenation was disapproved, black political majority rule was unthinkable, African land ownership was to be restricted to the Reserves and African urban dwellers were to be assigned to locations. Only in areas of Natal and western Cape was the purchase of land outside of locations by Africans possible. Following this theme, the South African legislature passed a series of laws which would become building blocks of segregation in later years, and eventually

---

University Press, 1960).

<sup>43</sup> See André Odendaal, Vukani Bantu! The Beginnings of Black Protest Politics to 1912 (Cape Town: David Philip, 1984); A.P. Walshe, The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: The African National Congress 1912-1952 (London: C. Hurst, 1970); and Tom Lodge, Black Politics in South Africa Since 1945 (London: Longman, 1983).

<sup>44</sup> Readers Digest Illustrated History of South Africa, 1st ed., p. 209.

<sup>45</sup> In addition to Moodie's The Rise of Afrikanerdom, see F.A. van Jaarsveld, The Afrikaners Interpretation of South African History (Cape Town: Simondium Publishers, 1964).

apartheid. The 1911 Mines and Works Act started the concept of jobs reservation, or the 'color bar' -- restricting certain jobs to particular race groups. The 1913 Native Lands Act limited African land ownership to the 'native reserves'(except in the Cape); the 1920 Native Affairs Act provided a separate representative council for Africans with consultative powers only; and the 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act was a forerunner to the overall Group Areas Act.<sup>46</sup> Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the government, in particular under the leadership of General James Barry Munnik Hertzog (1866-1942), continued to ensure that Africans would have limited political participation in South Africa. A land mark in this process was the legislation of 1936 which removed Africans who had formerly qualified for the vote from the common roll. Even Jan Smuts, South African Prime Minister between 1939 to 1948 and visionary world leader who helped create the League of Nations following World War I and would later draft the preamble to the United Nations Charter, emphasizing human rights and non-discrimination between the sexes, was a segregationist. While not as reactionary as Hertzog, Smuts believed in the separation of the races and was concerned as to how he could explain his country's racial policies to his international colleagues.

Smuts, former coalition partner during the 1930s with Hertzog (1866-1942), was defeated as Prime Minister in 1948 during the first election held in South Africa after World War II. His United Party was defeated by the ultra right-wing Afrikaner party called the Purified Nationalists, headed by Dr. Daniel François Malan (1874-1959). That victory crowned decades of hope by the Boers

---

<sup>46</sup> Davenport, South Africa, 3rd ed., pp. 176-177.

to give them what they saw as a right and obligation to shape South African society as they believed God meant it to be. With a grip still firm on the Bible, the new South African government created a draconian system of laws, restrictions and punishment to support their quest for apartheid. The Group Areas Act was one of the first acts passed by the new government and started the process by which South Africa would be governed along strict racial lines. While the National Party's margin of victory was slim in 1948, it increased significantly by the elections of 1953. In 1961 the National party used its control to fulfill a long cherished goal of independence as South Africa broke away from the British commonwealth and formed its own republic.

The United Party was never able to regain any level of political clout or resistance. In 1959, it even demonstrated some National Party traits by rejecting the purchase of more land for Africans.<sup>47</sup> This so irritated its liberal members that they broke rank with the United Party and formed the Progressive Federal Party.<sup>48</sup> With limited support, the United Party finally dissolved in 1977. The Progressive Federal Party was never able to garner massive support among white voters to wage an effective campaign against the National Party and its racial policies. Its parliamentary representation was always small and for many years Helen Suzman was the only Progressive Member of Parliament.

The impact of Nationalist Party legacy is felt throughout South Africa. The Afrikaners who dominated the South

---

<sup>47</sup> Leonard Thompson, A History of South Africa (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), P. 188.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

African government left their imprint on every level of civil service, the police force, the army, state corporations, schools and universities and even the medical and legal professions. The government helped close the economic gap between English-speaking South Africans and Afrikaners by assisting with the development of ethnic banks, investment houses, insurance companies and publishing houses. Every step taken by the government had the intention of maintaining white supremacy by granting as few rights as possible to non-whites. Furthermore, the National Party meant to dominate over those whites who were not Afrikaners.

The National Party had help from a number of elected officials committed to its dogma with perhaps the most influential being Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd. He was appointed Minister of Native Affairs in 1950 and became Prime Minister in 1958. Considered a devout patriot by some and a racist fanatic by others, Verwoerd is credited with creating much of what became known as grand apartheid, or sweeping pieces of legislation that ensured racial separation and inequality. Under his leadership, apartheid became the "most notorious form of racial domination that the post-war world has known."<sup>49</sup>

On 3 February, 1960, British Prime Minister Harold MacMillan delivered his famous 'winds of change' speech before a joint sitting of both houses of the South African parliament. Macmillan spoke of the emerging African nationalism that must not be ignored:

The most striking of all the impressions I have formed since I left London a month ago is

---

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 189.

the strength of this African National consciousness. In different places it may take different forms, but it is happening everywhere. The wind of change is blowing through the continent. Whether we like it or not, this growth of political consciousness is a political fact. We must all accept it as a fact. Our national policies must take account of it.<sup>50</sup>

Macmillan was basically announcing to South Africa that Britain was no longer prepared to tolerate apartheid. The South African government viewed his remarks as an abandonment of white South Africans. Earlier that year, Verwoerd announced his intention to make South Africa a republic and dissolve their relationship in England's commonwealth. Macmillan's speech furthered his resolve; following a favorable referendum among white voters, South Africa became a republic on 31 May, 1961.

Throughout the 1960s violence increased across South Africa while black resistance movements grew more vocal in their fight against the government. World press began to focus more attention on events taking place within the country. In particular, the tragic events of 1960 in Sharpeville where nervous police opened fire on 20,000 blacks protesting the pass laws, killing 67 and wounding 178, drew sharp criticism from Europe and the United States. The United Nations Security Council called for an end to apartheid. Outraged, more and more blacks were willing to protest openly against the government. Throughout the decade more clashes occurred between Africans and the security police. National leaders such as Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu received life sentences for their political activities. Tens of

---

<sup>50</sup> Eileen Riley, Major Political Events in South Africa 1948-1990 (Facts on File: London, 1991), p. 67.

thousands of additional protesters were detained as a result of the frequent imposition of states of emergencies. South Africa took on the appearance of a police state.

The South African government justified its systems of control and oppressive legislation by arguing that they were maintaining law and order not only in their country, but within the region. With very little warning, the Portuguese government withdrew from their African colonies in 1974.<sup>51</sup> That same year Frelimo guerrillas took over Mozambique following the overthrow of Dr. Caetana's government in Portugal.<sup>52</sup> The new governments in Mozambique and Angola welcomed the active support of Russia and Cuba. In particular, Cuban troops were based in Angola and Fidel Castro provided training camps for exiled black nationalists from South Africa. Rhodesia took on a socialist form of government when it became an independent Zimbabwe in 1980. South Africa viewed these evolvments as communist encroachment upon the region, and believed they were the personal target for a political take-over. South African troops were posted in South-West Africa, a country they still governed despite United Nations attempts to intervene for its independence. The troops were sent to keep Angola's aggression from entering further into the region.

Meanwhile, an increasing number of white immigrants from other countries in the sub-continent, as well as from within, the region further fueled fears among the white population of South Africa. They brought with them many

---

<sup>51</sup> Davenport, South Africa, 4th ed., p. 456.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 459.

tales of black tyranny and mismanagement that followed majority rule. The promise of a democratic vote under independence dimmed. The coup became the main mechanism for political change. In the first twenty-five years of independence throughout most African countries, more than seventy leaders in twenty-nine nations were overthrown.<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, many countries throughout the Continent were not faring well economically under independence. Starting in the 1950s, world prices of many of Africa's principal exports leveled off and began to decline, a trend that continued throughout the 1960s, when many of Africa's countries became independent. As a result, African countries' earnings of foreign exchange, and hence their capacity to import, stagnated or declined. Politicians who had come to power promising sweeping social change used large amounts of government revenue or foreign exchange to pay for their ambitious programs. Expenditures on imports soon outstripped export earnings. Official inexperience in managing state enterprise contributed to domestic economic chaos. The sub-continent was further plagued by frequent droughts which hindered agricultural efforts.<sup>54</sup> There was the additional problem of the occasional African despot, dictators who were taking over from what had once been unwanted colonial administrators. Many of the former colonies were also choosing socialist forms of government. Regardless of its cloak, the South African government referred to it as marxist rhetoric, or communism. And communism, even among strong democratic governments such as the United States and Britain, was regarded as threat to be avoided and fought against.

---

<sup>53</sup> Phyllis M. Martin and Patrick O'Meara, eds., *Africa*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), p. 302.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 313-316.

During the 1970s there emerged a new era of Black Consciousness that was not going to acquiesce to the controls of apartheid. The old leaders of the ANC Youth League and Defiance Campaign were now either dead or imprisoned for life. Migrant labor laws and township resettlements had fractured whole communities and individual families. Endless detentions had silenced protest even among children. But new leaders came forward, and tried their best to keep the world's attention focused on what would eventually be labeled as one of the gross injustices to mankind. Some of the black leaders advocated violence. The leader of the Black Consciousness movement, Steve Biko, advocated non-violence, but the government wanted people to believe otherwise. Eventually, he as well was silenced. But Biko's message of a new empowerment was not lost on South Africa's black youth. In 1976, a year prior to Biko's death, school children in Soweto held an illegal protest against the compulsory use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black Transvaal schools. Once again the police opened fire into the crowd and a riot ensued. Within ten days the death toll in Soweto was 175, with many children shot in the back as they fled. By the end of the year unrest had spread across the country and at least 360 young people had been killed. The Christian Institute estimated that 2600 people had been arrested, and many school children whipped or imprisoned.<sup>55</sup> The disturbances following Soweto and Biko's death renewed the world outcry against South Africa's strong arm tactics. And again the government reacted in its own fashion. A new rash of emergency acts and government crackdowns were initiated. Almost all elements of the

---

<sup>55</sup> Gwendolyn M. Carter, Which Way Is South Africa Going? (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), p. 49.

Black Consciousness movement were squashed; more leaders were detained, more publications deemed hostile to the government were banned. Despite Biko's message of non-violence, other black resistance movements became more willing to commit acts of terrorism in order to crack through apartheid's grip. The international media was not yet restricted and more evidence was forthcoming that the international community must react to South Africa's deadlock.

Before the world expressed its opposition through boycotts and sanctions, however, the country's economy would almost vindicate their efforts. Until the 1980s, white South Africans had one of the highest standards of living in the world in what is truly one of the most beautiful of all countries. Like Hitler's Germany, it took a while for the reality of apartheid to penetrate world thought and opinion. Years passed, and with it tens of thousands of people were killed, abandoned, imprisoned, tortured, exiled, and ruthlessly moved from area to area, all without rights, all without recourse, because their skins were not white. During the years of apartheid's tragic legacy, hundreds of laws were passed, each seemingly more punitive than previous laws, each successive law assuring the protection of a racist regime, especially for those who were either poor white or fearful of becoming such.<sup>56</sup> One of André Brink's

---

<sup>56</sup> Several works provide discussion and debate on the issue of South Africa's 'poor whites', a group of people that segregationist laws linked to 'job reservation' and apartheid under the Nationalist government sought to protect. One of the early works includes a series of lectures by W.M. Macmillan published in The South African Agrarian Problem (Johannesburg: Central News Agency for the Council of Education, Witwatersrand, 1919). See also Putting a Plough to the Ground: Accumulation and Dispossession in Rural South Africa 1850-1930, edited by William Beinart, Peter Delius and Stanley Trapido (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1986) and

characters in the movie Dry White Season stated it poignantly when he said "There is no justice in South Africa, only laws."<sup>57</sup>

When P.W. Botha came to power as Prime Minister in 1978, it was thought that he was going to begin dismantling apartheid, if not totally, then enough to hopefully make South Africa once again acceptable to the world. The government recognized negotiations with trade unions through the leadership of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and created a 'context' of power-sharing with its tri-cameral parliamentary constitution of 1984. This new representation, however, excluded Africans, and in time those non-white in South Africa began to see themselves as all being black, and not just asian, or 'coloured'. What discriminated against one race group discriminated against them all. With the ANC still outlawed, other groups were created to form a mass protest, including the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM). Rather than being an agent of change, Botha instead clamped down even harder on protests against the government. Emergency regulations virtually made mass organized resistance illegal and restricted the media from reporting on events within the country. Additionally, the South African Defence Force (SADF) made frequent bombing raids on neighboring

---

the 1932 Carnegie Commission on the four year study of South Africa's poor whites, mainly Afrikaners. For more recent studies see White But Poor: Essays on the History of Poor Whites in Southern Africa 1880-1940, edited by Robert Morrell (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1992) and the 1984 Carnegie Commission's Second Inquiry Into Poverty in South Africa, which includes an analysis of poverty among whites and non-whites.

<sup>57</sup> André Brink, Dry White Season, Metro Goldwyn Mayer (MGM) Pictures, Inc., 1989. The quote is from the movie, and not attributed to the author's book by the same name.

countries to 'rout out' ANC dissidents, and anyone else posing a threat to the 'security' of the region. At one point, in 1986, on the eve of the departure of the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons who had been sent to South Africa to assist with discussions of a future negotiated settlement between the South African government and the ANC, the SADF raided Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana. The rest of the world could talk about negotiated settlements; Botha was demonstrating his views on how to deal with the ANC. This supported Botha's attitude of using a "total strategy" to fight against what he saw as the "total onslaught" of Marxist enemies who had secured bases in the Frontline States surrounding South Africa.<sup>58</sup> Any means was necessary to protect the South African government and economy. While many parts of the Western world were hosting speeches given by prominent members of the ANC and the PAC, Botha was defiant in his refusal to give up white-minority rule. By these continual actions South Africa was becoming a political pariah in the world.

1989 and 1990 were turning points for South Africa. In 1989, now President P.W. Botha, the hard-line Afrikaner, resigned from office and was replaced by a more far-sighted Afrikaner who felt that the only way he was going to save his country from economic and political disaster was to rid South Africa of apartheid as quickly as possible. One of his first steps was to remove the ban on the ANC and other similar organizations in the black resistance movement. In 1990, the man who was most identified with that movement, Nelson Mandela, was released from life-imprisonment.

---

<sup>58</sup> Davenport, South Africa, 4th ed., p. 397.

Today, South Africa is on the brink of forming a new nation. Within a year, for the first time, ever, all people of South Africa regardless of race will, it is hoped, have an opportunity to vote for new governmental leadership. Months of negotiations have brought South Africa to this point. Regrettably, like much of its past, country-wide violence has marred what should be the celebration of the end of apartheid.

## CHAPTER THREE

QUAKERS IN SOUTH AFRICA: AN EARLY HISTORY

The earliest recorded accounts of Quakers in South Africa were discovered by Hope Hay Hewison in Friends House Library, London, in the form of correspondence between British Friend Benjamin Holme and two Dutch Quakers who were visiting Cape Town "in the service of the company"<sup>1</sup>...presumably the Dutch East India Company. The first letter, dated 20 March, 1728, refers to meeting with other Friends for worship:

*Abram de Haan who is the Prince is convinced [a 'converted' rather than 'born' Quaker] and a black man Philip Burton and his son Pan Hertog and Flores Brand these are freemen who dwell in the town with whom I have briefly conversed as also with one Philip Schols who is in the service of the Company and others whose names I do not mention, these all converse with us and are convinced and the books of our ancient Friends were all acceptable to them...In these books we have read we have come together or we have been in silence waiting upon the Lord in our minds. The Magistray hath not troubled us but there hath been a Report among this People we should have been banished to the Island Troppen but nothing of this has happened though the People say much against us and as we went along the street everybody's eyes was upon us.<sup>2</sup>*

---

<sup>1</sup> Hewison, Hedge of Wild Almonds, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

The second letter, dated 3 August, 1728, is from one who signed himself 'Casimir' and thanked Holme for sending books. The letters reveal that the Quakers found the people in the colony (supposedly the European settlers) to be of a "very rough sort"<sup>3</sup> and Quakers, being of restrained habits, were not well received.

In the second half of the century, Nantucket whalers, immortalized by Herman Melville in Moby Dick, used Cape Town as a place to stop and rest on their long sailing journeys. The whalers were from Nantucket Island, off the coast of Massachusetts with a population that was 90 percent Quaker. Known for their scrupulous honesty, the whalers would advertise when their ships were due to depart so they could settle their debts to all who were owed money.<sup>4</sup>

The 'Quaker Whalers' are credited with either building or obtaining premises in Cape Town in which to gather with other local Friends in meetings for worship. Attempts have been made to locate this early meeting house, but to no avail.<sup>5</sup> It is believed to be no longer in existence. The War of 1812 between the British and the 'new' United States, plus subsequent decades of damaging commercial

---

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Will Fox, "Notes on the History and Significance of the Quaker Movement in South Africa," unpublished report, 1953, p. 1, Transvaal State Archives, Pretoria, South Africa.

<sup>5</sup> Phyllis and Scarnell Lean, "Quakers in South Africa: A Brief History," unpublished report, 1981, South African Library, Cape Town, South Africa.

competition all but ruined the once powerful Nantucket whaling fleet, and its last whaler sailed in 1869.<sup>6</sup>

The first prominent Quaker in South Africa was Richard Gush, an 1820 settler. Famous in South Africa for the way he courageously and non-violently confronted a possibly fatal encounter with a group of 'Kaffirs', Gush was a religious man, a travelling trader and one-time Methodist minister. He was offended by the bawdy and uncivilized behavior he observed among his fellow British settlers. He was completely against slavery and ill-treatment of blacks. Before leaving England, he was influenced by Quaker thought through British Friend Richard Barrett. While he did not convert immediately, Gush travelled to South Africa with sufficient volumes of Quaker literature for future study. The Quaker attitude regarding justice and racial equality seemed in stark contrast to the European exploitation he witnessed in his new home in the eastern Cape. Gush came to the conclusion that "the tree which bore such good fruit must probably have a good root."<sup>7</sup>

Gush was known in his small farming community of Salem, near Grahamstown, as kind, honest and of tender spirit. During the 'Sixth Kaffir War' in 1835, Gush's farm was threatened by several Africans. Unarmed, he went on horseback to meet with the men and asked them why they

---

<sup>6</sup> Emily Fear, "History of Friends in South Africa," unpublished report, 1930, p. 2, South African Library, Cape Town, South Africa.

<sup>7</sup> "Calm and Bravery His Weapons: The Life of Devout Richard Gush," Eastern Province Herald, 2 September, 1959, Richard Gush's Papers, Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa.

came to steal the cattle, or did they want to burn and harm the village as he heard rumored. "Hearing Richard Gush speak in the Dutch language, they said they were (sic) not come to hurt the Dutch, but to drive the English into the sea."<sup>8</sup> Gush asked if any one of them had been harmed by the English personally, and they said no. Gush said he was an Englishmen, not Dutch, and that he lived among white people in Salem who prayed for the 'Kaffir', they did not live to hurt anyone. Reciting names, he also listed several teachers who were teaching them how to read and write. Ashamed, the Africans said they stole out of hunger. Yes, they had cattle, as Gush pointed out, but they had no bread. Immediately, Gush took bread, tobacco and knives from his home provisions to give to the men. He made clear he wanted to live in peace with all his neighbors. Shaking hands, the Africans rode off and "were seen no more in the neighborhood of Salem."<sup>9</sup>

This 'brave' act of confronting 'Kaffirs' while others would have fled would not have surprised John Montgomery. Montgomery, however, would have considered the act less one of bravery and more typical of the kind-hearted but absent-minded preacher/farmer. Montgomery was also an 1820 settler. Arriving as a young man of seventeen, he travelled about the eastern Cape. He met Gush and his wife, Margaret, whom he fondly regarded as a "kinder father and mother I could never have had..."<sup>10</sup> Montgomery describes Gush as well-meaning but of too

---

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> A. Giffard, editor, The Reminiscences of John Montgomery, Grahamstown Series (Rhodes University, 1981), p. 66.

limited experience to be a successful farmer and prone to almost disastrous accidents. To test a 25 kg. of gunpowder, Gush shot his gun off next to the barrel blowing it up and nearly killing himself. On more than one occasion Gush travelled a 'preacher's circuit' neglecting to ensure his family had food. Young Montgomery worked with Gush for a while. One evening as Gush was taking Montgomery his dinner, he stopped to chat with another friend to whom he offered Montgomery's food. The young man went to bed hungry. Montgomery describes another time when he saw Gush walking down the road holding an empty bridle. He asked what he was doing to be told by Gush that he was taking his horse home. "What horse?" asked Montgomery. Lost in thought, Gush was not aware the horse had worked loose the reins and trotted off.<sup>11</sup>

Of all the Quakers in their early history in South Africa, Richard Gush seems to be the one most frequently mentioned and someone in whom South African Quakers take considerable pride. Amidst what seemed to be an irreverent bunch of prejudiced souls was one who typified Quaker principles, even if Montgomery remembered him (however fondly) as absent-minded. In 1959, a memorial service was held for Richard Gush as part of the Settlers Day celebrations in Salem. A plaque was to be erected in his honor, a gesture not entirely appreciated by his descendants nor the local Quakers invited to the ceremony. Initially, "members [did] not see their way at present of attending the celebrations..."<sup>12</sup> but later

---

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Cape Eastern Monthly Meeting Minutes, Minute 4, 21 June, 1959, Quaker Archives, Rhodes University.

acquiesced, with a few suggestions to possible wording on the plaque. They sent a letter to the organizer "about...recording Richard Gush's' brave deed...[embracing] points such as an unarmed approach, appealing to that of God in every man...victory without violence, and no reference to the 'marauding Kaffirs' avoiding hurt to present day Africans."<sup>13</sup>

The Quakers who attended reported that the day's celebration was splendid, but were disappointed to see the work 'Kaffir' inscribed on the plaque. In usual Quaker temperament of understanding all sides, the Quakers commented "it might have been the common term used in R. Gush's day."<sup>14</sup> The controversy over the word 'kaffir' continues on today, especially in light of the politics of the 'new South Africa'. For example, there has been recent debate on the word's inscription which appears on plaques in one of the oldest South African Episcopalian Church cathedrals located at Grahamstown in the eastern Cape. Some argue that the plaques should be removed because they are offensive while others argue that they should remain, not to offend but because of the historical placement. Still others argue it will be impossible to remove all traces of offensive reminders of a segregationist past.

Guy Butler, a descendant of one of the early Quakers to settle in South Africa, wrote a play about his life called Richard Gush of Salem. The play was presented at Rhodes University Theatre in 1970 to commemorate the 150th Anniversary of the Landing of the British Settlers.

---

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., Minute 3, 23 August, 1959.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., Minute 3, \_\_\_ November, 1959.

In Butler's third series of his autobiography, A Local Habitation, he describes Gush as a man "dear to my heart" and is glad the play is "occasionally set for schools. It is a true story that needs to be better known, a relevant historical precedent of the effectiveness of non-violence."<sup>15</sup> Butler dedicated the play to his Quaker grandfather and aunt, James and Mary Butler.

During the nineteenth-century, Quakers continued their missionary journeys throughout the world, still determined to spread the message of God's inner light in all men. Quiet diplomacy, however, replaced messianic badgering. Quakers called their journeys 'intervisitations'. Given their small numbers spread out sometimes over vast spaces (the distance can be as great for a Quaker to travel within South Africa as travel from country to country in other parts of the world) intervisitations provided opportunities for Quakers to support each other spiritually and with their various projects.

James Backhouse (1794-1869) and George Washington Walker (1800-1859) were British Friends who travelled twice to South Africa in 1838 and 1842 on religious visits. Being few in number, South African Quakers in the nineteenth-century were nourished and strengthened by the spiritual communion they experienced in their silent gatherings with such intervisitations. Backhouse and Walker found willing congregations but few with the understanding of what a true Meeting for Worship is about. In Backhouse's

---

<sup>15</sup> Guy Butler, A Local Habitation (Cape Town: David Philip, 1991), pp. 270-271.

diary, he seemed to view the congregations as a reflection of South African society in general "...of a restless and unruly description."<sup>16</sup> On occasion, however, they were able to meet with true Quakers in meetings that brought spiritual satisfaction.

Backhouse was greatly distressed by white attitudes and behavior, thinking "white people have an astonishing conceit respecting the colour of their skins."<sup>17</sup> He thought the "Boors" drank heavily, causing early deaths. He observed they inflicted such severe punishment upon the 'Hottentots' caught in crime it defied reason and felt the 'Boors', considering their disadvantaged background, were "real objects of sympathy."<sup>18</sup> Prophetically, he wrote "The Dutch are generally so ignorant to be easily prejudiced, and so wedded to old and degrading habits of oppression, as to abhor changes: and unless they become aroused from their lethargy, with regard to the education of their families, they must in a few generations, fall into the background."<sup>19</sup>

Backhouse was also disturbed by the settlements for 'natives', describing one outside 'Graham's Town' where families "are residing in miserable huts...some of them...mere fragments of rush-mats, sugar bags, and old

---

<sup>16</sup> James Backhouse, Extracts from the Journal of James Backhouse Whilst Engaged in a Religious Visit to van Dieman's Land, New South Wales and South Africa, Vol. II (London: Harvey and Darton, 1842), p.2.

<sup>17</sup> James Backhouse, Extracts from the Journal of James Backhouse Whilst Engaged in a Religious Visit to South Africa, Part VIII (London: Harvey and Darton, 1840), p. 71.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>19</sup> Backhouse, Extracts, Vol. II, p. 17.

clothes, thrown over a stick stuck into the ground..."<sup>20</sup> Backhouse's vivid description of the township conditions which he visited in his day are, regrettably, only too appropriate and apt of present day conditions that exist in the squatter camps that hinge the Grahamstown community.

The most significant contribution Backhouse made as a result of his South African journeys was to establish a multi-racial school in 1840 for children from poor backgrounds. Backhouse used his own finances, assisted also by British Quakers, to "...[purchase] a premise in Cape Town at the cost of 1050 pounds for a school for children of the poor class...of a colony lately polluted with slavery."<sup>21</sup> Quakers Richard and Mary Jennings were in charge. Richard Jennings had been educated at Ackworth, a Quaker school in England, and wished to devote himself to education of poor children in Africa. While the school principally served poor colored children, "many of whose parents were formerly in bondage",<sup>22</sup> the white children who attended were "children of respectable families, most of them members of some religious community."<sup>23</sup> The school syllabus focused on reading and writing, especially the Bible, with various 'useful' courses taught such as sewing lessons for the girls.

---

<sup>20</sup> Backhouse, Extracts, Part VIII, p. 67.

<sup>21</sup> Annual Monitor, 1842 Extract, Friends House Library, London.

<sup>22</sup> Report of the Friends School, Cape Town, South Africa, For the Year 1842, Friends House Library, London.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

Richard Jennings died suddenly in 1848,<sup>24</sup> but Mary kept the school going for many years after. The school eventually closed in 1879, and in 1903 the building was purchased by the Baptist Church.<sup>25</sup>

Of far less impact was a visit in 1878 by Quaker Isaac Sharp (1847-1917), accompanied by two other British Friends, Theodore Harris and Langley Kitchen. He had no specific religious purpose in mind other than to visit with South African Friends and provide spiritual support. What was impressive is the extent of his journey and how he travelled...from the western and eastern Cape regions upward to southern Botswana in a "...large Cobb's coach, drawn by eight splendid mules.' No wonder that they created something of a sensation in the small towns through which they passed."<sup>26</sup> Equally impressive was Sharp's age...seventy-one...and not to be content with this great life journey, he ventured on to Madagascar and the South Pacific in 1879.<sup>27</sup>

Sharp's visit meant a great deal to one Quaker in particular, James Butler. In ill health with a lung ailment, young Butler arrived in South Africa in 1876, at the age of twenty-two. Not yet sure of his definite plans, he "...first went to stay with the Copeland family in Grahamstown where he was very kindly treated but did

---

<sup>24</sup> In Hedge of Wild Almonds, Hewison states that Jennings "remained as headmaster until his death in 1879." (p. 14) According to my research from the Report[s] of the Friends School, Cape Town South Africa (Friends Library, London) Jennings died in 1848.

<sup>25</sup> Fox, "Notes of the Quaker Movement in South Africa," p. 3.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

not feel at home as he was not a musician or a singer, he did not smoke or drink or play cards or dance."<sup>28</sup> Butler was often lonely, missing his family terribly. Isaac Sharp travelled two hundred miles especially to see James Butler on whom the visit left a wonderful impression. Butler describes Sharp as "so hale and hearty", full of "unbounded energy...cheerfulness [and] reverence."<sup>29</sup> Butler particularly appreciated having a "proper Friend's meeting"<sup>30</sup> with fellow Quakers. Sharp spoke kindly to Butler and Robert Wilkie, another young Quaker on a similar health mission, who "...having to stay out here longer, and by himself, is liable at times to feel dull."<sup>31</sup>

Butler returned to England in 1879, his health much improved. His doctors were pleased, but suggested that to maintain his restored vigor, perhaps he should consider moving permanently to South Africa. He returned the same year.

James Butler settled in Cradock, a small, hot dusty town on the edge of the Karoo. He remained a Quaker throughout his life but had very few Quakers nearby with whom to share his religion. He joined the local Wesleyan Methodist Church for spiritual company. He did establish a Quaker meeting in his home in 1904, but his fellow

---

<sup>28</sup> James Butler's Papers, "Remembrance of James Butler by brother Joseph, sent to daughter Mary Butler, 25 January, 1924," Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa.

<sup>29</sup> Butler's Papers, Jim's Journal, 2 December, 1879.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

Quakers were all relatives...brother Charles and sisters Eliza and Emily joined him from England. James Butler married Annie Letitia Collett, a descendant of the early British settlers. They had seven children. Only two -- Ernest and Mary Emma -- retained an interest in Quaker affairs, but they were also the only two who were sent to a Quaker school in England called Sidcot.<sup>32</sup>

Butler founded the Midland News newspaper "...partly with a view of promoting better feelings between the Boer and British races."<sup>33</sup> In a letter to Dorothy Steere, 2 August, 1954, Mary Butler (1884-1977) refers to her father "refusing to sell [the Midland News] when Cecil Rhodes was buying up the country press, he maintained an independent policy."<sup>34</sup>

During Butler's tenure as editor of the Midland News, he refused to accept liquor advertisements or racing 'tips'. While Quakers today would not advocate excessive drinking, most are more tolerant of drinking alcohol than earlier Quakers, who formed the backbone of the temperance groups. Quakers felt that if they could eliminate liquor this would eradicate most social evils.

Butler became a prominent and respected community leader. His newspaper was known for honest reporting and he was willing to take controversial stands. He helped initiate the opening of Cradock's first hospital. He pushed for more schools to be built and called for improved

---

<sup>32</sup> James Butler's Papers, Cory Library.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Mary Butler's Papers, Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa.

classroom instruction making Cradock one of the leading educational centers in the Midlands.<sup>35</sup> Butler was among Friends who made successful representation before Parliament to secure exemption of Quakers from compulsory military service. As a result a conscience clause was included in the Defence Act (Act no. 13 of 1912, Section 82 (2)).<sup>36</sup>

At this time the government referred to military induction as "peace training"<sup>37</sup> which the Quakers were sure to find contradictory. That part of the act which addressed Quakers indirectly read that a "citizen's application for exemption from ballot may be given preferential consideration on the grounds of....(d) his *bona-fide* religious tenets..."<sup>38</sup> Other considerations for military exemption included:

- (a) the interruption of a citizen's course of educational studies;
- (b) the nature and extent of his domestic obligations;
- (c) the conditions of his industrial, professional or business vocation;
- (e) the inaccessibility of training centres from his place of residence;

---

<sup>35</sup> "The Quaker Editor," Midland News, 22 June, 1923, James Butler's Papers, Cory Library.

<sup>36</sup> See Appendix D for a full reprint of the debate on the 1912 'Conscience Clause' in the House of Assembly as well as the original letter of petition presented to the South African government by representatives of the South African Society of Friends.

<sup>37</sup> Statutes of the Union of South Africa 1912 (Cape Town, 1912), pp. 230-231.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

(f) physical deformities or defects, or mental incapacity.....<sup>39</sup>

There was considerable debate on this conscience clause in the House of Assembly. Comments included that the clause would "lead to an increase in the number of those religious persons who professed a dislike to the bearing of arms....[we] would soon have an army of people with religious objections...[we should] not send unwilling people to fight, as they were useless."<sup>40</sup> There was also concern and confusion as to how 'bona-fide principles' were to be defined, and one member stated that "if it was the intention to exempt Quakers from service, it ought to be clearly stated."<sup>41</sup> There was also support for the conscience clause with some members reminding their colleagues that similar clauses had been introduced in other countries and that "members should do all they could to avoid doing violence to people's conscience."<sup>42</sup> Despite the passage of the 'Conscience Clause' South African Quakers continued the debate of who should be eligible for the clause. A review of monthly meeting minutes reveals that Quakers felt 'uncomfortably privileged' by the clause, and that surely others should be entitled to exemption should their conscience and/or religion dictate.

Like many British immigrants, Butler embraced his new home but his loyalties to England were deep. He opposed

---

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Fear, "History of Friends in South Africa," p. 6.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

the Boer War "...considering it unnecessary, as he felt that the Transvaal would have asked England for protection in time."<sup>43</sup> Despite his own personal feelings, he practiced fair and accurate news coverage of events. During the war, the Midland News was often threatened with closure by the military. While the newspaper had to acquiesce in censorship, Butler stretched the limits as far as he could, determined to report news and not sanctioned propaganda.<sup>44</sup>

A highlight of Butler's adult life was to accompany British Quaker Lawrence Richardson (1869-1953) on a visit throughout South Africa following the Anglo-Boer War. Richardson, joined by William H.F. Alexander (1855-1941), represented the Friends South African Relief Fund Committee (FSARFC). Richardson was sent to South Africa to observe conditions resulting from the war, in particular the concentration camps which held Boer women and children. His other mission was to return family Bibles retrieved by the Quakers which had been seized as souvenirs by thoughtless British soldiers when they were burning Boer farms, homes and fields. Richardson also kept a journal detailing every aspect of his trip. British Quakers felt obligated to assist the Boers in some way, if only to finance projects.<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup> "The Quaker Editor."

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Lawrence Richardson, Journals and Letters on Visits to South Africa on Quaker Relief Efforts 1902-1903, Lawrence Richardson's Papers, Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa. Richardson's material was published by the Cape Town Van Riebeeck Society, but the writer quotes from the material among his papers at Cory Library.

Richardson was to identify areas in which British Quaker help would be most suitable. He cites education as being a critical need "...if there are any Friends who (not having subscribed to the various war funds) feel a sense of debt to S. Africa. We believe that this is the best way they could discharge it -- it would be a good investment for the future of the country."<sup>46</sup> Richardson did not think it advisable to send children to Quaker schools in England as he felt there were adequate schools in South Africa. He acknowledged that "...an English college education would be an immense advantage, but school children are too young to get the full benefit of seeing another country."<sup>47</sup>

The greatest need he observed was rain..."Rain of course is the thing that is wanted...far more than relief."<sup>48</sup> Like Backhouse, Richardson formed some opinions of the Boers, in particular Boer prejudices as seen in young girls who were against doing "Kaffir's work" such as sewing, washing and cooking.<sup>49</sup> Quakers in England sent boxes of needed clothes, but the shipment sat on the docks in Cape Town for a month before Richardson knew of its arrival: "People out here are very casual in many ways."<sup>50</sup> In addition to clothing and shoes, Quakers gave seeds for farmers to replant their fields, books for prison camps and money to Boer Ministers to restock their libraries because their old ones had been looted and

---

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 106.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 118.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 127.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 134.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 103.

burned during the war. The Boer concentration camps were of particular interest to British Quakers, so much that some critics claimed they were 'pro-Boer'. In her memoirs, Mary Butler writes that "immediately after the SA War there were probably more Friends in S. Africa than at any other period. Most of them came as relief workers..."<sup>51</sup>

Prominent British Quakers Joshua Rowntree (1844-1915) and his wife Isabelle led the first trip in 1900. Martial law prevented them from travelling too deeply into the interior of the country, but they were shocked at the camp conditions they witnessed in the Cape Colony and Natal. Rowntree initiated a series of relief schemes by which British Quakers could help alleviate the suffering. Richardson's trip was part of that scheme.<sup>52</sup>

Emily Hobhouse (1860-1926) was travelling on the same steamer as the Rowntrees. Hobhouse was not a Quaker, but her relief activities were funded in part by British Friends. Emily Hobhouse is still remembered by the Afrikaners with great affection, and today's Home Industry Shops located in towns and cities all across South Africa are but one result of her relief efforts. She promoted Lawrence Richardson's concept of these 'small scale industries' as a way Afrikaner women returning to their devastated farms could begin earning a needed family income.<sup>53</sup>

---

<sup>51</sup> Mary Butler's Papers, Cory Library.

<sup>52</sup> Fear, "History of Friends in South Africa," p. 14.

<sup>53</sup> Hewison, "Boer Home Industries," Hedge of Wild Almonds, pp. 263-264.

She was not so beloved by the British in charge of the Cape Colony. Richardson writes that he "saw her at Bloemfontein and had a long talk with her. She has managed to cover a great deal of ground and has accomplished a great many things more good than Jas. Butler and I between us are going to manage"<sup>54</sup>... "[neither] of us have the sympathetic capacity of Miss Hobhouse for getting into close touch with the circumstances of individual cases."<sup>55</sup> Because Hobhouse was so unpopular among the British Colonial Service in Cape Town, Richardson felt it best not to acknowledge they knew her well so they would not impede their own interviews, but "it goes against the grain to have to sit by and hear her abused."<sup>56</sup>

Hobhouse did not visit one concentration camp for Africans. In her report, she did acknowledge their existence stating "I do wish someone would come out and take up the question of the Native Camps. From odd bits I hear it would seem to be much needed."<sup>57</sup> Considering the depths of her humanity, it seems remarkable she did not take up this task herself. We know a great deal about the Boer concentration camps: between June 1901 and May 1902, 116,500 Boers were held in the camps. Of these, almost 28,000 Boer refugees perished, a death toll that amounted to twice the number of men killed in action on both sides, and representing 10 percent of the total Boer

---

<sup>54</sup> Richardson, Journals and Letters, p. 148.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 159.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>57</sup> Emily Hobhouse, Report on Visit to the Camps of Women and Children in the Cape and Orange River Colonies (London: Friars Printing Association, Ltd., 1901), p. 8.

population. 22,000 of those who died were under the age of sixteen, another 4000 were women.<sup>58</sup>

In that same period, 115,700 Africans were held in sixty-six refugee camps: 14,154 are recorded as having lost their lives, but the figure is not accurate as record keeping for 'natives' at the time was not reliable. The annual death rate reached 380 per 1000...higher in other camps...a rate of mortality more severe than in all the white camps in any one month.<sup>59</sup>

While Richardson did visit a 'native location', it is not clear that he actually visited a 'native' camp, though he did report on conditions which Warwick claims Richardson found "in some respects laudable."<sup>60</sup> In his journal Richardson wrote:

At one time there was much illness and many deaths in these camps; later the health was much better. The people were encouraged to grow crops where they were settled, and were thus able not only to provide their own food, but to hand over considerable quantities to the military. The men were able to get plenty of work as drivers, scouts, servants...at even higher wages than they were accustomed to. The children were given the chance of attending school. It seems possible that this experience may have far-reaching effects on the natives.<sup>61</sup>

---

<sup>58</sup> Peter Warwick, "Refugees," Black People and the South African War 1899-1902 (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1983), p. 145.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 146.

<sup>61</sup> Richardson, Journals and Letters, pp. 197-198.

Richardson was told of 'native' conditions at the Brandfort Burghers Camp. Relying on opinion, he writes that "...a great many [natives] had been brought into a location at Brandfort, a good deal of sickness among them, but not nearly so much as among burghers."<sup>62</sup> While Richardson did acknowledge that "some suffered severely in the early part of the war" the problem he anticipated now was getting them to return to work, some having saved considerable sums of money.<sup>63</sup>

In fairness to Richardson's comments, he was exposed to already deep-seated prejudices between the British and the Boer, and white attitudes in general against the Africans: for example, the Boers were dying in the camps as a result of their own filth; the camps were well-maintained and it was hoped the Boers would learn some hygiene; 'Kaffirs' were uncivilized -- if taught anything, then to read and write, but no more; the Boers were liars, none could be trusted; the British intend to capture our children and give them British educations, turning our own children against us. Richardson was aware of the propaganda coming from all sides and was duty bound to seek the truth. In frustration, he wondered if the British in England really had any shred of truth as to what was taking place in South Africa, or if they, too, were victims of censorship and propaganda.<sup>64</sup>

Visits from British Quakers and soon American Quakers would continue into the twentieth century. These visits

---

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. 38.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p. 198.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., p. 89.

would be critical to the vitality of Quakerism in South Africa. There were many struggles to keep Meetings together and interests shared in each other. Rumors spread across great distances about strife among particular groups. One visiting Friend observed that "...Friends coming through [Durban] did not seem to go out of their way to find Friends. [Gilbert Reynolds] saw two Friends at Cape Town, and was told the Meeting there was held under great difficulties, but there was an enormous desire to uphold the Society."<sup>65</sup>

South African Quakers would appeal to Friends around the world to consider emigrating to South Africa. They suggested that their numbers would not only enhance the Society's life as a religious body but hopefully their principles would offer some good in a country undergoing great racial turmoil. As in other parts of the world membership remained small. They lamented that one of the reasons was that Quakers emigrated elsewhere. Quakers often left South Africa due to an attractive job offer elsewhere, though the discouraging political situation locally was a signal to leave if possible. Some Quakers who did leave missed the 'cutting edge of tension' that involved living in South Africa. One couple wrote to Mary Butler in 1975 "Our life in New Zealand has been very different from our life in South Africa. Although we belong to a large Meeting we have always felt the matters Friends are concerned with are so trivial compared to the problems we were exercised about in South Africa."<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>65</sup> The South African Friend, vol.1, no.1, June, 1907, p. 2, Quaker Archives, Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, South Africa (hereafter, UCT).

<sup>66</sup> May and (names illegible) to Mary Butler, 26 August, 1975, Mary Butler's Papers, Cory Library.

For many years, the Society had no African members, causing one local Friend to complain "We are all white, the whitest Church in South Africa."<sup>67</sup> Three very prominent Africans, however, were Quakers -- John Tengo Jabavu (1859-1921) and his son, Davidson Don Tengo (1885-1959), and Innes Gumedede. Considered 'native leaders', John Tengo was editor of Imvo Zabantsundu, or Native Opinion, and Davidson Don Tengo was a leading educator and author. John Tengo joined the Westminster Monthly Meeting while on a trip to England and later decided to send his son, Davidson Don, to England for university training. In her memoirs, Mary Butler wrote "With regret I record that owing to the claims of his growing family my father [James Butler] was unable to respond when Tengo Jabavu...appealed to him for financial assistance for his paper Imvo."<sup>68</sup> Innes Gumedede attended medical school in England, "...returning to Zululand...as the second Zulu doctor."<sup>69</sup> All three men chose to retain their British memberships rather than transferring them to local Meetings in South Africa.<sup>70</sup>

At the start of the century South African Quakers were well-meaning about 'native' affairs but were greatly concerned about how one brought some kind of civilization

---

<sup>67</sup> Lean quotes Maurice Webb, Friend from Natal Monthly Meeting, as having said this statement in his report, "Quakers in South Africa," n.d., p. 9.

<sup>68</sup> Mary Butler's Papers, Cory Library.

<sup>69</sup> South African Committee Minutes of 1928 to 1945, Minute 101, March, 1930, Friends House Library, London.

<sup>70</sup> See Chapter Four, Five, Six and Seven for more biographical data on the Jabavus. Additionally, see Appendix B, Listing of Quakers Frequently Mentioned in the Study, for more data on the Jabavus as well as Gumedede.

and Christianity to an emerging nation. James Butler himself, in an article for The Friend noted: "...we have the great native question. How (sic) are we to do our duty to the vast coloured population, who far outnumber us, and whose ancestors were here long before ours?"<sup>71</sup> Butler raised the question of how local Quakers could bring the benefits of Christianity and civilization to the Africans; how could they transform "...the barbarian from a latent source of danger to the State into a great contribution to its stability and welfare...to the material and moral benefit of European and native."<sup>72</sup> Butler did not provide the answer but he raised an issue that would be of concern to Quakers in South Africa throughout the twentieth-century.

---

<sup>71</sup> "Friends in South Africa," The Friend, 15 October, 1909, Quaker Archives, WITS.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

## CHAPTER FOUR

SOUTH AFRICAN QUAKERS AND SEGREGATION

*Towards the close of the year 1903, at the earnest desire of a few Friends residing in Cape Town, it was arranged to hold a Meeting for Worship...Eight Friends were gathered together and much enjoyed the quiet waiting on our Heavenly Father, according to our custom.*<sup>1</sup>

Thus, the formal gathering of Quakers began in South Africa. Quakers had been meeting for worship in each others homes, but this letter marked the beginning of South Africa's 'official recognition' within the Society. Few people could have been more thrilled than James Butler of Cradock. While years earlier he began to attend the Wesleyan Methodist Church out of need for a spiritual community, the arrival of relatives in the eastern Cape enabled him to start an informal Meeting for Worship in his own home. Butler encouraged more migration of Quakers from England. In The Friend he wrote:

Great Britain is overcrowded, this country is scarcely populated; we want settlers, and year by year they come from your side, a few Friends amongst them.

Our nation is being formed. Are Friends, as such, to have a share in its making? Or are the individuals who join us and their

---

<sup>1</sup> Cape Town Meeting to the Clerk of the Meeting for Sufferings of Society of Friends in London, 6 March, 1906, Quaker Archives, UCT.

descendants to lose their identities as Friends? This question suggests another: What is the responsibility of Friends in England towards the firm establishment of the Society, and the strengthening of its membership?<sup>2</sup>

Butler felt it was of profound importance that "South African Friends, though scattered over the country, become organised as a body and feel the bonds of brotherhood."<sup>3</sup> Local Quakers needed a project, something to bring them together in united spirit and goal.

Joshua Rowntree remembered the many poor he had seen on his visits to South Africa. On visiting Durban during the Boer War, he noticed how whites treated Africans and asked "who is showing kindness to the coloured men who carry you [a reference to those who hauled rickshaws], grow your vegetables and do every bit of the labour of the whole community?"<sup>4</sup> Rowntree corresponded with many South African Friends and asked what were the possibilities of establishing an Adult School. Founded in Nottingham in 1798, adult schools were part of a widespread movement in England for adult education which provided instruction in reading, writing and religious knowledge. The movement focused on urban workers and embraced a variety of schemes aimed at self-help and self-improvement for members such as insurance and library facilities. Since most adult schools functioned on Sundays, they became part church and part club.

---

<sup>2</sup> Butler, "Friends in South Africa," p. 687.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Fear, "History of Friends in South Africa," p. 14.

Quakers were an instrumental part of the adult school movement from its beginning.<sup>5</sup>

The idea was not well received by all South African Friends, and London's South African Committee expressed surprise that the idea did not 'catch on' in the Cape Colony. Irene Macfadyen (1872-?), co-editor of The South African Friend, wrote an open and rather scathing reply to the committee stressing the differences between the English and South African situation on the matter of adult education. In Mrs. Macfadyen's view the circumstances in South Africa were not right for the movement for a number of reasons:

There are not any great numbers of people of the classes among whom this movement has been most successful in England. The permanent working classes roughly speaking are the coloured people; and it would be perfectly impossible, and is inadvisable even if it were possible, to carry on Adult School classes amongst them in the English Adult School spirit. Properly speaking South Africa is not democratic; no country can be which has a real colour problem.<sup>6</sup>

Mrs. Madfadyen went on to say that while "among white people there is no caste regards any work"<sup>7</sup> there were great differences in terms of money and culture, wealth and influence. Except for the farming community, changes

---

<sup>5</sup> Jane Mary Garner, ed., "Jim's Journal: The Diary of James Butler" (M.A. Thesis, Rhodes University, 1983), p. 12. To be published as part of the Grahamstown Series, Vol. 13.

<sup>6</sup> The South African Friend, July, 1910, p. 2, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

in social status were frequent and unexpected and people moved often, thus offering little chance for people to meet on a regular basis as needed for an adult school movement. The weather served also as a deterrent as people in South Africa chose to spend as much time outdoors as possible; in England, "under grey and often rainy skies"<sup>8</sup>, people did not mind spending more time indoors in escape of foul weather. According to Mrs. Macfadyen, white South Africans spent more than enough time indoors doing necessary shopping. To conduct a proper adult school movement would, in fact, require more time spent indoors and "possibly further curtail our...open-air hours, which are absolutely necessary to health in this climate."<sup>9</sup>

Macfadyen also presented herself as an expert in race relations. She attended a 1911 Race Congress meeting in England to discuss South Africa's "Black Peril." She claimed that white women in South Africa were being terrorized by 'natives' who had once "held high ideals in regard to the honour of womanhood." These men, however, had been debased by unscrupulous and degraded white men who gave them the worst set of values. As a result, 'natives' preyed upon women who were left alone in their homes while their husbands were far off seeking work. Their families could not accompany them to which Macfadyen stated "There is no civilisation, there is no progress, until the women of a race can accompany their men." It was not the fault of the native as he was also a victim. Macfadyen felt comfortable addressing this issue in England, "free from racial prejudice" but

---

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

stressed that white women in South Africa must be protected "in order that we may do our work of creating a permanent and rising nation in South Africa."<sup>10</sup> One must wonder if Macfadyen would have taken up the cause of black wives left behind to raise families on their own while their husbands, as migrant laborers seeking needed income, could not take them to the mines or other place of work.

Fortunately, there was a far more prominent Quaker voice being heard in South Africa. Howard Pim moved to South Africa from Ireland in 1890. He was one of the initiators in the 1920s of the Joint Council Movement of Europeans and Africans and later the South African Institute of Race Relations. Among other things he helped re-establish the Johannesburg Public Library following the Anglo-Boer War and he helped found the Johannesburg Art Gallery (developed over a ten year period from 1904 to 1915), Bridgman Memorial Hospital in 1928 (the first non-white maternity home in Johannesburg), the Bantu Men's Social Centre and Sports Ground and the Council of the South African Native College at Fort Hare.<sup>11</sup> By today's standards, Pim's views would be considered quite conservative. However, he was a benevolent man with his own ideas against an increasingly growing backdrop of segregationist government policies regarding Africans. Addressing the 1905 Economic Science Section of the British Association in Johannesburg, Pim read a lengthy report called "The Native Problem in South Africa."

---

<sup>10</sup> "The Black Peril," The South African Friend, October, 1911, p. 5, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>11</sup> Anna Cunningham, "Howard Pim," Parktown Westcliff Heritage Trust, no. 20, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Africans must be educated, he stressed, in literacy and industrial skills, and more primary school teachers for 'native' schools were essential. He countered the current argument that Africans made poor farmers by citing his visit to 'Basutoland' where he "...[doubted] that white men would make better use of the soil." He faulted white people for ignoring how important 'native customs' were to the Africans and trying to exercise too much authority over their lives.<sup>12</sup>

An examination of Pim's early views, however, does not reveal a very enlightened thought. For example, Pim also expressed concern about "natives in this country trained in America" as they return to South Africa "with a very different attitude towards the white race from that which the treatment of their race renders either natural or justifiable."<sup>13</sup> Further evidence from America proved "painfully evident how small are the results from the enormous sums which have been spent upon negro education during the last forty years...while the minority are stationary if not receding."<sup>14</sup> He favored the 'native reserves' as places where the "native lives under natural conditions, which he understands and has created for himself...by far the best and most hopeful field for native development...[if] organised under modified native custom [and] controlled by picked white men."<sup>15</sup> Pim's views on the 'native reserves' as places that could offer

---

<sup>12</sup> Howard Pim, "The Native Problem in South Africa," The Friend, 29 September, 1905, pp. 630-632, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

opportunities to Africans that could not exist in South Africa proper was shared by most white South Africans at the time. Later referred to as Bantustans, this 'excuse' used by the South African government for the denial of right to black South Africans to be legal citizens and property owners was justified by some white South Africans that not all apartheid laws were necessarily unjust.

Pim supported higher education for Africans so they could acquire the skills necessary for careers "in which they are not merely useful, but almost indispensable [such as] minor administrative posts as those of magistrates' clerk and other subordinate Government officials in native districts." While it was also vital that Africans learn a trade, he stressed the problems they would encounter should they try to compete with white workers as the "white artisan will strenuously object to any competition from native workmen." Thus, Africans should best confine themselves to plying their trade in either "out-of-the-way parts of the country" or in their own 'native' communities. And like most people of his day, Pim felt the "differences between the native social system, and [the social system of whites] are so great that the two can never really form parts of one social organism, any more than the races can amalgamate."<sup>16</sup>

Pim appeared before the Lagden Commission (i.e., the South African Native Affairs Commission) which met from 1903 to 1905. The purpose of the Commission was to determine how land would be parcelled out to the Africans in order to help create a separate territory (later

---

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

called the reserves) on which 'natives' could live and develop themselves along 'parallel lines' to the white-population, but not intermingle socially, politically or economically. In South Africa: A Modern History, Davenport addresses what he calls the "segregationist arguments of the Lagden Commission."<sup>17</sup> He states that Governor Alfred Milner appointed the commission with the purpose of achieving uniformity in native policy appropriate to the development of an eventual South African federation. In Davenport's view, the

...almost exclusively English-speaking body...produced a report...[introducing] new rigidities into South African thinking and race relations which had immense influence on later political debate. It formalised the idea of segregation in a new way...[and] envisaged the territorial separation of black and white as a permanent, mandatory principle of land ownership...<sup>18</sup>

Davenport does state that, to its credit, the Lagden Commission saw the 'reserves' "less as dumping grounds for black labour, than as places blacks could set up comfortable homes of their own."<sup>19</sup>

Pim was considered something of a self-tutored expert on 'native' issues. Before the Commission he expressed his support for the 'native reserves'. It was Pim's belief that the reserves provided a vital opportunity for Africans to learn the relevant agricultural and economic skills in order to survive as Pim felt that in their

---

<sup>17</sup> Davenport, South Africa, 3rd ed., p. 258.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 229.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

current condition 'natives' were not equipped to compete with the 'white man' in the existing job market.<sup>20</sup>

It is possible to argue that Pim saw the reserves as a 'protective' place for the African, protecting them from exploitation by the growing number of white Europeans descending on South Africa, particularly after gold and diamonds were discovered and cheap labor was sought. Given this defense, Saul Dubow, in Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid 1919-1936, refers to people like Pim and others...Rheinallt Jones (1882-1953), Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr (1894-1948) and Edgar Brookes (1897-1979), as "benevolent segregationists."<sup>21</sup> These men of stature supported segregation for the first two to three decades of the century and even backed General Hertzog initially with the idea they could help shape a 'benevolent' society. Brookes went so far as to "record his thanks to the Hon. the Prime Minister (General J.B.M. Hertzog)...whose liberality has endowed this book and made its publication possible."<sup>22</sup> This 'thanks' was expressed in Brookes's preface of his book, History of the Native Policy in South Africa. He continued to say "It is especially gratifying to be able to place on record the broadmindedness with which the Prime Minister has insisted that this book, an independent scientific research, shall not be modified to meet the exigencies of practical politics in any particular. The personal

---

<sup>20</sup> South African Native Commission 1903-1905, Volume IV, Cape Town, pp. 886-897.

<sup>21</sup> Saul Dubow, Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid 1919-1936 (London: Macmillan, 1989), p. 45.

<sup>22</sup> Edgar Brookes, History of the Native Policy in South Africa (Cape Town: Nasionale Pers. 1924), preface.

encouragement which he has given while the book has been awaiting publication will always be remembered by the author with grateful appreciation."<sup>23</sup>

Dubow maintains they were "politically manipulated"<sup>24</sup> by General Hertzog, and realizing their mistake, recanted their previous views and became increasingly liberal to the point of supporting a non-racial franchise over the whole country. Most of these 'benevolent segregationists' were friends of the Jabavus. Dubow suggests that their friendship with the Jabavus "had begun to prey heavily on [their] conscience."<sup>25</sup> For the rest of his life, Brookes was an ardent supporter of African advancement but died before he would see South Africa change its collision course on the segregation issue. In his book, Apartheid: A Documentary Study of Modern South Africa, Brookes states that the segregation that took place in South Africa was not unique...it could be found in the southern states of America, Jamaica or Trinidad...wherever blacks lived: "It is not in its origins, but in its long and uncritical continuance, that the South African way of life is so specially open to criticism."<sup>26</sup>

Pim's views changed dramatically as well from the time he appeared before the Lagden Commission to 1930. Before the

---

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Dubow, Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid 1919-1936, p. 48.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>26</sup> Edgar Brookes, Apartheid: A Documentary Study of Modern South Africa, The World Studies Series (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968), p. xvii.

Commission he argued that 'natives' should not share the franchise with whites...if they voted at all, it should be on their own territory. In a written statement to the Commission, Pim referred to the arrested development of the 'native', obvious in the fact that they had not basically changed or developed for such a long period of time that thus his current "social system...does satisfy his real wants."<sup>27</sup> He also stated that:

So far from helping the permanent development of this country as a white community, they are a hindrance and a burden, and no policy directed to increase their labour value can assist us towards the ideal of a white South Africa. If this be the end we desire to reach, our policy should be directed to separate the white and coloured communities...<sup>28</sup>

In 1927, Pim gave the keynote address to the European-Bantu Conference and vocalized his current belief that the reserve system "' had been shattered and it could not be rebuilt.'"<sup>29</sup> He further shocked his audience...some to loud shouts of disbelief...when he said that "segregation was quite impossible 'except under conditions of slavery.'"<sup>30</sup>

By 1929, Pim was supporting a "common citizenship"<sup>31</sup> as the "surest guarantee of South Africa's future

---

<sup>27</sup> South African Native Commission 1903-1905, Volume V, Cape Town, p. xxii.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxi.

<sup>29</sup> Dubow, Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid 1919-1936, p. 48.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

stability."<sup>32</sup> Reminding critics of Cecil Rhodes's famous quote of 'equal rights for all civilised men' -- though it is doubtful Rhodes would have included 'civilised' Africans -- Pim appeared to support a qualified franchise, a clear departure from his statement before the Lagden Commission that "I do not think it is wise to give the Native full political rights in a white community."<sup>33</sup>

South African Quakers felt that everyone should be listening carefully to the increasing debates in Parliament on race relations -- "the most pressing problem of today. It is notoriously difficult to awaken the interest of even a well-educated community in matters of vital importance...But in this case...neither time nor expense will serve as an excuse."<sup>34</sup> They frequently printed the views of those against and in favor of segregation in their local newspaper so as to present both sides. As it was described by some, segregation of the races did not seem such a terrible thing if it truly meant that both race groups could develop to their fullest ability with no harm to the general community. One writer was absolutely clear about his views on segregation. John Tengo Jabavu refuted the notion that eliminating African competition or workers would promote production; rather, since the country was in demand of labor, such a policy would lead to impoverishing the nation. In an article called "Native Segregation" which

---

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> South African Native Commission 1903-1905, Volume IV, Cape Town, p. 895.

<sup>34</sup> "Patrick Duncan's Pamphlet," The South African Friend, December, 1912, pp. 5-6, Quaker Archives, UCT.

he wrote for The South African Friend, Jabavu stated that, in his opinion, "the only solution...lies in the direction of uplifting the natives to the economic level of living of the average white labourer at least."<sup>35</sup> He upbraided the opinion among white people who felt that improvement among Africans would be to the detriment of whites in South Africa.<sup>36</sup>

John Tengo Jabavu, who joined the Quaker Society in 1912 as a member of the Westminster Monthly Meeting,<sup>37</sup> was considered an outspoken African leader. He founded and edited Imvo Zabatsundu (Native Opinion) as a political forum. As an early 'native' leader, Jabavu had argued against the 1887 Parliamentary Registration Act (which "excluded tribal forms of tenure from the property qualifications for the vote and was seen by blacks as an attempt to 'sew up their mouths'"<sup>38</sup>), and the 1894 Glen Grey Act ("which excluded [quit rent] property ownership altogether as a voting qualification for blacks who held land [under] Glen Grey title"<sup>39</sup>). He also travelled to London in 1909 with a delegation of other Africans hoping to persuade British officials and politicians to support

---

<sup>35</sup> John Tengo Jabavu, "Native Segretation," The South African Friend, December, 1912, pp. 7-8, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Records and Obituaries of British Friends, Friends House, London.

<sup>38</sup> Davenport, South Africa, 3rd ed., p. 108.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

their protest against the emerging 'color bar' in South Africa.<sup>40</sup>

Despite these actions, Jabavu was viewed by more militant Africans as being more aligned to prestigious white politicians than to the interests of Africans. In time, emerging African groups demanded they separate themselves from white support, and Jabavu did not agree. He felt black-only organizations reinforced racial separation; instead, Jabavu believed the African's hope hinged on continual work with and support from liberal Cape politicians.<sup>41</sup> When several rival leaders started the South African Native National Congress (later the name was changed to the African National Congress, or ANC), John Tengo remained aloof. IMVO soon thereafter declined in importance as a political mouthpiece for Africans. John Tengo further eroded his position as a spokesperson when he supported the 1913 Native Land Act introduced in Parliament by J.W. Sauer, then Minister of Native Affairs and a backer of Jabavu's IMVO. While Jabavu recanted in his newspaper four years later, his influence as an African leader politically was basically finished. In From Protest to Challenge, Thomas Karis refutes Jabavu's critics who asserted that he had basically 'sold out' to white politicians: "A kinder view is that he was simply too optimistic about the ability of his liberal allies to promote the African cause in the face of overwhelming

---

<sup>40</sup> Reader's Digest Illustrated History of South Africa, 1st ed., pp. 283-284.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 281.

counterpressures from the defenders of white supremacy."<sup>42</sup>

Just prior to his death, John Tengo re-asserted his moderate views regarding the 'white' government. In 1921, several religious zealots called Israelites descended upon an area of land called Bulhoek which they claimed was their rightful refuge from a repressive society. Not radically different from modern communal religious groups today, the harmless religious fanatics vowed to stay put on the land, despite the government's insistence they could not occupy the area. They were told to move or face dire consequences. Led by their 'prophet' Enoch Mgijima, 183 unarmed members were killed, 100 injured. Claims of the camp hoarding arms and ammunition were unfounded. Historically, the incident became known as the Bulhoek Massacre, or the Bulhoek Incident.<sup>43</sup>

Jabavu did not approve of the Israelite movement because he believed the leaders were mad. But he also did not approve of it "because he saw that it was as much a political movement as a religious one. It challenged the laws and practices of the white government and its

---

<sup>42</sup> Gail Gerhart and Thomas Karis, eds. "Political Profiles," From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1964 (Stanford University: Hoover Institution Press, 1977), p. 42.

<sup>43</sup> Davenport refers to this episode in South African history as the Bulhoek Incident, while others refer to as the Bulhoek Massacre, though Davenport still regards it as a violent episode and a "...tragic example of group resentment among landless blacks..." See Davenport, South Africa, 4th ed., p. 253, and Reader's Digest Illustrated History of South Africa, 1st ed., p. 326.

supporters."<sup>44</sup> In his paper, Imvo Zabantsundu, Jabavu wrote:

That the people were demented there remains no room for doubt; ...Some, with wisdom after the event, say that the Government should have dealt drastically with the movement from the start...At the bottom it is a political movement identified with worship. The main object being to drive the white man from the country. Where an 'Israelite' is or any semi-religious movement exists we have sermons from the same text and if Governments were wise they would closely watch movements with this root of bitterness before it becomes prosperous as Mgijima's at Ntabelanga.<sup>45</sup>

Prior to the incident, the government asked John Tengo and three other 'native leaders' to intervene, if they could, with the Israelites, as "these were all men of position and authority among the Natives...[however] neither the Native party under Jabavu nor the European party under the Secretary for Native Affairs [Sauer] had the slightest influence upon the accused and their followers."<sup>46</sup>

Perhaps Jabavu's best contribution was to help establish a university for Africans. He served on the governing council of Fort Hare from its founding in 1915 until his death in 1921. As Jabavu was one of the prime movers for

---

<sup>44</sup> Robert Edgar, Because They Chose the Plan of God: The Story of the Bulhoek Massacre (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1988), p. 37.

<sup>45</sup> IMVO ZABANTSUNDU, 31 May, 1921. South Africa.

<sup>46</sup> Report on Native Churches, UG 39-25, Union of South Africa (Cape Town Ltd., Government Printers, 1925), p. 11.

the university, it was referred to as 'Jabavu's College'<sup>47</sup> and graduates have included Robert Mugabe, Z.K. Matthews (prominent educator and one of the organizers of the Defiance Campaign), Robert Sobukwe (founding member of the Pan African Congress, or the PAC) and Nelson Mandela.

Jabavu was not alone as an African who wanted to prove his 'civility' to whites. It is doubtful that Jabavu would have approved of racially mixed marriages, but his education in England, his membership in a dominantly white church and his association with white liberal Cape politicians indicate that he was comfortable mixing professionally and socially with whites. At the root of white fear was what would happen if the races mixed; miscegenation was seen as the greatest threat. In common with many white people throughout the world in the context of neo-Darwinist ideas, most white South Africans assumed that the African was of inferior intelligence; thus, to mix genetically would weaken the superior white race and children of this 'mixed blood' combination would be treated with the contempt of a lower social class. Patrick Duncan (1870-1943), prominent member of the Opposition Bench in Parliament and the first South African to become Governor-General of the Union, stated that "race mixture takes place most when social inequality is greatest."<sup>48</sup> He did not support the segregationist policies as he saw them as "driving the semi-educated and civilised native back into the primitive ways of the kraal...it is only the old policy

---

<sup>47</sup> Reader's Digest Illustrated History of South Africa, 1st ed., p. 283.

<sup>48</sup> "Patrick Duncan's Pamphlet."

of repression in another form."<sup>49</sup> Duncan felt that the two races do not naturally tend to mix...neither group wanted to...and "To give the native self-respect and a proper pride in his own life will do more to stop these irregular unions than all the repressive laws on the Statute Book."<sup>50</sup>

Between 1914 and 1918, while World War I fatigued the European nations, the South African Quarterly, a local Quaker newspaper maintained that the 'Native Question' remained South Africa's most "pressing domestic problem."<sup>51</sup> Rheinallt Jones, editor of the newspaper, who became a leading figure of the Joint Council Movement and the Institute of Race Relations, felt the country's educational system was doing little to alleviate problems. More schools and better trained teachers were needed, and he regarded "the indifference of the state to coloured and native education...appalling."<sup>52</sup> Current census data (1914) revealed that out of a population of 6.5 million people, only one-fifth were white and almost 70 percent were Africans (the remainder were 'coloreds' at 10 percent and Indians at 2 percent).<sup>53</sup>

---

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> "The Political Situation," The South African Quarterly, vol.1, no.6, September-November, 1915, p. 129, Transvaal State Archives, Pretoria, South Africa.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Howard Pim, "Some South African Problems of Government," The South African Quarterly, vol. 1, no. 4, June-August, 1914, p. 4, Transvaal State Archives.

Pim wrote that one of South Africa's most serious problems at the time was the economic gap between the population groups: Africans earned only one-tenth the wages a white person earned, and since their work was generally intermittent, their wages were actually lower. Indians were paid the same as Africans, though their work was more continuous and thus Indians actually earned less. The 'coloreds', working continuously, earned one-fourth the wages of a White worker.<sup>54</sup>

That same year the House of Assembly debated the introduction of a 'color bar' in the Transvaal Mines Works and Machinery Regulations. Its proponents argued that it was not 'native' labor they objected to, but cheap 'native' labor. The issue was also debated in the South African Quarterly. Editor Arnold Wynne criticized the current government for setting up Commissions to study Commissions and so forth, all in pursuit of "settling the country upon a lasting basis of orderly development."<sup>55</sup> The latest measure...a 'color bar'...was a "genuine wish to safeguard the continued existence of our European working classes in the midst of their native, coloured and Asiatic competitors."<sup>56</sup> Wynne cited South Africa's cost and standard of living as among the highest in the world driven up by exorbitant food and housing costs. Whites would let houses they built stand empty rather than rent them to non-whites and poor whites were soon approaching the economic level of the 'natives', thus contributing to a reduced level of

---

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> "Editorial," The South African Quarterly, vol.1, no. 4, June-August, 1914, p. 1, Transvaal State Archives.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

accepted civilized behavior. It seemed the developing nation was in distress, but protecting white workers from skilled non-white workers was not an economic answer to South Africa's problems. The views of the paper were in opposition to the 'color bar':

The granting to any class of men of a monopoly gives them a sense of security which robs them of the healthy stimulus of competition and reacts with ill effect upon their character as well as upon their work.<sup>57</sup>

Wynne scolded those who "talk glibly" that they had a right in their own country to sell their labor at whatever cost as this was negative to the well-being of all. What he did strongly advocate was equal pay for equal work for all, regardless of skin color. He did not encourage a state minimum wage as conditions around the country were so varied. He expressed his concern that non-whites were beginning to feel that recent legislation was designed to put them -- and keep them -- at the lowest strata socially and economically. If this were true, then its effects would be a far greater disability than exclusion from a particular trade. Wynne argued that the "equal pay principle...asserts that the colour of man's skin must not weigh in the distribution of awards for merit."<sup>58</sup>

While Pim had some paternalistic attitudes about African labor -- i.e., "Native progress in industrial skill has

---

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

been hindered by their dislike of continuous work"<sup>59</sup> -- he too argued in their support as skilled wage earners. Since white men had effectively destroyed their pastoral life, they now had no choice but to compete in the industrial labor market: "Being capable of doing skilled work and forbidden to do it, they are also quite alive to the fact that they are not drawing skilled wages, and it is certain that in the near future these conditions will give rise to discontent, the consequences of which among native labourers no South African dare belittle."<sup>60</sup> Pim's insight into future problems is obvious; however, few Quakers could have realized at the time how insidious the government's plans for segregation would result in dreadful consequences for the entire nation.

At the Second General Meeting of the Society of Friends in South Africa (Johannesburg, 1919), the Clerk raised the issue of the problems arising as a result of the "native races [in the country] far outnumbering the whites."<sup>61</sup> He acknowledged that few among them really knew the condition under which 'natives' lived. The main speaker at their meeting would hopefully provide some information...James Henderson (1867-1930), Principal of the Lovedale Native Institution. The Lovedale Training Institution for Africans was established in 1821 by the Glasgow Missionary Society. Located in Alice (part of Ciskei), Lovedale offered a chance at a 'liberal

---

<sup>59</sup> "Some South African Problems of Government," The South African Quarterly, vol. 1, no. 4, June-August, 1914, p. 5, Transvaal State Archives.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Report on the Second General Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends in South Africa, 1919, Quaker Archives, UCT.

education' for Africans and was also a vehicle by which missionaries could hopefully convert local 'natives' to Christianity. Referring to Africans being influenced by the more 'vile' members of the white society, the Clerk stated "more and more everyday the masses of the native peoples are being brought into touch with the rank and file of the whites, whose standards and education and ideals are not those of Sir George Grey [1812-1898], Robert Moffat [1795-1883] and Dr. [James] Stewart [1831-1905]...losing the respect for the white race that it was natural they should feel for their chosen rulers."<sup>62</sup>

In his address Henderson asserted that all whites must realize that legislation would not make the 'native' go away. His presence in South Africa was permanent. He outnumbered the whites and possessed an incredible capacity to survive under hard conditions. Advanced as they had become, they still had to cope with their "semi-barbarianism."<sup>63</sup> The Native Reserves were congested and offered little employment. Hunger was becoming more acute and the Africans were beginning to lose courage and hope. More trained 'native' farmers committed to agricultural development were needed, as were teachers, ministers and doctors.

Continued health and progress of their social system depended upon the 'native' being given the place in it for which he was fitted. Henderson sounded the caution of others, however, when he said "The effective barrier to the intermingling of the two races was the maintaining of

---

<sup>62</sup> Second General Meeting of South African Friends, 1919.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

a proper self-respect on both sides."<sup>64</sup> He was discouraged by the rift between the white and African races "never so near the parting of ways...as we are at present. Native dissatisfaction was never more rife...on so widespread a scale as it is at present."<sup>65</sup> Dr. Henderson would only have to wait a few more decades to see how it could get much worse.

John Tengo Jabavu's son, Davidson Don Tengo, quite agreed with Henderson's call for more 'native' education. In fact, he felt it should be compulsory and combine several facets: academic training, industrial training, and religion. There were too many unskilled 'natives' and he sympathized with white farmers who "openly confess that it is their reliance upon untrained native labour that has put the agriculture of this country at the bottom on the scale in all civilisation."<sup>66</sup> The syllabus for 'native' elementary schools had to be overhauled in order to ensure a more basic standard of learned skills by even those who dropped out early. In "Native Educational Needs" which he wrote for The South African Ambassador, Jabavu wrote that "White men were looked upon with distrust and suspicion; there was the feeling that the white man wanted to keep the black man down..."<sup>67</sup> Jabavu further cited several causes for 'native' unrest:

---

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Davidson Don Tengo Jabavu, "Native Educational Needs," The South African Ambassador, February, 1920, pp. 2-3, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

...inequality of wages for equal work; lack of waiting room accommodation for the better class natives at railway stations; lack of proper dwelling houses in the towns; exclusion from trams; the humiliation of being stopped in the street to show a pass...but chief of all, the colour bar.<sup>68</sup>

By the mid 1920s, the government was not about to give up on its fight for a 'color bar' and the issue continued to be debated in the South African Quakers' local newspaper as well as the British Friend. Howard Pim wrote "[The color bar] protects the inefficient white against the efficient native. It forbids the native to perform skilled work, thereby hampering his development and certainly causing discontent. What heavier handicap can you inflict on any race than to close the avenues by which its able members can advance?" Pim further wrote that to continue the 'color bar', which only benefitted the 'unemployable' whites, would cause constant 'native' unrest and loss of goodwill.<sup>69</sup>

South African Quakers were well aware their small membership would have limited impact on any problems within the general society. In 1925, Friends in Transvaal Monthly Meeting wrote that "Whilst it has not been practicable for our Monthly Meeting...to engage in activities of a public nature, it should be noted that our members individually are persistently at work in such organizations as the Joint European and Native Council; Lands Hostels Committee; S.A. Temperance Alliance; Udenominational Children's Home; [and the] Y.M.C.A.

---

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Wm. Henry F. Alexander, "South African Notes and News," The Friend, 7 May, 1926, p. 394, Quaker Archives, UCT.

Board."<sup>70</sup> Mary Butler of Cradock stood out as an important conscience among South African Friends, and she would remain such until her death in 1977. She was a trained nurse who for reasons undocumented never married. When not busy, however, with the Butler family abundance of nieces and nephews, she was at work in the medical dispensary of Cradock's African community. She wrote of 'native' health conditions in the Cradock location for the 1928 General Meeting Newsheet. Her on-going written series of 'Location Sketches' (published in the family-owned newspaper Midland News as well as various Quaker journals) was often the only glimpse white South Africans had of the grim reality within black townships:

The poverty of our location people is very depressing, and is often sufficient to account for the squalor and immorality we find. Europeans throughout South Africa need to be roused to this fact. The comfort in our homes and the labour in our shops and on our farms are being bought at too high a price -- the degradation of the native races of South Africa.<sup>71</sup>

When Selope Theme (1886-1955), an important early leader of the ANC, Joint Council Movement and the Natives Representative Council, addressed a 1928 Joint Council Meeting in Cradock, few whites attended. She chastised the 'Europeans' who "did not avail themselves of the opportunity of hearing...an experienced Native speaker

---

<sup>70</sup> Fifth General Meeting for South Africa Newsheet, Report from the Transvaal Monthly Meeting, December 1928, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>71</sup> Mary Butler, "Native Health Society at Cradock," Fifth General Meeting for South Africa Newsheet, December, 1928, Quaker Archives, UCT.

who is touring the country in the interests of inter-racial peace and understanding."<sup>72</sup>

In 1930, Olive Warner, Friend from Natal Monthly Meeting, wrote an appeal to the British Friend urging that Friends "could not only be of service by visiting but by settling in South Africa." She went on to cite several job openings and salaries that had been recently advertised in South African newspapers. Several were in the field of education.<sup>73</sup>

In 1909, when James Butler had written his own appeal for more Friends to immigrate to South Africa, he had also in mind a large enough Quaker community with which to support a Quaker school. Butler realized the Society's lack of appeal to youth; thus, something very vital was necessary to keep the Society alive and meaningful among their children. A Friends' school would be the Society's best assurance of keeping Quakerism active and dynamic in the country by providing the kind of education for their children that embraced Quaker principles and objectives. Butler's dream of a Quaker school was about to become a reality, but not without an unexpected ending.

---

<sup>72</sup> Mary Butler's Papers, Jeffrey Butler's Personal Collection.

<sup>73</sup> "The Call of South Africa: Come Over and Join Us!" The Friend, August, 1930, page no. not visible, Quaker Archives, WITS.

CHAPTER FIVE: INCHANGA

*What would be the strength of Friends in England if there had been no Friends' school?*

James Butler, 1909

Almost all Quakers in South Africa agreed with James Butler's desire to have a Quaker school in the country. Almost all except for Irene Macfadyen. She chided Butler for wanting to turn out "young Quakers from a...sort of Friend factory."<sup>1</sup> She also expressed her annoyance with the British, who were asked to help provide 'foundation' for the school: "the cardinal mistake of the British in the dealings with South Africa has been the idea that anything -- animals, plants, government, institutions, ideals, educations, can be lifted bodily from England into this country."<sup>2</sup>

Butler was not the first Quaker in South Africa, however, to express a desire for a Friends' school. In 1903, W.W. Lidbetter, wrote a letter to British Friends on behalf of Cradock Quakers expressing concern that their "children will probably be lost to the Society" without the influence and support of a Friends' school. British Quakers had asked where students

---

<sup>1</sup> The South African Friend, vol. 1, no. 7, January, 1910, p. 1, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

would be found for such a school, and Lidbetter indicated that students would come from not only among those families of Friends settled in South Africa but from 'friends of Friends' as well. Lidbetter suggested that a Friends' school would be appealing to those who would value the "guarded training, development of character, moral love and sound education...characteristic of Friends' schools."<sup>3</sup> Lidbetter also implied that the school would be helpful to children who might be "sent out from home" for the benefit of the South African climate.<sup>4</sup>

Butler had support from other South African Friends, who emphasized the distances Quakers needed to travel even to share worship. South Africa was thousands of miles away from Friends meetings in England and Australia, and it was difficult enough just to travel within South Africa. There was only one meeting house at the time, and Friends had to gather either in private homes or offices. Other than Cape Town, there was no place to maintain a library or file business affairs. One-third of the Quakers in South Africa still retained their membership with meetings in England. Children who did attend British Quaker schools often chose to stay in Europe. The Society was not yet strong enough in South Africa to hold onto its children, many of whom were marrying into other religions. A school could provide just the base needed to foster Quakerism in the country and to help keep their children involved in the Society. The education would be based on Quaker principles and boys would not be subject

---

<sup>3</sup> W.W. Lidbetter to British Friends in general, 7 April, 1903, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

to cadet training as in government schools. Furthermore, the Society in general would have an administrative center and also a place in which to meet for conferences.<sup>5</sup> The Society, however, was still too small and scattered to wage an effective campaign. Many more years would pass before the school issue was taken seriously.

The proposed school was actively discussed at the Society's First General Meeting held in January, 1918. South African Friends felt ready to make it a reality. All who attended seemed to have something specific they hoped the school would offer, and the bad state of education in South Africa encouraged the campaign. It was decided the school would be co-educational and open to students from about ten or eleven years onward to Matriculation. The curriculum would include agriculture, science and of course religion. Quaker history would be taught and Friends principles maintained. There would be Meetings for Worship. Dutch should be taught since "without that language children would be handicapped in their future life in South Africa."<sup>6</sup> The principal and staff would be in "full unity with our simple Quaker faith regarding the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ and His atoning work, and the inspiration of the Scriptures."<sup>7</sup> In addition to boarders, Gilbert Reynolds hoped the school could be open to day-students, thus

---

<sup>5</sup> Butler, "Friends in South Africa;" and William Henry Alexander, "Quakerism in South Africa," reprinted from The Friend's Quarterly Examiner, October, 1928, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>6</sup> Report from the First General Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends in South Africa, Cape Town, January, 1918, Quaker Archives, WITS.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

spreading its influence within the school's locale. Above all, he said, "we should make it quite plain to Friends at home [in England] that such a school should be for Europeans *only*."<sup>8</sup> W.H. Robson said that at the same time they should make it clear that South African Friends are "not unsympathetic towards the natives. Possibly in the future a school for native children would be considered."<sup>9</sup>

During the Meeting letters were read from John Tengo Jabavu and his son, Davidson, who expressed their hope that Friends could demonstrate their commitment by endowing one or more scholarships to the South African Native College at Fort Hare. The Clerk was told to reply that "whilst we have every sympathy with the work of the Native College, we are not at present sufficiently organized to undertake work of this kind, but we place its claims high upon the institutions which we desire to help." Their energies instead would be consumed with trying to establish their own school.<sup>10</sup>

Six months later, Jacobus Tarntaal wrote a letter which was printed in the July 5th, 1918 issue of The Friend asking if it was possible to have a Quaker school in South Africa. In the letter, he described himself as a "coloured man from South Africa" and said that the "establishment of a mixed (European and Native) school

---

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

out here by the Friends...would do a very great deal to break down the barriers between the races."<sup>11</sup>

South African Friends quickly responded as it was "felt that with the limited knowledge South African conditions...[among] the average Friend in England such a letter would have considerable influence."<sup>12</sup> They felt it was "imperative that we should endeavor to counteract any tendency on the part of Friends at home to advocate co-education of white and black in the proposed Friends' school."<sup>13</sup> Howard Pim was asked to write a letter to Friends in England explaining "the impossibility of running such a school...though we are very far from being unsympathetic towards the better education of the native and coloured peoples."<sup>14</sup>

South African 'conditions' were not entirely clear to British Friends, as they had some difficulty understanding why the proposed school would be open only to white enrollment. South African Friend Leonard Howe wrote to the Clerk of the Cape Monthly Meeting: "Probably you have heard from T.D. Laurence regarding the suggestions made at [London] Yearly Meeting by a few dear Friends who are obviously totally ignorant of South African conditions, that the proposed Friends school

---

<sup>11</sup> The Friend, 5 July, 1918, Friends House Library, London.

<sup>12</sup> Clerk of the Cape Monthly Meeting to Howard Pim, 15 August, 1918, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

should accommodate both white and native children!!!"<sup>15</sup> As it was, they were years away from having their school. Funds had to be raised, a location picked and staff selected. The Society also had to be sure of sufficient enrollment for their co-educational venture. But the school's racial complexion created a tense undercurrent between British and South African Friends for many years.

South African Friends stated over and over they were not opposed to better 'native education'; on the contrary, they were aware of its inadequate state and that the government must amend the current educational system. In the Report of the 1923 General Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends in South Africa they stated their view that "the system of free education for whites while natives have to pay is inequitable and unjust and must therefore be rectified at the earliest moment."<sup>16</sup> Some South African Friends were more directly involved: Howard Hemming directed a school for 'colored' children in Port Elizabeth. South African Friends defended their position with great conviction and it certainly was true that the South African government was doing its best to keep the races separate. Lovedale had experimented with having white students attend classes with its African students and everyone seemed to benefit. But the Superintendent General of Education did not like Lovedale's experiment and threatened to withhold needed government grants if they continued. In an article written for Quaker World Service, Pim suggested that Friends could do more to

---

<sup>15</sup> Clerk of the Cape Monthly Meeting to Leonard Howe, 11 July, 1918, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>16</sup> Report of the 1923 General Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends in South Africa, Quaker Archives, WITS.

assist with 'native' schools. As for the proposed Quaker school, they simply had to have sufficient enrollment in order to become self-supporting, and Pim stated that "I do not think European Friends [in South Africa] would send their children to a school of that kind [that admitted Africans]."<sup>17</sup>

Quakers in South Africa still lacked sufficient funds to have their school and considerable fund raising took place among British Friends. They had the support of one in particular. British Quaker William Henry Alexander had lived in South Africa for several years and was in full support of South African Friends having their own school. He criticized existing government schools for teaching 'to the book', what he called an "examination fetish...[where] book learning leading to 'passes' is the aim...rather than mind development and character formation."<sup>18</sup> Alexander was not aware of any co-educational boarding schools in South Africa, which "probably contributes powerfully to a lack of culture in many men and women."<sup>19</sup> Alexander also understood why the school could not enroll non-white students. In a pamphlet written for British Quakers entitled "Quakerism in South Africa," Alexander wrote:

The leading representatives of no race in South Africa, white, black, Indian or coloured, wish or ask at the present day for schools for racial co-education of European and non-European. That was the definite answer

---

<sup>17</sup> "A Problem in Black and White," Quaker World Service, 1928, p. 4, Quaker Archives, WITS.

<sup>18</sup> Alexander, "Quakerism in South Africa," p. 7.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

of the Bantu members of the Johannesburg Joint Council, the most forward looking group I know of in South Africa.

In the existing social conditions a mixed race school would meet with absolute barriers to its working in all the accessories of school life, which mean so much in our larger ideas of education. No school would meet them in games: on tramcar or railway trains the pupils must find different places; swimming baths, concerts and other public functions would insist upon objectionable distinctions. Not improbably the domestic staffing of the school would present continual difficulty. These existing social barriers cannot be overthrown by sentiment.<sup>20</sup>

In an address before the Friends South Africa Committee in London on 6 September, 1928, Howard Pim spoke of the meeting of the Johannesburg Joint Council (of which he was Chairman) where the racial complexion of the proposed school was discussed. He said more 'native' representatives were at the meeting than usual, perhaps due to the school issue being on the agenda. They rarely say much, he said, but that evening they contributed a great deal. All were in support of the Friends school in South Africa, but "I could not get one single word for or against the proposal to establish a European school to which native children could be admitted." Implying that perhaps the African members of the Joint Council were ambivalent about a 'mixed race' school, Pim further stated that "The native has the strongest objection to say unpleasant things."<sup>21</sup> The school issue was on the next meeting's agenda, but "very few of our native

---

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>21</sup> Howard Pim, "Proposed Friends School in South Africa," paper presented at the Friend's South Africa Committee, London, 6 September, 1928, Quaker Archives, UCT.

members turned up and thinking the whole thing over I cannot but come to the conclusion that the proposal [i.e., a 'mixed race' school] was not one which appealed to them."<sup>22</sup>

In a letter written to the Clerk of the South African General Meeting, Guy Farren expressed his view that South African Friends were confident that their school would provide the needed foundation to inculcate in their children a proper "Christian outlook on racial relations"<sup>23</sup> so that they "will be able to solve the problems before the country in a true and lasting manner and in that way help to mould the future of both white and native races."<sup>24</sup> To have the school racially-mixed was not the ideal way to achieve these goals. South African Friends wrote a statement on their position which they sent to the Friends Service Council Committee in London. In it they stated while Quakers everywhere accepted the principle of equality of mankind, the local Society doubted that this universal opinion would also advocate equality for all without a period of preparation into a normal society those people who seemed culturally ill-equipped. The South African 'natives' were in such of state of transition that they were simply not ready for general integration, certainly the least not in the proposed Friends' school. To cast them into such a

---

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> "A Friends' School for South Africa," fund-raising pamphlet, April, 1931, Friends House Library, London.

<sup>24</sup> Guy Farren to Edward Garnett, 3 July, 1928, Quaker Archives, WITS.

position would be, they further stated, unkind, unwise and unjust.<sup>25</sup>

Some British Friends objected, however, to contributing funds to a Quaker school with a 'color bar'. The issue was seriously discussed at the 1928 London Yearly Meeting. British Quakers were told that 'native' children took longer to complete courses than white children and this was an obvious disadvantage to having a racially mixed school.<sup>26</sup> Was this true, they asked, or was their objection to 'natives' based on color prejudice? Was it not possible to have even one or two 'colored' children without serious damage to the curriculum? Were South African Friends prepared to do this, and if not, why not. British Quaker W.G. Hinde wrote to Olive Warner, a member of Natal Monthly Meeting: "I am sure if S.A. Friends wish to secure the support of English Friends they must face up to the native question...There is no doubt that certain Friends who have money are refusing support to a scheme which they believe is going to be one more barrier between the races in S.A."<sup>27</sup> Of profound concern was the word they received that Davidson Jabavu's children would not be admitted to the school. In a letter he wrote to Warner, Jabavu stated:

It seems to me an untenable position for the Society of Friends to say that at a Friend's

---

<sup>25</sup> Statement on the position of South African Friends regarding admission of 'colored and native children' to proposed Friends school, copy sent to Joseph Butler, Friends Service Council Committee Member, 27 July, 1928, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>26</sup> W.G. Hinde to Olive Warner, 2 June, 1928, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

school they cannot allow children of their own members to attend because they are coloured. There may be other reasons but that surely is impossible for us as a Christian body and would undermine and prevent a great deal of the Quaker outlook and atmosphere that we want the school to create.<sup>28</sup>

Davidson Jabavu had strong feelings about the 'whites-only' policy of the proposed school. In a letter dated 9 July, 1928, to Olive Warner, a sympathetic Quaker from Natal Monthly Meeting, he said he first confronted the issue in 1914 when Arnold Wynne had proposed the idea of a Quaker school and expressed his opinion against a 'color bar'. Jabavu backed Wynne's opinion stating that the "Society should...take up a courageous position and rise above the unfortunate conventions of this country."<sup>29</sup> Few South African Quakers shared his conviction. Wynne died during World War I as a volunteer with the Quaker Ambulance Unit and Jabavu now seemed alone in his support of a racially open Quaker school in South Africa. The Society as he was experiencing it in South Africa was a great disappointment to Jabavu. In a later letter to Warner, Jabavu wrote:

I must confess that among the motives that actuated me to join the Society of Friends was that I had found them in England a courageous group that had won their influence by their courage to act according to the best light shed by Jesus Christ on mundane affairs, a Society that could take a bold lead in a country like South Africa dominated by materialism and racial hatreds. It was a

---

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Davidson Don Tengo Jabavu to Olive Warner, 9 July, 1928, Quaker Archives, WITS.

disappointment to be disillusioned...when I returned to South Africa.<sup>30</sup>

As for 'native' children taking longer to complete courses compared to white children, Jabavu blamed the inferior syllabus in the primary schools dictated by the government in their quest to make things unequal and stated that "Where opportunities are equal the chances are always equal."<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, Jabavu cited several examples where Africans excelled over whites at the Lovedale Institute. As for racial mixing leading to inter-marriage, there was little evidence of it among the "level-headed and well educated people...for they seem to develop pride of race an ambition for race integrity."<sup>32</sup>

Edward Garnett, Clerk of the South Africa General Meeting and member of the Education Executive Committee, wrote Jabavu asking if he wanted to comment publicly about the school. Jabavu said no, as his views on segregation were quite clear. He was totally opposed to it in all forms:

If I think it wrong in one case I can hardly hold it right in the case of South African Friends. I do not understand how my children and those of a highly civilised man like Max Yergan<sup>33</sup> should be debarred from a Friend

---

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Max Yergan was a black American who lived in South Africa from 1921 to 1936 as a representative of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). During his time in South Africa, Yergan was a communist by conviction. He maintained 'left-wing' policies when he returned to America in 1936 where he took up a teaching post at the City College of New York. Together with Paul Robeson he founded the radical Council on African Affairs. When they ousted him as

school in South Africa while they are welcomed by the Friends overseas [in England] where I intend sending them...That is why I prefer to keep quiet so that the proposed school may materialize or fail on its own merits and not as due to my opposition, lest I be cursed for ever having joined the Friends as a Society (for I did not know they became different people in South Africa.)<sup>34</sup>

It is possible that Garnett believed in a very strict separation of the races. In a 1928 letter to the Cape Town Central Executive Committee he stated that "We realize and respect the aspirations of the enlightened leaders of thought among these sections of our nation, that each should develop on its own lines and preserve its individuality."<sup>35</sup> In a letter that same year to Ruth Fry, Chairperson of the South African Committee for Friends Service Council, he expressed his grave concern about the social mixing of race groups. "Of one thing I feel assured, that purity of race must be preserved. There must be no Bantu-European marriages. The Bantu dreads it quite as much as the Europeans. Mingling the races socially in a school comparable to Sidcot, for

---

Director in 1948, Yergan became anti-communist and supported right-wing causes. He returned to South Africa in 1952 during the Defiance Campaign and warned the movement against communist influence. To cap off an interesting career of political changes, Yergan -- a complex man -- publicly praised the South African government's 'separate development' policy. See Gerhart and Karis, eds., "Political Profiles 1882-1964," p. 168. For more detailed work on Max Yergan's activities while in South Africa, see David Anthony, "Max Yergan in South Africa: From Evangelical Pan-Africanist to Revolutionary Socialist," African Studies Review, vol. 34, no. 2 (September 1991):27-55.

<sup>34</sup> Davidson Don Tengo Jabavu to Edward Garnett, 26 September, 1928, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>35</sup> Edward Garnett to the Cape Town Central Executive Committee of the Society of Friends, 28 July, 1928, Quaker Archives, UCT.

instance, can only lead to one result...[and]...we all know the misery of 'colour' and dread the spread of it."<sup>36</sup> While she fully supported the idea of a Friends' school in South Africa, documentation was not found on Ruth Fry's thoughts on the race issue of the proposed school. However, in a report to the 1928 London Yearly Meeting, she did say that "there is far too little education for black people...they are extremely eager for it, as shown by the sacrifices they will make to obtain it."<sup>37</sup> She further commented on the "unearned superiority"<sup>38</sup> on the part of white people in South Africa.

British Friends consented to help on one condition: "That no definite rule permanently excluding native or coloured children from the School should be made, and that it should be clearly understood that admission to the School...be controlled by the Head Master and his Council or government body as is the case of Friends Schools elsewhere."<sup>39</sup> If South Africans accepted this condition, then British Friends were willing to encourage an appeal for funds be made in England. They also requested that the word 'European' be removed from the Constitution. They stated that a Constitution is often regarded as a permanent document and as such its inclusion suggests the Society's approval of segregation. British Friends were

---

<sup>36</sup> Edward Garnett to Ruth Fry, 20 August, 1928, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>37</sup> The Friend, 8 June, 1928, page no. not visible, Quaker Archives, WITS.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Minutes of the South Africa Committee, Friends Service Council, Minute 300, 1 July, 1932, Friends House Library, London.

vexed enough on this issue: should South African Friends ignore these conditions they would lose vital British support; it would "also contradict all our Society's history and weaken its testimony throughout the world."<sup>40</sup>

It is only fair to say at this point that the Quakers did not stand alone as a faith in South Africa regarding the racial complexion of their proposed school. When government schools were first established they were for white students only. Black education was left entirely to the various missionary societies; thus, it is possible that the Quakers could have admitted African students. Until the 1953 Bantu Education Act, all religiously-based private schools could have admitted African students, but none did. The Catholic Church viewed its schools as vehicles through which to evangelize and also where they could train and employ teachers. When threatened with losing needed government subsidies unless church schools complied with syllabus restrictions in their 'native' schools, the Catholic Church was more angry over possibly losing its 'evangelism' tool than the racist demands of an apartheid state.<sup>41</sup> When in 1954 a member of the American Friends Service Committee confronted the Anglican Bishop of Cape Town as to why their private school did not admit blacks, he was told that they would risk losing more than half of their white students.<sup>42</sup>

---

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. While it may be available, documentation was not found on what the British Quakers eventually contributed to the overall development of a Friends' school in South Africa.

<sup>41</sup> Andrew Pryor, Catholics in an Apartheid Society (Cape Town: David Philip, 1982), pp. 84-86.

<sup>42</sup> South African Liaison Committee: Minutes & Papers 1952-1954, Friends House Library, London, Document 26.

In 1973, the Cape Town Anglican Diocese accepted a 'colored' student in one of its private schools. The government told the Church this was in violation of the Group Areas Act and the Church backed down.<sup>43</sup> By the end of the 1970s, both Catholic and Anglican private schools in South Africa admitted students of all races.

In August, 1932, Inchanga Friends School of South Africa had opened to twelve boarders and two day-students. The school was located on six hundred acres of wooded mountains in the Natal region, midway between Durban and Pietmaritzburg. Standards ran from kindergarten to Matriculation, though with so few students formal classes seemed hardly necessary. There was, of course, no military training and vegetarian meals were provided to those who did not eat meat. The school's curriculum aimed at a "balanced modern education"<sup>44</sup> with emphasis on the "Dalton Plan, which encourages pupils to read and think for themselves."<sup>45</sup> Indoor activities included carpentry, music, art, drama and "either Margaret Morris dancing or eurythmics."<sup>46</sup> The Headmaster was Harold Calpin and Senior Mistress Wilhelmina Thompson.

Calpin had been educated at a Quaker school and was reported to be "athletic, an uncompromising pacifist

---

<sup>43</sup> Alan Paton, Apartheid and the Archbishop: The Life and Times of Geoffrey Clayton (Cape Town: David Philip, 1973), p.199.

<sup>44</sup> South African Friends School pamphlet, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

[and] an ardent worker for the League of Nations."<sup>47</sup> He was aware of the problems associated with the school, but "was not depressed by the difficulties...He was tired of security and welcomed the challenge of this new work."<sup>48</sup> He was not well known among English Friends as he had been teaching in a boarding school far removed from a Quaker community, but looked forward to "returning to Quaker work again."<sup>49</sup> Friends Service Council found him "admirably fitted in every way for the new venture."<sup>50</sup>

Wilhelmina Thompson was fairly well known among South African Quakers. While she hailed from England, she had for many years been vice-principal for private schools in Grahamstown (Wesleyan Girls' College) and Natal (St. Anne's Diocesan College).<sup>51</sup>

The Calpins arrived in South Africa in May and soon thereafter took up residence at Inchanga. Almost immediately there were concerns expressed about their accommodation. At the request of the Clerk of the South Africa School Committee, Yuart Smith visited the Calpins in July and reported that "a great deal of friction had arisen between the Calpins and the Executive."<sup>52</sup> Smith

---

<sup>47</sup> South African Friend, February, 1932, p. 88, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>48</sup> South African Friend, May, 1932, p. 15, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> South African Friend, February, 1932.

<sup>52</sup> Report from Yuart Smith to Durban Executive Committee regarding Friends School, July 1932, Quaker Archives, UCT.

reported that the house was sparsely furnished, everything about it seemed to give off a 'cold' feeling. Requests Calpin made seemed to fall on deaf ears. He asked to have a small rug beside each child's bed but this was dismissed as an unnecessary luxury. Even when his requests were approved the goods were never purchased. Given the obvious strain between the Headmaster and the Executive Committee, Calpin suggested that perhaps he should resign. Smith discouraged the suggestion. Smith was also concerned about the general condition of the school itself -- no rugs, curtains, pictures, nothing of an atmosphere of comfort -- and school was going to open in two weeks. He did not doubt the Calpins were unhappy. He strongly urged the Executive Committee to improve relations and show "more tact, discretion and goodwill" or the school faced a "disastrous situation."<sup>53</sup>

Soon after school started, there also seemed to be some strain between Calpin and Thompson. Calpin as Headmaster had a strong-willed assistant who personally knew many Friends in the local region. Calpin barely knew Friends 6000 miles away. As it was, there were Friends in South Africa who had not approved of his appointment, Mary Butler included, and the education committee to whom he reported had been selected before his arrival. He did not appear to have much authority. Guy Butler attended Inchanga. In Karoo Morning he states that he and fellow students suspected not Miss Thompson, but Calpin's second master -- a Mr. Horrocks -- of collusion with Maurice Webb to oust Calpin. Butler describes Horrocks as a man with a "dry voice and drier manner [who] did not seem to

---

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

like children, and kept his distance." Calpin, on the other hand, was well liked. Butler reports that the rancor among the adults in the school and their own parents was painfully obvious.<sup>54</sup>

Maurice Webb (1899-1966) was a Quaker from Durban and had considerable influence among South African Quakers. He did not appear to like Calpin. During one altercation with Calpin, Webb stated that "we could not rely upon his word"<sup>55</sup> and the Friends' School Executive said "it was clear from the first that the Executive had to deal with an outstandingly difficult temperament."<sup>56</sup> Calpin was suspected of trying to gain the sympathy of the children, though no one could prove it. Thompson questioned the "capacity of Edward Garnett in judging the fitness of either Harold Calpin or herself."<sup>57</sup> Both teachers accused the education committee of "not [knowing] what [they] want educationally."<sup>58</sup>

Howard Pim was also very influential among South African Quakers and was furious that Friends in Johannesburg had not been informed of the school's problems. He chastised the Cape Town and Durban meetings for withholding information. He stated that by now -- November -- it was probably too late for him or anyone to resolve the issue.

---

<sup>54</sup> Guy Butler, "Inchanga," Karoo Morning (Cape Town: David Philip, 1977), pp. 168-181.

<sup>55</sup> Letter to Howard Pim, 23 December, 1932, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>56</sup> Statement by the Friends School Committee, 2 February, 1922, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>57</sup> Letter to Pim, 23 December, 1932.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

Many reports, statements and declarations were written which were defensive and hostile. There was also a great deal of 'hand wringing'. Calpin's resignation was accepted, as was Thompson's. Announcement of the school's closure was mailed out with the students' first term report. The entire episode caused great pain among South African Friends. Will Fox resigned as Clerk of the General Meeting, suggesting that a General Meeting not be held for "some time to come."<sup>59</sup> He further suggested that those who served the local Society at present step aside. South African Friends were greatly divided and needed time to heal:

We call ourselves Friends; are we not therefore bound to forgive and seek forgiveness one from another? Indeed, unless we can set our own house in order what messages can we hope to offer to our fellow men?

Friends, let us be Quakerly, get back to our Meetings for Worship and not be afraid to wait until such time as new life shall arise amongst us.<sup>60</sup>

In his unpublished autobiography, Calpin suggests that despite their years of eagerness and good intent, South African Quakers were ill-prepared to open their school. Furthermore, "it soon became apparent to me that I was not the man for a Quaker experiment."<sup>61</sup> In September, 1933, Calpin sent a letter to the Friends Service Council

---

<sup>59</sup> Will Fox to Clerk of the Cape Monthly Meeting, 8 December, 1935, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Autobiography of G.H. Calpin, unpublished manuscript, n.d., p. 114.

"conveying his wish to resign from the Society."<sup>62</sup> He never returned to the Society, and in his autobiography he wrote that in later years "...I belong to no church and have no religion..."<sup>63</sup>

Some Friends in South Africa and England wanted to keep the school open and try again to re-establish the curriculum but most wanted simply to let the school issue rest. Arnold Lloyd of London Yearly Meeting in particular wanted to try, even offering to teach if necessary, but it was financially futile. When the school opened it was under-capitalized. According to available archives for South Africa's Department of Education and Culture for Natal, there appears to be no record of state financial support to Inchanga, a private school.<sup>64</sup> Records were not found as to how much financial support British Quakers ultimately contributed, nor what -- if any -- funds were raised among South African Quakers. Like many private schools, Inchanga would be expected to become self-sufficient on school fees.

The South African Quakers had waited so long for their school, perhaps they should have waited a bit longer. Perhaps too many people were involved, and the personal commitment of local Quakers so great that Calpin and his staff had little control. For some, the school did seem a fiefdom, a personal possession.

---

<sup>62</sup> Minutes of the Friends Service Council, Minute 397, 3 November, 1933, Friends House Library, London.

<sup>63</sup> Calpin manuscript, p. 67, scratched through in the copy, but not erased.

<sup>64</sup> John Deane, South African Department of Education and Culture, Natal, to Brenda Nichols, 22 June, 1993, authors personal collection.

Today the old school building remains in good enough condition to be used as a hotel. On display are photos and relics of the Quaker school, including a copy of the Prospectus.<sup>65</sup> Guy Butler was one of the students who attended that one term of school at Inchanga. While being interviewed on his memory of Inchanga,<sup>66</sup> Butler stressed that "these are the recollections of a small child." Butler attended the school when he was fourteen years old and says he had something of a "hero worship" on Calpin. He described him as a "tall, thin man with a nice sense of humor. He would often read stories to us with a sense of theatrics." Butler relished his brief days at Inchanga, describing his previous government school as "bad...no library, no proper organized sport." At Inchanga, music was encouraged and they learned English folk songs "one would not learn in an ordinary way." Sports took on new creations as the school had only fourteen students. In order to have something approximating a cricket match, girls were included, so there was great improvisation. But Butler remembers all the children were happy: "There was always plenty to do...I was never bored for a minute."

The school's educational approach was quite unique for young Butler. Straight away he was encouraged to read and memorize parts of Hamlet, something which terrified him at the time but for which he has been eternally grateful. "Education was very much left up to you...it was utterly different...we had a one-to-one relationship with the

---

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> All extracts of quotes with Butler are taken from an interview with Guy Butler, Grahamstown, South Africa, 8 April, 1992.

teacher." Butler said while he was aware of conflict, he had "no sense the school would close so soon."

As for his Aunt Mary's objection to Calpin, Butler recalled that her "general feeling was that the appointment was rushed, it was premature." He also recalled conversations around the "Poplar dinner table"<sup>67</sup> between Aunt Mary and his parents, Ernest and Alice. Mary felt that the "Jabavu child should be admitted" and his parents asked "how many parents would let their child go to the school [if it admitted Africans]?"

After the school closed, his Uncle Joe visited from England. Joseph Butler was on the school committee in Friends House, London. Butler was fond of his uncle, and spent a long afternoon with him answering questions about the school. His parents had questions as well. Rumors were rife that the building was in disrepair and this concerned Ernest and Alice for young Guy's health and safety.

I asked Guy Butler if, after this wonderful experience at Inchanga, it was difficult to return to his old school in Cradock. Butler did not recall any great difficulties...he had not been gone that long and he fitted back in well with his local friends. But, he said, it was such an "amorphous place, not at all efficient" that one could come and go almost unnoticed. I thought, what a sad comment.

---

<sup>67</sup> "The Poplars" was the name the Butler family fondly called their Cradock home. To Guy Butler's sad regret, the home was destroyed during the 1974 floods in the Fish River Valley.

Long after the school closed, and by now an adult, Butler discovered he had a friend who knew Harold Calpin as a reporter for the Natal Mercury newspaper. Calpin apparently stayed on in South Africa for a while after leaving Inchanga. His friend described him as having a difficult temperament, so it is possible that Calpin had problems working with people. A personal friend of Calpin's, Dr. Ian Player, recalls Calpin as being editor of the Natal Witness. He described himself as a very good friend of Calpin's and encouraged him to publish the many books he wrote about South Africa and its people. Player considered the books to be remarkable "because of the very gentle view that he took of the people."<sup>68</sup> Player was aware that he was a Quaker but did not recall his having been involved with the Inchanga school. The episode was so upsetting all around that it is very likely, given its brief stint, Calpin chose not to disclose his employment with Inchanga.

There is another possible reason as to why the school failed, or at least why Calpin failed. While it would elude most people, the Quakers would instantly understand. Years later, in conversation with Hope Hay Hewison, Arnold Lloyd revealed that Calpin had been selected "in a non-Quakerly way...by a vote."<sup>69</sup>

---

<sup>68</sup> Ian Player to Brenda Nichols, 14 June, 1993, authors personal collection. See Appendix G for more details on Calpin's activities in South Africa after he left Inchanga.

<sup>69</sup> Interview with Hope Hay Hewison, London, England, August, 1991.

## CHAPTER SIX

THE ADVENT OF APARTHEID AND THE  
QUAKER CONSCIENCE AMONG SOUTH AFRICAN FRIENDS

If more whites had attended the meeting that Mary Butler urged them to attend in 1928 when Selope Thema spoke (see Chapter Four) they would not have encountered a frightening 'barbarian' as many whites feared of the 'native', but a sensitive and provocative speaker. Mary Butler took notes on Thema's speech, writing direct quotes:

*In order to oppress a nation the oppressor must stoop. If you and I are wrestling and you get me down you must come down with me to keep me there.*

*We like our colour because we were made so and we know we were made so for a purpose. We have no wish to change our colour but if a black man is called a 'boy' even when he is a man because he is black he may wish he were not black.*

*There is no colour bar in learning. I can read Shakespeare and no one can stop me thinking like Shakespeare.*

*No legislation will stop our progress because we are made in the image of God.<sup>1</sup>*

While racial legislation in South Africa was fast creating a black proletariat, black resistance movements

---

<sup>1</sup> Mary Butler's Papers, Jeffrey Butler's Personal Collection.

produced a highly educated and articulate leadership. Many were mission educated; they had absorbed 'western' ideas to assert the right to claim equal treatment and to resist oppression. Ken Smith addresses this era in the chapter "A Mission Inspired Liberal Tradition" from his book The Changing Past: Trends in South African Historical Writing. In that chapter Smith discusses characteristics shared by several Africans educated during this period, especially those who attempted to write historical essays or texts. Smith asserts that despite the liberal education they were receiving, they were still influenced by previous 'white' historians who portrayed an uncivilized 'native'. Thus, many prominent African leaders at the time were concerned to convince 'white' South Africans they were civilized and capable -- an attitude that would be rejected today by the more militant African. They were also still optimistic about the future, an optimism that would later be crushed by Hertzog's government.<sup>2</sup> Looking back over the earlier decades of this century, it seems incredible that so few people in government were able and willing to listen to this leadership. Instead, feelings were hardening against Africans and especially the labor threat they posed for the growing number of poor white Afrikaners.

In 1929 the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) grew out of the Joint Council movement between 'Europeans and natives'. The Institute was inspired by Rheinallt Jones who devoted his entire life to improving

---

<sup>2</sup> Ken Smith, "A Mission Inspired Liberal Tradition," The Changing Past: Trends in South African Historical Writing (Johannesburg: Southern Book Publishers, 1988), pp. 131-135. Additionally, see also Christopher Saunders The Making of the South African Past: Major Historians on Race and Class (Cape Town: David Philip, 1988).

the living conditions of Africans. A very active man, Jones helped initiate and develop other organizations such as the Pathfinders movement (the African Boy Scouts), the Jan H. Hofmeyr School of Social Work, the University of Witwatersrand and the Bantu Welfare Trust.<sup>3</sup> In an article written to The Friend, Maurice Webb described the aim of the Institute as to "promote inter-racial co-operation, and its method is research. It claims that the important thing is to get at the facts. When the facts are available, they will speak for themselves."<sup>4</sup> The Institute's research fields included African education, African land rights, health and social welfare facilities for Africans as well as improved wages and employment opportunities.<sup>5</sup> The Institute's research has always been respected for its facts and thoroughness. In 1938, the Afrikaner Broederbond, an ultra-conservative secret organization started in 1918, created the South African Bureau for Racial Affairs (SABRA). The Broederbond regarded it as a "think tank on race policy"<sup>6</sup> and it is still known today for its distorted propaganda. Several South African Quakers participated in the Joint Council movement in their localities and also supported the aims of the SAIRR, often referring to the Institute's research to substantiate some claim. Not all Quakers chose to get involved in the country's racial concerns, but for some their consciousness about the

---

<sup>3</sup> Rheinallt Jones Biographical Sketch, Manuscript Collections, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.

<sup>4</sup> Maurice Webb, "Racial Conflict in South Africa," The Friend, vol. 9, no. 7, July, 1933, p. 736.

<sup>5</sup> Rheinallt Jones Biographical Sketch.

<sup>6</sup> Sparks, The Mind of South Africa, p. 176.

country's racial problems was raised. Proceedings from the Sixth General Meeting by South African Quakers in 1931 reveals an emerging opinion among the group. They stressed that when discussing the problems in South Africa, it was important to stop using the phrase 'native problem', as it negatively implied that it was the African responsible for the cause of the problem. The problems of South Africa were shared by all its citizens, regardless of color.<sup>7</sup>

Webb also addressed the General Meeting with a speech entitled "Memorandum of the Inter-Racial Problems of South Africa." He stated "while recognising that it may be, in some cases, desirable for different races to develop each in its own community, we could not assent to a permanent and enforced system of racial segregation. We regard the franchise as being at once the right and responsibility of every member of a civilised community...and [believe that it] should be shared by all civilised persons without distinction of race."<sup>8</sup> The meeting was attended by Rev. Arthur Blaxall (1891-1970) and Rev. James Calata (1895-1983), supporters of the ANC. They participated in the discussion which led to the South African Quakers endorsing Webb's statement.

As more segregationist policies were becoming cemented into South Africa's everyday life, South African Friends were probing deeper into their own attitudes about race. They were not all saying 'one man-one vote'. They felt

---

<sup>7</sup> Address delivered at the Sixth General Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends in South Africa, Cape Town, 1931, Quaker Archives, WITS.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

that the right to vote was a privilege, not a right, and it should be based on qualifications. This attitude would not change for several decades. During the 1960s, one Quaker would say that a 'qualified' franchise should be applied to all, white and black.<sup>9</sup> But certainly, in 1931, Webb's Memorandum was very broad-minded.

While the Quakers debated the proper place of the African in South African society and organizations such as the SAIRR were emerging in the early 1930s, the general political climate throughout the country floundered on the question of leadership. In 1933, General Hertzog, founder of the Afrikaner National Party, suggested a coalition between himself and his old adversary, Jan Smuts. Together, they formed the United Party offering a promising marriage between 'Brit and Boer' and a white buffer against the growing black population and their increasing demands. Collectively, they were not 'reactionary' enough for some Afrikaners, who wanted even more restraint applied to the 'native'. Hertzog individually, however, responded.<sup>10</sup>

Prior to their partnership, Hertzog was determined to take away the franchise available for over eighty years to Africans living in the Cape province. To the Cape Africans, while it was a limited franchise, its importance was in the hope it offered for the possible

---

<sup>9</sup> Report back on questionnaire regarding Friends attitudes on various questions of race, including the franchise. South African Quaker Newsletter, December, 1961, p. 9, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>10</sup> This partnership of Smuts and Hertzog was referred to as the 'Fusion Government'. See Davenport, "The Fusion Government and the 'Native Bills,' and 'The Black Reaction to Hertzog's 1936 Legislation,' in South Africa, 4th ed., pp. 280-287.

right to vote across the whole of South Africa. It was that hope Hertzog wanted to squash. He realized as well that allowing the continuation of the Cape franchise for Africans could ultimately lead to black domination in the country, a prospect which was an anathema to the political segregationist. In a series of Bills referred to as the Native Bills (as well as the Hertzog Bills) Hertzog's government from as early as 1926 to 1933 aimed at destroying the effectiveness of an African vote. In South Africa Davenport writes:

It enfranchised white women in 1930 thus reducing the African electorate from 3.1 percent to 1.4 percent of the total. It liberated white male adults in the Cape and Natal from the property and income test in 1931, thereby adding another 10,000 to the roll. And it managed to remove some 5000 Africans from the roll over the same five years by a new and perhaps irregular requirement that those claiming income qualifications had to prove employment for eleven of the preceding twelve months, and by amending the electoral law in 1931 so as to make objections to names on the voters' roll easier to lodge and more costly and inconvenient to contest.<sup>11</sup>

Smuts, while also a segregationist, lamented to his English Quaker friends that the "'Native Bills Committee is getting worse and worse. We shall not arrive at an agreement and the Natives will be deprived of such scanty rights as they still possess.'"<sup>12</sup>

Anticipating African resistance, Hertzog proposed a deal -- more land in the 'native' reserves in exchange for the

---

<sup>11</sup> Davenport, South Africa, 4th ed., p.282.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

Cape franchise. The ANC immediately rejected the offer and reaffirmed their belief in the "'inalienable right of Africans to unlimited land ownership' and pointed to the increasing poverty in the existing Reserves."<sup>13</sup>

In time, the government responded. The 1935 Native Trust and Land Bill increased the Native Reserves from 7.5 percent to 13 percent of land within the country. At the same time, the government barred rural Africans from acquiring land outside their stipulated areas.

The ANC was not the only African organization to repudiate these further restrictions on Africans. The All-African Convention (AAC) was founded in December, 1935, primarily in reaction to Hertzog's bills. Less militant than the ANC, the AAC was largely composed of well-educated and articulate middle-class Africans. It was founded by three prominent doctors: Professor Davidson Don Tengo Jabavu, and physicians Dr. Alfred Xuma (1893-1962) and Dr. James Moroka (1891-1985). Dr. Xuma studied and travelled in the United States and Europe qualifying as a doctor.<sup>14</sup> Dr. Moroka, who also served on the Native Representative Council, was helped financially by Afrikaans farmer Piet Steytler to study in Edinburgh where he qualified in medicine and subsequently subsidized four white students as a gesture of his gratitude.<sup>15</sup> The founders of the AAC were more concerned to prove their worth as responsible citizens

---

<sup>13</sup> Reader's Digest Illustrated History of South Africa, 1st ed., p. 338.

<sup>14</sup> Mona De Beer, Who Did What In South Africa (Johannesburg: A.D. Donker [Pty] Ltd., 1988), p. 194.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 127.

than to overthrow the government. Its members were willing to "concede to a qualified franchise and 'civilisation tests' for Africans, and while they admitted that they sought a common political identity between whites and blacks, they accepted that the two groups might 'develop on their own lines, socially and culturally.'" <sup>16</sup>

In their naive belief that a compromise could be reached later, a small AAC delegation came very close to agreeing to Hertzog's proposal before other key members intervened. The person who led the delegation was Jabavu; those who intervened were Xuma and Moroka. <sup>17</sup>

Davidson Don Tengo Jabavu shared his father's moderate political approach although he relentlessly opposed segregation all his life. In his book The Segregation Fallacy Davidson Tengo argued against the various reasons given for the "elusive phantom" <sup>18</sup> of segregation. For example, referring to it as the "Financial Strangulation of Native Education", Davidson Tengo lambasted the government's meager financial support for 'native' education in comparison to white students. He harshly criticized a system which provided an education for white children that was compulsory and free, and their school textbooks were free. Education for non-white children was not compulsory and they had to pay school fees. As a result, only 24 percent of non-white school age children

---

<sup>16</sup> Reader's Digest Illustrated History of South Africa, 1st ed., p. 339.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Davidson Don Tengo Jabavu, The Segregation Fallacy (Lovedale Institution Press, 1928), p. 15.

in the entire Union were enrolled in classroom instruction. Additionally, the government's financial investment in 'non-white education' (school buildings, equipment, teacher salaries, etc.) was less than one-fifth the investment for 'white education'.<sup>19</sup>

Davidson Jabavu was a devout Christian, and felt more people should be devout as well. He could not blame his fellow Africans, however, when all the 'Christianity' they saw was in the hateful face of a white man. He criticized these same 'civilized' people who whiled away their Sunday mornings on a tennis court or cricket field. Jabavu considered them terrible examples of Christian living, but he was also pragmatic. In The Segregation Fallacy Jabavu stated the present government in South Africa was demonstrating to the world that their first concern and priority was for the white race, even if it meant injustice to Africans. He further stated that "We Natives are...frank in our belief that present-day Christianity is not going to provide the land needed for Native development."<sup>20</sup>

In 1932 Jabavu traveled to England and the United States. In a later interview with the Cape Argus he expressed his surprise that students in London from West Africa and the West Indies "charged me with being too moderate in both my statements and objectives. They preferred outspokenness and a strong denunciation of both the South African policy and the English rule in their parts of the

---

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., pp. 54-73.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 100.

world."<sup>21</sup> Jabavu told the students perhaps the older they got the more they would see that "moderation wins more friends in the long run than extravagance in language and conduct. I said that I believed I should be doing my own cause more harm than good if I indulged in reckless denunciation of the policy of my country."<sup>22</sup>

As it was, like his father, Davidson Jabavu's politics were also criticized in South Africa by more radical Africans as being too indulgent and moderate. His organization, the AAC, was less popular than the ANC. The ANC had a longer history and wider range of membership among Africans including a broader appeal among black unskilled workers.<sup>23</sup> Jabavu's AAC colleagues, Xuma and Moroka, eventually joined up with the ANC and both served as President-Generals (Xuma from 1940 to 1949, Moroka from 1949 to 1952). Furthermore, it became apparent that the country's ever increasing racist policies were not going to be influenced by the voice of moderation and conciliation. This became especially true in Hertzog's government. Some African leaders such as Jabavu naively believed they could reason and negotiate with Hertzog, but he often misled them.<sup>24</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup> "The Native Problem," Midland News, 1 March, 1932, Mary Butler's Personal Papers, Cory Library.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Davenport, South Africa, 4th ed., p. 223.

<sup>24</sup> See Davenport, South Africa, 4th ed., Chapter 12, "White Unity, Black Division, 1933-9," pp. 280-284, in particular the discussion on the black representation in the lower house of assembly.

Like most other Quakers in South Africa, Jabavu chose to be cautious. Meanwhile, Africans were losing ground, and losing it quickly. South African Quakers were not yet acting as a corporate body against the government's segregationist policies. For most Friends, the issue was only discussed in sporadic study groups within monthly meetings. There were, however, individual Quakers whose actions were demonstrations of personal responsibility and commitment. Olive Warner was described as "living the truly Franciscan life"<sup>25</sup> as she struggled to secure sufficient financing for her school for Indian children near Durban. She also pleaded for financial help to build a school that could be attended by Indian and Zulu children in Natal.<sup>26</sup> A page from her diary in 1938 depicts a woman who almost everyday was visiting with some member of the non-white community working with them in pursuit of better health, welfare and educational conditions.<sup>27</sup>

That same year Beatrice Ensor wrote to The Friend about a school she started for colored children in Cape Province. She described how poor the children were, and what the school was trying to accomplish through proper nutrition and a stimulating curriculum. She felt the school was helping to train future leaders. "We are trying to build up the children's self-respect and to make them feel that potentially they have a great future

---

<sup>25</sup> Josephine Hoyland, "Travels in South Africa," The Friend, 5 June, 1936, p. 539.

<sup>26</sup> Olive Warner to Joshua Hyde and Cape Town Friends, 16 September, 1933, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>27</sup> Leaflet, South African Quaker publication, January-February, 1938, pp. 4-5, Quaker Archives, UCT.

and that in God's sight a man's colour is no bar to his development."<sup>28</sup>

Mary Butler's social commitment was unflagging. She was close personal friends with James Calata who served as an Anglican priest in the Cradock location. He suggested she name her house either Nozala, meaning parent, or Nozalakazo, a name given a minister's wife "because all his people look up to her. Nozala may mean any cause that gives birth to something else...not necessarily...a person. Your presence in this Location has given birth to a lot of things whilst you yourself have adopted a parental attitude towards the people of the Location."<sup>29</sup> While she could not live in the Location, Mary Butler chose to live as close as possible to the people she worked with as a nurse.

Mary Butler's relationship with Calata had an unfortunate episode. In 1937 Calata was Secretary-General of the ANC. Sensing political objection by some of the Location's residents to her white presence, she stated she would leave the Location if any African did not want her working there. She did encounter some objection, and thus left. She moved to northern Transvaal, but missed Cradock and returned several years later to take care first of an elderly aunt, then of Ernest's wife, Alice, who had suffered a severe stroke. Her friendship with Calata was strained as a result of her initial rejection, but they

---

<sup>28</sup> Beatrice Ensor, "A School for Coloured Children," The Friend, 31 July, 1936, p. 711.

<sup>29</sup> James Calata to Mary Butler, 13 May, 1930, Mary Butler's Papers, Jeffrey Butler's Personal Collection.

did resume "friendly relations when she returned to Cradock, some time soon after 1945."<sup>30</sup>

Mary Butler's 'Location Sketches' were mentioned in Chapter Three as often "the only glimpse white South Africans had of the grim reality within black townships." There was at least one glimpse of reality, however, to which Cradock's white residents were not exposed. In 1931 Mary Butler wrote a sketch called "Is It Nothing To You?" She described the number of deaths during a mid-summer measles epidemic among the African babies in the Location. At death, the babies were usually malnourished and emaciated, many covered with abscessed sores. She calculated that during December, 1930, and January, 1931, forty-seven "non-European babies (of one year and under) died. There has been an epidemic of measles in the town, too, but not one death of a European baby was recorded in December or January."<sup>31</sup>

Mary's brother, Ernest Butler (1886-1965), was editor of the Midland News. After consultation with a local magistrate who was also a member of the Cradock Joint Council, he decided not to print the sketch. Mary Butler then did something rather contrary to her usual obedient nature. She appealed to a 'higher' opinion, writing directly to Rheinallt Jones who worked with both the Institute of Race Relations and the Johannesburg Joint Council. Jones was also responsible for organizing Joint Councils around the country. Mary Butler wrote:

---

<sup>30</sup> Jeffrey Butler to Betty Tonsing, 29 October, 1991, author's personal collection.

<sup>31</sup> Location Sketches by Mary Butler, "Is It Nothing To You?," 14 February, 1931, Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa.

It is with hesitation I am writing as it is not directly about Joint Council matters, & I feel we should spare you! [I am enclosing a] Cutting from M.N. of last night & proof of what I had written. My brother consulted with Mr. Oakies, a member of the Joint Council & they thought the last part of the article was not calculated to improve race relations. I am sorry they published the first part above as it leads no where. Do you think the censors were right?

We should avoid putting forward rival claims I know, my comparison was because the figures of Native babies deaths means nothing to most people unless there is something to compare them with. The non-E. baby death rate those two months was above 2000 per 1000 births & is still very high.<sup>32</sup>

Ultimately, Mary had to accept the decision by the Midland News, supported by the Cradock Joint Council.<sup>33</sup>

In 1932 the Midland News did print an article on the findings of the local Joint Council describing conditions of hunger among children in the Location "some of whom fainted in school for want of food," and further stating that their parents' income was insufficient in terms of supporting a family. Presenting their evidence to the Cradock Town Council (not to be confused with the Joint Council), one member "questioned whether the Committee was sure there were so many hungry children" and others blamed the parents as they either would not work or work

---

<sup>32</sup> Mary Butler to Rheinallt Jones, 15 February, 1931, Joint Council Files, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. The figure "2000 to 1000 births" is the way Mary Butler wrote it. The report that follows by the Cradock Joint Council verifies that during the period of the measles epidemic there were more deaths than births. No correspondence from Jones to Butler in reply to this letter was found.

<sup>33</sup> Butler to Tonsing.

for wages offered.<sup>34</sup> Mary Butler's concern that her 'edited' article would fail to gather sympathy was justified.

In their full report, the Cradock Joint Council noted several discrepancies between the African and white communities. Housing for the Africans was inadequate and generally too small. Sanitation was virtually non-existent, the Location having only six stand pipes for water. There were no showers or baths available. During the epidemic to which Mary Butler referred, there were considerably more deaths to births. The cause of the deaths, linked to intestinal disorders leading to dehydration as a result of diarrhea and vomiting, was exacerbated by poverty and ignorance. The usual infant mortality rate was 400 to 470 deaths per 1000 births compared with the 'European' infant mortality rate of 55 to 65 deaths per 1000 births.<sup>35</sup> As for 'native' wages, the Council was yet to figure out how any family of average size was able to live on less than six-pounds a month, the common African family budget.<sup>36</sup> While Joint Council reports were considered public, they were not widely available and thus not often read by the white population.

---

<sup>34</sup> "Hungry Children in Location," The Midland News, 1 July, 1932, Mary Butler's Papers, Jeffrey Butler's Personal Collection.

<sup>35</sup> Current infant mortality deaths are 52.8 deaths per 1000 births for African babies versus 7.3 deaths per 1000 births among white babies. Daily Despatch, 9 April, 1992.

<sup>36</sup> "Evidence for Native Economic Commission 1931," Cradock Joint Council Report, Joint Council Files, William Cullen Library, WITS.

Mary Butler as a Quaker was not alone in her concerns over such issues. Other Friends around South Africa, many of them also members of the Joint Council Movement, were struggling over the uncomfortable, inescapable and often unresolvable dilemmas of racial inequalities, whether over specific issues such as comparisons of infant mortality or more general issues of what South African Quakers as a whole should be doing. In 1937 Lawrence Addis-Smith, member of the Eastern Cape Monthly Meeting, attended the World Conference sponsored by the American Friends in Philadelphia. He reported spending most of his time during the conference in the Commission on Race Relations where he was able to describe existing racial conditions in South Africa. He also stated that the group as whole felt that race nor color should ever be a barrier to anyone's advancement, in any pursuit, and that "discrimination on account of race was not according to the mind of Christ."<sup>37</sup> Addis-Smith also stated that people must be tolerant and helpful to those whose attitudes and actions might be more active than their own, as well as tolerant to those who "could not go as far."<sup>38</sup> Above all, Addis-Smith stressed that people must keep their minds open to God's light and spirit and "follow it come what may."<sup>39</sup>

In 1940 Addis-Smith was Clerk to the Tenth General Meeting of the South African Religious Society of Friends. In his address to the Meeting he reiterated his conviction that "Racial discrimination...was inconsistent

---

<sup>37</sup> Leaflet, no. 8, December, 1937, pp. 1-2, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

with the basic view of Friends that 'there is something of good in all men.'<sup>40</sup> However, Quakers sometimes were unwitting enforcers of the country's prejudiced laws. Addis-Smith continued:

So Friends in England condemn Friends in South Africa for prejudicial behaviour as regards race. Deserved as this censure is in many cases, yet sometimes the origin of the apparent prejudice is sensible, e.g. the controversy in Port Elizabeth as to whether the Natives should be allowed to travel on the same buses as the White man. The objection to this was obvious to those living in the district for Natives often returned from their work very dirty and it was more fitting that they should have buses of their own. A full understanding of the problem is necessary both for England and South Africa.<sup>41</sup>

In 1938 a deputation of Quakers from England and the United States travelled to South Africa. The group included Thomas Jones (who would later be President of Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana, a Quaker school) and his wife Esther; Rufus Jones (1863-1948), the eminent Quaker historian, and his wife Elizabeth; and Russell and Maude Brayshaw, prominent British Quakers. One central purpose of their trip was to investigate the claim that England "had promised the Union of South Africa...[the] youngest of England's Dominions...that as soon as she has proved herself she may take over the three Protectorates, Bechuanaland [now Botswana], Swaziland, and Basutoland

---

<sup>40</sup> Report of the Tenth General Meeting of the South African Religious Society of Friends, 1940, Quaker Archives, WITS.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

[now Lesotho]."<sup>42</sup> When given British Protectorate status, Queen Victoria (1819-1901)<sup>43</sup> and her succeeding ministers promised that "they shall never be handed over to any power without the consent of their people."<sup>44</sup> However, during British colonial rule in South Africa, the colonial government viewed the area in a different way. On one hand, the British government felt they had a special obligation to African inhabitants within their 'empire'. In particular it was felt that Africans in southern Africa would not want to be placed under the control of white South Africans. On the other hand, they also felt it could become impractical to administer the black colonies from such a distance. In 1909 the Colonial government adopted a suggestion by Lord Selbourne, the High Commissioner for South Africa, that "the British Government...transfer the territories to the [South African] Union at some unspecified later date, subject to conditions to be set out in the Constitution for the protection of African inhabitants."<sup>45</sup> This seemed in violation of Queen Victoria's promise.

The 'Constitution' to which Lord Selbourne referred was a major issue of discussion within the National Convention held between 1908-1909 which outlined the format for a 'Union' of South Africa. The future of the non-governing British territories of Rhodesia, Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland was also

---

<sup>42</sup> Report by Esther Jones, Thomas Jones' Papers, Lilly Library Manuscript Holdings, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana.

<sup>43</sup> Queen Victoria reigned from 1837 to 1901, a 63-year reign which is the longest in British history.

<sup>44</sup> Report by Esther Jones.

<sup>45</sup> Thompson, Oxford History, Vol II, p. 363.

considered. In his book, the Unification of South Africa 1902-1910, Leonard Thompson details the discussion that took place, with Jan Smuts encouraging the inclusion of Rhodesia, but "at a later stage...[with] no reference to the other three territories." The conference unanimously decided not to incorporate the four territories "hoping they would be absorbed 'as a matter of course' in time. It was, however, thought to be 'advisable and discreet not to make any special mention of them for fear of raising a dangerous question, viz., the treatment of Natives by independent African administrations.'"<sup>46</sup> Decades later, South Africa was now attempting to claim the territories, ever anxious to increase the Union's own 'empire'. The deputation was well aware that given "the way South Africa treats her Native population," the Africans of the regions's territories would not be amenable to South African domination.<sup>47</sup> Fact-finding trips into the disputed territories proved their concern correct. Linked with this concern was the deputation's interest in South African affairs.

The local press lauded their trip. South Africans had been accused in the past of being overly sensitive toward criticism of their local affairs, and the liberal press in particular was usually irritated at snap judgements or pre-formed opinions from overseas visitors. By contrast, the Quaker deputation was very well reviewed. The Cape Times called the group's statement upon leaving a "model of what such statements should be. They did not rush to commit themselves to opinions about South African native

---

<sup>46</sup> Leonard Thompson, The Unification of South Africa 1902-1910 (Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 89-91.

<sup>47</sup> Report by Esther Jones.

policy...their first duty is to report to the Society of Friends" and praised the deputation's willingness to first think through the information they collected and give "quiet meditation" to their work.<sup>48</sup>

The British and American Quakers did not adopt a censoring attitude toward their South African Friends. The deputation was aware that due to the small number of Quakers in the country, their impact was limited. Upon meeting with a group of Cape Town Friends, Thomas Jones wrote "The Friends Meeting was small and made up mostly of old people, but it was a good meeting. Its members do not have much interest in or influence on the Native question."<sup>49</sup> Thus, they did not come to evaluate their actions; rather, they wanted a personal observation of what they had been reading in the press about South African racial affairs. They were impressed, however, with the Inter-Racial Study Group help in Durban. They considered it "one of the most interesting we have met, containing as it does representative Indians, Coloured and Natives who explore community problems together..."<sup>50</sup> Esther Jones was impressed by the friendliness of the South Africans they met, comparing the hospitality to that which one experiences in the American South. With that same comparison, she also realized why gardens looked so lovely and houses so clean and ordered...cheap labor. "All housekeeping presupposes help -- each child often has from birth his separate

---

<sup>48</sup> All quotes from "Native Policy Criticism," Cape Times, 11 August, 1938, Thomas Jones' Papers, Lilly Library, Earlham College.

<sup>49</sup> Thomas Jones Papers, Lilly Library, Earlham College.

<sup>50</sup> Thomas and Esther Jones to Rufus and Elizabeth Jones, 12 May, 1938, Thomas Jones' Papers, Lilly Library, Earlham College.

nurse. 'Really,' said a South African mother, 'it is very difficult to bring up children to do anything for themselves, and to keep them from ordering the servants about.' She noted also that even among the 'poor white' there were tasks they would not do for themselves as it was a 'native's' job.<sup>51</sup>

By the end of the 1930s, Hitler's army was advancing further into eastern Europe and nations that were affected even continents away could not long stay in a neutral position. Hertzog wanted South Africa to remain neutral while Smuts, more aware of Hitler's evil than his coalition partner, wanted to break off relations with Germany.<sup>52</sup> Additionally, Smuts did not share at all the enthusiasm many extreme right-wing Afrikaners held for Hitler and his National Socialism.<sup>53</sup> A vote was taken in the House of Assembly and Smuts won eighty votes to sixty-seven. With Smuts now Prime Minister, South Africa declared war on the German Reich. Smuts broke alliance with Hertzog on the war issue and, on this same issue, the Purified National Party was happy to throw in their support briefly. The Purified National Party was headed by D. F. Malan. It was considered the most ultra-conservative party among Afrikaners who preferred it to the National Party, feared to be too amenable to negotiations with Smuts.<sup>54</sup> South African Quakers, as Friends elsewhere, did not support the war but became

---

<sup>51</sup> "A Glimpse of Life in South Africa," Esther Jones, Thomas Jones' Papers, Lilly Library, Earlham College.

<sup>52</sup> Davenport, South Africa, 4th ed., pp. 296-297.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

involved in their 'own' way. Minutes from the Eastern Cape Monthly Meeting reveal several discussions held on the purchase of a house in Grahamstown in which to accommodate orphans of the war and children evacuated by their families from Britain as a result of the torrential bomb raids.<sup>55</sup>

During World War II, 200,000 uniformed South Africans fought and 9000 died, one-quarter of whom were black.<sup>56</sup> As racial conflict remained South Africa's major domestic problem, the country's segregationist policies left its imprint on African soldiers. During severe fighting at Sidi Rezegh in North Africa, a number of African stretcher bearers were killed and buried in a common grave with whites. According to subsequent reports, South African Army Headquarters ordered that the bodies be interred and buried in separate black and white graves.<sup>57</sup>

The figures as to the actual number of African soldiers during World War II vary, but they were all volunteers and none bore arms. Under the existing Pensions Act, the widow of a ...European volunteer [received] a lump sum of 132 pounds and every child dependant 44 pounds. In addition, the widow [received] a pension of 136 pounds a

---

<sup>55</sup> Minutes of the Preparative Meeting of the Society of Friends, Port Elizabeth. The issue was discussed and 'minuted' over several meetings between March and November, 1940. The Minute Books are now held at Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa.

<sup>56</sup> 9000 is the figure Davenport cites in South Africa, 3rd ed., p. 331. Thompson cites 5,500 South Africans killed in World War II in A History of South Africa, p. 177.

<sup>57</sup> Reader's Digest Illustrated History of South Africa, 1st ed., p. 352.

year and every child 36 pounds per year. The widow of a Coloured volunteer [received] a pension of 50 pounds a year and 12 pounds for each child. The widows of Africans [received] 25 pounds a year and every child 8 pounds a year. [Furthermore] disabled Europeans [received] an allowance of 200 pounds per year, disabled Coloured and Indian volunteers [received] 75 pounds per year, disabled African volunteers [received] 50 pounds per year.<sup>58</sup>

During the early 1940s, study groups which included inter-racial and cultural topics were a way for many South African Quakers to begin facing up to the country's domestic problems. Rheinallt Jones suggested the groups use factual literature published by the SAIRR and meet with 'non-Europeans' (Africans, Indians and 'coloreds') when discussing issues of racial conflict.<sup>59</sup> Few Friends, however, were yet taking decisive action, and even discussing the problem seemed protracted as monthly meeting minutes reveal that Friends met to discuss the racial issues, and it was agreed to hold further discussions in order to discover ways to further discuss, and etc. In frustration, Quakers recognized their own short-comings. In their local newspaper the editor wrote that attempts made to increase interest in race relations in their monthly meetings met with poor response. There were individual members who were becoming very active with social commitments, and some meetings were more interested than others, but overall they had not yet

---

<sup>58</sup> A. Scholtz, They Served Their Country, pamphlet issued by the Communist Party of South Africa, no date but probably issued during or right after World War II. Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa.

<sup>59</sup> "Inter-racial Activity," News Bulletin, December, 1940, Quaker Archives, UCT.

discovered how they could "bear witness" to the problems of race conflict in South Africa: "We seem to be slow to realise that Quakerism begins at home."<sup>60</sup>

South Africa experienced remarkable economic growth during the 1930s and 1940s. In order to keep up with the industrial demands during the war, Smuts allowed the segregationist policies to erode. Some interpreted his actions as more benevolent than they were. Smuts remained a segregationist but was pragmatic about the country's labor demands.<sup>61</sup> Further reason for the erosion of segregation was the work by the Native Representatives Council (NRC). The NRC was established in 1935. Although white parliamentary members generally were sympathetic and supportive of the African's needs, the NRC was not overly popular with the more militant African groups, but tolerated in view of the fact that little else in the way of direct representation existed. At the very least, members of the Natives Representative Council ensured that African's demands were continuously and accurately articulated.<sup>62</sup>

Webb wrote in 1942 that "there has been a slowly growing recognition that colour prejudice has serious adverse effects upon the country's economic growth."<sup>63</sup> He feared that, while cities like Durban were responding to the problem, South Africa's 'heartland' and its resident

---

<sup>60</sup> News Bulletin, July, 1945, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>61</sup> See Davenport, "White Unity, Black Division 1933-9," South Africa, 4th ed., pp. 282-286.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> Maurice Webb, "In South Africa Today," The Friend, 14 August, 1941, p. 429.

Afrikaners remained isolated and aloof. He stressed that "if we want our non-European people to be interested in the fate of the country they must be much more part of it, must have economic opportunity and the franchise, and recognition as human beings."<sup>64</sup> Friends felt that more Quakers with the right attitude about racial issues were needed in South Africa. Again, as they had done throughout the century, South African Friends encouraged Friends elsewhere to move to South Africa, especially "young, concerned qualified Friends"<sup>65</sup> with professional abilities. Webb wrote an appeal to The Friend in England:

What South Africa needs is more South African Quakers...that means getting young Quakers who have Quakerism in their souls to come out to South Africa [and] become South African citizens.<sup>66</sup>

Toward the end of the decade, South Africa's racial policies were meeting more aggressive opposition from Africans, Indians and 'coloreds'. While laws were restrictive, there was still room to mount potentially effective political opposition. All that would change after 26 May, 1948, when Malan's Purified National Party defeated Smuts' government by eight seats.

Almost immediately the Malan government demonstrated their intention to "check and eliminate the trends

---

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> News Bulletin, July, 1945, no page number, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>66</sup> Maurice Webb, "Quakerism in South Africa -- and in the World at Large," The Friend, pp. 1008-1010, 6 December, 1946.

towards inter-racial integration."<sup>67</sup> The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 made all future marriages between whites and members of any other race group illegal. The Population Registration Act in 1950 was designed to allocate everyone to a racial group. The Group Areas Bill in 1950 empowered the government to proclaim residential and business areas for particular race groups.<sup>68</sup> Alan Paton referred to the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 as "not itself a racial law, but...a law to protect all racial laws."<sup>69</sup> South African Quakers went on record with other churches protesting the Group Areas Act and denounced the 'Anti-Communist Bill' as contrary to the "principles of justice and true freedom."<sup>70</sup> Its breadth was too wide, they argued: "We consider that the definition of Communism would be so wide that any organization or individual such as ourselves who advocated, for example, social reform, but who has no connection with or sympathy for Communism, could be included."<sup>71</sup> The insidious nature of Malan's government caused Mary Butler to ask: "Are we in South Africa thinking prayerfully enough about the urgent problems facing us?"<sup>72</sup>

---

<sup>67</sup> Davenport, South Africa, 3rd ed., p. 362.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Paton, Journey Continued, p. 37.

<sup>70</sup> The Guardian, 24 May, 1951, page no. not visible, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Southern Africa News Bulletin, no. 43, February/March, 1949, p. 1, Quaker Archives, UCT.

South African Quakers continued to meet in their study groups and joined the South African Christian Council (SACC, part of the World Council of Churches, WCC) as a religious body. Several South African churches wanted to join forces in hopes that a larger, more unified religious gathering could have some influence on government policy. For many Quakers, however, the study groups were a safe barrier to actual confrontation of the country's acute racial problems.

For the most part, Friends were no different from members of other churches. They knew little of how non-whites lived or how segregation affected their health, education and general welfare. Some shared the ignorant generalizations that 'natives are lazy' or 'Indians are dishonest'. Almost all were English-speaking, and believed that if a language was to be learned then it should be Afrikaans. During a discussion of their personal feelings and attitudes at the 1948 Southern Africa Yearly Meeting, it was stated that "[while] it was realized that the knowledge of SOME Native language helped greatly to promote understanding, [it] was not an essential pre-requisite."<sup>73</sup>

Will Fox, Clerk of the Southern Africa Yearly Meeting, acknowledged in a 1949 letter to Russell Brayshaw, member of the Meeting for Sufferings and representing also the Committee on Slavery & Protection of Native Races, that aside from a few individuals, most South African Quakers were not as concerned or involved in the country's racial problems as they should be. While they had been members

---

<sup>73</sup> Southern African News Bulletin, July, 1948, p. 3, Quaker Archives, UCT.

of the South African Institute of Race Relations for many years,

...we are concerned at the lack of interest and active support given to it by our membership as a whole. Many of us do not, or have not in the past given such issues the sustained study and prayer that they demand. Nor do we face up to our responsibilities in the way we ought to where they touch us most closely, namely when we employ members of other races in our homes or in our businesses.

Nor have we as yet produced more than a very few who have devoted time and thought to some of the larger issues, such as the one mentioned more specifically in your letter.<sup>74</sup>

The 'issue' specifically mentioned was how South African Quakers perceived the problem in South-West Africa regarding the Hereros and the South African government's attempt to incorporate the territory. Anglican priest and activist Michael Scott (d.1983) had taken up the cause of the Hereros in England and before the United Nations and was causing a tremendous stir. Brayshaw was concerned that his speeches and in particular a film he had documented was distorting the truth.<sup>75</sup> Will Fox stated that not one member of the South African Society had ever been to South-West Africa and therefore it was neither wise nor fair to comment. He further replied that "The Hereros seem as far away to us as they probably do to you...and we are surrounded by an endless number of

---

<sup>74</sup> Will Fox to Russell Brayshaw, Acting Clerk, Committee on Slavery & Protection of Native Races, Friends House Library, London, 1 July, 1949, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>75</sup> Civilisation on Trial in South Africa; film by Rev. Michael Scott.

pressing problems in the same field that make a far more direct appeal."<sup>76</sup>

Many people in South Africa remembered Scott as a crackpot and trouble-maker. The government remembered him as a threat, having declared him a Prohibited Immigrant.<sup>77</sup> In Johannesburg he had lived among Africans in a dangerous and foul township called Tobruk and been arrested for trespassing; in Durban he had joined the Indian passive resisters and been jailed; in the Transvaal, after exposing near slavery conditions on farms, he had been threatened with lynching by angry farmers. He was perceived as even more radical than another activist Anglican priest, Trevor Huddleston (1913- ).<sup>78</sup> While many South African Friends admired his sincerity and devotion, they also had some doubts as to his methods, feeling them to be counter-productive. Mary Butler admired his courage and character: "How can we cultivate his spirit in South Africa?"<sup>79</sup> Discouraged by events in South Africa, she further wrote "Unless someone does something extreme and gets a following I suppose nothing gets done: Then should we commit ourselves to follow?"<sup>80</sup>

---

<sup>76</sup> Fox to Brayshaw, 1 July, 1949.

<sup>77</sup> Paton, Journey Continued, p. 124.

<sup>78</sup> Mary Benson, "Michael Scott," A Far Cry: The Making of a South African (London: Penguin Books, 1989), pp. 57-93.

<sup>79</sup> Mary Butler to Scarnell Lean, 5 June, 1951, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

Scott tried for years to get people to listen to his message on behalf of the African poor and destitute. While he had conviction, he lacked charisma to inspire his audiences. His restrained nature and quiet voice could not be heard above the apathy. Canon John Collins gave him a platform. Collins had founded Christian Action in England in 1948. The purpose of Christian Action was to "stimulate other Christian groups to the recognition of what needed to be done. They were...interdenominational...including Catholics."<sup>81</sup> Scott's African appeal was the group's entry into the South African political scene; over the next several years they would support other controversial appeals. Christian Action provided the platform for Huddleston when he tried to awaken people to the evils of apartheid. Nontando Crosfield, Davidson Jabavu's daughter, spoke first from Christian Action when she challenged the South African government's attempt to justify apartheid on Christian grounds. Christian Action supported the Defiance Campaign and set up a monetary fund for family dependents of those who were imprisoned for their participation.<sup>82</sup> Collins would say years later that "If other Christian bodies had taken up this task Christian Action would have dropped out."<sup>83</sup>

Scott admitted in his film that he was portraying a "one-sided story, told on behalf of the nine million non-Europeans in South Africa who cannot speak for themselves, of those Africans amongst whom he worked and

---

<sup>81</sup> Minutes of the South African Liaison Committee, Minute 3, 11 March, 1954, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

lived in the shantytowns around Johannesburg and of the Indians with whom he joined in passive resistance to unjust laws, and of the Hereros of South West Africa..."<sup>84</sup> For the fifth year in a row, the United Nations was going to debate the future of South-West Africa and determine whether it would support a decision made by the International Court's Advisory that the territory was held in sacred trust and the indigenous inhabitants had the right of petition. Under South African domination, Scott feared that the Hereros would be treated with the same disregard and disdain as blacks in South Africa. For many years, Scott had appealed before the United Nations on behalf of the Hereros. He had also urged the UN to refer the policy of apartheid to the Security Council as a "threat to peace and racial harmony." Now he felt it was essential that the Hereros speak in their own defense...that their personal appearance before the august United Nations body would compel favorable action.<sup>85</sup>

Several British and American Quakers supported Scott's efforts in England and before the United Nations. He was open and frank in acknowledging that his film and speeches were biased, but he was up against a biased foe as well. In a letter to Scarnell Lean, Clerk of the South African Yearly Meeting, British Quaker Agatha Harrison and member of the South African Watching Committee wrote "Naturally left-wing organizations here and in the States rallied around him and gave support by providing

---

<sup>84</sup> Leaflet handed out during the presentation of Michael Scott's film on conditions in southern Africa, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>85</sup> Benson, A Far Cry, pp. 57-58.

meetings, etc. Support that should have come as well from other quarters."<sup>86</sup> In her book, A Far Cry, Mary Benson describes Agatha Harrison as a "British associate of Gandhi's, a deeply spiritual woman and an old hand at mediation and negotiation."<sup>87</sup> Harrison also said that the South African delegates to the UN Assembly refused to discuss the issue when approached by a Quaker delegation. In his reply, Lean stressed that one of the worries among South African Quakers was the fear that pressure from outside South Africa would make the National government even more determined and hardened in their approach. He discussed work he was doing for the Civil Rights League which he felt exposed him to government action under the terms of the Suppression of Communism Act. He acknowledged that efforts at reconciliation with the current government seemed impossible, but he nevertheless felt frustrated by outside pressure: "...every time there is some new legislation calling for our attention...somebody wants us to start a new campaign."<sup>88</sup>

The United Nations Trusteeship Committee did invite certain Herero Chiefs to speak before their 1951 meeting in Paris. Percy Bartlett, writing as a representative for the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, asked if South African Friends "could and would help in the problem of facilitating the chiefs' journey, seeing that

---

<sup>86</sup> Agatha Harrison to Scarnell Lean, 29 March, 1951, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>87</sup> Benson, A Far Cry, p. 67.

<sup>88</sup> Scarnell Lean to Agatha Harrison, 16 April, 1951, Quaker Archives, UCT.

they would be lost without help."<sup>89</sup> Maurice Webb replied: "As a purely personal opinion I cannot see how Friends (or, for that matter anyone else) could appeal to Dr. Malan to grant facilities for the Hereros to go to Paris, as it would be tantamount to asking Dr. Malan to admit that the Trusteeship Committee had a right to invite them."<sup>90</sup> The chiefs were selected, inoculated, photographed for visas and passports, and waited. Ultimately, the South African government refused to grant them passports. They would not be allowed to travel to Paris.<sup>91</sup>

South African Friends were once again under pressure to define to British and American Friends their 'witness' regarding South Africa's racial problems. The Quaker commitment to 'that of God' in every man meant that all men were thus equal in the sight of God. Did South African Friends truly believe in equality for whites and blacks, or did they see differences? If so, what were those differences?

The Natal Monthly Meeting submitted a paper, drafted primarily by Maurice Webb, to the 1951 Southern Africa Yearly Meeting entitled "Quakerism and Race Relations." In it they stated some of their views:

In a uni-racial society such as Great Britain...[m]embers of other groups are met only very infrequently or not at all and those

---

<sup>89</sup> Percy Bartlett to Maurice Webb, 18 December, 1951, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>90</sup> Maurice Webb to Percy Bartlett, 24 December, 1951, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>91</sup> Benson, "Michael Scott," A Far Cry.

who are met are usually exceptional persons such as those who attend international professional conferences and who speak English. In multi-racial countries, and most notably in South Africa, these matters are of real practical difficulty; they involve the personal behaviour and attitude of every individual Friend, they raise important questions such as the admission of members of particular groups to Churches, institutions, schools. The question immediately arises how far the individual Friend should conform to the pattern of the society in which he lives, on the basis of 'when in Rome do as Rome does'.<sup>92</sup>

In 1950, Thomas Jones, now President of Earlham College, had asked Russell Brayshaw to consider placing the "South African problem on the agenda for [Friends World Conference in 1952.] I hoped that some means could be provided by which you could make a thorough restudy of that situation -- and bring forward some recommendations that the whole body of Friends could do something about."<sup>93</sup> Brayshaw forwarded this request to Webb, asking his comment. Webb did not think it a good idea. He responded to Brayshaw that it was unwise to place on the agenda of the Friends World Conference a difficult issue which engaged partisan positions that, in Webb's opinion, could endanger a fair and useful discussion. Furthermore, South Africa as a country was hardly alone in the world regarding internal racial strife and to invite a debate on one country's racial problems...as though they did not exist elsewhere...would "invite the usual but unhelpful

---

<sup>92</sup> "Quakerism and Race Relations," submitted to the Southern Africa Yearly Meeting, 1951, by Natal Monthly Meeting, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>93</sup> Russell Brayshaw to Maurice Webb, 7 October, 1950, Quaker Archives, UCT.

rejoinders."<sup>94</sup> Webb also queried about the situation in the southern states of America where 'negroes' were not allowed to attend schools with whites.<sup>95</sup>

As it was, South African Friends anticipated making a corporate statement at the Friends World Conference. Study groups hit fever pitch as individual monthly meetings engaged in a series of discussions based on an agreed set of questions. The study included defining race as well as Christian teachings on human relations. Quakers were encouraged to be honest as they probed their conscience, asking if separate worship was ever justifiable, if education should be inter-racial, whether standards of civilization are ever criteria of equality, whether Quakers should be concerned about mixing socially in church and otherwise, and what they really thought of mixed marriages?<sup>96</sup>

The study groups met for months in preparation for the Friends World Conference. Quakers debated among themselves the futility of the study circles. John Martley of Cape Western Monthly Meeting asked "how far do study groups help us to do anything concrete in our individual capacities...it is only individual actions or behaviours which totalling up can move things."<sup>97</sup> He described an old woman who came to the Cape Town Meeting for Worship who was working and living among the people

---

<sup>94</sup> Maurice Webb to Russell Brayshaw, 12 October, 1950, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> News Bulletin, December, 1949, p. 9, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>97</sup> John Martley to Eric Gargett, 12 March, 1950, Quaker Archives, UCT.

in District Six. Located close to central downtown Cape Town, District Six had a reputation as an exceedingly colorful and vibrant location brimming with musicians, writers and artists, delicious smells of spicy food, a strong community but one also full of noise, congestion and high incidence of crime. He felt she was making a tremendous contribution to improve race relations in South Africa: "Will study groups inspire us to follow her example?"<sup>98</sup> Another wrote "It is not enough to seal ourselves off from the outside world, to join study circles, 'amicable gatherings where a great deal of hair-splitting goes on, where endless debating of trivialities dissipates the best energies of heart and soul.'"<sup>99</sup> Yet another felt the study groups were valuable: "It may be that we shall find in the end not a great deal of value much in the deliberations themselves -- but we shall have profited much in the deliberating, in the sharing of our minds and in the assessing of our experience for the benefit of the group."<sup>100</sup>

South African Friends drafted a lengthy twelve-chapter statement called "A Quaker View of the Racial Problem in South Africa." The document represented a coalition of thoughts, opinions and written testimonies by the individual South African monthly meeting study groups, prepared for the 1952 Friends World Conference held in Oxford, England. In their document local Friends declared their position on several points. They stated that they

---

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> The South African Quaker, December, 1951, Thomas Jones' Papers, Lilly Library.

<sup>100</sup> Eric Gargett to John Martley, 11 June, 1950, Quaker Archives, UCT.

considered part of their Quaker belief to be that they work toward elevating the status of the 'native' to be equal to that of white people. They also accepted that God had created all men equal in His image. As for the franchise, all men should have a right to exercise citizenship and the franchise, providing that they would respond as intelligent and responsible citizens. Thus, while all people of South Africa should be its citizens and have the opportunity for the franchise, that did not mean that all should vote straight away. They considered the ability to vote an earned privilege by responsible citizens, not an unearned right that could be mishandled by those who did not truly comprehend the issues at stake.

They advocated collaboration between the races in worship, education and citizenship, but not in co-habitation. It was illegal in South Africa and the social penalties in any event were so severe that it was simply unthinkable.

As Christians they could not approve of one race dominating another, but acknowledged that there might be instances, as in South Africa, where the "European" must maintain control via a trusteeship until other citizens - - i.e., the 'natives' -- were able to participate fully in shared government.

Aware that they would be accused of 'going too slow', they stated that their report would "not suit the absolutists" who would demand that the local Society advocate total equality immediately as a matter of principle, regardless of the grave harm it would mean to the nation. They criticized politicians in England, "men

who are not brought into daily contact with the native," as attempting to shape policy in a country where they did not live, were not completely aware of all the problems related to race and thus would not suffer the "consequent disabilities" should political, social and economic equality be forced upon South Africa too quickly.<sup>101</sup>

There was one 'absolutist' who was reviewing the study group papers as they were being prepared for the World Conference, and he was not impressed. John Fletcher, another member of the South African Watching Committee, wrote: "With all this weight of Christian opinion it is disappointing to find the First Study Booklet prepared for the Friends World Conference starting the study afresh with the old elementary questions of whether 'equality' is possible; whether the difficulties of mixed marriages have been considered and suggesting that British opinion in support of the principle of equality is made in ignorance of the actual conditions in South Africa and America."<sup>102</sup>

Mary Butler attended the 1952 Friends World Conference. She was particularly interested in the Race Relations Group where she met American Quakers who spoke of their "shame that there are still Friends Schools and Colleges for Whites only, and were looking for guidance in their desire to admit Coloured children without ruining their schools. There is a strong movement among American

---

<sup>101</sup> "A Quaker View of the Racial Problem in South Africa," prepared by the Religious Society of Friends in South Africa for the 1952 Friends World Conference, Oxford, England, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>102</sup> John Fletcher, "Friends and the Coloured-Race Problems. World Opinion," n.d., Quaker Archives, UCT.

Friends for complete equality in every sphere of life."<sup>103</sup>

Many delegates had heard of the resistance movement that was being planned in South Africa. Mary Butler reported that "Most English Friends took it for granted that S. African Friends would support the resistance movement but showed a real desire to understand our position."<sup>104</sup> Bayard Rustin, a leading American civil rights leader, Quaker and member of the American Friends Service Committee, challenged the South Africans attending the Conference: "Which of the South African Friends is going to prison against unjust laws?"<sup>105</sup> Rustin had been jailed many times for his civil rights activities in the States.<sup>106</sup>

Attending the Conference, answering insistent questions on South Africa's racial laws and customs, even sitting in restaurants "with people of many faces",<sup>107</sup> Mary Butler found herself examining her own conscience about 'white privileges'. In her report as a delegate to the Conference, Butler wrote:

---

<sup>103</sup> Mary Butler, "Friend's World Conference: Reports from Delegates," Report to the 1953 Southern Africa Yearly Meeting, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Butler, "Friends World Conference: Reports from Delegates."

<sup>106</sup> See Taylor Branch, Parting the Waters: America in the King Years 1954-63 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988). Rustin features prominently throughout the book. Also, see Appendix F for more background on Bayard Rustin and the issue of a communist link with the American civil rights struggle.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

The conclusion I came to was that we White people should get to know people of the other races in S. Africa personally, wherever possible, not merely on the master-servant basis. These people who are so different from us, what are they desiring? If resentful, what are they resenting? We must lay ourselves open to revolution in thought and emotion as we make these experiments. We must be prepared to find ourselves in an unpopular minority.<sup>108</sup>

Friends worldwide have never worried about whether a stand they take is popular or not. Butler's statement, however, had special meaning for South Africa where it was becoming more and more difficult for individuals to oppose the government without themselves incurring the severe penalties of unjust laws which were intended to stifle protest. At the same time South African Quakers were under pressure from Friends 'overseas' who urged them to define their 'Quaker witness'. That Quaker witness was under severe strain and would be particularly tested during the Defiance Campaign.

---

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

SOUTH AFRICAN QUAKERS AND THE DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN

*The Africans have not tended to produce their best people as leaders. This is apparent in the Location Advisory Boards, which operate in the urban areas. The main reason is that the representatives on these Boards have not executive powers and do not usually feel that their advice is respected. There is therefore little to attract capable Africans who are willing to serve their own people and the posts are often filled by others who are actuated by self-interest and seek personal aggrandisement. In consequence Europeans are even more dubious of African political ability and there is a possibility that a tradition of corruption is already being established among urban Africans.<sup>1</sup>*

This was a view expressed by the South African Quakers in their document on the racial problems in South Africa which was presented at the 1952 meetings of the Friends World Conference. They were attempting to identify what obstacles existed which hampered "on what lines Non-European political emancipation might take place within the present social framework of South Africa."<sup>2</sup> The view they expressed was one shared by most whites in South Africa. Few believed 'non-whites' and Africans in particular were capable of handling their own affairs. Furthermore, many believed they lacked the political

---

<sup>1</sup> "A Quaker View of the Racial Problems in South Africa," 1952.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

sophistication to engage in any successful opposition to the current government's efforts at entrenched segregation. The Defiance Campaign would prove otherwise.

The Defiance Campaign was an alliance between Africans and Indians with the purpose of performing acts of non-violent civil disobedience against the country's apartheid laws. The Defiance Campaign was also referred to as a passive resistance campaign which attempted to utilize the principles of Mahatma Gandhi's famous movement of *Satyagraha*, or passive resistance. Campaign organizers hoped to elicit the support of Manilal Gandhi (1892-1956), Mahatma's son, who still ran his father's Phoenix settlement in Natal. Mahatma has opened the commune settlement for those seeking a very simple and natural life.<sup>3</sup> Volunteers participating in the Campaign were trained to use methods of passive resistance and engaged in such activities as sitting on 'whites-only' benches, entering 'whites-only' sections of stores, breaking curfew or entering 'whites-only' neighborhoods without a permit. Whites were welcomed to participate, though few did. After months of planning, the Campaign began in June, 1952.<sup>4</sup> Quentin Whyte, Director of the SAIRR, reported in the *Johannesburg Star*, 6 January, 1953: "The significance of the Defiance Campaign was in fact that there were more than 7500 non-Europeans prepared to go to jail and that no incident had been provoked. This implied a confidence and a self-discipline which nobody expected of the Native people and the

---

<sup>3</sup> For a thorough review of Gandhi's early life in South Africa, see Maureen Swan's Gandhi: The South African Experience (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1985).

<sup>4</sup> Karis, ed., "Hope and Challenge 1935-1952," p. 418.

emergence of a self-sacrificial leadership to an extent not known before. The Native was a political and economic force which would not be ignored."<sup>5</sup> Quentin Whyte later wrote a letter to Russell Brayshaw that while he used the word 'African', the Star changed it to read 'native', "this in line with its own usage."<sup>6</sup>

Thomas Karis, editor of From Protest to Challenge, one of the most highly regarded studies of the campaign, describes the Defiance Campaign as the "largest scale non-violent resistance ever seen in South Africa"<sup>7</sup> and the first mass campaign pursued jointly by Africans and Indians:

The resistance...won United Nations recognition that South African racial policy is an international issue. [It was] the culmination of movement in the ANC from moderation to militancy. It was the last mass effort by Africans to bring about change through non-violent civil disobedience. During the campaign some 8000 non-whites went to jail for defying apartheid laws and regulations, and the ANC's membership rose by tens of thousands. Only toward the end of 1952, when the campaign was marred by sporadic rioting and violence and the leaders placed on trial or restricted did it die down. Although demonstrations, boycotts and strikes were staged during the remainder of the decade, none was to challenge white domination as directly as did the Defiance Campaign.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> South African Liaison Committee: Minutes & Papers 1952-1954, Friends House, London, Document 18.

<sup>6</sup> South African Liaison Committee: Minutes & Papers 1952-1954, Friends House, London, Document 19.

<sup>7</sup> Karis, ed., "Hope and Challenge 1935-1952," p. 403.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

The aim of the Campaign was to end apartheid if it meant 'bringing down the government'. To that end, of course, the Campaign was a failure which Karis acknowledges. Additionally, the Campaign won little sympathy from white South Africans. But he also says "on balance, the campaign was a success in some respects" and he specifically mentions the "politicizing of many thousands of Africans and instilling self-confidence and discipline."<sup>9</sup> The black resistance movement had moved into a new arena of respect and power.

The government alleged that the Campaign was being inspired and controlled by the Communists.<sup>10</sup> Those whites who might have wanted to support it were fearful of the extent of 'left-wing' involvement. In her autobiography, A Far Cry, Mary Benson writes of her "unease at being with Communists"<sup>11</sup> yet years later lobbied on their behalf in the United States Congress:

I explained that since the 1920s a handful of Communists had been the only whites to provide education in trade unionism to blacks, the only whites to call for a universal franchise. Quoting Lutuli and Professor Matthews on the long years of support and self-sacrifice from white as well as black Communists, I gave an example of American neglect: where Sisulu had been hospitably received in Russia during the early fifties, no such invitation had been

---

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> See Appendix F for a discussion on how the civil rights struggle in the United States was accused by some of having communist links.

<sup>11</sup> Benson, A Far Cry, p. 112.

extended to Mandela to visit the United States.<sup>12</sup>

Frank Loescher, Secretary of Race Relations for the American Friends Service Committee, was invited by the SAIRR to visit South Africa. In his opinion, he found "few groups besides the Communists [willing to work in the] contemporary American...approach."<sup>13</sup> Other groups, including social welfare groups, tended to decide what to do for the non-European rather than work with them in "co-operative activity" and most of the "Joint Councils of Europeans and non-Europeans have died out."<sup>14</sup> In fact, while it is true that the Joint Councils were fading, this was the result of government pressure which made it increasingly difficult for whites and non-whites to co-operate on any level. Furthermore, those who had participated in the Joint Councils found themselves stretched and over-extended as they were actively involved in other race-related activities.

During 1952 Professor Z.K. Matthews (1901-1968), one of the main organizers of the Campaign and head of the African Studies Department at the South African Native College, spent an academic year in the States as a Henry Luce Visiting Professor of Theology and thus missed the Campaign; however, he represented the ANC while in the States and before the United Nations. He was kept abreast of the Campaign's activities by his colleagues and his son. Of the Communist influence, he wrote:

---

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., pp. 145-146.

<sup>13</sup> South African Liaison Committee: Minutes & Papers 1952-1954, Friends House, London, Document 26.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

The Campaign was strongest and best organised precisely in those areas where so-called 'Communist influence' was weakest. Anybody who knows anything about the Communist Party of South Africa knows or ought to know that its influence was strongest in Cape Town, where its headquarters were situated, in Johannesburg and in Durban. The figures of the Campaign speak for themselves...Cape Town providing a negligible number [of arrested participants.] The largest number came from the Eastern Cape where the 'Communist' influence was practically nil.<sup>15</sup>

The Campaign was headed by Dr. Albert Lutuli (1898-1967), President of the ANC. Percy Bartlett described Lutuli as a "practising Christian, a former vice-president of the National Christian Council and a man utterly remote from Communism."<sup>16</sup> In 1960, Lutuli was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his "dedication to political reform by persuasion rather than by violence."<sup>17</sup> Although Lutuli had been previously detained, then fined and imprisoned for his political actions, the government did allow him to travel to Oslo to receive his prize. The crowd at Durban airport to see him off was huge, a fitting recognition for the first person on the African continent to have received the award, saying he did so "on behalf of the freedom-loving people of South Africa and on behalf of all peoples of Africa, irrespective of their race, colour or creed."<sup>18</sup> Typical of the South African

---

<sup>15</sup> Karis, ed., "Hope and Challenge," p. 420.

<sup>16</sup> Percy Bartlett, "Resistance in South Africa," 1 January, 1953, written as an internal memo for the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>17</sup> Davenport, South Africa, 3rd ed., p. 386.

<sup>18</sup> Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol. IV, "Lutuli" (Pretoria: Human Science Research Council, 1981), pp. 329-331.

pro-Nationalist press, Die Transvaler labeled Lutuli's coveted award "an inexplicable phenomenon."<sup>19</sup>

Initially, Manilal Gandhi would not support the Campaign. He was not opposed to the Campaign, but to the "way in which it is being conducted. It is true to say that it is being led by Leftists and is therefore not as spiritual as satyagraha."<sup>20</sup> While Gandhi was concerned by the 'left-wing' influence, what won him over was his conviction that there were "sober influences particularly in the Cape and Natal Province which are really sincere and spiritually minded. It is these influences which have attracted me to throw in my lot with them."<sup>21</sup> By the time Gandhi joined the Campaign, the riots had started in the eastern Cape. He was concerned by the acts of violence but did not blame them on the Campaign; rather, they were the "result of strong provocation on the part of the authorities themselves."<sup>22</sup> In other words, Gandhi was blaming the government. In a letter to Scarnell Lean, Gandhi wrote:

It must...be remembered that the Government has (sic) made no distinction between Communists and non-Communists. If therefore the country becomes Communist, it will be the Government and not the country to blame.

The time has come I feel when thinking people cannot remain sitting on the fence. They must

---

<sup>19</sup> Gerhart and Karis, eds., "Political Profiles 1882-1964," p. 62.

<sup>20</sup> Manilal Gandhi to Scarnell Lean, 24 December, 1952, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

definitely make up their minds as to where their places should be. It cannot be on the side of the Government. It must therefore be on the side of the oppressed. As long as they remain true to themselves and to God they will remain untouched by the evil elements and will purify the struggle.<sup>23</sup>

In March, 1952, Richard Bennett representing the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) wrote to Scarnell Lean, then Clerk of the Southern Africa Yearly Meeting. They had heard about the activities of the Defiance Campaign and wanted more information, in particular what steps were being taken by Friends in South Africa. The AFSC felt the situation in South Africa was immoral and unjust and that the conditions were very explosive: "We would very quickly add that we are aware of the injustice and discrimination practiced in the United States and, although we do not believe that the degree of discrimination in the United States is as severe as that in South Africa, it is none the less evil."<sup>24</sup> Bennett posed several questions to Lean:

In order to think through this problem we would greatly appreciate it if you could, perhaps after sharing this concern with other Friends, try to outline for us the situation as it currently exists and provide us with any information on the proposed...demonstrations, their background, the training, if any, which is being done in preparation for the demonstrations, and the likely outcome of these demonstrations. Have Friends in South Africa been looking into this matter already

---

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Richard Bennett to Scarnell Lean, 19 March, 1952, Quaker Archives, UCT.

and if so, what courses of action, if any, does the Yearly Meeting plan to pursue?<sup>25</sup>

Lean was stunned by the letter. Reciting a long litany of his own personal and professional activities, Lean replied to Bennett, stating that he was "daunted by what you asked me to do...We have 180 members in this vast land; 20 in the Rhodesias. Many are children; many are aged; some are very simple ordinary people."<sup>26</sup>

My own belief is that it is nearly impossible for anyone to grasp the situation here from outside; this was my experience on coming here [five] years ago. May I be very frank and say that your letter confirms this very personal and necessarily imperfect view. The efforts that have been made so far on the world stage have WORSENEED the position of the natives, Indians and Coloureds here. We, who live here, and work for racial justice, are almost heartbroken at this. We beg you to reconsider -- to consider well, before you act; before you exert pressure. Those in power are ruthless and embittered; they mean to have their way at all costs. There is only one hope -- to get the Nationalists out of office. Pressure from outside will only make the Govt. (sic) more ruthless.<sup>27</sup>

Lean also thought those who participated in the demonstrations were "being taught race hatred" and accused several involved of being "communist-minded if not actually ex-communists."<sup>28</sup>

---

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Scarnell Lean to Richard Bennett, 9 April, 1952, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 effectively outlawed the South African Communist Party. Many members formed a new organization called the Congress of Democrats. Not all its members believed in Communism, but many 'former' Communists belonged to the Congress which made it suspect to the government. Many people in South Africa shared Lean's concern about communism, including Alan Paton whose Liberal Party was often at odds with the Congress of Democrats. One of Paton's objections to Communism was its belief in the rule of the party over the rule of law and its obsession to control almost every aspect of life including literature, music, art, religion, education, commerce...everything.<sup>29</sup>

Other 'liberals' shared the opinions of Mary Benson and Frank Loescher expressed earlier in the chapter. While not a Communist, Canon John Collins stated in his book Faith Under Fire "The hard truth is that in 1954 the Congress of Democrats was the only white organisation which had shown itself to be consistently and unequivocally opposed to colour discrimination of every kind; this lead, which the Christian Churches might have taken, was allowed to slip into other hands."<sup>30</sup> The definition of the Suppression of Communism Act was so broad as to include anyone being held suspect of Communism for simply protesting against the government. In South Africa, Davenport states that the Bill

...defined communism to mean not only Marxist-Leninism, but also 'any related form of that doctrine' which sought to establish the

---

<sup>29</sup> Paton, Journey Continued, p. 68.

<sup>30</sup> Lewis John Collins, Faith Under Fire, (London: Frewin, 1966), p. 196.

dictatorship of the proletariat, or to bring about 'any political, industrial, social or economic change within the Union by the promotion of disturbances or disorder', whether in association with a 'foreign government' or not, or by encouraging hostility between Europeans and non-Europeans.<sup>31</sup>

Frank Harris, a British Quaker who had moved from England to South Africa to help bolster the local Society, expressed his views on the country's 'Communist' element: "Some think the control of the [Defiance] Campaign had partly fallen, or is likely to fall, into the hands of the Communists, though it is not contended that the leaders who have been convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act are guilty of anything more...than 'statutory Communism' -- i.e. an intention to bring about a social change."<sup>32</sup>

South African Quakers received similar letters to Lean's from other Friends overseas. Individual Monthly Meetings felt it was imperative that they make a statement as to where they stood regarding the Defiance Campaign and the racial crisis in general. Some, however, were uncomfortable about the pressure from 'overseas' Friends. John Martley, Clerk of Cape Western Monthly Meeting, received a letter from a local Quaker which stated: "We feel the Society cannot remain both silent and inactive without suffering in the general moral decline. Surely

---

<sup>31</sup> Davenport, South Africa, 4th ed., pp. 333-334.

<sup>32</sup> Frank Harris, "The Defiance Campaign in South Africa," The Friend, 16 January, 1953, p. 55.

not to act against injustice is to be a party to it. Our Friends overseas must wait to see what we are doing."<sup>33</sup>

The Defiance Campaign spread slowly across the country, from Port Elizabeth and East London to smaller towns in the eastern Cape, then Johannesburg to a dozen centers on the Witwatersrand, to Cape Town by August and further in the Western Cape. Over 3500 participants had been arrested. In later September, the Campaign was operating in Bloemfontein and Durban, and an additional 2000 people were arrested. The Campaign continued to gain momentum until October when rioting began.<sup>34</sup> Meanwhile, Monthly Meetings were still searching among themselves for a unified statement. The Race Relations Committee for London Society's Meeting for Sufferings also wrote the South African Yearly Meeting inquiring what their position was regarding the Defiance Campaign and what steps South African Friends were taking toward better race relations. The request for information was forwarded to the various Monthly Meetings to which Transvaal replied that they were very much perturbed by the Defiance Campaign and equally aware of the frustrations felt by Africans. As white South Africans, they also realized that the white community as a whole must soon relinquish some of the customs and privileges to which they had grown accustomed. They were reluctant, however, to support the Defiance Campaign. They recognized that Africans were becoming frustrated and impatient and were ready to participate in a Resistance Movement if it meant securing a better life for themselves in South Africa.

---

<sup>33</sup> Letter to John Martley, writer unknown, 18 May, 1952, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>34</sup> Karis, ed., "Hope and Challenge," p. 419.

However, the local Society was also concerned that while the leaders of the Defiance Campaign seemed to be honorable men, there were others of "unscrupulous principles who will exploit the situation to further their own ends."<sup>35</sup> They concluded their minute by stating that they would continue to give the matter "further deep thought but at the moment are not clear as to how we, as a Meeting, can aid the African."<sup>36</sup>

Rioting continued throughout November and by mid-December, an additional 2300 people were arrested. In all, over 8300 participants had been arrested. By this time the government imposed even stricter measures against people protesting the country's laws. Referred to as the 'Swart Bills', this legislation stipulated that people found guilty of participating in the Defiance Campaign and breaking a law could be fined 300 pounds, imprisoned for three years and whipped with ten lashes (Criminal Laws Amendment Act). People found guilty of simply encouraging the Campaign could be fined 500 pounds, imprisoned five years and whipped with fifteen lashes (the Public Safety Act).<sup>37</sup> The penalties were such that it was difficult for the ANC to encourage further participation. While it would carry on, the full thrust of the Campaign would soon peak, and then falter. At this same time, Natal Monthly Meeting spoke for other Meetings when they reported: "We cannot feel that we are

---

<sup>35</sup> Minutes of the Transvaal Monthly Meeting, Minute 8, 19 October, 1952, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Karis, ed., "Hope and Challenge," pp. 419-422.

clearly united in supporting the Defiance Campaign."<sup>38</sup> In their frustration, South African Friends sincerely wanted to find some other way by which they could contribute as a corporate body to help alleviate the country's racial conflicts.

As an expression of their own concern and support, the London Society's Meeting for Sufferings established a South African Watching Committee. The purpose of the Committee was to keep in touch with the South African Friends regarding the Defiance Campaign and related race issues.<sup>39</sup> The Committee intended also to keep in touch with Christian Action and other interested groups of people, and to report to the Meeting for Sufferings and the Society in general on what suitable action could be taken up by Friends outside South Africa. Immediately the Committee was divided as to whether they supported the Defiance Campaign and whether they agreed to contribute to and help distribute funds from Christian Action earmarked for the families of those jailed for demonstrating in the Defiance Campaign.<sup>40</sup> The division within the Committee was felt among Friends in South Africa.

Russell Brayshaw had initiated the suggestion for a South African Watching Committee and served as a Committee member. He was opposed to the "use of passive resistance

---

<sup>38</sup> Minutes of Natal Monthly Meeting, 30 November, 1952, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>39</sup> "Commentary," The Friend, 14 November, 1951, p. 979, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

to obtain material ends"<sup>41</sup> and also "refused to back [the fund for resisters' families] as I think it highly dangerous for Quakers to virtually back a political agitation in another country."<sup>42</sup> His views differed sharply from others on the Committee that he considered troublesome. The Committee was aware, however, of its division: "To some the issues raised by the passive resistance campaign are clearer than to others."<sup>43</sup> The Committee did not want to take a partisan stand regarding the Christian Action Fund as "Meeting for Sufferings recognised that many Friends strongly desire to support the fund..."<sup>44</sup> as one means at least of supporting those in need and suffering from an unjust cause.

Letters appeared in The Friend asking about the Christian Action Fund for jailed resisters in the Defiance Campaign. Most of the people lived far away and saw this as perhaps a legitimate way to help. The South African Watching Committee asked South African Friends if there were cases of distress and whether they should get involved. South African Friends were hesitant to support financial aid. It was their understanding that the Campaign was funded by the organizers and "the number of those who offer resistance is determined by the funds available...[campaign participants and their families]

---

<sup>41</sup> Report of the Third Southern African Yearly Meeting, 12-17 January, 1951, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>42</sup> Russell Brayshaw to Scarnell Lean, 30 October, 1952, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>43</sup> "Commentary," The Friend, 14 November, 1951.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

are not in severe distress as far as we know."<sup>45</sup> They feared that money sent to South Africa to aid the families would instead be spent on the Campaign, which they had not officially endorsed.<sup>46</sup>

Individual Monthly Meetings were asked to identify jailed resisters living in their areas who might need financial assistance. Recognizing another short-coming within the local Society, the Yearly Meeting Committee encouraged Monthly Meetings to invite more 'non-Europeans' to come to their meetings in order to address the race issue with information the white community did not have access to: "We are in particular appreciative of the efforts being made by Durban Friends to gain in understanding of this most difficult and tense situation through discussions with representatives of non-European opinions."<sup>47</sup>

A committee was set up in South Africa to help distribute funds collected by Christian Action. Members of the Committee included Alan Paton, Trevor Huddleston and Arthur Blaxall, Chairman of the South African Fellowship of Reconciliation. Scarnell Lean was asked to join the committee. He did, not as a representative of the Society of Friends, but as a Quaker in his own capacity. He cited three reasons for his participation: "1) I felt relief should be administered to the dependents of resisters who are in genuine distress; 2) Quakers should have some part in this work; and 3) It is a means of keeping in touch

---

<sup>45</sup> Minutes of the Yearly Meeting Committee, Minute 176, 6 October, 1952, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Natal Monthly Meeting, Minute 488, 9 November, 1952, Quaker Archives, UCT.

with what is being done in relief and also learning more about the actual facts of the Defiance Campaign."<sup>48</sup>

During the Defiance Campaign, The Friend became a forum of debate as letters to the editor and personal commentaries carried the opposing views regarding the Campaign. Maurice Webb reminded those who were impatient with white South Africans that "in terms of urbanisation and industrialisation and literacy, South Africa is now where you were in the early nineteenth century...and remember, too, that you had ample time to make your changes; for you were so far ahead in the field that you could browse upon your way, whereas South Africa is being hurtled through its period of change..."<sup>49</sup> Referring to the United Nations Trusteeship Committee Meeting in Paris to which the Herero Chiefs were invited, Gerald Bailey, British Quaker, wrote "We were deeply conscious in Paris of the need for a more effective international sharing of thought and concern among Friends on the South African questions coming before the Assembly, and particularly, of course, for closer contact and consultation with South African Friends. The World Conference may well provide some opportunities for this, but the important thing would seem to be that more non-South African Friends should see these questions *from inside* the Union."<sup>50</sup> Frank Harris spoke of the resentment South Africans felt regarding criticism based on false information: "Perhaps

---

<sup>48</sup> South African Liaison Committee: Minutes & Papers 1952-1954, Friends House, London, Document 16.

<sup>49</sup> Maurice Webb, "The South African 'Defiance Campaign,' " The Friend, 31 October, 1952, p. 949.

<sup>50</sup> Gerald Bailey, "Commentary," The Friend, 22 February, 1952, p. 132.

English Friends who are interested in South Africa might make more use than they do of the Institute of Race Relations pamphlets available at Friends House?"<sup>51</sup>

Roger Carter, Clerk of Natal Monthly Meeting, identified several projects and organizations in South Africa which South African Friends supported and which others could support as well. He further suggested establishing a 'Society of Friends South Africa Fund' to which people outside South Africa could contribute toward projects designed "for the advancement of inter-racial and inter-group harmony." Fred Barton, member of the South African Watching Committee, had just returned from a trip to South Africa and found living conditions for Africans more appalling than he imagined. He acknowledged that the non-violent techniques used in the Campaign were just that -- techniques, not a philosophy that was incorporated in the daily lives of the participants as it had been with Gandhi and his followers. He felt the Campaign, however, should be supported in the name of justice and that Friends should not be patient "in the midst of...evil discrimination...There is no solution but bold, courageous Christian living."<sup>52</sup> Scarnell Lean criticized Barton for making "sweeping and damaging statements."<sup>53</sup> Barton claimed, for example, that the people he met, while distressed, seemed satisfied doing little or nothing. Upset by Barton's accusations, Lean

---

<sup>51</sup> Frank Harris, "The Defiance Campaign in South Africa," The Friend, 16 January, 1953, p. 53.

<sup>52</sup> Fred Barton, Letter to the Editor, The Friend, 21 November, 1952, page number not visible.

<sup>53</sup> Scarnell Lean, Letter to the Editor, The Friend, 16 January, 1953, p. 65.

cited numerous examples of Friends activities in soup kitchens, nursery schools, clothing drives, raising money, working in African townships...every Friend he knew was doing something, some Friends full-time: "I appeal earnestly to Friends. We really must try to understand each other better than this."<sup>54</sup>

In another letter Carter reminded readers that while people kept referring to the Campaign as a non-violent passive resistance campaign, it was "clearly and categorically a *Defiance Campaign*...not our method as Friends. I believe, rather, that it cannot fail to be destructive..."<sup>55</sup> Bernard Clark of England wondered what happened to the courage once displayed by Quakers who were willing to be imprisoned for simply "attending meetings for worship [or] not removing their hats in the presence of those in authority."<sup>56</sup> People in South Africa were today, he said, "suffering because they will not conform to the evil laws of race discrimination laws...laws [which] are a denial of human brotherhood and of the Christian faith that 'all are one in Christ.'"<sup>57</sup> Were South African Quakers among them?

When one thinks of the 'Underground Railroad' in America which helped to free slaves in defiance of unjust laws, we are rightly proud of what Friends did in those days. Has our

---

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Roger Carter, Letter to the Editor, The Friend, 4 September, 1953, p. 834.

<sup>56</sup> Bernard Clark, Letter to the Editor, The Friend, 6 February, 1953, p. 130-131.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

Society now too many fears and hesitations, or is it getting too respectable?<sup>58</sup>

One British Friend considered herself well informed about the South African 'situation'. Nontando Crosfield grew up in South Africa. Educated in England, she was the daughter of Davidson Don Tengo Jabavu and was married to Michael Crosfield, member of the South African Watching committee. Christian Action provided the platform when she challenged Malan's government on its claim to be defending 'White Christian civilisation'. Her address was printed in The Friend and contained several examples of so-called 'White Christian civilisation':

When I and my family and friends are debarred from sitting on park benches labelled 'Europeans only', it is in order that Western Christian civilisation may be preserved. When free, compulsory education is provided for white children and is withheld from black and brown children, this, too, is done in order to preserve Western Christian civilisation. And when black children are deprived of their school dinners, in order that white children alone should enjoy this concession, this also is done in the name of Western Christian civilisation.<sup>59</sup>

Some of her allegations annoyed South African Quakers who felt she was distorting facts. One of her claims was that African drivers were forbidden to drive buses even in their own townships as bus-driving was a job reserved for white people; she was, of course, referring to the 'color bar', or jobs reservation. A nation-wide school feeding

---

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Nontando Crosfield, "A Call for Christian Action in the Africa Crisis: An African View," The Friend, 20 February, 1953, p. 170.

program for African children was indeed stopped by the government; in response, South African Friends worked with Huddleston to recreate some sort of food scheme for African schoolchildren in the Johannesburg area. She spoke the truth, but it is fair to say she exaggerated facts. It is also true that as an African, Crosfield spoke with a rage and fury that few whites could understand, as few whites would ever be subject to the kind of discrimination reserved for her race:

To those who oppose help to the resistance campaign on the grounds that law-breaking is wrong, I would say: Cast your minds back to the end of the last war, when the Allied Armies uncovered the living horrors of the concentration camps, gas chambers and slave factories of the Nazi regime in Germany. Many people were shocked that the German people had not resisted the inhuman laws of their Nazi Government. In Africa today, we can see the African people beginning an almighty struggle against a similar set of inhuman laws.<sup>60</sup>

Nontando's father died in 1959. Specific documentation was not found regarding his attitude about the Defiance Campaign. One can speculate, however, given his moderate views and political association with the rival All African Convention during the Convention's non-militant phase, he would not have approved. According to Karis, the "All African Convention continued...to be scornful of the Campaign which it described as 'yet another stunt' staged by the African 'Quislings' concerned with 'assuring the rulers of their harmlessness while increasing the price of collaboration.'" <sup>61</sup> One could

---

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 171.

<sup>61</sup> Karis, "Hope and Challenge 1935-1952," p. 424.

also raise the question of what he thought of his daughter's 'mixed marriage', as Michael Crosfield, grandson of Dame Elizabeth Cadbury, was clearly white.<sup>62</sup> At a personal and social level, this generation of Africans represented by Nontando took a far more militant stance than their parents. This would take an even more fateful twist in 1976 when schoolchildren in Soweto would risk being killed while protesting that Afrikaans no longer be used as the medium of instruction in the Transvaal schools as the parents of Nontando's generation watched in stunned shock.

The South African Quakers stated over and over in a series of minutes and documents their concern, sympathy and frustration over how non-whites were treated in South Africa. But it is legitimate to ask if any white person in South Africa could truly comprehend and appreciate what the human indignity of the racial laws felt like. In a letter to Russell Brayshaw in reply to whether he could identify people who were suffering as a result of discriminatory laws, Scarnell Lean wrote: "I cannot say that any of us know of outstanding cases. My own opinion is that all non-Europeans suffer as a result of discriminatory laws without distinction; there can hardly be any doubt of that. I honestly don't know how to find particular cases. One could find cases of acute distress but whether they could be ascribed to discriminatory laws I doubt."<sup>63</sup> In another letter to Paul Sturge from the Friends Service Council, Lean suggests that the Campaign

---

<sup>62</sup> Dorothy and Douglas Steere, "Newsletter # 3 from Dorothy and Douglas Steere," Report on Trip to Southern Africa, 6 April, 1953, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>63</sup> Scarnell Lean to Russell Brayshaw, 19 December, 1952, Quaker Archives, UCT.

was less an outcome of defiance to laws morally repugnant and life-threatening than to the result of a "feeling of humiliation...laws that offend human dignity...that is the root of the matter...[with] no hope of bettering their circumstances."<sup>64</sup> Lean further stated that this particular issue was to receive serious discussion at their next Yearly Meeting with a view to "making a definite change in the social order (please don't let Dr. Malan learn this otherwise we shall be proscribed under the Suppression of Communism Act!").<sup>65</sup>

Will Fox was the opening speaker at the 1953 Southern Africa Yearly Meeting. His speech focused on the "Race Question with special reference to the Defiance Campaign." Fox spoke for the majority of South African Friends when he said that in discussing this complicated situation "we must be careful to watch our motives. For instance, we must not be over influenced by the question, 'What will English Friends think?' We [welcome] the interest behind the setting up of the 'South African Watching Committee' but it might not be so healthy if we began to think they were 'watching us'."<sup>66</sup> Fox lauded the genuine effort of the organizers of the Defiance Campaign for making it non-violent and regretted the violence that occurred in its final days. Quakers who had met earlier with non-Europeans in "responsible positions" reported that the Africans "were quite clear and open in saying that the Campaign uses non-violence as a tactical

---

<sup>64</sup> South African Liaison Committee: Minutes & Papers 1952-1954, Friends House, London, Document 16.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Report from the 1953 Southern Africa Yearly Meeting, Quaker Archives, UCT.

weapon, not as a philosophy. There was, therefore, no guarantee that it would always remain non-violent. All Campaigners were trained in non-violence, but this did not...apply to those who attended mass meetings. The Quaker reluctance to be committed to a movement which could logically withdraw the technique of non-violence was understood and appreciated."<sup>67</sup>

On this report, Fox commented:

It would be unfair to say that the violence which had occurred was directly inspired by the campaign, but when passions are aroused and there is much tension it is easy for others to exploit the situation. It may be, too, that direct provocation proved too strong for some of the resisters, particularly for those who regarded non-violence more as a policy than as a philosophy. It is here that the great danger of the campaign lies.<sup>68</sup>

Fox reminded his audience that no church as a body had come out in support of the Defiance Campaign. As it was few whites actually participated, the most prominent one being Patrick Duncan, son of Sir Patrick Duncan. Duncan, with Manilal Gandhi, entered the Germiston black township near Johannesburg on 8 December, 1952. While the South African Society could not support the Campaign, Friends were obligated to find solutions toward reconciliation and many were deeply involved and already committed in local efforts.

---

<sup>67</sup> South African Quaker, April, 1953, p. 7, Transvaal State Archives, Pretoria, South Africa.

<sup>68</sup> 1953 Southern Africa Yearly Meeting report.

The discussion that followed reflected how far individual Quakers were able to go with their commitment. Elsie Manning of Cape (Western) Town Monthly Meeting commented on how long the African had been patient: "We must find a revolutionary way. Christ would not say 'Begin slowly and gradually to obey the sermon on the mount'. He would say 'Do it now'...participation in the Campaign by Whites would remove a great deal of the suspicion about us in the minds of the non-Europeans."<sup>69</sup> John Martley of Cape Town felt such work was "outside the scope of the Society. The Church's function was worship."<sup>70</sup> Roger Carter said local Quakers must be careful as to how they chose their action as "it was possible to arouse more antagonism than constructive good."<sup>71</sup> Harold Shelpley stressed the "Campaign was not the way for Whites to get laws altered or to approach white opinion. This must be done individually, politically and in personal relationships."<sup>72</sup> Mary Butler did not believe they should support the Campaign as a body, but that they should keep on friendly terms with its members individually: "...we should not ignore our relations with the Africans. John Woolman had not encouraged a rising of slaves but had visited the slave-owners. We [do] not pray enough about the racial situation."<sup>73</sup>

Many felt that the entire issue demanded further and deeper study. Others questioned whether as a religious

---

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

body they should support a Campaign that had communist influence since Communism was generally associated with atheism. Some expressed the view that as whites, they would be more effective in trying to improve attitudes of other whites about the 'non-European'. It was decided they would pursue a 'publicity campaign' aimed at projecting the Christian message of reconciliation between all race groups. The publicity campaign would include posters, cards and pamphlets. They would also pursue building a Quaker center in Johannesburg where all race groups could meet. Additionally, they would establish a 'Society of Friends South Africa Fund' to receive donations from Quakers outside South Africa who wanted to help in some way. The funds would then be distributed among projects chosen by South African Quakers but in trusteeship with the Friends Service Council and the American Friends Service Committee.

As a group they would not distribute funds among dependents of the Campaign and "hoped that overseas Friends would not embarrass us with the practically impossible task of trying to assess such distress and distribute relief for this which would absorb all our energies as a Society in a way which we did not consider advisable."<sup>74</sup> They were "confident that individual Friends will, in line with our whole tradition, give help where they know help to be needed, [but] we are not clear that any official policy of help should be undertaken at this stage."<sup>75</sup> They knew the present system was wrong and stated that "we must bend all our energies to finding the appropriate way to alter it and to get the justice

---

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

done, by taking that way. This was the Quaker project and the only work which ought to engage us at present."<sup>76</sup>

The published report of discussions, attitudes and decisions at the 1953 Yearly Meeting provoked opposing responses from 'overseas' Quakers. In their report to the Meeting for Sufferings, the South African Watching Committee...now called the South African Liaison Committee...stated "We can, from here, see things that we would like to come to pass but we realize that, to be effective, those things must be done by people on the spot."<sup>77</sup> In general, the Liaison Committee was willing to be supportive of South African Quakers.

One member of that Committee, however, was distressed. In a note to the Liaison Committee, John Fletcher commented on a leading African Christian who had appealed to the Southern African Yearly Meeting to make a "real witnessing effort...speaking out with courage, without compromise on fundamentals, strong enough to take a stand and on fire with conviction."<sup>78</sup> He further wrote:

South African Friends could not respond to this appeal. They could not support the Defiance Campaign...nor...agree to administer funds to help the families of the passive resisters. Instead they said, and they still say, that the Quaker way of meeting the situation is by reconciliation, by publishing the Christian attitude to racism, and promoting social welfare projects for

---

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> London Yearly Meeting Proceedings, 1953, Friends House Library, London.

<sup>78</sup> South African Liaison Committee: Minutes & Papers 1952-1954, Friends House, London, Document 32.

Africans. This, they claim, are the specific characteristic Quaker methods of dealing with their situation. It is on this point that I disagree with them.<sup>79</sup>

Fletcher referred to the Quaker involvement in the anti-slavery movements in America and the 'Underground Railroad', participation which also carried high risk of imprisonment, physical pain and possible death. In the southern states, helping a slave to freedom via the 'Underground Railroad' was treated as a treasonable offense. Fletcher did not want to impose on what South African Quakers should or should not do but he was opposed to their "claim that what they do or don't do is the Quaker solution..."<sup>80</sup> Fletcher referred to Rufus Jones, noted Quaker historian, and his eloquent comments on Quaker involvement with the anti-slavery movement:

The illusion of colonisation passed away with time...schemes of compromising and temporising revealed their futility and fell away. Clear as sunrise rose the inescapable moral issue, and Friends everywhere came to see that slavery must end.

They had been, as all religious bodies are, slow in their response, but when once they caught the vision, they proved to be a great asset to the moral cause of that age.<sup>81</sup>

---

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid. Fletcher quotes from Rufus Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism, (London: Greenwood Press, 1921), Volume 2, Chapter 15.

Dorothy and Douglas Steere, representing the American Friends Service Committee,<sup>82</sup> visited South Africa in April 1953. They published a series of newsletters on their visit to southern Africa. In one of their reports they stated that as Friends in South Africa were few in number, they were greatly overworked. In addition to their own personal occupations, many were expending tremendous time and energy on good causes. From what they were able to observe, the Steeres felt that the local Society in general felt "very much under the weight of the racial situation" and wished they could do more, but "they feel their limitations." The Steeres identified several community projects which individual Friends were involved with, particularly among Africans, but stated that the local Society was also keen to have an impact on the thinking within the white community. One of the problems that the Steeres highlighted as to the local Society "reaching the minds of the white community" is that the local Society itself still was not of one mind as to what they must do. Furthermore, there were still some members who "are not sure what they personally must decide when faced with a reconciling ministry versus a more active identification with the cause of the non-Europeans."<sup>83</sup>

The Steeres met with representatives from other churches. Some Protestant Churches, while open to 'non-Europeans', maintained separate congregations or services. In those churches which allowed mixed congregations, the Steeres

---

<sup>82</sup> Douglas Steere was also Chairman of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation American Committee.

<sup>83</sup> Steere, "Newsletter #3 from Dorothy and Douglas Steere," Quaker Archives, UCT.

observed that the non-white members generally sat in the back: "Even in a Protestant church that permitted non-Europeans to attend its communion service, I have seen the 'coloreds' who came, deliberately sit at the back and wait until all the 'Europeans' had taken communion before going forward to present themselves."<sup>84</sup> When interviewing the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Durban, the Steeres said he was frank when he thought "the Presbyterian's choice of George Molefe as Moderator over a predominantly white clergy was a far greater step than their [the Catholic Church] recent choice of an African bishop in Basutoland where nearly all those under him would be Africans."<sup>85</sup> While non-white membership among the South African Quakers was small, all groups sat together in their Meetings for Worship. Additionally, monthly and regional meeting minutes of the local Society reveal that on many occasions several members sought out inter-racial gatherings with people of other races for purposes of social interaction and discussion.

The proposed 'publicity campaign' lasted for a few years though some Quakers would have preferred the words 'Quaker witness'.<sup>86</sup> They chose as their symbol a pair of hands -- one black, the other white -- clasped together in a handshake. This symbol appeared on posters, stationery and greeting cards accompanied with various quotes such as 'And who is my neighbour?' The Liberal

---

<sup>84</sup> Dorothy and Douglas Steere, "Newsletter #5 from Dorothy and Douglas Steere," 12 June, 1953, Report on Trip to Southern Africa, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Meeting of Monthly Meeting Clerks, Minute 36, held in Durban 30 May, 1954, Quaker Archives, UCT.

Party adapted the use of the symbol as their national emblem.<sup>87</sup> The greeting cards were sold in local bookshops and ordered by ministers and teachers all over the country. The symbol was displayed in various magazines such as The Drum and The Natal Daily News and one school in Grahamstown recited daily the prayer printed on one of the cards.<sup>88</sup>

The publicity campaign was in part funded by the Religious Society of Friends Southern Africa Fund. The Fund was a direct result of a request from London Friends for a "lead as to ways in which FRIENDS OVERSEAS could contribute to work in [South Africa] for the betterment of race relations."<sup>89</sup> Some of the worthy projects included teaching Indian women English literacy skills so they could function in the South African society; assisting several centers for poor non-white children; providing financial support to the Wilgespruit Fellowship Center, the only conference facility at that time in South Africa available to all race groups, and where all race groups could actually meet at the same time; grants to individual African students to help them further their studies; and a project by May Murray-Parker, Cape Town Friend who was using the Cape Town Meeting House to teach literacy classes and general education to non-whites. All

---

<sup>87</sup> "The Symbol of the Handclasp," The Friend, 7 September, 1956, p. 785.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> "Some Notes on Quaker Projects," date unknown, Quaker Archives, UCT.

her teachers worked at other jobs during the day and volunteered their teaching skills at night.<sup>90</sup>

By June, 1953, one year after the Defiance Campaign officially began, it was effectively over. While it accelerated the political self-consciousness especially among Africans, vast rural areas were largely unaffected by the Campaign. Even in some urban areas Africans ignored it completely. However, that over 8000 people were imprisoned for participating in the Campaign was not lost on the non-white community. When the Campaign began, numbers for the ANC membership varied between 7000 to 20,000 people. By the end of 1952, membership was estimated at 100,000. The ANC had a problem with sustainability, however; when one counted members the following year based on dues paid, membership stood at only 28,900.<sup>91</sup>

The Swart Bills did not help membership and certainly had an impact on the Campaign. The Steeres referred to the Bills as 'savage'.<sup>92</sup> The Campaign was further crippled as many of its leaders were banned or their travel restricted to confined areas, including Lutuli, Nelson Mandela (1918- ) and Walter Sisulu (1919- ). When Professor Matthews left for his sabbatical in 1952, hopes were high with anticipation of the Campaign. When he returned in May 1953, having been refused an extension of

---

<sup>90</sup> May Murray-Parker, "The Meeting House School," The South African Quaker, no. 127, April, 1958, pp. 1-2, Transvaal State Archives.

<sup>91</sup> Karis, ed., "Hope and Challenge," p. 427.

<sup>92</sup> Dorothy and Douglas Steere, "Newsletter #6 from Dorothy and Douglas Steere," Report on Trip to Southern Africa, 20 June, 1953, Quaker Archives, UCT.

his passport, he found African political activity at a lull.<sup>93</sup>

In that same year, general elections were held. While some had hoped that Malan's government would be defeated and the country's downward spiral of repression would end, instead the Nationalist party gained a far wider margin of victory than in the 1948 elections.<sup>94</sup> Smuts was dead, the United Party had no strong leadership to overcome the Nationalists and Paton's Liberal Party appealed to only a minority of people.<sup>95</sup>

While the South African Watching Committee was still concerned with events 'in the Union', its sense of urgency weakened. The work of the Liaison Committee became part of a sub-committee of the Meeting for Sufferings Race Relations Committee. Thus, "The South Africa Liaison Committee is accordingly laid down."<sup>96</sup>

For the next several years South African Quakers exhausted themselves constantly seeking money for the

---

<sup>93</sup> Gail Gerhart and Thomas Karis, eds., "Challenge and Violence 1953-1964," Carter and Karis, eds., From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of Politics in South Africa 1881-1964, Vol. 3, pp. 4-10.

<sup>94</sup> In 1948, Malan's Purified National Party won 79 seats to Smuts United Party (UP) of 71 seats. (Davenport, South Africa, 4th ed., p. 320). In 1953, the National Party (now a merger of the Purified National Party and the Nationalist Party) won 94 seats to UP's 58, and Labour Party's four votes. (Ibid., p. 331).

<sup>95</sup> See Paton, Journey Continued.

<sup>96</sup> Report from the South Africa Liaison Committee, Minute 5, Quaker Archives, UCT. This unusual term -- 'laid down' -- has been often used by the Quakers to mean that some aspect of business, or a committee, or discussions, etc. is finished.

beleaguered Fund. It was their understanding that the Fund was set up to receive monies from overseas Friends who wanted to contribute in some way, and they were dismayed how difficult it actually turned out to raise those funds. They were continually reminded that Friends in England and the States were being pressed to support causes all over the world.<sup>97</sup> South African Friends tried to understand, but what they realized more clearly was that within their own country, there was far greater need than they could possibly meet. Furthermore, they were getting pressure from the government to register as a welfare organization against which they protested -- they were a religious organization doing work as Christians, not welfare workers.

The commitment for the Fund's activities ultimately lapsed, but was replaced by a far greater level of commitment and intensity than was ever before experienced among South African Friends. Events throughout the decade, culminating in the Sharpeville killings by police of many people protesting the carrying of passes in 1960, brought Friends "face to face with specific needs."<sup>98</sup> Friends came out of their corporate and individual shells and joined forces with other organizations: "...there are many whose consciences, untroubled before, have roused

---

<sup>97</sup> Series of letters between Scarnell Lean, Secretary/Treasurer of the Religious Society of Friends South African Fund, to representatives of the American Friends Service Committee, Friends Service Council and Friends World Committee for Consultation, 1953 to 1959, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>98</sup> Audrey Hoole, Clerk, South African Quaker Relief Committee, "Relief Work of the Society of Friends in South Africa 1960," Quaker Archives, UCT. For details of Sharpeville, see Chapter Seven, pp. 192-193.

them to thought and action on behalf of those in distress as a result of the disturbances."<sup>99</sup>

---

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

FROM DEFIANCE TO RESISTANCE:  
THE SOUTH AFRICAN OUAKER RESPONSE

*Our disappointment over the election is mutual and we can do nothing but accept the fact that until the Afrikaner race [is] scared by those in authority...there is a very poor chance for a change in their outlook, and with the continuation of the Divide-and-Conquer education policy, what hope there was of improvement under a [United Party] government has been dashed for another five years, maybe!*<sup>1</sup>

Ernest Butler wrote this letter to his sister, Mary, following the news that the Nationalists had won an even greater electoral mandate in 1958. During the intervening five years Malan had resigned, his successor Johannes Strijdom (1893-1958)<sup>2</sup> introduced 'residential' and 'cultural' apartheid laws which ensured further separation of all race groups,<sup>3</sup> 'colored' voters were taken off the voters' roll and South Africa was on the threshold of Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd's (1901-1966) years of 'granite' apartheid. The political manipulation of this

---

<sup>1</sup> Ernest Butler to Mary Butler, 23 April, 1958, Ernest Collet Butler's Papers, Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa.

<sup>2</sup> His name is also spelled Strydom, but this spelling is used in Davenport, South Africa, 4th ed.

<sup>3</sup> Davenport, "Residential and Cultural Apartheid," South Africa, 4th ed., pp. 343-345.

last particular maneuver was the impetus behind the foundation for the Women's Defence of the Constitution League, better known as the Black Sash.<sup>4</sup> The name Black Sash was derived from "the black band members wore over their shoulders to symbolise mourning for the 'murder' of the South African constitution by the ruling National Party Government."<sup>5</sup>

The decade of National Party rule had already left a trail of oppressive policies and legislation few would have believed possible when the party was first elected in 1948. The Nationalists moved so swiftly with their 'social engineering' that during the 1953 South African General Election many South African citizens had hoped they would be voted out and a saner policy on racial affairs would intervene over the irrational apartheid legislation. Instead, the Nationalists gained a far stronger margin of victory than in the 1948 elections, and thus considered this a mandate from the white-electorate to pursue a vigorous racist policy and steam-roll their ideas of racial purity over the entire country. In South Africa, Davenport provided an example of this attitude when he wrote: "The Government claimed that the increase in their following gave them a mandate to go ahead with their coloured vote legislation...[which would]...remove the Coloured voters in the Cape from the common roll..."<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> June Crichton, "Helping hand for thousands," Eastern Province Herald, 12 November, 1991, p. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Davenport, South Africa, 4th ed., pp. 329-331.

The British Friend asked three South African Quakers for their reaction to the 1953 general election. Roger Carter, now Clerk of the Southern Africa Yearly Meeting, commented that the environment in the Natal region where he lived had an "abnormal quietness"<sup>7</sup> and the townspeople in the shops, "staffed wholly by Nationalists",<sup>8</sup> became perceptively more unfriendly: "I was also conscious of a personally unfriendly atmosphere which was quite new in my experience here, though I have been told that I have earned a certain coldness by several times making protest in the local paper against blatant and primitive injustices against the Indian community."<sup>9</sup> He further stated there would be political uncertainty until Parliament met in mid-year: "The Nationalists are in power with a substantial majority of seats, though still with a substantial minority of votes in the country as whole."<sup>10</sup> Leonard Thompson addressed this issue in The Unification of South Africa. When the constitution of the Union of South Africa was devised a method of dividing constituencies was adopted which favored the rural voters. It was possible for a rural constituency to have some 30 percent fewer voters within its borders than an urban constituency.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> Roger Carter, "Post-Election Comment from South Africa I," The Friend, 15 May, 1953, p. 437.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> See Thompson, The Unification of South Africa, Chapter III, "The Origin of the Principle Statues of the South African Constitution: The Electoral System," pp. 126-135.

Marjorie Fleming of Natal Monthly Meeting stated the opposition United Party's racial views were not necessarily more enlightened than the Nationalists, but they had made promises about meeting with non-European leaders in an attempt to work out a solution to racial conflict, and there was hope that while they "would not have set Table Bay on fire...it would have been a Government of ordinary human beings and not of fanatics."<sup>12</sup>

[That] Nationalists attempt to fit all Africans -- from town or kraal, civilised or primitive -- into an obsolete tribal system is both cruel and foolish. The carrying-out of the Group Areas Act will be a cruel business. The prohibition of mixed marriages has caused great suffering. The Government's enthusiasm for the gaol and the lash runs contrary to modern ideas of the penal reform.<sup>13</sup>

Fleming also stated the Government under Prime Minister Malan lashed out at what he called 'audacious liberals', in particular white people who would dare oppose Nationalist Party policies. She also stated that white people no longer felt safe in their homeland and that many people were being unfairly punished as a result of vague legislation. While some people were planning on leaving the country, others chose not to leave and were thus subject to what she called the "mercy of a minority Government...[and the]...power of a dictatorship."<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> Marjorie Fleming, "Post-Election Comment from South Africa-II," The Friend, 29 May, 1953, pp 489-490.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

Mary Butler wrote that "As the discriminatory laws come into full force their injustice will come home to ordinary white people and be a challenge to Christians."<sup>15</sup> She suggested several courses of action for Quakers in South Africa, including finding the best people of every race to help solve the country's problems, keeping communication open with their opponents, studying the racial issue worldwide, cultivating friendships with non-Europeans and "look[ing] for opportunity for making new ties through interest in their religious, cultural and educational movements, social welfare, sports clubs, etc."<sup>16</sup> And, as always, Butler stressed that "we pray for the capacity to care more for people of every race and opinion, and that we may grow in the consciousness of the presence of God and confidence in his guidance and ultimate victory."<sup>17</sup>

The 'Divide-and-Conquer education policy' to which Ernest Butler referred was the 1953 Bantu Education Act. By this Act, the Department of Native Affairs obtained control over all the African schools, including all the mission schools which had been responsible for African education practically the entire century. If any church or mission school refused to comply with the provisions of the act, they risked losing government grants which they almost all needed to survive financially. It also "placed the immediate management of African schools in the hands of Bantu school boards, enforced vernacular instruction in the junior schools, made both English and Afrikaans

---

<sup>15</sup> Mary Butler, "Post-Election Comment from South Africa-III," The Friend, 19 June, 1953, p. 580-581.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

compulsory subjects in the higher primaries, and laid down a different syllabus for Bantu schools, geared to what the Government considered African educational needs to be."<sup>18</sup> The Bantu Education Act was a measure designed to condemn the majority of South Africa's non-white children to an educational plan bordering on functional illiteracy. As years later, Verwoerd, during his tenure as South Africa's Prime Minister, would say:

Native education should be controlled in such a way that it should be in accord with the policy of the state...If the native in South Africa today in any kind of school in existence is being taught to expect that he will live his adult life under a policy of equal rights, he is making a big mistake...there is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour.<sup>19</sup>

The Quakers in South Africa did not make any public pronouncements about the Bantu Education Act since they did not have any schools, as did other churches. Furthermore, it was felt that the time for a public pronouncement would have been more effective "at the time the Bill was before Parliament, when united action might have forced the Government to modify its proposals."<sup>20</sup> South African Quakers did write an internal memo about the Bantu Education Act titled Implications of Act 47 of 1953. In that document they acknowledged that "Fundamentally this is a declaration that the African is

---

<sup>18</sup> Davenport, South Africa, 3rd ed., p. 374.

<sup>19</sup> Thompson, A History of South Africa, p. 196.

<sup>20</sup> Natal Monthly Meeting Concern for Adams College, no date, Quaker Archives, UCT.

not part of the South African nation. He must be treated differently from the elements of that nation...Among other things, the Act forbids the carrying on of Education by private bodies. Thus it denies the African opportunity of choosing for himself the influences under which he would have his education."<sup>21</sup>

How great this denial of opportunity was can be illustrated by two episodes in regard to 'native' education. One concerns the denial of the chance for overseas study to a promising black youth, the other the closing of Adams College which had sought to offer a liberal education and a wider opportunity to its students.

With the implementation of the Bantu Education Act, those Africans who could do so, sent their children out of the country and into academic institutions in Europe, the United States and even neighboring countries which offered more equalized education. Most Africans, however, were subject to this appalling act. Sometimes when a non-white student was offered an opportunity for an education outside of South Africa, the government intervened with an unbelievable cruelty. Father Trevor Huddleston writes in Naught For Your Comfort that his friend, Alan Paton, while spending an academic year at an exclusive private Anglican school in America, was able to offer a scholarship plus travel expenses for a promising young African male. Huddleston carefully selected the right student, one who would be able to cope culturally and academically. Realizing his unpopularity with the government, Huddleston made every attempt to stay 'out of

---

<sup>21</sup> Implications of Act 47 of 1953, Quaker Archives, UCT.

the picture'. But the young student was from the school in which Huddleston was Superintendent, St. Peter's School in Rosettenville, and Huddleston worried that this would probably be noticed by some government official.<sup>22</sup>

Everything was set for the young scholar...all he needed was a Certificate of Character which would enable him to obtain a passport for him to travel out of South Africa and into the United States. They applied for a Certificate and waited, and waited, and waited. Ultimately, the government refused to grant the Certificate to a "lad of sixteen, not at all interested in politics, never in any way connected with crime, his father the Principal of a Government school."<sup>23</sup> Huddleston took the issue to the press and proceeded anyway to apply for a passport. The Government made a rare announcement as to why issuing a passport to this young student would be 'folly'. They maintained that it would not be in the "best interest of the boy" as he would return to his country with "'a shattered dream.'" After all, what would he do with such an education in a country where his abilities are limited by legislation? Furthermore, the government stated that the student was too young to benefit from such a bursary.<sup>24</sup> Huddleston was furious. In what must have been tremendous pain, he wrote:

The fact that his parents desired him to go,  
and were prepared if necessary for him never

---

<sup>22</sup> Trevor Huddleston, Naught For Your Comfort (London: Collins, 1956), p. 152.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., pp. 152-153.

to return: the fact that, in America, Stephen would be able to choose a profession closed to him in South Africa: the fact that he was going to a Church School, when, in the Union almost all Church schools had ceased to exist because of the Bantu Education Act: the fact that for months he had set his heart on his marvelous adventure, all these things counted for nothing. The State had decided. The State knew best. The State, where Africans are concerned, always knew best.<sup>25</sup>

Huddleston decided to continue trying in the dim hope that the government would acquiesce. He was inspired by the young student who did not give up his dream. While they waited, again, the student needed an operation. Something happened during anaesthesia and oxygen was required to revive him. But the student was buoyant, confident he would not die. He wrote to Father Huddleston "But of course I knew I should not die. God could possibly not disappoint me about America."<sup>26</sup> Huddleston wrote "God could not, but Verwoerd (Minister of Native Affairs) could." And did. A passport was never granted to the student.

Several missionary schools, such as the Lovedale Training Institution in Ciskei, were adversely affected by the Bantu Education Act and were either closed or taken over by the Government "because their support for apartheid was thought not to be sufficient enough."<sup>27</sup> Among the greatest tragedies of the Bantu Education Act was the closing of Adams College, one of the oldest and largest mission schools in South Africa. Albert Lutuli was on the

---

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 153.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 154.

<sup>27</sup> Davenport, South Africa, 4th ed., p. 535.

teaching staff and graduates included Joshua Nkomo, Sir Seretse Khama and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. It comprised a Teacher Training College, a High School and an Industrial School giving three year courses in building and woodwork. In addition, there was a theological school for the training of pastors. Apart from the Industrial School, the college was co-educational. Mainly as a result of Friends Relief work in Europe and friendships made then, there were "no less than four families on the staff of Adams College wholly or partly Friends, and in addition a leading S.A. Friend is on the Governing Council."<sup>28</sup>

The school had been established in 1853, and while experiencing years of satisfying growth, measurable success sprang forth under the Principalship of Dr. Edgar Brookes, appointed in 1934. Adams College was the first college to give responsible posts in their High School and Training College to promising African teachers. The College granted an unusual degree of freedom and responsibility to its students, focusing on discipline that was more 'co-operative' than 'authoritarian', and student activities in general were student-organized. A noteworthy function of the College was its annual exchange of visits with European schools.<sup>29</sup>

Rather than comply with the Bantu Education Act, the College voted to close the Training College at the end of 1955 and to "carry on the High School and the Industrial

---

<sup>28</sup> "Natal Monthly Meeting Concern for Adams College," n.d.

<sup>29</sup> SOME SOUTH AFRICAN MISSIONARY INSTITUTIONS, prepared by Professor Horton Davies, Department of Divinity, Rhodes University, Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa.

School as institutions under its own control with such subsidy as the Government is willing to offer."<sup>30</sup> South African Friends at Adams agreed with this decision as they were "clear that to co-operate with the implementation of the basic motive of the Bantu Education Act would be offensive to their consciences."<sup>31</sup>

Ultimately, the government forced the school's closure at the end of 1956. The final edition of ISO LOMUZI, the college magazine, printed several wrenching statements of 'farewell'. In his address, Dr. Brookes said:

Adams, as we know it, comes to an end at the close of 1956, after a hundred years of history. Whatever takes its place, whether it bears the honoured name of Adams College or not, will not be the same school actuated by the same ideals of a liberal education, an education for freedom. Nothing will ever persuade me that what has happened has been just or wise...<sup>32</sup>

Jack Grant was Adams College's last principal. Giving thanks and praise to those who supported the ideals behind Adams' liberal educational philosophy, he also expressed his bitterness at those who forced its untimely end. He stressed that it did not seem to matter to the government that there were many Africans who benefitted from Adams and wanted it to remain open, just as there were many staff who were willing to devote time and talent to the College. What mattered to the government,

---

<sup>30</sup> "Natal Monthly Meeting Concern for Adams College."

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> ISO LUMUZI, Adams College Magazine, vol. 20, no. 34, (final number), November 1956, Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa.

he said, was supporting any means of apartheid. He also expressed his sad disbelief that in a country which considered itself Christian they would force the closure of a school which embraced the same Christian principles preached in churches across the country "all because we stood for an education which is Christian and liberal rather than for one which is Christian and National."<sup>33</sup>

If the Bantu Education Act was not repugnant enough for some, the Native Laws Amendment Act in 1957 displayed the hard core of racism in certainly the heart of Verwoerd, still Minister of Native Affairs. In particular, there was clause 29 (c) which intended to prevent racial association in church, school, hospital, club or any other institution or place of entertainment. 29 (c) became known as the 'church clause' because it basically prevented multi-racial worship in a designated 'European' area. According to the Group Areas Act, permission had first to be obtained from the Minister of Native Affairs, with the concurrence of the local authority. In Journey Continued, Paton refers to this clause as the height of Afrikaner arrogance and "shows also the extent to which the doctrines of apartheid had corrupted Afrikaner religion and morality."<sup>34</sup> Verwoerd got a sharp reaction from a minority in the Nationalist Caucus who argued that the Bill "violated the Reformed principle of the sovereignty of the Church within its own sphere."<sup>35</sup> The

---

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Paton, Journey Continued, pp. 164-165.

<sup>35</sup> Davenport, South Africa, 3rd ed., p. 380.

English-speaking churches across the country were almost unanimous in their rebuke of the Bill.<sup>36</sup>

The local Society had now an act by the government they considered so audacious that it prompted a response across the country. South African Quakers wrote the Minister of Native Affairs that they opposed the Bill as they supported the right of any individual, regardless of race or color, to worship with their Society, or attend discussions, study groups or conferences. They did not think the state had any right to tell people how to "worship God according to the dictates of his conscience."<sup>37</sup> The Minister replied that their "letter was inspired, no doubt, by the ill-informed criticism in the Press."<sup>38</sup> They should wait until the second reading of the Bill was heard in order to completely understand its implications: "You can rest assured that there is no intention to do more than prevent wrong developments taking place in South Africa."<sup>39</sup>

Rosemary Elliott, member of the Cape Eastern Regional Meeting, expressed her concern as to how Quakers were going to react to this new imposition by the government:

We conform to the law and customs of the land,  
because, we say, we must be charitable and  
lawlessness is wrong. But we continually  
sacrifice our consciences to outward

---

<sup>36</sup> Paton, Journey Continued, pp. 164-165.

<sup>37</sup> The South African Quaker, no. 116, May 1957, p. 7, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

conformity. With early Friends this was not so. If a thing conflicted with current social practice or the law of the land, and their consciences, it was not their consciences that compromised.

We occasionally offer a written protest to the Ministers concerned, but, by our silence and compromise in our daily lives, we give lie to our beliefs.<sup>40</sup>

For many years thereafter, Elliott practiced what she constantly urged her fellow Friends to do...she invited Africans to share in Quaker worship, often violating the Group Areas Act to do so. During an interview with Elliott, she stated that since she was not entirely comfortable simply inviting non-whites in her home to share in worship as an act of defiant violation of the law, she felt in her conscience obliged to inform the local police and magistrates office. This conforms to the usual Quaker practice of obedience to the law but also obedience to one's conscience if it seems to be a 'higher authority'.<sup>41</sup>

Cape Eastern Regional Meeting recorded the following minute regarding what personal steps they felt Quakers should take:

It was suggested that since the Bill places the onus of guilt on the African, if he fails to obtain permission to attend a Church in a European area, should Friends consider taking the onus of guilt by living up to their affirmed principles of Freedom of Worship and

---

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., pp. 1-2.

<sup>41</sup> First interview with Rosemary Elliott, South African Friend and social worker, Addo, South Africa, April, 1991.

attending a non-European church, not in a spirit of defiance but of concern.<sup>42</sup>

Mary Butler had no problems whatsoever about what action she would take regarding shared worship:

On Good Friday I attended the three hour service in the Anglican Church in the Location of Cradock. The African priest [James Calata] is one of the 156 persons on trial for high treason. Special permission was given him to conduct his usual heavy Easter programme. All his addresses had to be submitted to the commandant of police in writing and had to be delivered as written. The church, which holds about 400 people, was full, and there was no coming and going.<sup>43</sup>

While the Defiance Campaign had basically failed in its objective to overturn apartheid, the consciousness of the 'black'<sup>44</sup> South African had been so politicized that the government erred in its thinking that it had crushed the protest movement. The alliance formed between the Africans and Indians during the Campaign was strengthened by other developments, in particular the Freedom Charter which was introduced during the Congress of the People conducted in a field at Kliptown, Soweto, 1955. Davenport

---

<sup>42</sup> Minutes of the Cape Eastern Regional Meeting, 15 February, 1957, documents now held by Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa.

<sup>43</sup> The South African Quaker, no. 116, May, 1957, p. 4.

<sup>44</sup> Gwendolyn Carter and Thomas Karis used the words 'non-white' in their documentation gathered for From Protest to Challenge. As the black consciousness movement grew in South Africa, the term 'non-white' was considered derogatory. Carter and Karis hesitated to use only the word 'black' due to the varied ethnic groups in South Africa, but recognized that the black consciousness movement used the word 'black' to include all subjects of white domination. See Vol.2, the "Preface."

states that the Charter "demanded a non-racial, democratic system of government...equal protection for all people under the law...urged the nationalisation of banks, mines and heavy industry as well as land redistribution...well within the limits of social democratic thought...in so far as it advocated socialist redistribution...Finally, it sought equal work and educational opportunities and the removal of restrictions on domestic and family life. It was avowedly non-racial."<sup>45</sup>

It was, also, a major threat to the government, whose own vow was to crush forever, if they could, the protest movement against apartheid. They could not crush everyone, but they could silence the leaders. In December, 1956, the police arrested 156 people from all races and all walks of life all over South Africa and held them in Johannesburg. Thus began what Davenport calls the "longest and largest trial in the history of mankind,"<sup>46</sup> the South African Treason Trial. Mary Butler stated her reaction to the trial: "It is not only the 156 persons who are on trial, it is the whole Christian Church. By our neglect, our low aims, our selfish fears, we have rendered the Kingdom of God vulnerable. Are we not also guilty of High Treason?"<sup>47</sup>

Though some people were cynical and considered the trial a high-handed hoax by the government, the Treason Trial gave the authorities another opportunity to fan the fires

---

<sup>45</sup> Davenport, South Africa, 3rd ed., p. 387.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 386.

<sup>47</sup> South African Quaker, February, 1957, Mary Butler's Papers, Jeffrey Butler's Personal Collection.

and fears of Communism in the average 'white' South African. To appear too supportive of those on trial or the organization they represented could come under the magnifying glare of the Suppression of Communism Act. One person was undaunted. In yet another article left unpublished by the Midland News, Mary Butler wrote:

#### IN DEFENCE OF THE A.N.C.!

The A.N.C. is often accused of encouraging Communism. Let us consider some of the common accusations.

1) The A.N.C. agitates for better pay and for better living conditions for non-Europeans. Can anyone with intimate knowledge of the wages received and of living conditions in the Location deny them this right?

2) The A.N.C. is feared because it is said to be well organised and is behind all strikes and boycotts among non-Europeans. Far from being a danger the fact that there is an organised body able to exercise control is, if rightly directed, a safeguard. Have the non-Europeans any other effective means of bargaining? The fact that members of the A.N.C. take part in a boycott does not prove that the A.N.C. as an organisation is sponsoring the boycott.

3) The A.N.C. was blamed for the riots in '52-53.

The A.N.C. aims at the advancement of non-Europeans in the scale of civilisation. A return to the methods of barbarianism is anathema to the civilised non-European men who were leading the movement at the time.

4) the A.N.C criticises the discriminatory laws of the country, which withhold many of the privileges of citizenship from non-

Europeans. Must all critics be condemned as Communists?<sup>48</sup>

Mary Butler also suggested several ways for people to combat the threat of communism in their towns and regions: narrow the gap between the 'haves' and the have-nots'; encourage free consultation between whites and non-whites on matters of local government; develop personal relationships outside of the master-servant roles; allow for "safety valves" for expression of grievances; overcome fear between the race groups; and develop faith in the power of good over evil, justice without prejudice and practice the golden rule of doing to others as "we would be done by."<sup>49</sup>

The Treason Trial lasted six years -- until 1961 -- and "all without exception were eventually acquitted of the charge of treason..."<sup>50</sup> In late January, 1960, while the trial continued, British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan visited South Africa. While extending the hand of friendship to South Africa, and expressing understanding of the problems the country faced, Macmillan enunciated the famous 'winds of change' message pointing to a new African nationalism growing in the continent that no one -- not even South Africa -- could ignore. Black Africans everywhere intended to gain eventual independence, to be seen as citizens in their own countries and as leaders in the international community at large. To ignore this and to continue drafting policies based on race would be

---

<sup>48</sup> Mary Butler, "In Defence of the A.N.C.!" February, 1957, Mary Butler's Papers, Jeffrey Butler's Personal Collection.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Davenport, South Africa, 3rd ed., p.388.

tantamount to disaster nationally and South Africa would lose the support of the British government. Verwoerd, now South Africa's Prime Minister, implicitly 'thumbed his nose' when he reinforced the country's commitment to white supremacy.<sup>51</sup>

In March that same year, Verwoerd's government was able to demonstrate what brutal steps it would take in order to maintain white supremacy. The Pan-African Congress (PAC), rival organization to the ANC, planned a non-violent demonstration at various police stations expressing their defiance of the pass-laws. In most places, the protest was conducted without incident. In Sharpeville, "undisciplined police"<sup>52</sup> panicked, killing sixty-nine Africans and injuring 180. While there had been previous demonstrations, Sharpeville became world headlines. Thousands more Africans began to react. To calm anger, the police halted arrests for not carrying passes. Chief Lutuli responded by publicly burning his pass. He declared March 28 a day of mourning, and urged everyone to stay home and not go to work. Many responded. In reaction, the government banned the ANC and PAC as illegal organizations and detained over 18,000 people under new emergency regulations.<sup>53</sup>

In response to the events at Sharpeville, Audrey Hoole, representing the local Quaker Relief Committee, wrote that Africans were depressed by the sudden separation and isolation from their communities and from those who could

---

<sup>51</sup> See Davenport, "Verwoerd's 'New Vision' and Macmillan's 'Winds of Change', 1959-60," South Africa, 4th ed., pp. 352-356.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 358.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. 359.

give support. They were also adversely affected by what Hoole called "often brutal police interferences"<sup>54</sup> which led to families being torn apart and left with uncertain futures: "Here [is] an obvious challenge to all people of goodwill, above all to Christians."<sup>55</sup>

Working closely with organizations such as the Red Cross, Black Sash and several church bodies, South African Friends joined forces in forming the State of Emergency Relief Fund (SERF). One of the greatest needs was to provide food and financial assistance to families of detainees and to try and make contact with those held in prison. Several appeals for funds were written to The Friend and the Quaker Relief Committee would later express its thanks to donors. In one letter, the Committee described the dismal condition of the detainees. They stated that many parents had no idea where their sons were and the prisons were offering little advice or information. Prison conditions were also unknown, but the Quaker Relief Committee was certain that the detainees, once released, would have a difficult time readjusting back to normal society, physically, mentally and spiritually. It would also be difficult for them to find work now that they had a 'prison' record, such as it was.<sup>56</sup>

At the 1956 Sixth Yearly Meeting of the South African Society of Friends held in Natal, Quakers expressed their frustration that "We do not seem able, as a group, to do

---

<sup>54</sup> "Relief Work of the Society of Friends in South Africa 1960," Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> "South Africa," 29 July, 1960, The Friend, pp. 1058-1059.

any specific work among non-Europeans..."<sup>57</sup> Not all South African Quakers were of the same mind politically, but after Sharpeville, almost all could now agree that the turn of events in South Africa ran contrary to their basic beliefs, violently demonstrated in how their 'black neighbors', made in the image of God, were being treated. Being of independent minds -- a strong Quaker characteristic -- there was disagreement as to how they should approach social work. In a personal comment entitled "A Note on Quaker Social Work in South Africa," Webb asked if South African Quakers were rushing into action because to do so had now become a popular political cause. He acknowledged that social workers in South Africa could not escape politics since so much of their work was a result of the government's politically driven racial policies. He said that many in the local Society found local politics distasteful and used social work, however, as a means by which to avoid taking on political responsibilities. On the other hand, he also felt that some let politics influence their judgement and actions as social workers.<sup>58</sup>

Webb also criticized the action by some local Quakers after Sharpeville who, "burning to take some action in respect of the special needs arising from the crisis, turned not to their neighbours, not to the Christian churches or their neighbourhoods, but thought of an exclusively Quaker project and sought 'Foreign' aid in

---

<sup>57</sup> Report of the Sixth Yearly Meeting of the South African Religious Society of Friends, 1956, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>58</sup> Maurice Webb, "A Note on Quaker Social Work in Southern Africa," May, 1961, Quaker Archives, UCT.

money and workers."<sup>59</sup> He commented that his fellow Natal Quakers were perhaps "wiser" for choosing instead to work with existing organizations in the region.<sup>60</sup>

A 'fellow Natal Quaker' hastened to reply that Webb's internal document was not "adopted" by the Natal Monthly Meeting and that he spoke for himself. Bunty Biggs asserted that there were times when "speedy action to meet an urgent situation was called for." Biggs felt that it was very effective to move this way among a group of like-minded people rather than wait for some appointed action-plan. She also said that had they waited for some sort of an organization to respond, such as concerned churches, the "Emergency [in Pietmaritzburg] would have been finished and forgotten!"<sup>61</sup> As for excepting help from sources outside South Africa, Biggs added that "we have no significance when human suffering and tragedy is involved, nor have I ever felt that we alone in this country can solve our enormous problems."<sup>62</sup> Biggs also stated that in many cases, particularly in Cape Town, Friends worked closely with existing organizations such as the Red Cross and Black Sash who had for years established deep roots in the African communities.<sup>63</sup>

For years, Quakers had frequently discussed ways in which they could reach out to their white Afrikaner neighbors,

---

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Bunty Biggs, comments on Maurice Webb's personal note, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

inviting them to prayer and a Meeting for Worship, learning Afrikaans, publishing Quaker material in Afrikaans. Now some had a new awareness. When the question of printing Quaker material in Afrikaans was discussed in an Cape Eastern Regional Meeting, "it was felt that we should first complete our Xhosa translation and see the response."<sup>64</sup> And more Quakers were expressing their concern as to how more Africans could be invited to worship sharing.<sup>65</sup>

Not all Quakers, however, experienced 'increased awareness' of their African neighbor. South African Quaker Antony Cottam maintained that few Africans attended Quaker meetings in South Africa because they preferred "ceremonies with more colour and ritual...but it is also true that many of us do not really, in our heart of hearts, want Africans in our midst."<sup>66</sup> Cottam took his argument further:

The mistake is not to realize the essential, near-savage nature of the African: his lack of any sense of responsibility, time or truth. In short, the African is like a child who has not developed his social senses, and, like that child, he is incapable of accepting too much responsibility. If he is given it, nervous disorders will result. [The African should be allowed to] live as he pleases; to bring up a family; to worship as he pleases; but a vote, no, never. We should stand firm for an acceptance of Africans as junior members of our society...it is right that in the love of

---

<sup>64</sup> Minutes of the Cape Eastern Regional Meeting, 3 April, 1961.

<sup>65</sup> This 'concern' was continually addressed and recorded, or 'minuted', in the minutes of the local Society's monthly and regional meetings.

<sup>66</sup> Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter, August, 1962, pp. 5-6, Transvaal State Archives, Pretoria, South Africa.

God we allow the African to remain separate until he is ready to join us at our level.<sup>67</sup>

Cottam was conservative in his views and acknowledged that he was influenced by what had happened in Britain: two generations elapsed between the "introduction of compulsory education" and the acceptance of "universal adult suffrage."<sup>68</sup>

Response to Cottam's comments was swift. Several Friends recalled experiencing a deep sense of unity in worship-sharing with Africans. Some acknowledged that there were problems creating understanding between different cultures within Africa, but everyone objected to Cottam's blatant remarks. Scarnell Lean suggested the newsletter have an editorial review board to avoid what he considered gross misrepresentation of South African Quaker thought on race: "What kind of impression this sort of thing will create overseas I shudder to think."<sup>69</sup> Elizabeth Taylor replied: "As I posted the August issue of the S.A.Q. Newsletter to Friends and friends of all races, I had a special concern to send them love and good wishes, in the hope that nobody might be hurt by [Cottam's] article."<sup>70</sup>

In 1961, in order to assess South African Quaker views on 'black rule' and 'one man-one vote', the Southern Africa

---

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter, no. 5, October, 1962, p. 4, Transvaal State Archives, Pretoria, South Africa.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

Quaker Newsletter printed a questionnaire<sup>71</sup> asking all its Quaker readers in the southern Africa region to respond: "There are Quakers in [six] of the countries within the area of [Southern Africa Yearly Meeting.] In all of them power is at present with white minorities. Almost all the Quakers are Whites. In all these countries change to 'majority' rule is coming; in some it is imminent." From a possible return of 127 adult members in the regional Society, only thirty-nine answered the questionnaire (30 percent response). With the specific question 'Do you believe in one man-one vote' twenty-nine said 'No'; however, those who responded to this question with 'yes, but subject to educational or other qualifications' had their answer recorded as 'No'. Opinion was split on the question 'Do you welcome the prospect of 'majority rule', and almost all said they would not leave South Africa if a 'change appeared to be imminent' with most (twenty-three to eleven) feeling that a 'transfer of power can take place peacefully'. Scarnell Lean wrote in a later newsletter that a qualified vote "should apply to all."<sup>72</sup> In yet another newsletter Marjorie Fleming of Pietmaritzburg felt their existing government posed a greater current threat than any possible future 'black domination'. She reminded her audience again that, when one assessed the amount of repressive legislation introduced by the Government since 1948, it was clear that South Africa was becoming a dictatorship. Like other Quakers in previous newsletters since 1948, she equated events taking place in South

---

<sup>71</sup> Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter, September, 1961, pp. 5-6, Transvaal State Archives, Pretoria, South Africa.

<sup>72</sup> Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter, December, 1961, p. 9, Transvaal State Archives, Pretoria, South Africa.

Africa to the rise of Hitler's Nazi Germany, warning those who thought, 'well, it cannot happen here,' she wrote "It is happening here:"

...we must never let ourselves get used to our loss of liberty. How tame most South Africans were over last year's emergency, that trial run of the dictatorship-to-be! When it was over, there should have been a torrent of protests and demands for an explanation, but apparently most people were so relieved at having their muzzles removed that their only response was, 'Well, thank goodness that's over!' Not -- as it should have been -- 'What do you mean by turning our country into a police state? Don't do it again!'<sup>73</sup>

Verwoerd was assassinated in 1966 and a sigh of relief could be heard in South Africa, even among some Nationalists. The country's racist policies, however, did not shift. Davenport wrote that Verwoerd's death did not leave any "apparent political vacuum"<sup>74</sup> in the National Party's determination to pursue its policies of strict racial separation. In fact, these policies would continue to increase due to the "collective determination of Party leaders and top civil servants"<sup>75</sup> who themselves had advanced to positions of authority as a result of "careful ideological screening."<sup>76</sup> Despite their own 'ideological' differences, as a gesture of goodwill the

---

<sup>73</sup> Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter, April, 1961, pp. 7-8, Transvaal State Archives, Pretoria, South Africa.

<sup>74</sup> Davenport, South Africa, 4th ed., p. 367.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

local Society of Friends sent a letter of condolence to Verwoerd's widow.<sup>77</sup>

South African Quakers had been hopeful in the 1950s that with patience and understanding, some good would soon come and the government would ease its racist legislation. Instead, throughout the 1960s their hopes were continually dashed and even attempts to meet inter-racially in prayer and support were thwarted by mounting restrictions. In what must have been a frustrating blow to many, the Roodepoort municipality adopted a ruling that "as from January 29th, 1966, Africans would no longer be permitted to reside overnight at the Wilgespruit Fellowship Center."<sup>78</sup> In what had once been described as one of the few places in South Africa where all races could gather, meet and hold conferences, exchange ideas and friendships was now effectively blocked and forbidden.

In 1969 the Johannesburg Meeting of the Society of Friends appeared before the 'Commission of Enquiry into Matters Relating to the Security of State'. They gave evidence on the increasing horrors that had been perpetrated in the name of state security: people held in seemingly endless detention, children being detained, families not able to contact those detained, appalling treatment of detainees, the very wide net of punitive measures for breaching state security. In their written evidence to the Commission they stated that a society

---

<sup>77</sup> This letter was reprinted in the October, 1966 issue Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter.

<sup>78</sup> Circular Letter No. 3 of 1966, The Christian Council of South Africa, Quaker Archives, UCT.

must understand that when there is great disparity between rich and poor, the poor will attempt to steal from the rich. It was the same for South Africa's racial disparity between the races, and in particular for the African. Being denied so much, being given so little, the African understandably attempted to gain political and economic power by whatever means he could. They deplored the methods of security legislation by the South African government in order to uphold their racial policies. In particular they were opposed to the "extremely wide powers given to the police...whose decisions cannot be questioned." Furthermore, they described the system of banishments, bannings, house arrests and detentions without trial as "abhorrent to us...and we pray for its early eradication."<sup>79</sup>

The Quaker delegation then outlined several legal and humane actions they hoped the government would employ regarding those held in detention, particularly for political reasons; access to reading material, weekly visits by a local magistrate, no one subjected to torture, immediate contact with families, no one held longer than three months, no solitary confinement. The state, as the record of the subsequent years proves, chose to ignore their pleas. For years following, the government employed a series of what they referred to as state security or emergency acts to detain people, even children, for unlimited periods of time, with few

---

<sup>79</sup> Evidence by Members of the Johannesburg Meeting of the Society of Friends (Quakers) to the Commission of Enquiry into Matters Relating to the Security of State, 5 October, 1969, Quaker Archives, UCT.

provisions, and often with no regard for contacting families.<sup>80</sup>

As a religious body, South African Quakers seemed constantly to examine their attitudes on the country's racial problems. They never took the militant stand of a Father Huddleston who as early as the 1950s called for sanctions against South Africa. But with each decade, and with almost each examination spilling forth from their 'study groups', the Quakers were becoming more unwavering about their position. They still struggled, however, over how equality should be defined. At the end of the 1960s they produced yet another document expressing their opinion on South Africa's race relations and apartheid. In that document they stated: "All human beings are [God's] children in the sense that they have something good in them. This does not mean that all human beings are equal. They are very far from equal in ability and goodness. [But we believe in] 'Equal rights for men of equal civilisation and equal opportunities for all men to become civilised.'"<sup>81</sup> Without great fanfare, they stated their firm conviction about apartheid, and it became entrenched:

1. All men are equally precious to God, and therefore any political and social system

---

<sup>80</sup> For details on this legislation see "Detentions of Persons," Race Relations as Regulated by Law in South Africa 1948-1979, and "Security," Race Relations Survey for the years 1985 and 1989, published by the South African Institute of Race Relations. See also John Graham Grogan, "Emergency Law: Judicial Control of Executive Power Under the States of Emergency in South Africa," (Ph.D. dissertation, Rhodes University, 1989).

<sup>81</sup> Statement By Five Friends on Race Relations and Separate Development in South Africa, Transvaal Monthly Meeting, 1969, Quaker Archives, UCT.

should aim to give all people equal opportunities to develop their potentialities for good. There should be no discrimination due to race or any other factor.

2. It is the privilege of the more fortunate to help the less fortunate so that they may make a contribution. Racial separation tries to prevent this mutual aid and is therefore wrong.

3. Mutual enrichment occurs by mingling of talents. Few races are truly 'pure', and there is no scientific evidence that pure races produce better or more gifted people.

4. The country belongs to all people, and all must share in its development. We are members one of another.

5. In its practical application this means that we must live as if there was no apartheid.<sup>82</sup>

South African Quaker opinion was becoming more unified in its attitude about apartheid. It was wrong. On that Friends clearly agreed. Of those who advocated apartheid they asked whether their hearts were so hard and closed to the suffering it brought as to be indifferent to the forced removals, the migrant labor that broke families apart, the children left alone and out of school all day while their mothers worked, and the wretched living conditions that resulted from meager incomes. The rest of the world was beginning also to finally awake...however slowly...to the 'hard heart' of apartheid. The next major step South African Quakers faced was what they were willing to do. To what extent were they willing to defy an increasingly inflexible, authoritarian and one could almost say 'dangerous' government? In time, police would

---

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

be granted almost unchecked powers to 'uphold' law and order which would lead many people within the country -- academics, politicians, ministers, diplomats, and ordinary citizens -- to describe South Africa as a 'police state'.

The sound of sanctions<sup>83</sup> was being heard more loudly around the world, among western nations, the new independent states of Africa and in other developing countries. Many believed sanctions, and boycotts, would bring apartheid to its knees in hopefully a less violent way than outright revolution. South Africa's white economy was not suffering...on the contrary, white South Africans had one of the highest standard of living in the world.<sup>84</sup> It was argued that sanctions would bring the government and the white population to their senses. What was the South African Quaker voice to this call?

---

<sup>83</sup> Volumes of material have been written about economic sanctions and their impact on South Africa by individual authors, major banks and foundations and research centers. Major studies include The Impact of Sanctions on South Africa by Charles Becker, Stephen Davis, David Hauk, Jan Hofmeyr and Merle Lipton (Washington, D.C.: Investor Responsibility Research Center, 1990); Margaret Doxey, Economic Sanctions and International Enforcement (London: MacMillan, 1980), also issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs by Oxford University Press, 1971. Doxey had a more recent study published, International Sanctions in Contemporary Perspective (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987); and Gary Clyde Hufbauer and Jeffrey Schott, Economic Sanctions Reconsidered: History and Current Policy (Washington, D.C.: Institute for International Economics, 1985).

<sup>84</sup> See Martin Meredith, "The Heyday of the Whites," In The Name of Apartheid: South Africa in the Post-War Era (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), pp. 108-122.

## CHAPTER NINE

THE SOUTH AFRICAN QUAKER POSITION ON  
SANCTIONS AND RECONCILIATION

*In a multi-racial society harmony and respect for human rights and freedom and the peaceful development of a unified community are best assured when patterns of legislation and practice are directed towards ensuring equality before the law of all persons regardless of race, creed or color.<sup>1</sup>*

This was the resolution put forward by the UN General Assembly in 1954 which in part was aimed at South Africa. Furthermore, the UN General Assembly "called upon governments to take prompt and energetic steps to put an end to religious and racial persecution"<sup>2</sup> and they established a commission to study discrimination in South Africa.

The American Friends Service Committee program at the United Nations wrote to the South African (Friends) Yearly Committee Meeting asking them to comment on the resolution. They were particularly keen for local Quakers to report on the various charges levelled at the South African government and on the general feeling within the country regarding apartheid and the American attitude toward its racial policies. The UN Commission was having

---

<sup>1</sup> "Resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly," Paper by the Religious Society of Friends in Southern Africa, 1954, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

some difficulty in compiling sections of their report "since the Government of the Union of South Africa did not recognize the legality of the Commission and no evidence in defense of the Government's policies was presented to it."<sup>3</sup> The AFSC/UN office asked South African Quakers to respond to specific questions, including the attitude among 'non-Europeans' in South Africa to the UN resolution and what action local Quakers could suggest the United States and governments in the Commonwealth take toward South Africa to encourage the country to reverse its apartheid policies.<sup>4</sup>

The South African Quakers in general appreciated the efforts of the United Nations to respond in some way to the country's strident racial policies. While the country's black leaders would see the UN resolution as a seed of hope, South African Quakers must have thought the UN naive to think that the 'non-Europeans' in general would be aware of the debate. As a group, the Yearly Meeting Committee replied that "the vast majority of non-Europeans know nothing of the resolution of the United Nations Assembly on 'apartheid'. The few that do would naturally endorse it."<sup>5</sup> Another Quaker wrote that the "vast majority of Africans in S.A. have never even heard of America -- let alone the United Nations or the General Assembly -- it is evidently not realized that most of our

---

<sup>3</sup> William Fraser to the South African (Friends) Yearly Committee Meeting, January, 1954, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Reply to series of questions posed in Fraser's letter, Yearly Committee Meeting, n.d., Quaker Archives, UCT.

non-European population is entirely illiterate."<sup>6</sup> Mary Butler responded to this query by saying "the great majority have no [thought] on world opinion but are greatly influenced by the treatment from the white people they know."<sup>7</sup>

As for what action the United States and Commonwealth countries might take, the Yearly Committee made several suggestions, including the encouragement of church and other groups who might welcome visits by South African students, farmers, housewives, businessmen, politicians, ministers and administrative officers with special emphasis on students who belonged to Calvinist churches. The Yearly Committee also suggested holding international conferences in the States so that participants from South Africa could see a "wider point of view." They also encouraged the preparation of commercial films for South African audiences "showing the possibilities of racial co-operation."<sup>8</sup>

Olive Warner unwittingly supported the concept of sanctions when she said "Possible action to be taken might be the refusal of all financial support to South African projects unless discrimination of race is entirely given up."<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> Kathleen Rees to Yearly Committee Meeting, 30 March, 1954, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>7</sup> Mary Butler to Yearly Committee Meeting, n.d., Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>8</sup> Yearly Meeting Committee response to Fraser's letter, n.d.

<sup>9</sup> Olive Warner to Yearly Meeting Committee, n.d., Quaker Archives, UCT.

South African Quakers reminded the UN Quaker representatives that many people in South Africa resented outside pressure and often pointed out racial inequities in many other countries, including those who criticized South Africa. Representing the Quaker Program at the United Nations, Sydney Bailey wrote to the local Quakers saying that while he understood that many in South Africa, including liberals, resented the "self-righteous attitude of a good many U.N. delegations",<sup>10</sup> the concern about South Africa's racial policies at the UN was not going to dissipate. He even implied that the debate regarding South Africa, unless they changed their policies, could even lead to such "extreme suggestions"<sup>11</sup> as an international boycott of South African goods or the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations body.

While the economic sanctions debate was batted about for a few decades, meaningful action by South Africa's strongest allies -- the United States and Britain -- did not become incisive until the mid-1980s. More injurious to the minds of many South Africans was the sports boycott imposed in 1970 barring South Africa's participation in all international sports and in particular the Olympics.<sup>12</sup> Friends worldwide were among a very small group of people assessing the possible use of sanctions and boycotts against South Africa as early

---

<sup>10</sup> Sydney Baily to the South African Yearly Meeting, 15 May, 1956, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Readers Digest Illustrated History of South Africa, 1st ed., p. 450.

as the 1950s. As it was, the sanctions issue did not receive a wide-body of interest until the mid-1970s.

The call for sanctions was fuelled by Father Huddleston when he was recalled to England in 1955 by his Order, the Community of the Resurrection. Huddleston had worked as a priest in Sophiatown, a place he loved dearly and where he was as deeply loved. Sophiatown was the site of the first forced removal of blacks after the passing of the Group Areas Act in 1950. Huddleston described Sophiatown as a "fully non-racial and multi-faith society...I have never found a place with the vitality, creativity and joy like Sophiatown."<sup>13</sup>

When the government decided to tear it down and move the residents to a different location, Huddleston's reaction was so furious that the government decided to deport him. Before the government could act, his own Community recalled him to England. He almost immediately called for economic sanctions and South Africa's removal from the Commonwealth.<sup>14</sup>

As during the Defiance Campaign, the British Friend was once again a platform for debate as Friends wrote letters and opinions regarding sanctions and boycotts. From the beginning, South African Quakers expressed their hesitancy about the use of sanctions. Roger Carter wrote in 1956 that people should respond to the problems in

---

<sup>13</sup> David Sadie, "Prophet and Priest" Archbishop Trevor Huddleston Returns to South Africa," Internos, vol. 3, no. 3, published by the Southern Africa [Catholic] Bishops Conference, July/August, 1991, pp. 6-7.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. See Also Huddleston's book, Naught For Your Comfort. Huddleston, in his late 70s, is now an archbishop.

South Africa as he felt God would respond: "Not imposing sanctions; not ostracism; not even judging -- but giving...for 'God so loved the world that he gave'..."<sup>15</sup> Margaret Malherbe of the Johannesburg Meeting asked what good people could achieve by their sweeping criticisms of South Africa, hoping to virtually "write-off" the entire country until it changed, ignoring the "peacemakers" who were trying to do much good. She pleaded that what was truly needed was more help with "non-political projects...feeding the hungry African school children; providing bursaries for bright African youngsters who merit higher education but whose parents cannot afford to give it to them, and without which these potential leaders will become frustrated and embittered; caring for families left destitute..."<sup>16</sup> Huddleston would have argued that the government would negate even those efforts by well-meaning 'peace-makers' as he documented over and over in Naught For Your Comfort.

Many more years passed and Friends were still among a select few debating whether sanctions should be applied to South Africa. In the mid-1960s, two speakers from South Africa -- Lewis Nkose and Myrtle Behrman (not identified as Quakers) -- addressed the International Peace Bureau in Geneva on the use of sanctions in South Africa. In their opinion violence was not waning in the region and South Africa in particular required urgent and effective action. A special commission which had been established to study apartheid recommended to the Bureau

---

<sup>15</sup> Roger Carter, "A Letter From South Africa," The Friend, 13 July, 1956, p. 637.

<sup>16</sup> Margaret Malherbe, "Seeking a Christian Solution in South Africa," The Friend, 6 November, 1963, p. 1033.

that economic sanctions be applied.<sup>17</sup> The Editor of The Friend wrote that "'while asking that the principles of non-violence should not be abandoned, and that every effort should still be made to reconcile conflicting interests, [the commission] recognised that further violence was probably inevitable, and urged application of economic sanctions under the authority of the United Nations and the widest withdrawal of African labour.'"<sup>18</sup> British Friends from the Peace and International Relations Committee and the Northern Friends' Peace Board assisted in the revival of the Nobel Prize-winning Geneva Peace Bureau because they felt it could have a positive impact on dismantling apartheid. That British Friends would advocate economic sanctions as a means to this end infuriated Alice Hawkins, member of the Transvaal Monthly Meeting. In an angry letter to The Friend, Hawkins asked how it was possible for Friends to oppose killing people by guns and bombs, yet condone it by starvation. In her opinion, economic sanctions would strangle South Africa and 'starve' the country into submission, including innocent people:

Is it not ironical that at this moment there are Friend organisations giving aid, to the tune of thousands of pounds annually, to needy and in some cases starving Africans in South Africa, while others at a 'Peace' Conference are urging the widespread unemployment, with resulting famine and pestilence, should be imposed on the just and unjust alike, but primarily on the unsuspecting African population? And would any African leader -- if any such should survive -- thank the Western

---

<sup>17</sup> Arthur Booth, "South Africa," The Friend, 26 November, 1965, pp. 1454-1456.

<sup>18</sup> Editor's comment, The Friend, 12 November, 1965, p. 1376.

world for handing over to them a devastated, ruined country?<sup>19</sup>

Arthur Booth, Secretary for the Northern Friends' Peace Board, replied to Hawkins' letter. In a letter of reply to The Friend, Booth stated that the International Peace Bureau was neither pacifist nor religious, and its conclusions would thus not always be acceptable to Friends. While most Quakers would indeed be uncomfortable with excessive hardship connected to strict economic sanctions, there were some who believed that sanctions, responsibly applied, offered the only reasonable way to impress upon the South African government that apartheid was immoral and inhumane. He argued that Quakers could accept carefully thought-out sanctions over military intervention. He asked why Africans were starving while other South Africans, in particular whites, were enjoying "high standards of living in a booming society."<sup>20</sup> He also asked what the Government was doing to alleviate this problem and suggested that those who suffered these serious inequities could possibly welcome sanctions if they thought that they might achieve a far better chance of life in South Africa than their current situation promised.<sup>21</sup>

That same year (1965), South African Quakers heard from a group of American Friends representing the American Friends Service Committee, the Friends World Committee, the Friends Peace Committee of the Philadelphia Yearly

---

<sup>19</sup> Alice Hawkins, "South Africa," The Friend, 12 November, 1965, pp. 1374-1376.

<sup>20</sup> Booth, "South Africa."

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

Meeting, the Quaker United Nations Committee and several American Monthly Meetings regarding their stand on disinvestment. The letter was not sent to any one in particular, but a general letter starting with 'Loving Greetings':

Some of us are discovering that we are unwittingly participating in the country's economy through ownership of shares of stock in countries doing business in South Africa. We believe that most American Friends, though troubled about the present situation, are not sufficiently informed to take responsible action on it.

We plan to urge American Friends to review any investments they may have, to discuss this matter with the companies involved and to divest themselves of such holdings or retain them if their conscience dictates. We urge this not as a measure of effective political protest or economic boycott but as a matter of conscience and clarity of testimony. For us as members of the Society of Friends and as Americans to remain silent or to continue to benefit economically from the fruits of apartheid is tantamount to lending support to it. We would ask that the same witness be applied in Alabama, where indeed thoughtful persons have already raised questions of profiting through segregation.<sup>22</sup>

The letter went on to say that as American Friends they would initiate an information 'campaign' as to what was taking place in South Africa, keep in touch with the World Council of Churches and similar organizations, and "seek to promote intervisitation among Friends from the United States and South Africa and to encourage cultural exchange programs. We believe that South Africa's

---

<sup>22</sup> "A Message to Friends in South Africa," July, 1965, Quaker Archives, UCT.

centuries of isolation are partly responsible for many of her social and economic problems, and that attempts to prolong or increase this isolation either in Pretoria or in Washington would only make matters worse."<sup>23</sup>

This 'general' letter was passed around the South African Monthly Meetings and evoked personal responses among the various clerks. Bunty Biggs wrote to Audrey Hoole: "I have read this with much interest. I feel it is a very sincere and thoughtful statement but I am not clear what we should make of it. Parts of it would I think cause Friends considerable distress."<sup>24</sup> Hoole answered Biggs: "I have a feeling about American Friends that they -- and indeed all of us do it too -- feel that if they are doing something, are busy, their consciences can be at ease."<sup>25</sup>

The same year that the Nationalist Party came to power the World Council of Churches held its first Assembly. Founding members included the English-speaking churches of South Africa as well as the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) Synods of the Cape and Transvaal. The DRC resigned from the WCC in 1961 following the events of Sharpeville. In what has been referred to as the Cottesloe Consultation, the DRC delegates were forced to choose between their government's position on racial policies and the WCC position on fostering racial interaction and harmony. While some of the DRC delegates were sympathetic

---

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Bunty Biggs to Audrey Hoole, 4 August, 1965, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>25</sup> Audrey Hoole to Bunty Biggs, 31 August, 1965, Quaker Archives, UCT.

to the issues discussed, they were strongly manipulated by the South African government, with Verwoerd at the helm. Also leading the opposition to the WCC was Dr. Andries Treurnicht, now leader of the Conservative Party. The DRC delegates were bluntly told to "[fall] into line."<sup>26</sup>

In 1969, the WCC held a conference in London on "Consultation on Racism". Recognizing that racism was a worldwide problem, the conference concluded that if churches were to have any relevance in alleviating this problem, more than individual Christian action was required. Churches must act as a body, as a united community, perhaps even as a movement. The conference recommended several plans of action, including two that sparked reactive debate among several church bodies in South Africa:

- that the WCC and its member Churches begin applying economic sanctions against corporations and institutions which practise blatant racism, and
- that all else failing [having recommended several other hopeful measures and strategies] the Churches support resistance movements, including revolutions which are aimed at the elimination of political or economic tyranny which makes racism possible.<sup>27</sup>

In The Friend's "Commentary" on the WCC proposals, the Editor admitted that "I could not be happy myself about some of the action that was called for during the

---

<sup>26</sup> John W. deGruchy, The Church Struggle in South Africa (Cape Town: David Philip, 1979), pp. 62-68.

<sup>27</sup> "Justice and Race: Call to Churches," The Friend, 30 May, 1969, p. 667, Quaker Archives, UCT.

meetings -- but these are not the proposals of any lunatic fringe. Chairman of the Consultation was Senator George McGovern, a leading American Democrat and active Methodist layman. Supporting him was Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, General Secretary of the WCC. The participants included the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Stepney, the Rt. Rev. Trevor Huddleston and the Rev. Michael Scott."<sup>28</sup>

The South African press had a field day, claiming that the WCC would fund terrorist organizations which called themselves 'liberation movements' "whose purpose is to change the social order in Southern Africa by the use of force."<sup>29</sup> Further, the local press delighted in the fact that the local WCC-member organization -- the South African Council of Churches (SACC) -- did not support WCC's specific proposal on funding resistance movements because of "its implied support of violence."<sup>30</sup> They also stated that the South African member churches were not represented when this decision was made by the WCC executive: "At no point did [the General Secretary Dr. E.C. Blake] discuss this issue with the South African church leaders."<sup>31</sup>

The Rand Daily Mail's leading headline uncovering how funds were being spent read "W.C.C. Explains Grants for

---

<sup>28</sup> "Commentary," The Friend, 30 May, 1969, p. 651, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>29</sup> "World Council's Action Rejected: S.A. Churches Discuss Aid to 'Terrorists,'" Natal Witness, 11 September, 1970, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

Guerrillas."<sup>32</sup> The Daily News led with "W.C.C. Denies Funds Will Be Used For Arms" and quoted a local Council member as condemning the WCC action and that the South African Council might quit the world body.<sup>33</sup> In fact, the SACC did not have previous knowledge on the decisions made regarding the WCC's Programme to Combat Racism and were vulnerable to the government's skewed propaganda. Furthermore, the Prime Minister, John Vorster, threatened government action against the South African member churches of the WCC. He told them to "get out of the WCC or face penalties for staying in."<sup>34</sup>

South African Friends could not support the WCC proposal for many reasons, including its implied violence. They rejected the notion of 'all else failing' because "God is working all the time, and though we, his instruments may fail, are we to assume that he is no longer of any account?"<sup>35</sup> In letters sent to the Natal Witness and The Daily News, Quakers expressed their concern that money sent for a 'movement' could end up being spent on arms. They stressed that what one group considered a 'terrorist' organization another would claim was an organization of 'freedom fighters'. The important issue was the possibility of violence which South African Quakers were convinced in their hearts would never resolve the country's racial problems: "Violence and bloodshed carries an aftermath of resentment and

---

<sup>32</sup> Rand Daily Mail, 11 September, 1970, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>33</sup> The Daily News, 5 September, 1970, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>34</sup> de Gruchy, The Church Struggle in South Africa, pp. 129-130.

<sup>35</sup> "The W.C.C. and Racism," Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter, no. 33, October, 1970, p. 1, Quaker Archives, UCT.

bitterness which may endure indefinitely, and the result may simply be to change one form of tyranny for another."<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, they encouraged the South African Council of Churches to stay as members of the wider WCC body. By the same token, they urged the WCC to "devote its efforts and energies to positive action to effect reconciliation in charity and Christian witness."<sup>37</sup>

Bunty Biggs felt those who lived in South Africa must understand and take responsibility for the WCC decision. In a letter to the Natal Witness, Biggs wrote that she did not believe that the world hated South Africa; rather, they abhorred racism which "we have enshrined in a socio-political system."<sup>38</sup> She said that if South Africans were honest with themselves, then they would have to understand why they must accept much of the blame for the world's condemnation, represented by such actions as the W.C.C. decision, for "it is our action, or inaction, that has convinced much of the world that we are not willing to apply Christian principles and standards in our personal and national life."<sup>39</sup>

The WCC debate went on for several years, with South African Quakers using their local newsletter as a platform. Fred Morehouse supported the WCC program of action, stressing that it was aimed not exclusively at

---

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Bunty Biggs to Natal Witness, 14 September, 1970, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

South Africa, but wherever racism existed. Their program, he added, came after "literally years of prayer, study and debate" and their current general secretary was an "avowed pacifist." In Morehouse's opinion, the WCC aim was not violence but the restoration of dignity to all those denied it by racist policies.<sup>40</sup> Scarnell Lean argued that the WCC might give grants to countries for humanitarian aid but had no means by which to guarantee that was how the money was spent...it could be spent on arms and ammunition.<sup>41</sup> Lean also argued that even should funds be used exclusively for humanitarian purposes, the recipients of the money "would have more [funds] available for war. This appears to be indirect support for violence."<sup>42</sup> To this Morehouse replied that this reminded him of Quakers who objected to the Friends Ambulance Service during World War II "on the grounds that it was treating the wounded and so enabling them to go back and fight."<sup>43</sup>

The controversy continues on today. The London-based Christian Studies Centre links funds made available by WCC's Programme to Combat Racism twenty years ago to "liberation movements in Africa...virtually all [of whom] have adopted the principles of Marxism-Leninism and have been prepared to use revolutionary violence in order to

---

<sup>40</sup> Fred Morehouse, Letter to the Editor, Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter, April, 1974, p. 5, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>41</sup> Scarnell Lean, Letter to the Editor, Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter, July, 1974, p. 10, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Fred Morehouse, Letter to the Editor, Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter, September, 1974, p.9, Quaker Archives, UCT.

seize power."<sup>44</sup> Spokesperson for the Christian Studies Centre Rachel Tingle quotes the SAIRR Executive Director, John Kane-Berman, as saying "Black people in the townships are reaping a whirlwind of violence the churches have helped to sow."<sup>45</sup> In most recent years the SAIRR has been severely criticized by some of its members for what is perceived as bias toward the Inkatha Freedom Party and against the ANC regarding political causes related to the country's violence. Kane-Berman himself has been strongly reprimanded for making what some perceive as partisan and biased comments. His critics state that he is jeopardizing and compromising the neutrality of an organization that has traditionally been associated with fair and judicial reporting.<sup>46</sup> This comment is perhaps but one example. Ms. Tingle also links the WCC programme to the Kairos Document in 1985 by theologians calling for action and civil disobedience against an unjust state. To all this the Presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church in Southern Africa, the Reverend Stanley Magoba rejoined that "the truth is it is the Christian Church that has stood for and proclaimed peace in our land...for forty years of Nationalist oppression [and] it continues to do so in these dark days when life has again become so cheap."<sup>47</sup>

Economic sanctions was one of the few issues that as a corporate body South African Quakers were in agreement

---

<sup>44</sup> "Study: SA Church Justifies Violence," Daily Dispatch, 22 June, 1992, p. 9.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> "Institute of Troubled Relations," Weekly Mail, 9-15 October, 1992, p. 13.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

with one another. They did not support sanctions; rather, they were committed to reconciliation at whatever level, in whatever form, and wherever an opportunity was presented to them to act as 'peace-maker'.

Perhaps the most significant contribution to their efforts at reconciliation was through their local service arm...the Quaker Service Fund. The Quaker Service fund (QSF) began in 1948 when the Transvaal Monthly Meeting was asked to assist in the school-feeding program of an African school.<sup>48</sup> The government had stopped feeding African children in most government-supported rural schools. Shortly after, all monthly meetings were encouraged to set up their own regional funds, identifying areas of need in the 'non-white' community where South African Friends could be of assistance. At that time, they were still struggling with their feelings about inter-racial mixing and what it could lead to, but realized that "Africans suffer from real want and are usually pre-occupied with questions of food and clothing. It is of prime importance to feed people before trying to do anything for them."<sup>49</sup>

For many years the regional service funds were used primarily in school feeding programs, bursaries and nursery schools. After Sharpeville in 1960, QSF operated under a new mandate, taking over the welfare work previously done by the Defence and Aid program set up during the Emergency. With the support of the Friends

---

<sup>48</sup> "Report on the Quaker Service Fund," written by Hubert Malherbe, Clerk of the Quaker Service Fund, 1962, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>49</sup> Minutes of Transvaal Monthly Meeting, Minute 8, 10 December, 1949, Quaker Archives, UCT.

Service Council in London, British Friend and social worker Olive Gibson moved to Johannesburg to help ensure the program's success. Under Gibson's expert and professional guidance, QSF took on immense responsibilities and was able to assist numerous families and individuals "whose lives were crushed by the machinery of apartheid."<sup>50</sup> Gibson kept voluminous records and accounts of QSF activities. Her quarterly and annual reports provide vivid and moving descriptions of how the hurt and pain was heaped on lives of families often fractured and separated merely to satisfy senseless laws. In an article she wrote in The Friend, Gibson described one of QSF's constant problems -- assisting families annually at the beginning of the school year. The school year began in late January, following for many a long Christmas vacation. But it was no vacation for many of the domestics and laborers who were dependant on a weekly income that was all too often cut off while their white employers were away for several weeks. Thus, there was little money to begin the school year, which included books and school fees. The situation was worsened by the fact that African schools demanded that children wear a compulsory uniform as different from everyone else's as possible, making it almost impossible to find uniforms second-hand. Some shops took advantage of this exclusivity by overcharging for uniforms. Word circulated among the African community that the Quaker Service Fund could be of some help, but QSF was having difficulty keeping up with the increased costs at a time when African parents were more determined than ever to see that their children received an education. Additionally, township schools generally charged students

---

<sup>50</sup> First interview with Elliott.

for any extensions to the school or for supplemental staff, exacerbating the situation to the point that many children could simply not afford the cost to attend school at all.<sup>51</sup>

QSF caseload was heavy with families desperate for food, housing, clothing, finding relatives that had been 'endorsed out' of communities because the government had decided they should live elsewhere. Most painful were the cases of children who, at the 'adult' age of sixteen, went into hiding so as to avoid being sent away from their families, all because their parents had not, at birth, either obtained for them correct documents, failed to register them at all, or registered them in a different locale. Elderly people, once past an age when they could work, were 'endorsed out' because their lives, according to the government, were no longer of use to the community and they should therefore be 'endorsed' to their proper 'homeland'. On several occasions, the government tried to insist that QSF could not assist families whose breadwinners were detained, listed under the Suppression of Communism Act or in any way held suspect by the government as this would be viewed as illegal political involvement.<sup>52</sup> In a letter written by the Hubert Halherbe, Clerk of the Quaker Service Fund, to the Security Police, the QSF stated that the Fund was a registered welfare organization and, as such, investigated through its social workers the circumstances of people who applied for relief. If hardship was being

---

<sup>51</sup> Olive Gibson, "Quaker Work Among African Families," The Friend, 30 June, 1967, pp. 791-792.

<sup>52</sup> Hubert Malherbe to the Officer in Charge, Security Police, Johannesburg, 15 November, 1965, Quaker Archives, WITS.

suffered, then help was extended whenever possible. Their caseload had been increasing in recent years and most people were from the African community where the need appeared to be greatest. Among these people were those whose family lives were adversely affected by government restrictions or with parents or other family members who were detained. While it was not the policy of the Fund to deal exclusively with political offenders and their families, as a Christian body of the Religious Society of Friends they would not "refuse to alleviate hardship when a genuine need exists."<sup>53</sup>

Gibson found that if they worked hard enough, solutions could be found with even seemingly impossible cases. What was frustrating was that the problems often did not need to occur, or some authority could have found the solution before things got so desperate. Most frustrating of all was that QSF was limited in funds and staff...the demand was far greater than they could meet.

The government security police kept surveillance on Olive Gibson and QSF activities, and continued on several occasions to interview -- or interrogate -- Gibson about QSF caseloads.<sup>54</sup> She was sometimes followed and at one point her office typewriter was confiscated, though later returned.<sup>55</sup> All her documents and books were snatched -- to be returned later except for a personal report she had

---

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Supported by the number of reports on the QSF and minutes of the QSF Management Committee.

<sup>55</sup> Minutes of the Meeting of the Managing Committee of the Quaker Service Fund, Minute 26, 14 April, 1966, Quaker Archives, UCT.

written based on visits with various local church leaders. They refused to return it: "My only worry was whether there was any perverse intention to use it to embarrass those friends or hamper their efforts toward Christian unity, which is what it was about. It made one feel that reporting even the most innocent matters, which should be right outside the orbit of police interest, might well be misinterpreted or abused."<sup>56</sup> The police had also tried to link Gibson and the QSF activities with violations of the Suppression of Communism Act, and thus attempted to persuade her to use QSF as a front to identify Communist collaborators who might be 'out to destroy' the government.<sup>57</sup> This, of course, QSF refused to do. Gibson was fully aware of how insidious the police scrutiny was: "the content of our interviews rather suggested that the police had wondered if we had been 'got at' or 'used' by politically committed people. We have in fact been careful to avoid situations where this might happen..."<sup>58</sup>

So 'threatening' was Olive Gibson to the government<sup>59</sup> that another attempt to silence her efforts was made when her social work credentials were rejected for a license. In July, 1971, it became compulsory for all social workers to apply for registration and submit their

---

<sup>56</sup> Olive Gibson, "Johannesburg Social Work Project of the Quaker Service Fund W.O. 2316: The Social Worker's Personal Report for the Year Ended 31 December, 1966," Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>57</sup> Second interview with Olive Gibson, Southern African Yearly Meeting, December, 1991.

<sup>58</sup> Gibson, Social Workers Report for Year Ending 31 Dember, 1966, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>59</sup> As an interviewer, I found Olive Gibson to be a soft-spoken, gentle and thoughtful person.

qualifications. Gibson's African co-worker, with simply a diploma and half his limited years of work experience spent with QSF, was approved. Gibson's application was refused. Scarnell Lean commented personally on this bureaucratic decision in the QSF's Social Welfare Report for the year ending 1971:

Her overseas Hons BA PSW qualification (LSE Mental Health Cert) were deemed not to meet SA requirements for social work after submission to the Human Sciences Research Council because of their overseas origin. The degree did not contain 'Social Work III' and the Mental Health Certificate was only a one year course. Any hope of balancing this with having done social work since 1942 in housing, industrial work, family and problems family casework and psychiatric social work (16 years overseas), two years with the Race Relations and eleven on African Family casework with QSF in SA were groundless.<sup>60</sup>

Undaunted, Gibson continued with her creditable work at QSF until her retirement in the early 1980s. South African welfare authorities wrote periodic letters as to what she intended to do to rectify the situation, which she ignored: "I decided to carry on until they had to throw me out of the country, if that was their intention."<sup>61</sup>

Another South African Friend must be noted for her tireless work. In 1960, Suzanne Stephen, member of Johannesburg Monthly Meeting (and then aged seventy-two)

---

<sup>60</sup> Gibson, Social Workers Personal Report for Year Ended 31 December 1971, special insert written by Scarnell Lean, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>61</sup> First interview with Olive Gibson, Johannesburg, South Africa, October, 1991.

embarked on a personal campaign to assist African prisoners with their correspondence courses. She started with two men. By 1970, Stephen's 'school' was assisting 1600 men in thirty-five different prisons without having met one as a 'prison pupil'.<sup>62</sup> She lobbied for donated items such as textbooks, pencils, paper and a typewriter. Some men continued to write her long after they left prison, expressing their gratitude and proudly informing her of their 'career developments'. Some visited her with their families. Stephen died in 1972 at the age of eighty-five, 'teaching' almost up to her death from her small room in an 'aged' peoples' home.<sup>63</sup>

While South African Quakers were increasingly unwilling to support sanctions, it was becoming a major political issue internationally. Davenport states that during the 1970s calls for sanctions and disinvestment against South Africa became earnest and widespread and was becoming "reminiscent of the nineteenth-century campaign against the slave trade."<sup>64</sup> Many of the movement's leaders were academics and politicians from the United States, England and Europe, supported also by black resistance groups within South Africa as well as those in exile. These groups were able to achieve what Davenport calls "some impressive successes"<sup>65</sup> during the 1970s in their lobbying efforts for sanctions. There was one rival group

---

<sup>62</sup> Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter, August, 1990, page number not visible, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>63</sup> Olive Gibson, "Johannesburg Social Work Project of the Quaker Service Fund W.O. 2316: The Social Worker's Personal Report for the Year Ending 31 December, 1972," Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>64</sup> Davenport, South Africa, 3rd ed., pp. 490-491.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

of Africans, however, who opposed sanctions, represented especially by the Inkatha Freedom Party, who argued that "disinvestment, by stopping economic growth, was likely to destabilise without necessarily leading to positive change."<sup>66</sup>

At a study conference on South Africa held in 1977 at the Peter Selwood Center in Hampshire, England,<sup>67</sup> South African Quaker Hendrik van der Merwe delivered a paper called "Towards An Understanding of South Africa." In his address, van der Merwe explained that his opposition to blanket or unlimited economic sanctions and boycotts was due to what he felt was almost certain violence that would result:

With regard to economic boycotts we have to balance present needs and future gains. If a boycott deprives Blacks of food and the means to live, then our decision must respect the wishes of those Blacks who will be affected.

Academic boycotts could serve no useful purpose and would deprive existing centres of opposition to apartheid of moral support and encouragement. Sports boycotts have proved to be very successful. Nobody's life has been lost and many people's pride has been hurt.

[South African Quakers have read] that certain pressure groups, such as the Communist Party and anti-apartheid movements, have as their major goal the replacement of the capitalist with a socialist system, and are openly and explicitly committed to reach this by violent means. There is no justification for Quakers to support such groups, especially since there

---

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Organized by the Southern Africa Working Group of Peace and International Relations Committee, England.

is ample opportunity to support constructive projects which meet Quaker principles.<sup>68</sup>

Hendrik van der Merwe describes himself as a "tenth-generation Afrikaner"<sup>69</sup> who as a young man was a missionary for the Dutch Reformed Church in Rhodesia. He grew up on a farm 250 kilometers away from Cape Town, yet never visited the 'fairest Cape' until he was sixteen years old. He never heard English spoken outside the classroom, and today speaks with a pronounced Afrikaner accent. He may very well have been South Africa's Society of Friends' first Afrikaner convert. Years before he became convinced (as Friends prefer to call 'conversion'), he was so imbued with the South African Dutch Reformed Church's attitudes about blacks he found it difficult even to shake hands with an African.<sup>70</sup> van der Merwe was fortunate to get considerable exposure outside South Africa, living in the United States and Canada. His Ph.D. was earned from the University of California-Los Angeles. While living there, he and his wife hosted a residence for international students run by the Quakers at UCLA, and thus his 'convincement' in many ways began.<sup>71</sup>

van der Merwe joined the South African Society of Friends in 1976, and thereafter became a major spokesperson for

---

<sup>68</sup> Hendrik van der Merwe, "Towards An Understanding of South Africa," Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter, August/September, 1977, p. 5, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>69</sup> First interview with Hendrik van der Merwe, Cape Town, South Africa, November, 1991.

<sup>70</sup> Hendrik van der Merwe, "Afrikaner as African," The Friend, 31 October, 1980, p. 1359.

<sup>71</sup> First interview with van der Merwe.

the local Society, writing scores of articles and books on the need for reconciliation in South Africa based on mediation, not confrontation. His constant theme was 'peace, with justice'. His stand against blanket economic sanctions was unwavering. His position, however, did not get in the way of forming close and personal relationships with black leaders who argued differently, including Steve Biko and Nelson Mandela.<sup>72</sup>

Through various articles, van der Merwe warned readers that simply achieving a majority government did not necessarily equate with justice, and pointed out several examples throughout Africa, such as Uganda under dictator Idi Amin<sup>73</sup>:

'Majority government' in countries without democratic traditions in a great sense threatens those very values Quakers propagate. In many cases 'majority governments' have meant dictatorship, lack of political and individual freedom, lack of economic development, and lack of protection of minority groups, especially race, political and religious groups.<sup>74</sup>

Quoting the Director of the International Press Institute, van der Merwe stressed that there was more press freedom in South Africa than in the whole of the rest of Africa put together. South Africa claimed to operate as a western democratic nation, however, and its

---

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Idi Amin's terrifying rule in Uganda lasted eight years, from 1971 to 1979.

<sup>74</sup> Hendrik van der Merwe, "Reconciliation in Southern Africa," Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter, no. 86, March, 1976, Quaker Archives, UCT.

obvious violations of human rights and political freedoms made South Africa more "conspicuous than in authoritarian societies."<sup>75</sup> van der Merwe also quoted the United States Ambassador to the United Nations, Patrick Moynihan, as he scolded member nations for 'selective outrage' against South Africa while ignoring serious violations elsewhere, or forgetting altogether their own country's dismal record on human rights. Thomas Melady, former United States Ambassador to Burundi and Uganda, wrote a letter to the New York Times (December 23, 1974) asking why the world singled out South Africa for attacks and condemnations but it was silent about Burundi where in 1972 most of the 90,000 Hutus were killed in selective genocide. It was also silent about 50,000 people liquidated in Uganda. van der Merwe quoted Melady who also asked "Are not the rights of thousands of Burundians killed in 1972 and 1973 and the rights of Ugandans now being killed important enough to merit the same interest that the U.N. has shown to South Africa?"<sup>76</sup>

van der Merwe was not pleading excuses for South Africa, but making the case that others have made that South Africa's political atrocities were not unique when one considered events throughout Africa, Latin America and Asia. What offended so many people about conditions in South Africa was that the country claimed to be a

---

<sup>75</sup> Hendrik van der Merwe, "Quaker Involvement in South Africa: Part I: What are the Quaker Goals?," The Friend, 3 June, 1977, p. 641.

<sup>76</sup> van der Merwe, "Reconciliation in Southern Africa," p. 9, Quaker Archives, UCT.

Christian nation yet contrary to this "so much of the injustice...has been done 'in the name of God.'"<sup>77</sup>

Over and over again, van der Merwe pointed out how Quakers were involved in acts of peace-making and reconciliation in South Africa, the Quaker Service Fund being one very significant example. What seemed to frustrate local Quakers was the constant call for economic sanctions as though that were the only means possible to alleviate apartheid. van der Merwe stated that South African Friends were opposed to blanket sanctions: "While we believe that complete sanctions will not succeed, we should consider the use of "selective sanctions coupled with conditions" which are not merely destructive but demand, and have a chance of obtaining, improved conditions in Southern Africa."<sup>78</sup> van der Merwe also saw little that could be gained by negative mediation such as refusing to meet with and constantly attacking the South African Nationalist establishment. That would merely entrench further their tactics. Positive mediation included being open to discussion with all parties and supporting programs in black communities, not cutting off aid as a 'political message'.<sup>79</sup>

South African Quakers experienced greater difficulty conveying their interpretation and practice of reconciliation not to the anti-apartheid movement in

---

<sup>77</sup> van der Merwe, "Part I: What are the Quaker Goals?"

<sup>78</sup> Hendrik van der Merwe, "Our Contribution Towards Social Justice in Southern Africa," p. 4, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>79</sup> Hendrik van der Merwe, "Quaker Involvement in South Africa: Part II: Choosing Constructive Approaches," The Friend, 10 June, 1977, p. 677.

general, but to certain members of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), the service arm of the American Society of Friends. In a brochure highlighting sixty years of service, the AFSC spelled out its position on Southern Africa, which included South Africa and Rhodesia. The AFSC had representatives in the region since 1957 who, the AFSC stated, had stayed in touch both with Friends in the region as well as with "liberation movement leaders."<sup>80</sup> The AFSC maintained three positions:

1. The United States should work to make the white governments of southern Africa accede to co-operate with a program for rapid transition to majority rule and authentic self-determination;
2. The United States must send no troops, arms or other military hardware to Africa, work vigorously for an arms embargo of South Africa and Southern Africa (Zimbabwe), and refrain from all covert action in...association with South African intelligence agencies; and
3. United States economic institutions should withdraw from economic involvement in the white-ruled countries of southern Africa.<sup>81</sup>

In a later brochure, very lengthy and heavily documented, the AFSC asserted that "Though at the United Nations and in other public forums the United States condemns white minority rule and practices of racial repression, in practice through various administrations the U.S. government and certain U.S. institutions have helped to

---

<sup>80</sup> Brochure on the American Friends Service Committee's position on Southern Africa: "AFSC Program Bridges Two Continents," Hendrik van der Merwe's Personal Collection.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

maintain and perpetuate an unjust status quo in Southern Africa."<sup>82</sup> Great Britain "is still the largest investor in South Africa. The United States is second, with several European countries as well as Canada and Japan also investing in South Africa. From 1972 until recently U.S. investments...[with] more than 400 U.S. corporations [operating] in South Africa...has grown an average 20% per year, representing the fastest rate of growth of any foreign investments..."<sup>83</sup> AFSC cited several organizations that supported its opinion that increased investment in South Africa merely bolstered the apartheid structure. These organizations included the Episcopal Church, the United States Catholic Conference, the United Church of Christ, the United Presbyterian Church and the United Methodist Church.<sup>84</sup> The Christian Institute of South Africa founded by Rev. Beyers Naudé, a Dutch Reformed Afrikaner clergyman who became an outspoken Christian critic of apartheid, was quoted as saying that "the argument that economic growth can produce fundamental change has proven false...[thus] the Christian Institute supports the call for no further investment in South Africa."<sup>85</sup> Bill Sutherland, the AFSC representative in southern Africa, boldly stated:

The United States, West Germany, Britain and France provide the economic and military support that permits the white minority

---

<sup>82</sup> "Southern Africa Must Be Free," brochure published by the American Friends Service Committee, approximately 1977, Hendrik van der Merwe's Personal Collection.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

government of South Africa to stay afloat in a black African sea.<sup>86</sup>

In the 1977 third quarter issue of Friends World News, Fred Morehouse, Clerk of the Bulawayo Monthly Meeting in Rhodesia, reported on a seminar held in Gaborone, Botswana on the issue of "Non-violence as a Means of Achieving Social Justice."<sup>87</sup> The meeting was a result of a "concern expressed at the Hamilton Triennial of [Friends World Committee for Consultation] in 1976" on the need to investigate the effectiveness of non-violence in the volatile societies of Southern Africa.<sup>88</sup> The meeting was attended by several Friends from the East Africa Yearly Meeting, the Southern Africa Yearly Meeting and from Tanzania and Zambia. The meeting was also attended by sixteen members of the AFSC who were on a study tour of the region, including Bill Sutherland. Morehouse's account of the meeting was a pale version of the heated discussions and misunderstandings that occurred throughout the seminar, especially between the AFSC and South African Friends. For local Quakers in particular (those who attended), it was a painful encounter, though perhaps not entirely unexpected.<sup>89</sup>

When Bill Sutherland was appointed AFSC representative for Southern Africa in 1975, he was posted to Zambia, some considerable distance away from South Africa and

---

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Friends World News, Bulletin of the Friends World Committee for Consultation, no. 109, Northern Hemisphere Autumn 1977/Southern Hemisphere Spring 1977, pp. 15-16, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

considered more part of Central Africa. In a letter to Rory Short, Clerk of the Southern Africa Yearly Meeting, Frank Loescher described Sutherland as "Black, he was a C.O. (conscientious objector) in World War II and is committed to non-violence...a wise but experienced person whose career has been largely in the movement for social justice and peace, first in America and for the last twenty years in Africa."<sup>90</sup>

There were numerous reasons for Sutherland's appointment, but his primary purpose was to provide a vital link between what was in reality taking place on the African continent regarding southern African policy and Quakers in the States. He was to meet not only with local Quakers but movement leaders as well, forming relationships and gathering information in the hope of influencing American policy regarding the region as well as supporting African efforts toward self-determination. Rory Short wondered what impact Sutherland could have and pointed out "that a representative stationed in Lusaka will collect a very one-sided picture of the whole issue because of his lack of contact with South Africans, both White and Black."<sup>91</sup> van der Merwe expressed his concern that South African Quakers were "concerned more with justice than merely political self-determination (in contemporary Western political tradition) and with all minority groups, not

---

<sup>90</sup> "Southern Africa Representative Sponsored by AFSC," letter from Frank Loescher to Rory Short, 27 December, 1974, Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter, February, 1975, p. 10, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>91</sup> Hendrik van der Merwe, "A Quaker Program for Southern Africa," Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter, February, 1975, p. 8, Quaker Archives, UCT.

only Africans."<sup>92</sup> van der Merwe acknowledged the legitimacy of meeting with liberation movements no matter how extreme, but it was critical that Quakers establish their opposition to all forms of violence, regardless the cause, and to all groups they meet with. Quakers must emphasize their commitment to non-violent means of change. As a result of their previous efforts at reconciliation, particularly through the Quaker Service Fund, van der Merwe also felt that South African Quakers had a great deal to contribute to any policy formulated regarding the region and thus should be consulted. Perhaps, he said, South African Quakers should even initiate their own Southern African program.<sup>93</sup>

Rather than frank and open discussions on formulating a non-violent approach to resolving South Africa's problems, local Quakers instead encountered a hostile and dogmatic demand by many members of the AFSC group on the "need to destroy the South African economy and thereby the power of the white government, without any accompanying efforts to provide for constructive measures for the future."<sup>94</sup> The delegation had prepared its own agenda and did not seem open to digression from what it had already decided was their course of action, though to local Quakers it seemed very contrary to usual Quaker principles. Overall, South African Quakers found the AFSC program:

---

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> "Response of [South African] Participants in Seminar on Non-Violence at Gaborone to Discussions with AFSC Study Group," Quaker Archives, UCT.

- largely of a negative nature
- showed little concern for the major requirements of building a stable society or the improvement of the quality of life
- made little attempt to understand the people against whom they are working, and little attempt to relate to forces totally committed to non-violence
- showed concern for the support given by Western powers to the South African economy and military establishment but none for the military intervention of Russian, Cuban and other forces in Southern Africa, and
- there seemed to be more than understanding sympathy among group members for the commitment of certain liberation groups to a Marxist regime in which no provision will be made for the free expression of political views by the people of the country.<sup>95</sup>

South African Friends were surprised to discover that many in the AFSC group were not necessarily committed to non-violence -- this in particular they found difficult to believe considering the origins of the AFSC. Members of the AFSC group had not attended the entire seminar. Prior to their arrival, the general consensus among all who attended, including British and American Quakers, was on the "general goals of justice and conciliation, and on the importance of non-violent means of achieving these goals."<sup>96</sup> The tone of discussion changed radically with the arrival of the AFSC party.

---

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Hendrik van der Merwe, "Report Back to Cape Town Monthly Meeting on Visit to England, FWCC Seminar on Non-Violence and Meeting with AFSC Study Group of Gaborone, August, 1977," Quaker Archives, UCT.

Among the sixteen AFSC members who attended the seminar, only six were Quakers. South African Quakers later discovered that the vast majority of AFSC staff members were in fact not Quakers; thus, it was entirely possible that this important service arm of the American Society of Friends was staffed by people who did not believe in or share vital Quaker philosophies of peace and non-violence.<sup>97</sup> Much of the literature the AFSC party brought to the seminar was felt to be negative, biased and sensational propaganda, some containing disputable and misleading 'facts'. When local friends wondered how the AFSC could operate somewhat contrary to the religious body it was supposed to represent, they were given the impression that the AFSC could operate with a greater degree of independence from the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (considered the main Yearly Meeting in the United States) than its British counterpart, the Friends Service Council, which is accountable to the London Yearly Meeting.

South African Friends invited the AFSC party to visit South Africa and "meet the people immediately involved in the situation and get first hand insights. But there seemed to be a split on this question in the group, some expressing willingness to come, and others saying that they would be prepared to come only if the students in Soweto invited them to come [presumably the students involved in the 1976 school boycotts]."<sup>98</sup> As for

---

<sup>97</sup> "Response of Participants in Seminar on Non-Violence at Gaborone to Discussions with AFSC Study Group," p. 4, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>98</sup> Jennifer Kinghorn, "On the Seminar in Botswana, August, 1977," Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter, August/September, 1977, p. 15, Quaker Archives, UCT.

Sutherland's position as a Quaker representative in Southern Africa, he had never consulted with South African Quakers. They had little knowledge of what he did or who he met with, and they had met few people who were aware of his activities.<sup>99</sup>

By the end of the conference South African Quakers responded in a way that can only again be described as 'Quakerly'. Despite what took place, all ended well: Hendrik van der Merwe was "happy to report that my private discussions with some Quaker members of the Study Group were extremely enlightening and rewarding."<sup>100</sup> Olive Gibson said "We were aware of our own faults in our encounter" and explained that the disagreement was based on American Friends having "drawn people from the community whose concerns were different from ours although they worked under the name AFSC and they felt it important to act conjointly as far as possible..."<sup>101</sup> Jennifer Kinghorn supported Gibson's comments, also stating "On the last day we were seeing and hearing each other better."<sup>102</sup>

---

<sup>99</sup> van der Merwe, "Report Back to Cape Town Monthly Meeting...FWCC Seminar on Non-Violence...Gaborone...", and "Response of [South African] Participants in Seminar on Non-Violence...Gaborone."

<sup>100</sup> van der Merwe, "Report Back to Cape Town Monthly Meeting on FWCC Seminar, etc." Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>101</sup> Olive Gibson, "On the Seminar in Botswana, August, 1977," Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter, August/September, 1977, p. 15, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>102</sup> Kinghorn, "On the Seminar in Botswana," p. 15, Quaker Archives, UCT.

Word spread among the international Quaker community about the discussions that took place at the Gaborone seminar. Roger Wilson, Clerk of the London Yearly Meeting, wrote that he had also heard "from several British Friends that they too had felt somewhat puzzled by the proceedings and outlook of some members of the group when they met with them at William Penn House...a number of members of Friends Peace and International Reconciliation Committee's Southern Africa Working Group and FSC's African Committee took the occasion of the groups passing through London to suggest to them other possible approaches to the problems of South Africa."<sup>103</sup> David Richie, a Voluntary Work-Camp Organizer in Philadelphia, regretted the encounter but sympathized with the AFSC staffing in that they have had to rely "more and more [on] non-Quaker staff...who share deeply many Quaker concerns but do not necessarily share the depth of commitment to reconciling means as well as to non-violent means..."<sup>104</sup> Hugh Doncaster, British Friend and Reader in Quakerism, said he had also encountered the AFSC group at another meeting in England: "I was very much troubled at the American bulldozing at Dumbarton, where my impression was that they were saying 'This is our program. We would like your support, but we go ahead anyway, whatever you think.' My impression is that they do not mind much whether they make it more difficult for those within Southern Africa concerned to promote the evolution of a just society, because they are committed to support revolution."<sup>105</sup>

---

<sup>103</sup> "For the Information of Friends," Memorandum by the Cape Town Monthly Meeting, 25 September, 1977, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

Eveline Cadbury wanted to send a copy of the report to Mary Hoxie Jones, daughter of Rufus Jones.<sup>106</sup> Eveline Cadbury wrote to van der Merwe that American Friends with the AFSC had a prior reputation for insular behavior: "This was the sort of thing which I found when I went on a visit to Rhodesian Friends in 1960. There was great frustration because US workers were busy with their own projects without any reference to local Friends or any cooperation with them. As Hugh points out, the AFSC is an independent body of Friends who are not responsible to any Yearly Meeting for their actions as Friends Service Council is to London Yearly Meeting."<sup>107</sup>

In a 1979 article reprinted in the Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter from "The New Republic", Stephen Chapman suggested that the turning point for the AFSC's commitment to non-violence occurred during its opposition to the Vietnam War which drew it into "an alliance with a variety of left-of-centre groups, including many radical ones, which did not share the Quakers' general opposition to violence...the AFSC 'went beyond the traditional conscientious objection to outright support of Hanoi.'"<sup>108</sup>

Chapman also noted that since the 1960s, the AFSC had "shown an increasing disillusionment with the capitalist

---

<sup>106</sup> Ibid. As stated in Chapter Six Rufus Jones was a prominent American Friend and Quaker historian whose books on Quakerism still are considered standard reading.

<sup>107</sup> Eveline Cadbury to Hendrik van der Merwe, 24 November, 1977, Hendrik van der Merwe's Personal Collection.

<sup>108</sup> Stephen Chapman, "Shot From Guns," reprinted from The New Republic, June, 1979, Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter, October/November, 1979, pp. 1-8, Quaker Archives, UCT.

democracies of the West and a preference for Marxist governments and political movements, particularly in the third world."<sup>109</sup> Chapman criticized its blind support for groups or governments which had been responsible for violating human rights. It supported the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and he quoted the Washington Post as for PLO involvement in the training of Idi Amin's dreaded Ugandan State Research Bureau murder squads. It supported North Korea, where there was no free press, nor free speech and no provision for free elections. Such support, he argued, was based not on "excessive generosity but on willful ignorance."<sup>110</sup> He further accused the AFSC of having fallen away from its previous Christian commitments: "...one can talk for hours to AFSC staff people without hearing even a passing reference to the gospel or to God." Chapman accused the AFSC of having "adopted some vague standard of 'human rights'" with no primary emphasis on non-violence: "Instead it concentrates on what it sees as injustice, and declines to condemn or criticise those who try to correct such injustice through violence."<sup>111</sup>

Stephen Cary, Chairperson on the AFSC Board of Directors, replied to Chapman's article. He argued that the thrust of the AFSC had always been to apply the Gospel to life, not merely discuss it:

...we say if anyone thinks we have abandoned pacifism, come with us...into places where people have fled from both left and right

---

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

regimes, treat the sick with us, feed the hungry, clothe the naked, help those seeking self-reliance, give books to the victims of censorship, see the misery of the human condition in many parts of the world, and then, in the light of such experiences, face with us the challenge of a pacifist response to injustice and violence.<sup>112</sup>

Cary further stated they would make mistakes, but to witness a wrong so severe as apartheid and to merely discuss it would as wrong. They would be "engulfed by the judgement of god and history if we do not act out of compassion."<sup>113</sup>

Homer Jack, Secretary-General of the World Conference on Religion and Peace, found Chapman's article on the AFSC an "overdue public airing of their obvious double standard on human rights but cautioned readers to remember the vast amount of good works by the AFSC over the years."<sup>114</sup>

General concern about the direction AFSC had been taking was evident during the Friends General Conference held at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana in July, 1979. The final summary written about the AFSC was not a consensus document, and not all participants agreed with views expressed in the document. Throughout the discussions,

---

<sup>112</sup> Reply to Stephen Chapman's article by Stephen Cary, Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter, October/November, 1979, p. 10.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Reply to Stephen Chapman's article by Homer Jack, Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter, October/November, 1979, p. 10, Quaker Archives.

there was "general expression of warm support for the AFSC as the major Quaker service agency."<sup>115</sup> The AFSC had encountered criticism even among Quakers 'at home' and the conference felt some affirmative action was required: many American Friends did not understand how the AFSC operated; several felt the AFSC literature and public statements should reflect on the religious basis of Quaker service; some recalled similar unpleasant experiences with individual AFSC staff members and one Friend "felt strongly that AFSC's structure is essentially out of control."<sup>116</sup> It was suggested that perhaps more Quakers should be on the staff of the AFSC, and at the very least a commitment to Quaker principles of non-violence be a requirement for employment. Other Quakers asked if it was proper for AFSC staff to take part in forming consensus decisions on matters of policy and program, particularly in light of previous partisan positions. Southern Africa and Vietnam were most often mentioned in this regard.<sup>117</sup>

In 1978 a small delegation of South African Friends travelled to the United States in order to meet with American Friends. The trip was sponsored by the Friends World Committee for Consultation. The four Friends and their spouses visited Quaker meetings all across America and in general found a positive reception. In their joint report they wrote "we found among Friends in America the customary spirit of enquiry, of openness and of concern.

---

<sup>115</sup> "Final Summary of Concerns," Friends General Conference at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, July, 1979, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

We felt generously accepted in friendship and we greatly valued our communal worship." Many Americans still did not have enough information on what was taking place in South Africa, and while some had formed firm opinions, most Americans were flexible in their discussions with the South African Quakers.<sup>118</sup>

When meeting with the American Friends Service Committee staff in Philadelphia "we developed a satisfying relationship with many of them and some valuable communication...and [benefitted from] the sharing of insights and information. We respected the dedication we found in the AFSC groups."<sup>119</sup> When it came to discussions about their Southern Africa program, however, once again South African Quakers experienced "the spirit of openness which we are accustomed to find in Friends groups tended to be missing...we felt there was a lack of flexibility and creativity resulting from a theoretical and ideological assessment of the South African condition, which was impersonal and therefore unrealistic."<sup>120</sup> As with the delegation that attended the Botswana Seminar, they found that, overall, the AFSC group in Philadelphia was committed to "[bringing] down the South African government rather than to healing and restoring the people."<sup>121</sup> The South African Friends regretted that they had met so few AFSC Board members and

---

<sup>118</sup> "Joint Report and Recommendations to Friends World Committee for Consultation," by South African Visitors, June/July, 1978. Friends included Raymond Cardoso, Rosemary Elliott, Jennifer Kinghorn and Hendrik van der Merwe. Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

"we were also sorry to have had so few worship experiences with AFSC members."<sup>122</sup>

Coupled with the sanctions issue was the debate over disinvestment. As stated earlier in the chapter, there was also considerable debate between South African Quakers and the AFSC regarding disinvestment. There was also dissension, however, among American Quakers regarding this issue. It is rare for Quakers to publicize dissenting opinions on policy matters since as a group they prefer to operate with full consensus. However, they also recognize that they are a body composed of free-thinking individuals, and where two opinions are strongly felt, then both must be heard. Such was the statement issued by the Board of Directors for the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1979 on the issue of disinvestment. The Board's majority felt:

...the right course is to refrain from urging business withdrawal or shareholder disinvestment and to convey to corporate officials a positive Quaker message, encouraging them to share our concern about injustice, and to do what is within their power to act constructively and to influence changes for the better in South Africa.<sup>123</sup>

The majority of the Board expressed their "reluctance to contribute to an economic collapse which could cause increased unemployment as well as a possible

---

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> "South Africa: The American Friends' Viewpoint," Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter, no. 84, March/April, 1976, p. 8, Quaker Archives, UCT.

increase in violence."<sup>124</sup> They doubted whether selling US business assets would have much effect on the government and questioned the appropriateness of a "large-scale boycott as a proper Quaker way of action."<sup>125</sup>

The minority opinion asserted that the racial injustice in South Africa was a "moral outrage. There is a concern to cease holding investments which generates profits from this evil system."<sup>126</sup> As for the Sullivan Principles having any effect, "the fact that the South African government has voiced no objection to Sullivan's Principles indicates that they pose no threat to the apartheid system."<sup>127</sup> Dr. Leon Sullivan was a black American minister who in 1980 had devised a code of principles which American businesses in South Africa were asked to follow. The Principles introduced a method for conducting employer-employee relations contrary to the practices of apartheid. They were designed to integrate a system of democratic labor and management practices. While not entirely successful, where utilized, they had a greater impact in the South African work force than anything else previously tried.<sup>128</sup>

AFSC board members who supported disinvestment cited black South Africans who urged disinvestment and were "willing to suffer for the cause of freedom."<sup>129</sup> The

---

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

<sup>127</sup> "American Friends Viewpoint," p. 10.

<sup>128</sup> Davenport, South Africa, 4th ed., pp. 461-462.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

United States should take a stronger lead, then others would follow. Hopefully the impact on South Africa would be sufficiently overwhelming as to end apartheid soon. As for the claim that the South African government was likely to become more repressive and conservative as a reaction to the withdrawal of foreign capital:

...the fact that it has become steadily more conservative and repressive during the period when foreign investment was increasing leads to the conclusion that withdrawal of foreign trade and investment may be the only option left to influence the intransigent white minority regime.<sup>130</sup>

In 1980 the Johannesburg Monthly Meeting held a "Symposium on the Principle of Sanctions" with its members to discuss their personal feelings about sanctions. Of the twenty-one people who participated in the discussion:

- twelve stated they were against sanctions
- four were undecided
- three could possibly support sanctions under certain circumstances
- one did not want to make a statement
- one was 'possibly' against
- no one was 'out right' for sanctions.<sup>131</sup>

The Southern Africa Ouaker Newsletter, which reported on the symposium, published individual opinions.

---

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

<sup>131</sup> "Sanctions Against South Africa: The Mind of Johannesburg Monthly Meeting," Southern Africa Ouaker Newsletter, October/November, 1980, pp. 2-6, Quaker Archives, UCT.

Stephen Whitley commented that sanctions seemed always "coupled to the flesh...you can't practice your religion in this way." Christine Agar was shocked that Friends in UN encouraged sanctions as "we are a peace society." Charles Sankey could find "no justification in the New Testament for sanctions." Duncan Brown considered sanctions to be "economic warfare." Jennifer Kinghorn felt that the threat of sanctions had brought about change recently even in Government circles but stressed that "World-wide Christianity must keep up communications, lovingly...responsible investment is vital." Alice Hawkins was opposed to all forms of sanctions, while Elizabeth Brown said it depended on what kind of sanctions. Elizabeth Roper said "I do not like the idea of sanctions but the threat of sanctions has done much good in South Africa."<sup>132</sup>

David Thomas felt that deciding on sanctions was complicated and there were no easy answers; however, "before a group like ours makes any statement for or against [I think] we should consult black opinion." Scarnell Lean stated sanctions "may be the last peaceful method (non-violent) of influencing a situation, short of the use of arms. They might be the lesser of two evils."<sup>133</sup> Olive Gibson stated that the usual argument against sanctions is based on economics. She viewed sanctions as one way of talking to the government, and if the local Society could not endorse sanctions, then it must find another method to approach the government.<sup>134</sup>

---

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

Bunty Biggs had been giving the issue of sanctions serious thought, and wrote down her feelings to share with other South African Friends:

- how far does the Black population feel that they have benefited from overseas investments?
- has the industrial 'fair employment practices code' [presumably the Sullivan Principles] insisted on by some overseas firms made any significant difference?
- have foreign controlled businesses done anything to encourage the growth and use of Black Trade unions?
- would Friends have approved investment in the industry of Nazi Germany?
- won't increased unemployment [that could result from economic sanctions] lead to violence?<sup>135</sup>

Biggs also wrote that having worked twenty years in the social welfare field in an African urban community, she was not convinced that "white capital investment" had brought any meaningful benefit to urban Blacks. She had less immediate experience with rural Africans but in her opinion foreign investment had done nothing to alleviate the miseries of the Migrant Labor scheme "which I consider the most evilly disruptive and most destructive of all existing legislation on African society, and has possibly perpetuated and entrenched [apartheid]." As for African wage earners being out of work, that had already

---

<sup>135</sup> Bunty Biggs, "Some Thoughts and Questions on the Complex and Currently Debated Issue of Whether Foreign Countries or Firms Should Be Urged to Withhold Investment Capital from South Africa," undated, Quaker Archives, UCT.

been so for decades, "it is nothing new!!"<sup>136</sup> Biggs stated that the hurt and humiliation felt by Africans had already erupted in violent reaction, and this violence would continue unless there was a drastic positive change in the basic socio-political structure. She asked if economic sanctions could help bring about this needed change "perhaps a whole lot more peacefully than leaving it to some vague, undefined euphoric hope that all may yet turn out well!!"<sup>137</sup>

On September 28, 1985, the Board of Directors of the American Friends Service Committee approved a statement of policy on South Africa that included the following points:

1. One person, one vote, in a unitary nation of South Africa is the principle against which all political changes in South Africa must be measured.
2. Apartheid must be abolished. It is not a system that can be reformed.
3. The United States must establish supportive relationships with all South Africans who are seeking to build a new, non-racial nation.
4. Economic sanctions and disinvestment by individuals, by private groups and by government are vital steps toward abolishing apartheid.
5. There is no valid basis for continued support of the South African government on

---

<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

grounds of anti-communism. The issue is not communism; it is injustice.<sup>138</sup>

This statement came as no surprise to South African Friends. In a continuing series of articles, Hendrik van der Merwe's plea that there can be no peace without justice, nor justice without peace, was persistent. He still could find little justification for sanctions, although he was willing to consider selective sanctions that were "non-violent in form and in consequence...[he added] There is no doubt in my mind that economic boycotts that will cause economic regression, unemployment, hunger, starvation and death are a *sure form of institutional violence*..."<sup>139</sup> van der Merwe further stated that the white government would ensure that blacks suffered most if boycotts and sanctions actually had an impact on the country. As an example of this he said that "When foreign investment dropped after the Soweto protests of 1976 Pretoria decided to reduce imports, maximize exports, and limit growth. This was done with almost no harm to whites, while one million Africans lost their jobs."<sup>140</sup> van der Merwe also argued that in addition to harming Africans in South Africa, the entire region would be affected. In fact, he said, it was estimated that twelve African states would be ruined economically if sanctions were applied effectively

---

<sup>138</sup> Lyle Tatum, editor, South Africa: Challenge and Hope, American Friends Service Committee (New York: Hill & Wang, 1987), pp. 224-225.

<sup>139</sup> Hendrik van der Merwe, "Sanctions in a Quaker Perspective," The Friend, 5 December, 1986, pp. 1561-1562.

<sup>140</sup> Hendrik van der Merwe, "Economic Boycott: A Sure Way to Violence," Southern Africa Quarterly Newsletter, January/February, 1984, p. 22, Quaker Archives, UCT.

against South Africa. He said that leaders in neighboring countries such as Botswana and Mozambique were opposed to sanctions since their individual regions would unjustly be affected.<sup>141</sup>

Friends around the world wondered if they should close bank or investment accounts that were linked financially to South Africa, considering returns on such investments to be 'tainted money'. Representing British Friends, the Assistant Recording Clerk for the Meeting for Sufferings at Friends House in London asked advice of South African Friends as to whether they should close their accounts with Barclays Bank since Barclays has considerable holdings in South Africa. Joyce Mtshazo, Clerk of the South Africa General Meeting, replied that the local Society did not accept the criticism that Barclays had been directly involved in any "heinous" activities in South Africa, nor did they feel that by banking with Barclays in England was tantamount to dealing with "tainted money." They viewed the international banking system as being so interdependent and complex that in fact no bank in England could be considered absolved of participation in South Africa, or for that matter in other difficult parts of the world such as Chile, Sri Lanka, Uganda and Ulster. To the contrary, they felt that the influence of Barclay's customers in England had been of great value in bringing about essential reforms within the company. Acknowledging that Barclays had acquiesced to foreign pressure, they now had adopted very enlightening employment practices in South Africa. For example, it recognized and encouraged a non-racial trade union; it was the first bank to employ black tellers;

---

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

there was no discrimination in its wage or advancement policies, or in its staff policies. Furthermore, the bank had for many years been providing housing loans to black employees even though the security blacks were able to offer -- because of South African laws -- was not commercially attractive. Barlcays had also generously funded social projects, in particular education. One member of the South African Society was on the council of a non-racial school which had for several years been allowed an interest free overdraft of several hundred thousand rands.<sup>142</sup>

While consistently opposed to sanctions, van der Merwe was equally, and actively, committed to reconciliation through mediation. He was a professional mediator who employed Quaker principles to his task as a 'bridge-builder'. As a young missionary, van der Merwe said, "my African name was peace maker."<sup>143</sup> van der Merwe was Director of the Centre for Intergroup Studies which is committed to "facilitating communication between groups in conflict. Through its work -- in mediation and facilitation, research, education and training -- it has come to play a unique role in the effort to establish a just peace in South Africa."<sup>144</sup> Founded in 1968, one of its earliest successes in 1971 was bringing together three philosophically opposed student organizations and their representatives to discuss the role of students in

---

<sup>142</sup> Joyce Mtshazo to Christopher Thomas, 30 August, 1985, reprinted in the Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter, September-November, 1985, pp. 17-18, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>143</sup> First interview with van der Merwe.

<sup>144</sup> Brochure published by the Centre for Intergroup Studies, an autonomous non-profit institute based near the University of Cape Town.

South Africa -- Johan Fick, President of the Afrikaanse Studente-Bond, Neville Curtiss, President of the National Union of South African Students and Steve Biko (d.1977), President of the South African Students Organisation (and later founder of the Black Consciousness Movement).<sup>145</sup> In his various publications<sup>146</sup> van der Merwe continued to stress that reconciliation and mediation would have more success than sanctions and boycotts.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, in order to counter the build up of aggressive political opposition, Prime Minister B.J. Vorster removed all judicial restraints from the 1967 Terrorism Act. This allowed commissioned officers to detain suspects in solitary confinement, at will, for as long as it was deemed necessary. Security at regional borders was tightened and compulsory military service was extended to include all eligible white males. The military budget was greatly increased and the government created a new Bureau of State Security (B.O.S.S.) which was attached to the Prime Minister's office. According to Davenport, "its members were accorded an unusual measure of protection from public discussion. [Furthermore] A Security Services Special Account was set up to enable the Government to invest funds secretly for the defence of the country."<sup>147</sup> Vorster may have felt justified with his security measures as neighboring countries of Angola and

---

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> van der Merwe has authored over two hundred and thirty (230) publications, including academic and non-academic monographs, articles, papers, lectures, reports and addresses. See Appendix C for a bibliography of articles and books reviewed for this study.

<sup>147</sup> Davenport, South Africa, 4th ed., pp. 388-389.

Mozambique were politically hostile to South Africa and other countries in the region welcomed ANC exiles.

The threat of communism was keenly felt by the presence of Cuban military forces in Angola; meanwhile, South Africa was becoming host to a range of whites fleeing black-controlled countries, including Kenya and Rhodesia. Several of these whites were politically conservative and supported South Africa's apartheid policies. For some white immigrants, South Africa was the last bastion of white-controlled civilization. There was, however, a new rise of Black Consciousness taking place in the country inspired in large part by Steve Biko. The election of P.W. Botha as the new Prime Minister in 1978 brought on a relaxation of apartheid which in part led to newly found power and legitimacy among black trade unions in the negotiation process. South Africa's determination to hold onto control over South West Africa brought increasing condemnation from international world bodies including the United Nations and highly respected church leaders.

As South Africa continued its efforts to convince the world that the country's racial policies were changing, albeit too slowly for some, events within the country spoke louder. Among the most shocking events were the Soweto disturbances of 1976-1977 which began when students held an illegal march on 16 June, 1976 protesting that Afrikaans no longer be used as the medium of instruction in Transvaal schools. They also were protesting in general against the derogatory policies of Bantu education. After firing two warning shots, the police opened fire into the crowd, with some loss of life. These young students began a new era of

revolutionary tactics, demonstrating that they were not content to be tolerant and patient as Africans in previous generations. They had come to the realization that the government had no intention of changing its racial policies to include them as full citizens. Davenport wrote that "The incident was to set in motion a chain of disturbances throughout the country which continued spasmodically until 1980, and then returned in a different form in 1984-1985."<sup>148</sup> Following Soweto, the call for sanctions among certain groups against South Africa reached fever pitch.

Tired of explaining their position on sanctions, South African Friends carried on with their personal and group efforts at peaceful mediation and help. As a result, some Friends were being detained.<sup>149</sup> Local Friends felt they needed to continue "normal development amid social disintegration."<sup>150</sup> They opened up more pre-school child care centers in townships, became involved with families struggling to survive at Crossroads, worked in soup kitchens, and helped rebuild a house in Gaborone that had been destroyed during a bombing by the South African Defense Force in search of 'dangerous' ANC dissidents. The house had been owned by an African widow who was renting the house to pay for her children's education. Insurance companies refused to pay for the repairs as it was damaged outside 'normal causes' and the South African

---

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., pp. 389-394.

<sup>149</sup> See Chapter Ten: South African Friends Define Their Quaker Witness.

<sup>150</sup> Rosemary Elliott and George Stegmann, "Southern Africa Yearly Meeting," The Friend, 24 January, 1986, p. 112.

government denied the need for restitution.<sup>151</sup> South African Friends continued providing bursaries for African students, paid salaries for teachers at the Noxolo School in Crossroads, taught women how to sew so that could supplement their meager incomes and engaged in various agricultural and literacy projects. As a gesture of reconciliation to the African township in Graaff-Reinett, they paid for all windows broken by members of the local police force.<sup>152</sup>

During this difficult period, Mary Butler was no longer alive to remind her fellow Friends that they must respond more 'prayerfully'. She died in 1977 at the age of ninety-three. Despite her age, she often still walked across town, her back erect as Rosemary Elliott recalled, to attend a Meeting for Worship.<sup>153</sup> To the end she was dedicated to improving the life of Africans, treated them with dignity and respect, and was committed to her own efforts at reconciliation. In her Last Will and Testament, Mary Emma Butler left all remaining financial assets (after paying any outstanding debts) to a MARY BUTLER TRUST with the sole purpose that the funds be used toward projects needed by the African residents of the Cradock Location. While she had lived in Grahamstown for many years prior to her death, she remembered her friends with and among whom she once worked and lived years ago. Mindful of the indifferent manner that white people often

---

<sup>151</sup> "Quakers in South Africa," South African Outlook, May, 1986, published by the Southern Africa Yearly Meeting, Quaker House, Mowbray, Cape Town, South Africa.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>153</sup> Second interview with Elliott.

treated Africans, in characteristic thoughtfulness, Butler had specific instructions as to the administration of the Trust:

1. That the value of working with rather than for the Africans shall always be recognised.

2. That the Africans be encouraged to initiate proposals for the suitable use of the Trust and that their opinions and suggestions be given careful consideration.<sup>154</sup>

Guy Butler fondly called his Aunt Mary "a walking conscience...fair minded, deliberate, factual, unflinching",<sup>155</sup> South African Quakers welcomed her 'physical' presence at their meetings because it meant so much to the worship's 'spiritual' quality and depth.<sup>156</sup>

Mary Butler was a noble woman, but South African Friends probably needed little prodding about the need for prayer. What unites Quakers perhaps more than anything else is the strength they seem to obtain from their unique form of silent worship. During the 1986 Southern Africa Yearly Meeting, South African Friends were pressed by the continuing intensity of yet another government emergency, by yet more violence everywhere in the country, by yet again hope dashed for a peaceful change. They felt they needed to call on God for his "renewing

---

<sup>154</sup> Last Will and Testament of Mary Emma Butler. The draft copy written in 1958 is among Mary Butler's Papers at Cory Library; it is, however, unsigned.

<sup>155</sup> Butler, Karoo Morning, p. 162.

<sup>156</sup> Honor Biggs to Mary Butler, 24 July, 1972, Mary Butler's Papers, Cory Library.

spirit...to empower us to act in crisis."<sup>157</sup> Would Friends and friends around the world, they asked, take pause from their debate on sanctions and spiritually join South African Friends in silent prayer every evening at 9:00 P.M. for just five minutes:

...so that we all may be strengthened and renewed by God's power to become more effective channels of his love and grace to reach out and heal our troubled world.<sup>158</sup>

---

<sup>157</sup> Elliott and Stegman, "Southern Africa Yearly Meeting."

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

## CHAPTER TEN

SOUTH AFRICAN FRIENDS DEFINE THEIR SOCIAL WITNESS

*God bless Africa  
Guard her children  
Guide her leaders  
Give her peace  
Amen<sup>1</sup>*

By the 1980s, Hendrik van der Merwe's efforts, with others, at reconciliation and mediation began to bear fruit. In August, 1984, Ronald Watts, then Clerk of Zambia Regional Meeting, joined van der Merwe in an interview with President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia. The appointment was facilitated by Walter Martin, a British Quaker. Kaunda expressed his support for Quaker contributions and agreed to help van der Merwe promote communications between the South African government and the liberation movement. He offered his Presidential Lodge as a venue for such meetings.<sup>2</sup> Later that year, van der Merwe introduced Dr. Piet Muller, Assistant Editor of Beeld -- the largest pro-Government Afrikaans daily paper -- to members of the executive committee of the ANC in Lusaka.<sup>3</sup> Following this visit, Beeld published two articles and an editorial in which it argued that there was common ground between

---

<sup>1</sup> Prayer issued by the Christian Council of South Africa and blessed by the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cape Town.

<sup>2</sup> "Towards Conciliation in Southern Africa: A Role for Quakers," Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter, May/June, 1986, p.6, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>3</sup> "Holomisa, Academic Meet," Daily Despatch, 11 September, 1991, p. 2.

the ANC and the National Party and urged the Government to talk to the ANC.<sup>4</sup>

In 1985, the ANC Youth League and various student leaders from the Afrikaner University of Stellenbosch wanted to meet and asked van der Merwe to make the arrangements. The meeting was called off when the press leaked the story and the South African government confiscated the students' passports. van der Merwe sat in on later discussions between other student leaders from Stellenbosch and the ANC executive committee.<sup>5</sup>

Other groups sought van der Merwe's assistance to meet with the ANC, including leading Afrikaner businessmen, a delegation of the Progressive Federal Party and a multi-racial group of Dutch Reformed Church Ministers.<sup>6</sup>

During this same period, when Winnie Mandela visited her husband in Pollsmoor Prison, she often stayed at van der Merwe's home in Cape Town. van der Merwe had become such personal friends with the Mandelas that Nelson had asked van der Merwe to "be my daughter's guardian."<sup>7</sup>

Certain anti-apartheid groups were not impressed. Kie Sebastian, Chairperson of the Quaker Socialist Society in England, invited Cedric Mayson to address their group in

---

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., and "Towards Conciliation in Southern Africa."

<sup>5</sup> "Towards Conciliation in Southern Africa."

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> First interview with van der Merwe. van der Merwe stated that he had also visited Mandela in Pollsmoor Prison as well as Victor Verster Prison where Mandela was last held before his release.

1986. Mayson was a white South African Methodist Minister who had been arrested while working for the Christian Institute and had been on trial for 'high treason'. He was now living in London as an exile and a member of the ANC. During the meeting, Sebastian referred to the ways in which "capitalism within and outside South Africa shored up the evil regime and its racist and fascist practices." Mayson agreed wholeheartedly. He argued that the people of Britain were on the side of the oppressor unless they made a conscious decision as to where they stood regarding apartheid. To do nothing or to attempt to 'understand' the situation meant support for the South African government. Nothing less than a demand for a "united, non-racist and democratic"<sup>8</sup> South Africa would be accepted by those in the liberation struggle.

van der Merwe was aware that he was criticized by both liberals and conservatives for his mediation efforts. Conservatives asked how he could possibly "support the ANC"<sup>9</sup> since meeting with them was viewed as giving support. Liberation factions, on the other hand, felt that establishing a dialogue between the ANC and the government at that stage was premature, the argument being that "there can be no peace until there is justice."<sup>10</sup> van der Merwe reiterated again that the goals of peace and justice were complementary...one

---

<sup>8</sup> Grace Crookall-Greening, "The Emancipation of South Africa," The Friend, 22 August, 1986, p. 1085.

<sup>9</sup> Hendrik van der Merwe, "Hopes for Justice in South Africa: The New Constitution," an address given before the Friends World Committee for Consultation meeting in Philadelphia, March, 1984, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

cannot have peace without justice, nor justice without peace.<sup>11</sup>

Even though some 'Afrikaners' were talking to the ANC and other African liberation movements, the government's renewed Emergency Act initiated by State President P.W. Botha<sup>12</sup> in the mid-1980s made apartheid's grip as tight as ever.<sup>13</sup> The country-wide violence and political actions stemming from the renewed emergency acts, stifled by a censored press, prompted the International Commission of Jurists to send four Western European lawyers to South Africa in 1987 to investigate allegations of abuse by the government. In their report, they said:

...an undemocratic government has extended the executive power of the state so as to undermine the rule of law and destroy the basic human rights...We have found that the government has allowed intimidation of suspects and accused persons, and interference with legal processes by the Security forces...to take place on a large scale and in a variety of ways...We stress particularly the widespread use of torture and violence, even against children, which is habitually denied by the government and thus goes unpublished, though plainly illegal.<sup>14</sup>

Botha talked reform but acted otherwise. The more Botha tried to shut out the world press and create an illusion

---

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> P.W. Botha was named Prime Minister in 1978 and became State President in 1984.

<sup>13</sup> Davenport, South Africa, 4th ed., pp. 439-440.

<sup>14</sup> See Thompson, "The State of Emergency 1986-1989," A History of South Africa, pp. 235-242; the quote is from p.236.

of stability, the clearer it became to everyone, except Nationalist government supporters, that South Africa had never before been so close to social and political explosion. While Botha thought he had crossed the 'Rubicon', the country was in fact beyond the point of no return. P.W. Botha delivered his infamous hard-line speech at the Durban City Hall, 15 August, 1985. Prior to the speech, Foreign Minister Pik Botha stated that the Prime Minister was going to reveal major domestic policy changes, leaving the international press to believe steps were going to be announced on how apartheid would be dismantled. Instead, Botha delivered a scolding message implying a status quo that would change as the government was ready to change.<sup>15</sup> Three years later, addressing the Nationalist Party annual congress in Durban (18 August, 1988), Botha said "'as far as I am concerned, I'm not even considering the possibility of black majority government in South Africa.'"<sup>16</sup>

Despite its political problems, South Africa remained among the strongest countries economically in the continent, and certainly within the southern region. White South Africans were not immune to the fact that much of the rest of the continent had not fared well under independence. Furthermore, while apartheid was abhorrent, so were the atrocities they were hearing by African leaders in countries such as Uganda and the Central African Republic. Press censorship and repression of magazines and newspapers from outside South Africa served to reinforce whatever message the South African

---

<sup>15</sup> Readers Digest Illustrated History of South Africa, 1st ed., p. 478.

<sup>16</sup> Thompson, A History of South Africa, p. 237.

government wanted its citizens to receive. South African Quakers were just as affected by these concerns and just as subject to their government's oppression as other whites, well meaning or not. Numerous detentions, severe restrictions imposed by the 'state of emergencies' and wide-spread interpretation of 'terrorists acts' by the government effectively held a nervous nation at bay.

Throughout the 1980s hope continued to wane over any peaceful change in South Africa while violence escalated across the country. In South Africa Davenport states that the violence associated with "guerilla activity" began to increase during the 1970s "especially after the political movements in exile had received an influx of recruits following the Soweto riots of 1976."<sup>17</sup> Acts of sabotage, including bombings, took place across the country. The government was quick to report that they were vicious acts by either the ANC or the Pan African Congress. Some people so distrusted the security forces, including the police, they were certain that they had often instigated some of the violence.

In the earlier decades of the century, when South Africa's 'native' leaders had been anxious to prove their civility, Davidson Don Tengo Jabavu grappled with the issue of his children not being admitted to a South African Quaker school. 'How is it possible', he wondered, 'that this religious society whose principles are based on the highest ideals of humanitarian commitment can be swayed by the segregationist attitudes of a small populace? Where', he asked, 'is their conscience of courage?' From the midst of South Africa's senseless

---

<sup>17</sup> Davenport, South Africa, 4th ed., p. 388.

disorder there emerged a small group of Quakers who found their 'conscience of courage' and lived it, if not fearlessly, unequivocally. A small group of Quakers in Cape Town decided to engage in "active peace-making" rather than continuing with what many viewed as the passive efforts of previous years.<sup>18</sup> The government was becoming more covert and repressive. White political opposition was so small and ineffective that there was no hope of change through an election process. The disturbances of 1975 and 1976, as well as Steve Biko's death in 1977, galvanized a response to action among this group of Friends.<sup>19</sup>

The Quaker Peace Centre (QPC) was started by South African Quaker Rommel Roberts and developed informally out of this small gathering. Lacking space, it operated out of the Quaker Meeting House in Cape Town. The Quaker Meeting House offered refuge and a place to sleep for those fleeing from escalating township violence. The Centre conducted a series of workshops on the use of non-violent techniques that could urge government officials to be aware of the need for social transformation. The work of the QPC became so overwhelming it required a separate building which was purchased across the street from the Meeting House.

They also started the Friends' Ambulance Service in 1976 during the height of violence in western Cape townships. Hendrik van der Merwe stated that the ambulance service "evolved into a unit which became known as Voluntary and

---

<sup>18</sup> Interview with Rommel Roberts, Grahamstown, South Africa, September, 1992.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

Alternative Service (VAS). It was envisaged that this project could be built up as a voluntary service corps for conscientious objectors and that the South African government might eventually recognize it as a form of alternative service for those who refuse to be conscripted into the defence force."<sup>20</sup> The ambulance service retrieved the wounded from the townships, but could not take them to the local hospitals. Roberts stated that "We knew the police were patrolling the hospitals. If the people we transported survived their wounds, they were sure to disappear from the hospital and easily die in police custody. Two Quakers in our group enlisted the services of one hundred doctors who offered to treat these wounded in their private practices."<sup>21</sup>

Roberts said that for years the same core of Friends fought against the pass laws and the government's resettlement policy. The resettlement policy was one where the government would move entire locations or townships into another area. In order to isolate Africans and to keep certain areas 'white', millions of people were moved, often under duress. The government would use the argument that the 'new' settlement offered better facilities, but often families were once again split as the husband -- or main bread-winner -- had to stay behind to remain with his job as the 'new' settlement was also often far from work opportunities. Crossroads, the well-known 'squatters camp' outside Cape Town, grew out of the resistance by many families who decided they wanted to

---

<sup>20</sup> Hendrik van der Merwe, South Africa; Morality and Action: Quaker Efforts in a Difficult Environment (Chicago: Progressive Publisher, 1981), p. 51.

<sup>21</sup> Interview with Roberts.

remain intact and not be 'resettled'. One of the QPC group, George Ellis, enlisted several others, including the South African Council of Churches, in a health survey focusing on the grossly inadequate health conditions within the resettlement camps in western Cape. In particular, he highlighted the high infant mortality rate in resettlement camps in contrast to that within the white community. Unlike Mary Butler's unsuccessful attempts to alert the white community to similar conditions in the Cradock location (see Chapter Six) Ellis's information was reported in the Carnegie Commission's Second Inquiry Into Poverty in South Africa. Following up on the 1932 Carnegie Commission on poverty in South Africa among whites, the Second Inquiry began in 1980. Over three hundred papers were delivered at the Cape Town conference focusing on law, education, role of the church, public allocation of resources, food and nutrition.

Ellis, an internationally recognized astro-physicist who collaborated with Stephen Hawking in the classic book called the Large Scale Structure of Space-Time, also made a slide presentation of his findings. According to Roberts, the slides were one of the factors that influenced Nico Smit, a minister for the South African Dutch Reformed Church, Professor of Theology at the University of Stellenbosch and member of the Broederbond, when he and his wife moved their home to Mamelodi, a black township outside Pretoria, and worked in a township parish. In The Mind of South Africa, Allister Sparks uses the hedge of wild almonds planted by van Riebeeck to keep out the Khoikhoi as a symbolism of the modern laws which separated whites from blacks in South Africa, and Smit's move provides the illustration. Smit had already worked

in a pastoral position in Mamelodi when he and his wife wanted to live there among his parishioners. Sparks writes that it took him "two years as he hacked his way through a tangle of seven hundred laws and regulations before getting permission. Such is the density of this tough old hedge." <sup>22</sup> Smit's move was highlighted in several international magazines, including Newsweek.<sup>23</sup> Like Hendrik van der Merwe, Smit did not grow up allowed to feel comfortable with blacks socially. When he was a young missionary in Venda, (a black 'homeland'), he had lunch at a colleague's home who was from Germany. An African had also been invited, something the overseas missionary did not see as irregular. The German's wife "sensed my uncomfortableness" and set a table for Smit in the main study. As Smit sat alone he thought deeply how Christians from around the world held different views, and perhaps he, himself, had the wrong views. It still took several years for Smit to make a complete break with the Dutch Reformed Church, the Broederbond and with beliefs he had held all his life. When he and wife did, "We lost many friends. Many, many friends."<sup>24</sup>

This small group of Quakers realized they could not operate alone, so they worked with other existing organizations, including Beyers Naudé's group, the Christian Institute. Naudé was a distinguished minister for the Dutch Reformed Church and also a member of the

---

<sup>22</sup> Sparks, The Mind of South Africa, p. xviii.

<sup>23</sup> "Inside the Fortress: The Revolution is Inevitable," Newsweek, 24 March, 1986, p. 29.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

Broederbond.<sup>25</sup> Naudé founded the Christian Institute with other concerned theologians in 1963 as an ecumenical organization for promoting dialogue between Afrikaans and English speaking Christians who wanted to see justice and reconciliation between the races in South Africa. It began by forming Bible study groups throughout the country, many of them led by DRC ministers. The events of Sharpeville in 1960 and the government's continuing race-ridden and recalcitrant aggression forced Naudé to resign his position with the DRC. Naudé's break with the DRC was seen by some as a severe rupture with the Afrikaner *volk* who embraced their segregationist interpretation of God's law and teachings. His outspoken behavior led to his being banned in 1977 along with the Institute.<sup>26</sup>

Any political opposition group in South Africa was vulnerable to a banning order, which effectively choked verbal and written resistance. When people were banned, they could not address an assembly and their writings could not be published. Even the picture of a banned person was not allowed to be printed or distributed in South Africa. The General Law Amendment Act no. 76 of 1962 had amended the Suppression of Communism Act of 1960. Both were regarded as 'wide-nets' of state security by the government to effectively silence any protest, accompanied with severe penalties. The Minister of Justice was given even wider sway through the Communism Amendment Act no. 97 of 1965 whereby "he could, by [notice] in the Gazette, prohibit the publication,

---

<sup>25</sup> de Gruchy, The Church Struggle in South Africa, p. 103.

<sup>26</sup> See Chapter One: "The Banning of Beyers Naudé" in his biography by Colleen Ryan, Beyers Naudé: Pilgrimage of Faith (Cape Town: David Philip, 1990), pp. 1-4.

dissemination, etc. of any speech or writing made at any time by specified former residents of South Africa."<sup>27</sup> It would have been difficult, however, for the government to 'ban' churches. Roberts stated:

The legitimate churches had to play a much more dynamic role. What the government was doing was immoral. Their position was indefensible. With so many community organizations banned, it was now up to the churches to resist the government.<sup>28</sup>

The Quaker Peace Centre developed along organizational lines offering training, community development, mediation and non-violent intervention. It also continued to work with other community organizations. This provided the strength in numbers needed against a most formidable foe.

Roberts acknowledged that not all Quakers were as deeply committed. But, Roberts asserted, the few who were involved provide "many, many" accounts of bravery and conviction. He fondly recalled the several times Mary [Ellis], a "small woman, a doctor," would boldly march into a police station, go right up to the desk clerk, and demand the whereabouts of someone held in detention. When Steve Biko died, many blamed Justice Minister Jimmy Kruger for allowing -- if not actually ordering -- his death. Kruger was infamous for his statement following Biko's death "He leaves me cold." Kruger made this statement while addressing a meeting of the Transvaal

---

<sup>27</sup> Laws Affecting Race Relations in South Africa: 1948-1976 (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1978), p. 453. See also the Statutes of the Republic of South Africa, 1962.

<sup>28</sup> Interview with Roberts.

Congress of the National Party. He made it within the context of talking about Biko's death saying specifically "I am not glad and I am not sorry about Biko...He [meaning his death] leaves me cold." At the same meeting, a delegate from Springs, "...capturing the mood of the gathering, drew roars of laughter when he praised the Minister for granting Biko 'his democratic right to starve himself to death.'"<sup>29</sup> This was based on the absurdity of the police and government who wanted to convince the public that Biko had gone on a hunger strike, and downplayed the battered condition of his body and head by claiming he had fallen. Kruger was addressing a meeting in the Maitland Town Hall and Mary Ellis attended. In the middle of his address, she stood and challenged Kruger: "Why did you murder him?!" Kruger tried to divert the audience, but she demanded again: "Why did you murder him?!", and continued on while being carried out by the police.<sup>30</sup>

In my interview with Mary Ellis, she did not recall that specific incident (though following up on this Rommel insists that it happened). She was so angry after Biko's death, so mad with shock and grief, that she had accused many of his murder. There were meetings she attended where she did scream out at government officials, and she remembers Foreign Affairs Minister R.F. 'Pik' Botha being at one. "Those of us who knew Steve assumed the government figured he was withholding information related to state security, and that with torture or intimidation, even money, he would divulge what he knew. In their way

---

<sup>29</sup> Readers Digest Illustrated History of South Africa, 1st ed., pp. 444-445.

<sup>30</sup> Interview with Roberts.

of thinking, everyone had a price. Biko must have a price, and they battered him until he could say no more."<sup>31</sup>

Ellis had worked with Steve Biko and Dr. Mamphela Ramphele at the Zanempilo Community Clinic in the Eastern Cape. The clinic was established by the Border Council of Churches to help improve local health conditions in an area where there were no health clinics. Anglo American Corporation was one of the financial sponsors.<sup>32</sup> Ellis's interest was to help Biko and Ramphele with nutrition programs for the children and elderly. "The government wanted everyone to believe that Steve Biko hated whites. He was not anti-white. Quite the contrary. He was charismatic, brilliant, loving and uplifting. Many of us were very disturbed when he was killed. I used to have dreams about Steve, with his body so battered, and I would say 'its OK, you are OK, you still have your brain.'"<sup>33</sup> Before Biko's death, Dr. Ramphele, also considered a serious threat to the government, was banished to a remote and desperately poor area in northern Transvaal. There she gave birth to Biko's son whom she named Hlumelo, a Xhosa word that means 'the shoot from a dead tree'. She became a valued health worker and educator in the area and today is deputy Vice-Chancellor at the University of Cape Town.

---

<sup>31</sup> Second interview with Mary Ellis by telephone, September, 1992.

<sup>32</sup> George Ellis, "Steve Biko's Work," Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter, no. 96, October/November, 1977, p. 5, Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>33</sup> Second interview with Ellis.

Ellis also told of many stories of involvement by the small group of Quakers, who rarely operated alone. When squatter camps were threatened with demolition, a group would gather to lie down in front of the bulldozers. "It was a very scary move. Knowing how treacherous the government could be, there was a real chance people would be mowed over. I remember Rev. David Russell [Activist Anglican priest who is now Bishop of Grahamstown] did in fact lie down."<sup>34</sup>

Like many Quakers I interviewed, Ellis insisted that I include the "brave" actions of others. "You must include May Murray-Parker. She was an incredible member from Cape Town. With members of the Black Sash she helped start the campaign against women having to carry passes. For those detained, she would carry parcels to prison for them, not afraid of being later watched or intimidated by the security police." Records of monthly minutes reveal that May Murray-Parker had been in outspoken opposition to the government's racial policies for many years. The following item was minuted at a 1957 Cape Western Monthly Meeting:

May Murray-Parker has brought before us information about the Deportation of women to the Native Affairs Department to protest against Pass Laws to Women, which will be followed by a meeting in the Drill Hall in Cape Town to support this deputation, on August 9, 1957. We encourage all women Friends who can do so to attend the meeting and make it known to others.<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Minutes of the Cape Western Monthly Meeting, specific date unknown, 1957, Minute 22, Quaker Archives, UCT.

I asked Roberts why, for all this data, was it not in the Quaker archives. I had not seen any written reports of this nature. Some documentation, he said, was at the Quaker Peace Centre in Cape Town, and some with him where he now lives in King William's Town (in the Eastern Cape). "We could not write down our activities. State security was very paranoid, especially after 1975. Up until recently, we would have put ourselves and others at great risk."<sup>36</sup> For all his activities, Roberts was frequently harassed by the security police and detained twice: for one month in 1978 for organizing resistance to resettlement and for three months in 1980 for organizing a bus boycott.

Rosemary Elliott confirmed that the local Society's concern for security and privacy went on for several years. However, she appreciated the efforts of Olive Gibson who wrote copious amounts of material as reports for the Quaker Service Fund. They serve as important chronicles of events that took place in South Africa during a time when a great deal of news was being censored. "I think we must be an open Society. This is one of the issues that historically Quakers have struggled with, particularly when dealing with sensitive matters." Her message was 'We must be wise but not afraid'. As an example of this, Elliott said that some in the local Society were aware that the government would occasionally try to "plant a spy at our meetings. One year a very obvious 'plant' claiming to be a Lutheran minister from Germany and interested in our Society arrived at our Yearly Meeting. We evicted him, to the annoyance of a few of our members who wondered how we

---

<sup>36</sup> Interview with Roberts.

could be so 'closed'. There have been Quakers in our own group who did not realize to what extent the government could be so paranoid."<sup>37</sup>

Elliott also expressed concern about Quakers who come from overseas, especially from countries with constitutional democracies and liberties, and unwittingly cause trouble for local Quakers. She recalled one couple in particular who came from England, he a "very gentle, kind and loving man who was devoted to his social work, but in the process stirred up considerable suspicion about us. They returned later to the safety of England, leaving the local Society at the mercy of surveillance by the government, hampering and even destroying some of the relationships we had established in our communities. I know people have viewed us as dragging our feet. But it is one thing to come down here and get heavily involved if you intend to stay and take responsibility for your actions, which also means paying the consequences. It is another if you do not intend to stay and leave others with the consequences of your actions."<sup>38</sup>

Many of the younger Quaker 'activists' today are not 'birthright' Quakers, but are 'convinced'. That is, as adults they asked to be accepted within the Quaker membership rather than being 'of birth' to Quaker parents. Roberts was studying for the Catholic priesthood. A survey of church activities during a tour of the United States and Europe left him concerned that the Catholic Church was more involved with its business

---

<sup>37</sup> Third interview with Rosemary Elliott, Addo, South Africa, September, 1992.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

organization than able to function as a social community serving humanity. He left the seminary and was attracted to the Quaker community, joining the Society of Friends in "approximately 1980."<sup>39</sup> There are other young South African Quakers, like Roberts, who once sought a spiritual ministry in another church but were ultimately influenced by the Society of Friends. Richard Steele, along with Peter Moll, were the first South Africans who, both for religious and political reasons, refused to serve in the South African Defense Force, even in a non-combatant capacity. Steele served a twelve-month sentence in 1981.<sup>40</sup>

The actions of Steele and Moll had an impact on another conscientious objector, one who was living thousands of miles away. Charles Yeats, an Anglican, grew up in Lesotho and attended university in South Africa (apparently long enough to be eligible for conscription). To avoid a call-up, he moved to Britain in 1979. While living abroad, Yeats was so moved by the testimonies of Steele and Moll that he resolved to return to South Africa, face the draft and confront his personal convictions. When his call-up papers arrived in March, 1980, he refused to do military service, offering instead to perform humanitarian (and non-military) alternative service. This was refused and he was arrested, tried and sentenced to twelve-months imprisonment for refusing to participate in the military. The judge who tried his case admitted that Charles was "'bound by his conscience'" not

---

<sup>39</sup> Interview with Roberts.

<sup>40</sup> James Forest, "The Power of Fearlessness: A Conversation with Richard Steele, South African Conscientious Objector," IFOR Report [International Fellowship of Reconciliation], November, 1981, pp. 10-14.

to participate in the military, but sentenced Yeats anyway. Fred Morehouse, writing for The Friend, reported: "Such is the nature of law in South Africa that even the administrators of justice do what they openly admit is unjust."<sup>41</sup>

Richard Steele grew up an active member of the Baptist Church and joined the Society of Friends in 1986 "because of its fundamental commitment to peace and service."<sup>42</sup> Steele was also Curator of the Phoenix Settlement near Durban, the ashram started by Mahatma Gandhi in 1904, when it was destroyed by ethnic conflict in 1985. Steele and Anita Kromberg were attenders in the Society of Friends, or those who regularly attend Meetings for Worship for have not yet officially joined the Society. They were detained and held in solitary confinement for almost two weeks in 1985. Though never formally charged with a crime, they thought it was due to their activities with the End Conscription Campaign. They are currently employed by the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, working for peace in South Africa. Steele and Kromberg wrote articles for the International Fellowship describing their solitary confinement. Kromberg in particular expressed her fear, especially in not knowing for how long she would be detained. She was strengthened, however, by her belief in God, reading the Bible and realizing she was living the conviction of her beliefs. She was also aware without having to be told that she, and Steele, had literally a 'world' of support

---

<sup>41</sup> Fred Morehouse, "The Price of Conscience in South Africa," The Friend, 11 December, 1981, pp. 1569-1570.

<sup>42</sup> Richard Steele to the Clerk of Natal Regional Meeting, 6 April, 1986, copy sent to Betty Tonsing by Steele, authors personal collection.

outside the prison walls. She also "found it exciting" to share her beliefs with the police during her daily interrogations, feeling strongly that "they needed to hear [them]."<sup>43</sup> Kromberg refers to the need for members of the South African police force -- whose primary function in the past has been to uphold the laws of apartheid -- to hear the views of others opposed to apartheid, and in particular from those who also believe in non-violent and peaceful change.

While respectful of their religious backgrounds as Baptists, they struggled with religious institutions that did not make "peace witness and the struggle for justice...priorities:"<sup>44</sup>

We looked for a church where our spiritual life and our activist life would not be in conflict. Quakers met this need. It would be true to say that being Quakers has strengthened our commitment to peace-making, and that now our primary religious identity is Quaker. The basic Quaker ethic of respect for 'that of God/Goddess in every person' is now intrinsic in every aspect of our lives. However, we do not do things because we are Quakers -- we do them because we believe in justice and the power of nonviolence. Being a Quaker is a supportive factor, but not a determining factor.<sup>45</sup>

Jeremy Routledge was an Anglican who became involved with a number of political activities and organizations

---

<sup>43</sup> Françoise Pottier, "A Pacifist Vision of South Africa," Fellowship, July/August, 1986, pp. 8-10.

<sup>44</sup> Letter from Richard Steele and Anita Kromberg to Betty Tonsing, 22 June, 1992, authors personal collection.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

considered threatening to the government, including the Conscientious Objectors Support Group, a Natal detainees support group and as treasurer of the Natal End Conscription Campaign. While he became a pacifist through his association with the Anglican church, he was also influenced by Quakers he met in his political activities and the Society's philosophical commitment to justice and non-violence. Routledge says that he "draws strength from the Society of Friends and [tries] to act in the present from the practical ways."<sup>46</sup> Like Steele and Kromberg, while detained, Routledge wanted to humanize his interrogators, to see them as fathers with children who grow gardens and visit playgrounds. As Routledge was held in solitary confinement for a month in July, 1986, this must have been difficult, but he says "I felt utterly isolated and my faith in Jesus grew stronger as the only thing to hold on to."<sup>47</sup> Routledge has seen the "Major who detained me in the shops a number of times and we chat." Routledge was so conciliating toward the police that "when I was arrested after being detained I was welcomed like an old friend at the police station (which was embarrassing) and they all had a chat with me...I think now they are convinced I am a pacifist...I try to see that of God in everyone."<sup>48</sup> Routledge's wife, who is now an Attender of the Society of Friends, has also been detained, three times.

---

<sup>46</sup> Jeremy Routledge to Betty Tonsing, 1 July, 1992, authors personal collection.

<sup>47</sup> Routledge's letter to Tonsing.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

Trying to 'see that of God in everyone' is perhaps one of the biggest challenges for people committed to peaceful change in South Africa, even for pacifists. So much damage has been done in the 'name' of God. Visitors to South Africa used to comment that one could almost feel the oppression in the air, despite the sunny blue skies, breath-taking scenery and the veneer of a civilized economy. By the same token, a politicized South African commented to me that when she visited England, she felt she could "pluck" the liberties out of the air.<sup>49</sup> In 1990, when Nelson Mandela was released from prison, the country became electric with hope. For a moment, life seemed light. Tension somehow disappeared and newspaper headlines gave renewed meaning to the expression that 'hope springs eternal'. From the 12 February, 1990 Eastern Province Herald came "Thanks for a sweet, sweet Sunday," "Release hailed as 'victory of the people'," and "Mandela 'greater than the myths around him.'" One article described Mandela as a "faceless, voiceless legend to a generation of black South Africans for more than 27 years...who had never heard the 71-year old Mandela speak, nor see him. But even though his face was a blur to the youthful revolutionaries...his name was a banner."<sup>50</sup>

The early hopefulness that followed Mandela's release has disappeared amidst violence as great as any the country has ever witnessed. In fact, the country seems never to have known peace. Is peace possible? I asked Hendrik van

---

<sup>49</sup> Conversation with Charlotte Jefferay, November, 1988, on her return from a visit to England.

<sup>50</sup> "Name was a banner," Eastern Province Herald, 12 February, 1990, p. 8.

der Merwe what he thought. He, as much as anyone, is in a position to have some idea of what the future holds. "I am hopeful, but then, I have always been more hopeful about the future than other people." I asked van der Merwe what he was hopeful about, and his answer was revealing. "I think the [immediate] prognosis is very bad. There is no growth at present. Unemployment is rising. I don't know if a future government will be very democratic or very just, but I think it will be a better society."<sup>51</sup> For some, the walls can come crumbling down as they seem to be doing in parts of the country, but even this is happening within a context that offers a better chance, a better future, a 'better society' than the tragic legacy which has almost destroyed the country.

The violence that is occurring today comes from all sides of rival political parties including the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party. But there is also little doubt that the unrest is also stirred up by local police to the relishment of some. Some of the blame, however, rests squarely on the shoulders of the 'young revolutionaries', young men and women who are the direct result of apartheid's wrath. They have limited education that stems from the Bantu Education Act, their parents were often split apart for months at a time as a result of migrant labor laws, good community leaders they could have emulated were detained without immunity and their general environment was one of disruption and violence. van der Merwe discovered some of these problems in his most recent 'walk-about'. In 1991 van der Merwe was asked by both the government under President F.W. de Klerk and the ANC under Mandela to tour the country and talk to

---

<sup>51</sup> First interview with van der Merwe.

critical leaders -- black and white -- in order to determine the extent of the violence in the townships and how -- if possible -- it could be alleviated. van der Merwe was able to document many things. Idolized leaders released from sentences of life imprisonment were up against a far different leadership in the townships -- people willing to be far more militant than ever before imagined. Youth are willing to kill for a few rands. Lawlessness is everywhere as a result of fractured families, communities without leaders. Too many children have no basic education, too many have been detained, too many robbed of simply a childhood who as adolescents are in reality hardened adults. These youth can see on TV African leadership, dressed in smart suits and speaking impeccable English, discussing a 'new South Africa' of hope and opportunity. On the ground, most people in the townships are still hungry, homeless, without jobs, without hope and struggling to hold on to some value, some sense of order and respect that seems totally lost to their children.<sup>52</sup>

My interest in doing a study of South African Quakers stems in great part from a story I heard by chance while attending a Meeting for Worship. It is a story of a true and I would say brave (to the embarrassment of the young Friend) 'Quaker witness'. It is also a story of hope for the future of a ravaged and tired nation. It is the story of the Imbali Support Group.

The Imbali Support Group was started in 1989 by a group of white volunteers who wanted to do something effective

---

<sup>52</sup> Notes on 1991 'Walk-About,' Hendrik van der Merwe's Personal Papers.

and meaningful to help protect families who were living in constant danger in a strife-torn township outside Pietmaritzburg. This is the area often cited for its bloody conflict between the ANC and the IFP. Many African families were being attacked and killed in nightly raids "frequently initiated by the security forces themselves."<sup>53</sup> The group started with sleeping in one family's home as a "kind of protection in the knowledge that a white face might have some effect particularly in interactions with security people."<sup>54</sup> Other families also wanted the same protection and asked if a member of the support group could stay with them. The volunteers agreed to a basically non-violent approach and made it clear that they would not take sides or stay in any house where there were guns. A roster of duties was posted by the support group so that there was someone available who could be contacted from the Imbali community at a moment's notice. The risks have been very high. Not only have the volunteers been shot at and had their cars bombed and burned, but one man lost his son and his house.<sup>55</sup>

Mark Povall, birthright Quaker, joined the Imbali Support Group in 1990. He credits others, such as Graeme Swann, with greater courage. Swann was a Canadian church worker employed by Africa Enterprise, a missionary body situated in Pietmaritzburg, who initiated the idea of sleeping in homes in the Edendale township. Swann had been shot at

---

<sup>53</sup> Mark Povall to Betty Tonsing, 4 July, 1992, authors personal collection.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Olive Gibson, "Beneath The Surface," Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter, no. 164, Summer 1990, pp. 26-28.

and his car destroyed. Povall also admits to fear on several occasions, but saw involvement with the Imbali Support Group as something he must do as a 'Friend':

My involvement was a 'natural one' in that the initial action by Graeme Swann was so appropriate, and followed the 'Quaker ethic'. This was, namely, to be with people in their fear and suffering, not to judge, and hence, remain non-partisan, though bearing in mind that in most instances there is a just cause in the situation, and to remain...non-violent while being firm and determined.<sup>56</sup>

---

<sup>56</sup> Povall to Tonsing, 4 July, 1992.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

CONCLUSION

*Quakers  
are a group of people  
who meet together  
to share their experience  
of the Christ spirit.*

*They try to give help and support  
in each other's search  
in action and in prayer  
in equality  
and openness.<sup>1</sup>*

Soweto Study Group

The main religious tenet of the Society of Friends is that there is something of God in every person and that each individual is guided by an inner light which some call God and others call conscience. According to this belief, if there is something of God in every person, then there is essential spirituality among all, and all persons should thus be treated with integrity and love. This belief is also the foundation for the Society's traditional concerns and its commitment to peaceful reconciliation and justice rather than violence and war and to racial equality among all populations. Historically, Quakers who have chosen to demonstrate these beliefs have done so either collectively as a corporate body or as individuals.

---

<sup>1</sup> Statement from the Soweto Study Group of the Transvaal Monthly Meeting, 1983, printed in the Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter, March/April, 1983, Quaker Archives, UCT.

The Quakers in South Africa: A Social Witness has examined the extent to which the Quakers in South Africa applied the principles of their religious beliefs to the racial policies of South Africa. The study has attempted to identify individual and/or corporate actions by this religious body, which they call their 'witness', to specific episodes related to the country's growing segregationist and apartheid legislation. The study has included a comparison of the response among South African Quakers to specific issues to the Quaker's response in England and the United States to these select issues. This has been done in order to determine the extent to which the practices of the local Society in South Africa were consistent with the philosophies of their world-wide fellowship.

This study is set against the backdrop of the evolution of the religious fellowship of Friends and the development of their traditional concerns. By way of introduction to the role of Quakers in South a brief analysis of South African history is provided. Working from a depository of valuable but limited sources, what follows is a chronological demonstration of Quaker activities in South Africa, beginning with an attempt to assess the importance of the country's first settled Quakers, Richard Gush and James Butler, who were British immigrants. Being the first representative of the Society of Friends to immigrate to South Africa, Richard Gush became well known for his Quaker demonstrations of a peaceful and non-violent exchange with Africans when other settlers were living in fear of them. Butler, himself a prominent civic leader, started a family that, throughout the twentieth-century, had significant influence within South African society in general and the

Society of Friends in particular. Most notable was Mary Butler, James' daughter, who was of the utmost importance to the spiritual vitality and consciousness of the local Society. She was completely unwavering in her commitment to social justice for the Africans and lived her life as a reflection of her Quaker beliefs.

When British Quakers began to emigrate to South Africa in larger numbers, they brought their silent worship, their opposition to war and their commitment to peace. As it became evident that racial separation between the 'European' and the black African was the accepted practice, they were far more benevolent in their attitude toward Africans than their fellow settlers -- British or Dutch -- but they accepted the practice primarily on the grounds of cultural differences.

One of the early Quaker settlers, Howard Pim, became better known as one of the country's political figures than as a Quaker. Pim regarded himself as well-versed on 'native' issues and often expressed his expertise in a number of panels and conferences, including the Lagden Commission. While he always spoke out in favor of more equitable economic conditions for Africans, his earliest social views, expressed prior to 1920, were reserved. As segregationist laws began to increase throughout a population that was largely non-white, his views changed to the point that he recognized that the best future for South Africa was one whereby all race groups were given an equal opportunity to succeed and that a qualified franchise was vital to the political welfare of the country.

As an early Quaker settler, Pim was not alone in his concerns as to the direction of South Africa's racial policies. Consistent with the practice of their general religious fellowship linked to their traditional concerns, South African Quakers in general felt that all people in South Africa should be paying closer attention to the increasing debates in local Parliament on race relations, what some called the "most pressing problem of today."<sup>2</sup> Arnold Wynne, editor of the South African Quarterly, a Quaker newspaper, often argued against job reservation, or the 'color' bar, and voiced his concerns about the inequities evident in housing and education for black Africans. He also stated that the local Society should "take up a courageous position and rise above the unfortunate conventions of this country."<sup>3</sup> Regrettably, he died during World War I, serving as a volunteer for the Quaker Ambulance Unit, and one can only speculate what would have been his further influence on an already increasingly reluctant body of Friends as each member confronted his or her own conscience about race relations over the next several decades.

As segregation became more and more entrenched in South African society, it became more necessary -- and more challenging -- for the Quakers to bear witness to the essential equality of all. The South African Religious Society of Friends had numerous opportunities in which to exercise or demonstrate, either as individuals or as a corporate body, the principles of their world-wide fellowship regarding racial equality and non-violence. The first major opportunity was the development of a

---

<sup>2</sup> "Patrick Duncan's Pamphlet."

<sup>3</sup> Jabavu to Warner, 9 July, 1928.

Friends' school in South Africa. Set up along the lines of Friends' schools in England, all of which seemed to have been non-racial, the school was designed to provide a Quaker education to their children, and others who wished to attend, that would not include the cadet training mandatory in government schools. In this regard, the school was consistent with one traditional Quaker concern related to their opposition to war and serving in any military capacity. The school would also admit both sexes, again consistent with British Quaker schools and contrary to South African practice. It would also attempt to provide a better forum of education about how to improve race relations, but, unlike their British counterparts, would not admit non-white students. This, they maintained against the sharp criticism of British Quakers from whom they were trying to raise funds, would be totally unacceptable within the South African society. And this ban would also be applied to the children of one of South Africa's more notable African leaders and a fellow Quaker, Davidson Tengo Jabavu. What followed for several years was an exchange of angry, questioning, painful and sometimes indignant letters on the issue as to whether or not a Friends' school in South Africa should be open to non-whites.

It would have been a bold step indeed for the local Society to admit non-white students to their school but certainly Davidson Jabavu's children might well have been admitted, for he was after all a member of the Society of Friends. William Henry Alexander gave a compelling argument that the school would be socially ostracized from almost every sphere of normal interaction and daily discourse. Alexander even stated that the school's "domestic staffing [presumably non-white]...would

present...difficulty."<sup>4</sup> In this he was suggesting that the non-white domestic staff may resent serving a mixed-race student body, one regrettable though not necessarily frequent result of apartheid. Even more compelling, however, was Jabavu's counter argument that he had credited the Society with a conviction of beliefs and principles he found lacking among South African Quakers. Intrinsic to those beliefs is that if a civil law seems immoral and unjust, then it is imperative to be obedient to a higher law. Quakers who have demonstrated this principle have, in addition to obeying this 'higher law', been obedient to the consequences of violating a civil law. This practice has taken the form of what it called a Quaker witness, whether it is by individual Quaker witness or by a group, called a corporate witness. As a body, the Inchanga school issue of whether or not to admit non-white students was the first challenge to the South African Society of Friends to bear corporate witness against what they already admitted were growing racial inequities and injustice in the country. While Mary Butler expressed the opinion to her family that the Jabavu children should be admitted<sup>5</sup> there was no corporate witness to this effect. The South African Society of Friends acquiesced to the pressures of the larger society in which they lived.

What was more important to the South African Quakers? Having a school that would educate their children along Quaker lines with the proper "Christian outlook on racial

---

<sup>4</sup> Alexander, "Quakerism in South Africa," p. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Interview with Butler.

relations"<sup>6</sup> so that their children would be able to "solve the problems before the country in a true and lasting manner [so as to] mould the future of both white and native races."<sup>7</sup> Or one that would be socially acceptable and conform to local social convention? Could the local Society have considered having their school located in the more socially liberal area of Cape Town, and perhaps have hired domestic help, regardless of race, that had an understanding of Quaker principles, especially as they applied to racial equality? Or were the pressures of the political environment so great by this time that the South African Friends felt too small and unable to challenge them with their school? One who held greater hope perhaps of what the Quakers could have done was, himself, not a member: Jacobus Tarntaal, a 'colored' man from Cape Town who, in 1918, wrote in The Friend that the presence of a Quaker school would do a great deal to break down the barriers between the races.<sup>8</sup>

The premature closing of the Friends' school in South Africa, and the reasons for it, was so painful for many South African Friends that they seemed to have drawn themselves into their own period of 'Quietism', much like British Quakers did following decades of rebellious behavior in defiance of England's rigid religious laws. They found safety in study groups. They could use these occasions to view and discuss the country's increasing racial strife without having to involve themselves in

---

<sup>6</sup> "A Friends' School for South Africa."

<sup>7</sup> Farren to Garnett, 3 July, 1928.

<sup>8</sup> The Friend, 5 July, 1918.

actual confrontation of South Africa's acute racial problems. When challenged by Friends world-wide as to their position on South Africa's segregationist policies which were inconsistent with one of the Society's traditional concerns, a major effort was initiated among the study groups to produce a written report clarifying their position. In that report they stated that all men are created equal in the eyes of God, but that did not mean they were all equal enough to vote, and certainly not to co-habitate. And while there was no Christian justification for one race to dominate another, it was wise to allow the European to guide the African through a period of trusteeship until they were sufficiently able, through education and training, to participate as full citizens. This statement did not satisfy some members of their worldwide fellowship who were beginning to insist as to what the local Society was doing to help correct the severe racial inequalities that existed in South Africa. That insistence became a serious demand during the Defiance Campaign of 1952.

The Defiance Campaign gave the local Society their second major opportunity to bear a corporate or even an individual witness against what now was viewed as racial injustice getting worse. Like most South African whites, the South African Quakers chose not to get involved or to support the Defiance Campaign. They expressed their deep concern about the racial problems in numerous newsletters and recorded minutes, but could not justify how their participation in the campaign would have any impact. In part they based their decision on information they read implying that the so-called non-violent campaign could become violent if pushed. They were rightly concerned that while the organizers of the campaign were committed

campaign were committed by the actions of their own lives to non-violence, too many people who would be participating would not actually embrace the principle of non-violence as a true philosophy, especially if confronted by police batons. Thus, they maintained they could not enter into such an action knowing of the possibility that the campaign was non-violent in name only and might not actually adhere to the principle their own Society held as a standard.

One of the conflicts of the Defiance Campaign was that South African Quakers felt that the crux of the matter for Africans was the impolite way they were being treated. One could not simply stop the 'pass system' -- that, in their opinion, would create chaos. In a letter dated 25 January, 1953, to Paul Sturge of the South African Watching Committee, Scarnell Lean said that a new act was about to be introduced which "simplifies regulations considerably, and will necessitate only a single pass to be carried."<sup>9</sup> Lean seems to have missed the point. South African whites did not have to carry passes in order to conduct a normal life and Africans did not want to carry passes either. The 'pass system' treated Africans like so much chattel. Lean was a sympathetic man who realized that the Defiance Campaign was less an outcome of life-threatening laws than of the "feeling of humiliation...laws that offend human dignity...certainly that of the non-European...[furthermore] these laws hem the people in and give them no hope of bettering their circumstances."<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> South African Liaison Committee: Minutes & Papers 1952-1954, Friends House, London, Document 16.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

Quite naively, Lean assumed the matter could be handled if those who checked on passes were more polite and considerate toward the African. As for the local Society in general, their monthly minutes revealed that meeting after meeting, all they could express was their frustration and concern and failed to see what they -- as a group -- could do.

In 1957, the government passed the Native Laws Amendment Act that contained clause 29 (c) that basically prevented multi-racial worship. The Quaker membership in South Africa was still all white, but this clause greatly offended the local Society because they felt that no government had any right what so ever to dictate who may worship together. Finally, an issue struck at the chord of the local Society's heart. The government action prompted a series of responses from Quakers across the country as individuals and regional meetings wrote letters of protest. Some Quakers demonstrated the principle of non-violent resistance for which the worldwide fellowship had been well-known by joining non-whites, and in particular Africans, in shared worship. One Quaker demonstrated the principle of obedience to a higher authority yet obedience as well to the civil law by informing the local magistrate's office that she was inviting Africans in her home for worship sharing. And Mary Butler continued what she had been doing for years -- attending church services in her local African township. The government response to their letters displayed an arrogant indifference. South African Quakers were beginning to realize that not only was the racial legislation mean-spirited, but so was the government that was responsible for what was now called apartheid.

Throughout the 1950s the government attempted to silence any opposition to its racial direction by arresting scores of community leaders who actively opposed the government. One of the most dangerous pieces of legislation was the Suppression of Communism Act which could interpret almost any action of resistance as a criminal offense. The events of Sharpeville in 1960 prompted several individual Quakers to some form of social action via existing organizations such as the Red Cross, Black Sash and larger church bodies. Some also participated in the State of Emergency Relief Fund providing food and financial relief to families left destitute by all the detentions initiated by the government. Despite their concerns, however, the local Society as a body was still frustrated by their lack of any agreeable cohesive action. Some Quakers debated internally about what course of action they should take. One objected that they were jumping the gun too quickly while another said that the local Society was dragging their feet. While some Quakers were becoming more liberal politically and socially, others were very conservative in their views and could not bring themselves to see the African as anything but a ward of the state who needed to be guided like a child. And as was her practice for years, Mary Butler wrote volumes of letters and articles for the local Quaker newspaper as well as the British Friend informing fellow Quakers of events in South Africa and urged that the Society in general must become more involved and 'prayerful'.

The local Society as a whole did not have a corporate plan which they felt could be an effective tool of resistance. They were, after all, very small and any outburst of covert action against the government was

contrary to the general low-key nature of the membership. They were aware of people like Rev. Trevor Huddleston who was calling for sanctions against South Africa. Some within the local Society had worked with his school feeding program while he still lived in South Africa in the early 1950s. But as for Rev. Michael Scott, with the exception of Mary Butler, he was viewed by most local Quakers as a radical and they could not support his demands. (Davidson Tengo's daughter) Nontando Crosfield's speeches in England were considered as so much sensationalism and some felt she had exaggerated a great deal out of proportion. One issue she did not exaggerate, however, was that she had been denied an education at a South African Quaker school by the very Society that now criticized her speeches lambasting the South African government. But a review of their monthly minutes during this period does reveal that the local Society felt it necessary to continually examine their attitudes on the country's racial problems. In yet another lengthy document on their views regarding race relations in South Africa, it seemed that finally a consensus had been reached by all Quakers in South Africa. As a corporate body the local Society would state that apartheid was wrong. The next major step for South African Quakers was to determine what they were willing to do. To what extent were they willing to defy an increasingly inflexible and authoritarian government bent on racial policies that, from the beginning, were in violation to the principles of the Religious Society of Friends?

The debate over sanctions and boycotts against South Africa intensified in the 1970s. At times it was a very bitter debate that created pain in the religious fellowship because opinions were so divergent on this

issue. Some Quakers outside of South Africa were completely committed to sanctions and boycotts as they felt that would be the only way to stop what they regarded as an exceedingly evil form of government. In their quest they were unwilling to accept any position other than the one they had adopted and insisted that South African Quakers had no choice but to accept this position. The American Friends Service Committee was particularly vocal in its insistence regarding sanctions. Other Quakers who supported sanctions outside of South Africa were less adamant and hostile in their efforts to convince South Africans to assume this position. For almost twenty years this debate was conducted through an exchange of letters, workshops and visits to each others' countries by Quaker delegations.

The local Society now had an issue on which they were at least in corporate agreement, if not a witness. As a body, the local Society never endorsed sanctions. They claimed that blanket sanctions and boycotts would create an institutional violence so severe that nothing less than chaos would occur. Countless lives among African communities would be ruptured, possibly forever, as unemployment, hunger, and the homeless would increase dramatically. Sanctions, they claimed, would neither stop apartheid nor ever heal it's wounds. And all this damage would take place among non-whites, the very people sanctions were supposed to help. White South Africans would be barely scathed. The debate was not a comfortable one for local Quakers; however, the local Society of Friends were just as adamant that they were opposed to sanctions. As the local Society was regarded as too small to create any massive movement, individuals generally linked up with other existing organizations that were

committed to alleviating the misery wrought by apartheid. The demand by certain Quaker groups around the world that the local Society must agree on sanctions seemed to have an inspiring effect on the local Society in persuading them that they must take some action. Efforts at reconciliation gave the local Society an opportunity to demonstrate that at least they were of one body in their belief that active steps toward reconciliation were a vital and necessary contribution to social justice. South African Quakers had come to realize that 'minuting' a strong statement regarding some government atrocity or writing a letter to some national or regional official held no practical impact. When they began to act individually and corporately, they found they could protest within a Quaker spirit that would not violate a code of good citizenship. For some Quakers this meant detention and engaging in life-threatening but non-violent activities against a hostile government.

There is a major difficulty in being a Quaker. Because of the Society's reputation and history, it is too often assumed that all Quakers are or *must* be involved in social action and liberal causes. While several local Quakers maintain and carry the severe strain of involvement and immense concern over what seems to be endless political and social problems, there remain many who, while also concerned, want little more than the spiritual nourishment of their silent Meeting for Worship. Rosemary Elliott stated that:

I am sure there are times people wonder if they are attending a social service organization rather than a Quaker business meeting, there is so much intensity connected to some of the issues. Many of us are involved in community action, but just as many are not.

We are still a religious society and I feel that many who attend our meetings for worship who are not involved provide the needed nourishment that all of us seek and need, for whatever purpose."<sup>11</sup>

During the early stages of the research it seemed that the local Society was too reticent when they should have taken more active stands against the government. Where was their Quaker witness as it had been historically defined by their fellowship? There was no 'Underground Railroad' being formed. No local Quaker started an 'abolitionist society' for freedom from apartheid. And worse still, they were often too polite when dealing with the government. But if South African Friends in decades past could have been more courageous, it must be fair to say that they too were victims of illusion and propaganda as well as suppression, fear, isolation and censorship the government heaped upon its citizens. As events exploded in the 1970s, so did the consciousness of South African Quakers. Not many, they admit, but enough to demonstrate once again how their actions outweigh their numerical strength. By their actions and their commitment, some Quakers have stood out more than others. I draw attention to Appendix E for a moving testimony of social witness by one Quaker who would insist that her actions and commitment are not unique but shared by many. Her fellow Friends would, however, agree to the special meaning she contributes to the local Society.

All the same, individual political thinking among South African Quakers still varied between liberal and conservative opinion. That fact came out again and again

---

<sup>11</sup> Third interview with Elliott.

in this study. As a result, any witness that a local Quaker would bear, either as an individual or as part of a corporate group, would reflect this difference. Despite the differences of opinions, all Quakers were subject to the laws of an apartheid-dominated society. They were too small to create a massive social movement and they were not a political body. They would not admit non-white students to their school where they planned to teach Christian ethics in a multi-racial society, they could not see what impact could be made by supporting the Defiance Campaign, and they did not support sanctions, and would not be coerced into doing so by their fellow Friends around the world.

Ultimately, their sense of common witness wilted in the difficult circumstances which confronted them in South Africa. They were small in number, even smaller in relation to the Quaker community world-wide. Outside of southern Africa, they were thousands of miles away from other Quaker communities who lived in societies that had long-established traditions of democracy. Within the region, they lived great distances apart from one another, which did little to help formulate any kind of corporate witness they might have eventually agreed on. They could agree that they were against sanctions, but even that agreement rested on differing arguments. Some maintained their objection was due to the social violence it would create and, abhorrent as apartheid was, they must simply find means by which to help alleviate the pain. Others argued that their disagreement with sanctions rested on the belief that it was a movement that had to be worked out by non-whites within the country, and not as a result of an international movement

of people who would never be affected by the circumstances.<sup>12</sup>

How will history judge this local Society of Friends? Given their independence, it is not likely a question which bothers the local Society. As white South Africans, they are sensitive to international criticism, and this has been highlighted throughout this study with examples drawn from within their own cloister. Local Quakers know they have an historical reputation to live up to, but many are also knowledgeable of their Society's own history. Is it possible that all American Quakers participated in the 'Underground Railroad'? And have all Quakers throughout their history refused military service? Of course not. Given this, has there been one Quaker voice which represents the local Society in South Africa? One perhaps as cautious as Scarnell Lean's, or as spiritual as Mary Butler's? One as articulate and persuasive as van der Merwe's, or one as bravely eloquent in deed as Friends in Natal and in the Quaker Peace Center? There has been no 'one voice'; rather, there have been many voices that have struggled to find their place within two societies. One was the worldly society where the government blinded them with censorship and used the stereotype of the illiterate and violent African to coerce acceptance of a policy of oppression. The other Society was their religious fellowship which expected of every Quaker obedience to a higher authority too often abused or misguided by their national government and churches.

---

<sup>12</sup> Interview with Roberts.

Quakers do their best to live by God's 'divine will'. This is an individual calling, and unlike most churches, Quakers are reluctant to dictate or judge other Friends by their actions. To a Quaker, obedience to God comes from listening to God in the silence of one's heart and conscience. They are a religious fellowship with each member seeking best how to live in obedience to their inner light. For some, that has meant patient prayer. For others, that obedience in South Africa has meant standing between two factions shooting at each other, or as Petronella Clark of the Quaker Peace Centre states, "practical peace making."<sup>13</sup> Quakers accept that their 'Friends' must decide for themselves how best to bear witness to their faith when they see that they must.

---

<sup>13</sup> Interview with Petronella Clark, Cape Western Monthly Meeting and Quaker Peace Centre, Cape Town, South Africa, December, 1991.

APPENDIX A: ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE  
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Early on in the development of their religion (1653), the Quakers established an organization which involved monthly, quarterly and yearly meetings to help members stay in touch with each other, to resolve business affairs and make critical decisions affecting the Society, for purposes of general worship and to give their 'Society of Friends' structure. The creation of an organizational structure was vital to the Quakers survival during the seventeenth century as most independent sects did not have such a structure and were primarily based on the personality and whims of one person. When that person died, very often so did the sect. The structure Quakers created over three hundred years ago holds today.<sup>1</sup>

The oldest yearly meeting is the London Yearly Meeting (established in 1668), sharing influence with the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting which was established soon after the colony of Pennsylvania was founded in 1682.<sup>2</sup> While the decisions made by these two particular yearly meetings carry significant weight, each yearly meeting

---

<sup>1</sup> See Braithwaite, "Church Organization," The Beginnings of Quakerism, pp. 306-342 and "The Setting Up Of Monthly Meetings" and "Central Organization," The Second Period of Quakerism, pp. 251-288.

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction and Chapter One.

throughout the world is autonomous and cannot be dictated to by another yearly meeting. Thus, the Quakers have a form of religious organizational democracy not commonly found in other churches or faiths.

Friends in South Africa gained Yearly Meeting status in 1946; prior to that, they were considered part of London Yearly Meeting. As there are few members scattered throughout a vast region, the yearly meeting is referred to as the Central and Southern Africa Yearly Meeting, composed of two units: the Central Africa General Meeting which consists of Malawi, Zimbabwe and Zambia, and the South Africa General Meeting, which consists of South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.<sup>3</sup>

Most Quakers would agree that basic to their organization is the Meeting for Worship. Quakers may meet for worship without participating in any business or organizational structure. Quakers who do meet for purposes only of shared worship would be called an 'Allowed' Meeting. There are only three meeting houses in South Africa: Cape Town, built in 1952, Johannesburg, built in 1962 and Soweto, built in approximately 1985. The South African Jewish community contributed financial assistance toward the construction of the Johannesburg Meeting House as an expression of their gratitude for Quakers helping Jewish families and orphans after World War II.<sup>4</sup> With the exception of Soweto, all meetings for worship in South Africa are 'non-programmed'; that is, they meet in

---

<sup>3</sup> Rosemary Elliott to Betty Tonsing, April, 1992, author's personal papers.

<sup>4</sup> "Society of Friends 50th Anniversary: First Meeting Held in Johannesburg in 1912," Rand Daily Mail, 2 July, 1962, Quaker Archives, UCT.

silence without singing and without a minister. A 'programmed' meeting is conducted by a minister who usually has a sermon and those gathered often sing. Some programmed meetings have moments of silence, but it does not dominate the meeting for worship. The Soweto meeting combines silence with singing and while not led by a minister, one person could prevail over the worship.

Programmed and non-programmed meetings are conducted throughout the Quaker world. There are Quakers who simply will not attend a programmed meeting, feeling very uncomfortable with a minister acting as an intermediary. While those who attend non-programmed meetings for worship 'wait on God' in silence, the meetings are generally not completely silent. While Friends would never engage in a debate or discussion during worship, one may be led to read a passage from the Bible or other devotional or inspirational book, pray or share a social message. There are no set rules on what someone may say, and it does not even have to 'sound' like a religious message. However, an observed rule is that one consider their thoughts before they 'break' silence, and that they not carry on and on once they do speak.

The basic business unit is the Monthly Meeting. While moments of silence may be observed during this meeting, it is not a meeting for worship but is a business meeting only, presided over by a clerk. The purpose of the Monthly Meeting is to deal with issues of membership and spiritual life of the Quakers represented by the Meeting's region. Each monthly meeting selects a clerk who presides over the meeting and is responsible for keeping members informed of actions and decisions. This is usually done by mailing to individual Friends copies

of the 'minutes' from the business meeting. Quite literally, Quakers refer to business decisions and actions taken as a 'minute', each numbered and recorded individually.

There are four Monthly Meetings and two Regional Meetings in Southern Africa General Meeting. The Monthly Meetings are Johannesburg, Cape Town, Botswana and Soweto. The Regional Meetings are Natal and Cape Eastern. As the members of Natal and Cape Eastern are scattered across rural and urban areas, these meetings meet Quarterly, although small groups of Friends living close to each other will meet more frequently for worship sharing. In Central Africa General Meeting there are four Monthly Meetings -- Harare and Bulawayo in Zimbabwe, Malawi and Zambia. These two General Meetings form a single Yearly Meeting called the Central and Southern Africa Yearly Meeting.<sup>5</sup>

Quakers in southern Africa meet every two years for a Yearly Meeting, and they meet on the alternative year for what they call a General Meeting. Friends in the region try to meet in various countries or locales thus enabling as many Quakers as possible to attend these annual meetings if not every year, then on occasion. While decisions are made at the Yearly and General Meeting which affect the area, decisions are influenced by the individual Monthly and Regional Meetings.

The Eveline Cadbury Trust Fund was formed in 1964 from gifts made then by Eveline Cadbury to South Africa Yearly Meeting of shares in British Cocoa and Chocolate Co. Ltd.

---

<sup>5</sup> Elliott to Tonsing.

Eveline Cadbury, member of the Quaker Cadbury family, had travelled often to South Africa and was concerned that many Friends were unable to meet for Yearly Meetings due to the distance involved and lack of funds. She wrote "I should like it to be used to help Friends in Southern Africa Yearly Meeting...I have in mind, especially, help with travel in the ministry in the widest terms and to enable Friends to meet together."<sup>6</sup> The fund has been well managed and grown considerably since its initial five-thousand pound investment; in a report to the 1991 Southern Africa Yearly Meeting the "market value of [the] investment portfolio as of 31/07/91 was R1,141,660."<sup>7</sup> The fund continues to serve Quakers with travel grants in the southern Africa region.

Central and Southern Africa Yearly Meeting is informally related to other yearly meetings worldwide through an international coordinating body, the Friends World Committee for Consultation (FWCC). The FWCC has a central office in London and a regional office for Africa in Nairobi (Kenya has approximately 36,000 Quakers of which 33,000 are Africans, making it the second largest Quaker grouping in the world) with regular international triennials held under the auspices of the London office. FWCC also promotes contact with the wider international community through Quaker International Affairs

---

<sup>6</sup> Notes from the "Eveline Cadbury Trust Fund"; see also the "Eveline Cadbury Trust Fund Guidelines", Quaker Archives, UCT.

<sup>7</sup> "Report For Financial Year 1991: the Eveline Cadbury Trust Fund," author's personal papers. This fund has experienced remarkable growth: "...in 1965 [the approximate market value was] R26,467...and in 1985 the approximate market value was R176,000. Our thanks for this growth goes in no small part to the London and Dominion Trust Limited -- who have been our investment advisors for many years."

Representatives (QIAR) and through respective service arms such as the Quaker Peace and Service in England and the American Friends Service Committee in the United States.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> Hendrik van der Merwe, Quakers in South Africa, paper presented at Haverford College, Pennsylvania, USA and Woodbrooke College, Birmingham, England. Also written for an American series titled "Studies in Quakerism," Quaker Archives, UCT.

## APPENDIX B

LISTING OF QUAKERS FREQUENTLY  
MENTIONED IN THIS STUDY

Below is an alphabetized listing of Quakers whose names appear frequently and/or served a significant role during a particular period specifically documented; i.e., Clerk, South African Quaker Relief Committee.

The list has been drafted for purposes of clarification as some Quaker names appear throughout several chapters. Therefore, a person mentioned only once and in brief reference to a quote, letter, etc., does not appear on the list.

Addis-Smith, Lawrence

Cape Eastern Monthly Meeting. Active Quaker, including serving as Clerk at various times. Clerk of the South Africa General Meeting of the South Africa Religious Society of Friends in 1940.

Alexander, William Henry (1855-1911)

British Quaker who lived in South Africa for several years. Helped establish the First General Meeting of the South African Religious Society of Friends.

Backhouse, James (1794-1869)

One of the earliest British Quakers to travel to South Africa on a Quaker 'intervisitation'. There were few Quakers in South Africa at that time. A keen botanist, he was enthralled by the regions 'flora and fauna'. He travelled with George Washington Walker (1800-1859).

In Cape Town, he was able to start a multi-racial school for poor children (1840) with Quakers Richard and Mary Jennings as Headmaster and teacher. British Friends helped considerably with the financing of the school in addition to Backhouses' personal funds.

Biggs, Bunty

Natal Monthly Meeting. Very active Quaker serving as Clerk at various times.

Brayshaw, Russel and Maude

Prominent members of the British Society of Friends. Took particular interest in South African issues.

Butler, James (1854-1923)

One of the earliest British Quakers to settle in South Africa. Arrived in 1879, settled in Cradock. Founder/ editor of the Midland News. Wrote a diary that became known as Jim's Journal.

Butler, Ernest (1886-1965)

Son of James Butler. Stayed in Cradock and became editor of the Midland News. Served as a Quaker Marriage Officer for the small number of Friends who chose to have a Quaker ceremony. Father of South African poet and author Guy Butler, who writes fondly of his family in his numerous autobiographies, including Karoo Morning and A Local Habitation.

Butler, Mary Emma (1884-1977)

Daughter of James Butler. Very active Quaker, social worker and nurse. Quite literally, the 'social conscience' of the South African Quaker Society throughout her long life. Died at the age of 93 in 1977.

Calpin, Harold

Headmaster selected for South African Quaker's school, Inchanga, which opened in August 1932 and closed by the end of the year.

Carter, Roger

Natal Monthly Meeting. Served as Clerk at various times, including for the Society of Friends Southern Africa Fund established during the Defiance Campaign of the early 1950s.

## Clark, Petronella

Cape Western Monthly Meeting and Quaker Peace Centre. Petronella is a descendant of both the Quaker Clark family in England and Jan Smuts. Smut's daughter, Catharina Petronella, was Petronella's mother. She married William Bancroft Clark. They lived in London where he directed the family business. In Smuts: The Fields of Force 1919-1950, W.K. Hancock refers to the Clark family as "far-flung-clans...[of] radical and anti-imperialist politics [and] practical good works...longing for a better world."

## Crosfield, Nontando.

Daughter of Davidson Don Tengo Jabavu. Married to Michael Crosfield, grandson of British Quaker Dame Elizabeth Cadbury. Crosfield was far more militant than her father and grandfather, John Tengo. She was not the least concerned about blasting away at the government for their concept of 'western Christian civilization'.

## Elliott, Rosemary

Cape Eastern Regional Meeting. British Quaker who was inspired by a speech given by Rev. Michael Scott -- activist Anglican priest -- to emigrate to South Africa. Settled in a rural community in the eastern Cape to raise a family and work actively as a community social worker in addition to many activities with the local Society. Is currently a vital member to the spiritual community of the South African Society of Friends. Rosemary's move to South Africa, to settle and raise a family and hopefully encourage her children to adopt a positive and loving view of race relations amidst political chaos, inspired her fellow South African Quakers. Letters to The Friend encouraged others to immigrate as well. In an interview with Elliott, I asked about her children, now grown adults with families of their own. She said that they were in fact having difficulties, as many South Africans are, adjusting to the realities of a new South Africa and were not overly elated about some of the African leadership. I inquired as to why this could be so, having grown up in a home environment contrary to the negative images of Africans put forth by an apartheid government. She stated the incredible difficulties even a strong family had of instructing children to adopt good relations with race groups when all around them they are encouraged to treat non-whites as children, perhaps even with indifference and contempt. Furthermore, she blamed the government school system, notorious for teaching distorted views and facts in various subjects including history,

religion, social science, anthropology, and government.

Ellis, George

Cape Western Monthly Meeting. Internationally renowned astro physicist who refutes atheistic or agnostic thinking often held by scientists in his field. Committed to the social well-being and peaceful transformation of South Africa.

Ellis, Mary

Cape Western Monthly Meeting. Physician. Was deeply moved by Steve Biko's commitment to social transformation and non-violence. Very involved in social action.

Fleming, Marjorie

Natal Monthly Meeting. Journalist, active in the local Society in the 1940s to the early 1960s.

Fox, George (1624-1691)

Founder of the Religious Society of Friends, in England. The generally established date is 1652, though Fox had been preaching his message years prior to his 'revelation' on Pendle Hill.

Fox, Will

Transvaal Monthly Meeting, later called Johannesburg Monthly Meeting. Active for several decades as Clerk at various times as well as the Quaker Marriage Officer prior to Ernest Butler.

Garnett, Edward

Cape Town Monthly Meeting, later called Cape Western Monthly Meeting. Clerk of the 1928 South African General Meeting and member of the Education Executive Committee for Inchanga, the Quaker school opened in 1932.

Gibson, Olive

Johannesburg Monthly Meeting. British Quaker who lived in South Africa during the Defiance Campaign and later moved to South Africa in the early 1960's to work as a social worker under the auspices of the British Friends Service Council. Gibson never permanently returned to England, spending instead the next twenty-five years of her life as a social worker for the local Quaker service organization called the Quaker

Service Fund. She retired in the mid-1980s. Her 'Quaker witness' continues to provide a vital spiritual contribution to the local Society.

Gumede, Innes

He lived in the Natal region, though he remained a member of the London Yearly Meeting rather than transferring his membership to the local Society. Prominent because he was only one of two Zulu doctors in Natal at the time. Local Quakers encouraged his transfer of membership, but upon meeting with him to discuss it, felt that he was still influenced by his experiences in England where he was regarded for his person rather than the color of his skin, and for 'sentimental' reasons he chose to keep in London Yearly Meeting membership status.

Gush, Richard (1789-1858)

1820 settler and one of the earliest Quakers to emigrate from England. He was not always a Quaker, and it is not clear whether his 'convincement' took place while still in England or after he arrived in South Africa. He was influenced by the Quaker peace testimony and humanitarian principles which stood in stark contrast to the behavior he observed among other British settlers. He became famous for his peaceful relations with neighboring Africans in the Eastern Cape, which can be compared to William Penn's peaceful relations among the American Indians as an early American colonialist. Guy Butler, South African writer and poet, wrote a play about Gush called Richard Gush of Salem.

Harris, Frank

Natal Monthly Meeting. British Quaker who moved to South Africa in the early 1950s to help 'bolster' the local Society. Returned later to England.

Hewison, Hope Hay

Member of Westminster Monthly Meeting. Quaker historian. Wrote Hedge of Wild Almonds: South Africa, the 'Pro-Boers' & the Quaker Conscience. The book is a study of British Quaker response to the Anglo-Boer War. It also contains references to South African Quakers, though the local Society was small at the turn of the twentieth century.

Hoole, Audrey

Cape Western Monthly Meeting. Active member. Clerk of the Quaker Relief Committee set up following the

events of Sharpeville. Wrote frequent letters to The Friend alerting the international Quaker community of the serious problems within South Africa and what the 'worldwide fellowship' could do.

Jabavu, John Tengo (1859-1921)

Eastern Cape, though he also chose to keep his membership with the Westminster Monthly Meeting which he joined in 1912. Considered a 'native leader', he founded and served as editor of IMVO ZABANTSUNDU. He was also a founding member of the Fort Hare Governing Council and College.

Jabavu, Davidson Don (1885-1959)

Eastern Cape, though like his father, John Tengo, chose to keep his membership with the Warwick, Leicester and Stafford Quarterly Meeting. Educator, first African Professor at Fort Hare, author of several books including The Segregation Fallacy. Founding member of the All-African Convention (AAC), a rival political organization to the African National Congress (ANC).

Jones, Rufus (1863-1948)

Prominent American Quaker historian and author.

Lean, Scarnell

Johannesburg Monthly Meeting. Moved to South Africa in the late 1940s. Very active in the local Society, serving as Clerk at various stages. When he died in the mid-1980s, he bequeathed half his estate toward the construction of the Soweto Meeting House.

Macfadyen, Irene (b. 1872)

Cape Town Monthly Meeting. Editor in the early 20th-Century of The South African Friend. Her own editorials indicate a rather contrary person not often in unison with British Quakers.

Murray-Parker, May

Cape Town Monthly Meeting. Active with social commitments while her fellow-Friends were still trying to figure out what they should do, she used the Cape Town Meeting House as a school to teach literacy classes and general education to non-whites. Active from the 1940s into the 1960s.

Penn, William (1644-1718)

One of the most famous Quakers. Founder of the colony of Pennsylvania. Designed a system of government for the colony that influenced the writers of the American Constitution, which includes the Bill of Rights protecting basic liberties of individual citizens and society in general.

Pim, Howard (1862-1934)

Johannesburg Monthly Meeting. Among the more prominent South African Quakers, and indeed a prominent figure in South African history in general. Founding member of the Joint Council of Europeans and Natives. An active Quaker involved in all spheres of the local Society, including Inchanga.

Reynolds, Gilbert

Natal Monthly Meeting. Clerk of the Friends School Council (Inchanga).

Richardson, Lawrence (1869-1953)

Member of the British Society of Friends. Travelled to South Africa following the Anglo-Boer War in order to report on conditions among the Afrikaner community, especially the farms that were razed, and the concentration camps for women and children. He was able to trace and return many of the family bibles that had been stolen as souvenirs by thoughtless British soldiers. Richardson also initiated the idea of Boer Home Industries, generously supported by British Quakers and followed up by Emily Hobhouse.

Roberts, Rommel

Cape Eastern Monthly Meeting. Profoundly committed social activist and mediator.

Rowntree, Joshua (1844-1915)

Prominent British Quaker. Wealthy philanthropist. Family founded Rowntree confectionery industry. Social activist who took particular interest in South Africa's race problems.

Douglas and Dorothy Steere

Prominent member of the American Society of Friends, the American Friends Service Committee and the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. They both travelled widely on 'intervisitations'.

Stephen, Suzanne

Johannesburg Monthly Meeting. Best known for her assisting prisoners with correspondence courses. She took on this task in her seventies, at one point assisting 1600 prisoners from among thirty-five prisons. She carried on with her work until near her death in her eighties.

Sutherland, Bill

American Quaker. Representative in southern Africa for the American Friends Service Committee during the 1970s.

van der Merwe, Hendrik

Cape Western Monthly Meeting. At one time a missionary for the Dutch Reformed Church, became very active in the local Society. Prolific writer, professional mediator, for which van der Merwe would probably prefer the terms 'bridge-builder' or 'peace-maker'. Served as the link between the ANC and critical members of the Afrikaner community when both wanted to meet.

Warner, Olive

Natal Monthly Meeting. Very active with a variety of social issues, including opening schools for Indian and Zulu children in Natal. Active during mid-Century until the 1950s.

Webb, Maurice (1889-1966)

Natal Monthly Meeting. Educator and prominent South African Quaker. Involved in all spheres of Quaker activity, including the Education Executive Committee for Inchanga. In 1961, Webb retired to Rhodesia where he died at the age of seventy-six in 1966. He left part of his estate to the University of Rhodesia so they could create a five-year position for the study of race relations. He did not want to leave such an endowment with a university in South Africa because apartheid would have prevented any serious and open study of the beneficial possibilities of an inter-racial society. Furthermore, despite the white Rhodesian government's strident position on Africans, Webb felt that race relations among people in general were better in Rhodesia than in South Africa. Webb and his wife, Ruth, devoted their lives to improved race relations, community development and better education for all. He was also very fond of music, theater and the arts and was closely connected to South Africa's literary circles. His letters and articles written for

Quaker publications and reviewed for this study reveal a somewhat domineering man with a conservative approach to race relations, although certainly committed to humanitarian justice. In his larger circle of literary friends, he was well received and enjoyed, though not by all. Webb helped finance Roy Campbell's short-lived magazine, Voorslag (Campbell is considered one of South Africa's most prolific poets). The magazine was published in the 1920s. Webb later played a prominent role in getting Campbell to forcefully resign from the magazine. Webb's action incurred Campbell's wrath which he unleashed rather wittingly (though with intentional bite) in a satirical poem entitled "The Wayzgoose," published in Campbell's Collected Works: I.

## APPENDIX C

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BOOKS, ARTICLES AND PAPERS  
BY HENDRIK VAN DER MERWE  
WHICH ARE REVIEWED FOR THIS STUDYMonographs

Pursuing Peace and Justice in South Africa. London:  
Routledge, 1989.

South Africa; Morality and Action: Quaker Efforts in a  
Difficult Environment. Chicago: Progressive  
Publisher, 1981.

The following articles and papers can be found in the  
main depository of South African Quaker Archives in the  
Jagger Library, University of Cape Town

"A Quaker Program for Southern Africa." Southern Africa  
Quaker Newsletter. February, 1975.

"Afrikaner as African." The Friend. 31 October, 1980,  
pp.1359-60.

"Conciliation in a Polarised Society." Southern Africa  
Quaker Newsletter. October/November, 1976, pp. 2-  
5.

"Constructive Action in a Divided Society." Southern  
Africa Quaker Newsletter. February/March, 1979,  
pp. 1-5. Introductory Talk to Summer School  
lectures/workshops on the role of organizations in  
promoting an open society.

"Current Trends in South Africa." Joint Meeting of  
Friends World Committee for Consultation/American  
Friends Service Committee Seminar on Non-  
Violence, Gaborone, August, 1977.

"Economic Boycott: A Sure Way to Violence." Southern  
Africa Quaker Newsletter. January/February, 1984,  
pp. 20-24.

- "From Mediator to Advocate: Part I." Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter. March/April, 1979, pp. 2-4. Paper presented at conference on Conflict Resolution in Southern Africa.
- "From Mediator to Advocate: Part II." Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter. June/July, 1979, pp. 14-17. Paper on the role of the Centre for Intergroup Studies during the 1976 disturbances.
- "Hopes for Justice in South Africa: The New Constitution." An address given before the Friends World Committee for Consultation Meeting in Philadelphia, March, 1984.
- "Our Contribution Towards Social Justice in Southern Africa." Report for the South Africa Religious Society of Friends, February, 1978.
- Quakers in South Africa. Paper presented at Haverford College, USA and Woodbrooke College, Birmingham, England. Also written for an American series titled "Studies in Quakerism."
- "Quaker Involvement in South Africa: Part I: What Are the Quaker Goals?" The Friend. 3 June, 1977, pp. 641-642.
- "Quaker Involvement in South Africa: Part II: Choosing Constructive Approaches." The Friend. 10 June, 1977, pp. 677-678.
- "Reconciliation in Southern Africa." Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter. no. 86, March, 1976, pp. 1-14.
- "Report Back to Cape Town Monthly Meeting on Visit to England, Friends World Committee for Consultation Seminar on Non-Violence and Meeting with American Friends Service Committee Study Group of Gaborone, 1977."
- "Sanctions in a Quaker Perspective." The Friend. 5 December, 1986, pp. 1561-2.
- "Towards an Understanding of South Africa." Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter. August/September, 1977 pp. 4-6. Report on a conference held on South Africa held at the Peter Sellwood Centre, Hants, England, May 1977.

APPENDIX D: REPORT OF AND NOTES ON THE  
CONSCIENCE CLAUSE  
INSERTED IN THE 1912 SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENSE ACT  
EXCLUDING QUAKERS FROM MILITARY SERVICE

Following the passage of the 'Conscience Clause', the local Society of Friends in South Africa attempted to persuade the government to allow for a non-military national service for all conscientious objectors, not just those connected to the 'peace churches'. As it is, the Religious Society of Friends is basically the only 'peace church' the government recognizes. The South African government, while it displays some willingness to consider the case of individual 'conscientious objectors', continues to make it difficult to prove one's position and has a host of penalties for refusing to comply to their specific demands. For example, years spent in 'alternative service' or in prison for refusing compliance are longer than the actual number of years required for military duty.

As for the 1912 'Conscience Clause' itself, the following accounts are excerpts from Emily Fear's "History of Friends in South Africa."

The exemptive clauses in Section 58 and 82 were not in the original Draft, being inserted by the Parliamentary Select Committee in deference to representations made to it by Edward Garnett, J. Butt-Davy, James Butler, Arnold Wynne and others.

The matter first came up at a Monthly Meeting held at Capetown on the 17/12/1910 at which the following Minute was drawn up:-

Minute. 17/12/1910; James Butler of Cradock, who was present at the Meeting referred to the matter of the bill shortly to be introduced before Parliament for the defence of the Nation. He considered Friends should take a firm stand and request the Minister of the Interior to exempt members of the Society from compulsory assistance in times of war on the ground of conscientious scruples.

The Clerk undertook to interview the responsible Minister on the matter.

Minute 11/10/1911; Discussion took place on this matter and the Clerk was instructed to interview General Smuts (Minister of the Interior) on the matter.

Minute 10/3/1912; A special Meeting was convened in conjunction with James Butler of Cradock and held after the Meeting for Worship (3/3/1912) to consider the course to be taken with regard to the Defence Bill, then before Parliament...James Butler explained the position of Friends here. A Committee was appointed to draw up a petition to the House of Assembly, and bring Draft before the next Monthly Meeting.

Minute 14/4/1912; The Committee reported personal interviews with members of the Defence Committee of the House of Assembly, and stated that, generally, a sympathetic attitude had been shown.

#### Copy of Petition

To the Honorable the Speaker and Members of the House of Assembly of the Union of South Africa in Parliament assembled.

The petition of the undersigned Members of the Society of Friends (commonly called Quakers) in Capetown and elsewhere in South Africa respectfully showeth;

That it has been one of the cardinal principles of the Society, since its inception that "all war is incompatible with the plain precepts of our Divine Lord and Lawgiver, and with the whole spirit and tenor of His Gospel; and that no plea of necessity or of policy however urgent or peculiar, can avail to release either individuals or nations from the paramount allegiance

which they owe to Him who hath said 'Love your enemies'. (See Friends Book of Discipline, page 153/8).

The following Query, read and considered annually at our Meetings, shows the importance which the Society attaches to the maintenance of this principle; -- "Are you faithful in maintaining our Christian testimony against all war, as inconsistent with the precepts and skirt of the Gospel?"

The following quotation from the aforesaid "Book of Discipline" still further emphasizes the position of Friends in relation to this question; -- "Let all be careful not to seek or accept profit by any concern in the preparation for war." etc.

From the rise of the 17th century, the Society of Friends has consistently opposed, on the grounds of conscience, both war and preparations for war, and their objections have been recognised in at least the following instances;

1. Members of the Society are exempt from service under the old Militia Laws of the United Kingdom.

2. The Jersey Militia Act of 1903 exempted the members from service, and the Guernsey Law contains similar provision.

3. The Militia Act (1904) of the Dominion of Canada contains an exemption of persons who from the doctrine of their religion, are averse to bearing arms, or rendering Military Service.

4. The United States Militia Act (1903) contains the following provisions: "That nothing in this Act shall be construed to require or compel any member of any religious organisation, whose creed forbids its members to participate in war, in any form...in accordance with the creed of the said religious organisation, to serve in the Militia or any other armed force under the jurisdiction of the United States.

This section was expressly stated to protect two or three well-known religious organisations in the United States, particularly the Quakers and the Dunkards.

We therefore pray that a clause may be inserted in the Defence Bill now before the House, exempting members of

the Society of Friends from all Military Training or Military service of any sort whatever.

We desire that the same liberty of conscience may also be provided in the Bill in the event of its becoming law, for all those who, like ourselves, are conscientiously opposed to all war, whatever religious body they may be associated with.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound will ever pray.

Signed for and on behalf of the Society of Friends in Capetown,

S.A. West, Acting Clerk to Friends Monthly Meeting  
Worcester House, Sea Point, Capetown.  
[ ] Priestman, S.A. Mutual Bldgs. Capetown  
A. Yuart Smith, 70/76 Bree St. Capetown  
Arnold Wynne, South African College

The following accounts are excerpts from the debate on 25 April, 1912 in the House of Assembly, as reported in Emily Fear's "History of Friends in South Africa."

Commandant J.J. ALBERTS (Standerton) said the clause would "lead to an increase in the number of those religious persons who professed a dislike to the bearing of arms. A man must carry arms in time of need..."

Mr. F.R. CRONJE (Winburg) asked "...why should they exempt persons who had 'conscientious objections?'" What were bona-fide principles? Exemptions of this sort would only lead to difficulty."

Commandant J.A. JOUBERT (Wakkerstroom) said "...the public would know once and for all that everybody must serve."

The PRIME MINISTER [General Louis Botha] stated "There existed in South Africa a religious sect with about 120 members, men, women and children, who were opposed to war. That religion also existed in America and Australia, whose members also had to be exempted. They were called Quakers. The religion of the people of South Africa taught them it was an honor to defend their country. He

did not want to send unwilling people to fight, as they were useless."

Mr. J.A. VENTER (Wodehouse) said "...they must respect everyone's religion."

Mr. H.P. SERFONTEIN (Kroonstand) said that "...if the paragraph were not deleted, they would soon have an army of people with religious objections. For the defence of the country every man must give a hand."

Mr. C.F.W. STRUBEN (Newlands) remarked that "...as things in the world the best way to prevent war was to be prepared for it, but that it was not fair to ask him to put a case where citizens would be exempted from service. The only international police was the force of their own country. He pointed out that in clause 82 the Select Committee had put in a sub-section dealing with those of religious sects who had conscientious scruples against being combatants. He thought they had gone as far as they could to meet these people. He thought they all looked forward to the time when there would be no war. As things were they were only able to maintain what they called just principles by the power to enforce these principles by force when necessary. He hoped to see our forces trained to be ready to protect this country, but only used in just wars."

Mr. D.H.W. WESSELS (Bechuanaland) said "...they were bound to respect people's principles. Seventh Day Adventists and others were opposed to war, and would never agree to take part in it. Those people were few in number and they should be left in peace."

Mr. J.A. NESER (Potchefstroom) stated that the "...exemption only applied to a handful of people. Those people were strong in their belief, as were the forefathers of the voortrekkers. Those people would not help in war, and would therefore be useless. During the war the Quakers had done much good by supplying food. They were allowed to do good, but not to make war."

Mr. P. DUNCAN (Fordsburg) said "There was no doubt that a section of the people, a small section, held the belief that war was a crime, and that they should not take part in it. The history of the people who formed the majority of white inhabitants of the country ought to restrain them from committing the wrong of forcing these people. The fact that what these people believed appeared to us to be unreasonable ought not to weigh in our minds, because all religious persecutions had been justified."

The fact that they were in a minority made it all the more easy for the House to grant exemption. He thought that the Board would be quite able to discriminate between those who had a genuine conscientious objection and the others."

Mr. D.M. BROWN (Three Rivers) quoted a letter "...from a [draft] dodger that had been distributed in England warning people not to emigrate to South Africa, as a form of conscription was proposed. There was no doubt that Seventh Day Adventists and Quakers had a conscientious objection. Those hon. members whose forbearers came from other countries owing to religious persecution ought to be the last to force men against their conscience. He thought that the Board would be able to guard against advantage being taken of the exemption by those who had no real conscientious objections."

Commandant C.A. VAN NIEKERK (Boshof) expressed his fear that "they were opening the door to an escape from compulsory service. He believed that many persons in the Republic in 1899 would have made use of such a provision, and if need be have made themselves out to be Quakers or Seventh Day Adventists. Some persons had a very elastic conscience."

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION stated "that people with strong convictions might be called the salt of the earth, and felt that hon. members should do all they could to avoid doing violence to people's conscience."

Sir E.H. WALTON (Port Elizabeth) "disagreed with the Minister's [of Education] remarks that these people were the 'salt of the earth.' The country got into trouble. A certain number of men had to go and fight. A man said: 'I have conscientious objections. I cannot fight. I will stay at home. I will get all the advantage of your fighting for me.' Such a man was neglecting his first duty as a citizen, which was to defend his country in time of danger, and he had no right to call upon his countrymen to fight his battles. As for conscientious objections, if he was a member of a civilised community he had no right to belong to it. He should go and live by himself."

Mr. H.S. THERON (Hoopstad) stated "they would all respect religious principles. A man could not give more to his country than this life, and persons who were exempted from service should be required to make a yearly payment."

Mr. C.L. BOTHA (Bloemfontein) said "There was another principle of government which he was surprised that his hon. friend the member of Boshof forgot, because he descended from a race that had for eighty years resisted the might of Spain in order to retain liberty of conscience. Some people thought that killing was a crime. If they said that legalised killing was as much a crime as murder was a crime under our social law, surely under those circumstances we ought to respect their religious convictions. It had surprised him to hear hon. members on the other side argue that they must suppress the religious convictions of these people."

Mr. J.A. VOSLOO (Somerset) asked "what would they do on the battlefield with people when they would not fight. Somebody would be required to take care of them and feed them, and they would not fight in any case."

Commandant H.C.W. VERMAAS (Lichtenburg) stated that in his experience "...the best Christians were the best soldiers. The people referred to could be employed in time of war in making coffee, and such like."

Mr. M. ALEXANDER (Cape Town) asked "...what was the good of having men in their forces who were determined not to fight? It had been the practice in other countries, as the Prime Minister had said, to recognise this particular objection. They had an illustration of that in connection with the practice of affirming rather than taking an oath. Supposing they forced these people, they would make martyrs of them. They would all go to gaol rather than join the Citizen Force. One result would be that the Citizen Force would be rendered unpopular in the country. While agreeing that it was the duty of every man who sought the protection of this country to defend it, it had also to be remembered that, even if a man had the belief that he should not take up a rifle in defence of his own life and his own home, that was not the only duty he had to perform to the State. If he lived a peaceful life and paid his taxes he would be living the life of a good citizen."

Mr. F.R. CRONJE (Winburg) stated that "if it was the intention to exempt Quakers from service, it ought to be clearly stated in the clause."

Mr. H.DE WAAL (Wolmaransstad) also spoke, but his comments could not be heard.

Mr. G.A. LOUW (Colesberg) said that he had "learned to know some of those people and to esteem them. It was not

exactly a question of conscientious objection but of religious objection..."

Commandant J.J. ALBERTS [commented again] that he "moved his amendment because he thought it unfair that some people should sacrifice their lives in protection of other persons who professed a religion of which he had never before heard. He could not imagine a religion which forbade its followers to make war. No doubt, in some cases, people's consciences were astonishingly elastic, and the clause might have as a result that many persons would seek a greater safety by becoming religious."

APPENDIX E: "CRISIS IN SOUTH AFRICA"  
BY ROSEMARY ELLIOTT

The following account was published in The Friend in 1986 and was reprinted in the Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter (for the period December, 1985 to February, 1986). It is a moving testimony of how one South African Quaker, drawing on her spiritual relationship with God, made day to day decisions in an exceedingly hostile political environment. It was too long to include within the text of this dissertation, and all of it is too valuable to edit. It is significant to include in this study for one very basic reason. While South African Quakers may not have always made popular or correct decisions (to some) at critical junctions of South Africa's history (i.e., the Defiance Campaign, sanctions, etc.), they struggled deeply, personally and prayerfully to do what was right in obedience to a 'higher authority', in obedience to God. This is one person's account, one Quaker in South Africa. It could be the account of many.

Crisis in South Africa: A Personal View

Ever since I felt God directed me to come and live in South Africa when I was about 18, and through the 30 years since I first arrived, I have been one of those Friends who has made plans on God's behalf and asked Him to bless them. Early in 1984 I heard Juan Ortiz speak and he changed my way of communicating with God, radically. Instead of me telling God what, in my opinion, He needed to do, I began to ask "Lord, what would you have me do?" It is from this changed perception that I want to share how I felt He directed and used me during the worst part of the South African crisis in 1985.

I came home one Tuesday morning in April from delivering flowers in Port Elizabeth to be told that the black schools had been burnt down in Zwelitsha, the nearby black village. Tuesday afternoons I always go to the Woman's handicraft group to collect the work and pay the women. I asked "Lord, what should I do?" -- Answer "Do what you normally do." So I drove the three miles up to Zwelitsha and saw the smoldering ashes of what had been the new primary school, only completed in 1984 -- the senior school was in similar condition. I drove around the corner and found the Addo Handcraft group's little wooden workshop a small heap of ashes. I parked the car and sat in anguished silence. Shortly, (and very courageously) two members of the handcraft came quickly up. They were weeping and we three held hands crying quietly together. They told in broken words something of what had happened and the final horror, which I did not at first appreciate -- a boy had been burnt. I later discovered he was a sixteen-year old who tried to stop the burning, and had been labelled an informer, put into a tyre, doused with petrol and set alight. We agreed that I would come next Tuesday and meet the members at the nearby shop -- outside the village.

The police and army descended on the community, camps were set up and patrols went out day and night. Many teenagers were arrested. The parents were appalled at what had happened. I prayed "Lord, what do you want me to do?" Answer -- "Wait." The weeks went on and a white farmer and his wife were murdered: goats were mutilated and left to die: the 21-year-old girl friend of a black policeman went home to visit her mother with her 6 month old baby and was burnt to death with the now notorious 'necklace' of tyre and petrol! The baby was not hurt.

Again I asked "Lord, what must I do?" And except for a knowledge that I must continue to do what I was already doing -- Monday mornings to the Advice Office and Tuesday afternoons go to the handcraft group, who continued to work in spite of the loss of the workshop and actually increased production -- the answer was still "Wait." It dawned on me that if God said "Wait" He might have something for me to do at some stage. In the meantime I felt I must be available to those who needed help.

In June, a British Friend, Simon Fisher, came for a few days. It so happened that the first court hearings were going to take place and Simon wanted to go. Outside the court many parents were standing, waiting, many of whom I knew. They expressed concern and worry that they had been unable to find out the charges against their children. Simon and I were surprised to discover that when court proceedings started, we were the only 'public' in the court. After 3 or 4 drunk cases were heard, the court was cleared and we were ordered out. We later realized that many of the accused were under 16 and this was 'normal'. The boys were brought in batches according to the charge. After waiting for some time, we left and went home, but I promised to come back and see how things were going. At lunch time, the distress of the parents had increased, many (although not all) had not even known when their sons were before the Court. A committee member of the local welfare body with which I work, Mr. B., saw his grandson taken away by the police, alone, and saw his arms twisted as they put him roughly in the van. The police continued to chase the parents away and refused information.

Simon and I discussed the whole situation, and at this point I had a strong inner guidance "Go to speak to the Station Commander (at the police station). I gulped "Who me, Lord?" "Yes, you. You have asked me what you must do and now I tell you." Slowly I began to see how over many years I have seldom done anything in which I was not in control. But here I was being sent to say something and feeling totally inadequate. Of course, Simon and I discussed what we thought needed saying but the fact remained I felt scared. Now I prayed for help and suddenly remembered what Jesus told his disciples in Mark 13, verse 11, "Do not worry beforehand about what you will say, but when the time comes say whatever is given to you to say."

The next morning I went and said more or less the following. "The black community is being torn apart. There is no way I approve or condone what has taken place, but the parents are being alienated because they can get no information about their children. They do not see the Law as something they can share in, but as something done to them. They are afraid their children are being beaten." The station commander was courteous and indicated he would see what could be done."

Simon Fisher left and I knew that my job was not finished. My next instruction was "Go and see the magistrate." This was if anything even more nerve-racking. And this time when I prayed for help the words came into my mind "You will be clothed in Light." With no clear idea what I would say, I set off the 20 miles or so to the nearest town, where the magistrate's office was situated. I imagined I would say my piece and be out in 10 minutes. What happened was something quite different.

We talked for 45 minutes, but the details are fuzzy. I know I said more or less the same as the day before and the magistrate said "I'm glad you said you do not support violence. I want to ask you to act as go-between myself and the parents."

By July the overall situation in the Eastern Cape was very bad. Police and army were involved in violent incidents and everyone, black and white were tense and frightened. Once more I was told "Go to the Station Commander and affirm that the police have a role." If anything I found this 'instruction' even more difficult.

In the meantime about 14 of the boys were granted bail. The amount of money required was R1400. At this point I discovered the incredible supportive power of the Quaker 'network'; within 10 days Western Cape and British Friends made this money available. I decided to combine a visit to the Station with one for bailing out those boys being kept in Addo police cells. It was a complete letdown. I walked in with the money only to be told "All the boys are out." (How? Who had paid? These were questions I could not ask the policeman at the desk.) I went to see the Station Commander feeling rather foolish. The interview was extremely difficult. He did not really understand what I was trying to say, which was something like "I want to affirm that the police have an important role to play in this situation, but when you use unnecessary violence you are telling the children that violence is an acceptable behaviour." To which he replied, "Are you saying WE are like the children who burn people?"

If he did not understand my message, I began to understand how some of the police were feeling. They were having to pick up the results of burnt people, some of whom were friends or colleagues. Many black people have policeman as relatives and they lived in a state of terror, waiting for the petrol bomb in the night, and I saw the results of police being used as instruments of political policies over which they had no control, at least those nearest to the public.

The following Monday I discovered that one boy was still at Addo police station and the rest were in Port Elizabeth. This difficulty in getting information from the police was greatly increased when the Emergency was declared since it was then stated no information about detained people needed to be divulged.

After having both prisons deny they were being held there -- although they had been granted bail, I then went to see the local detective sergeant in charge of investigations. I realised as I walked in, he did not like me. However, I asked him where the boys were and he replied, "Mrs. Elliott, you are dealing with matters you do not understand. I could have you in jail for 2 weeks under the emergency regulations if you persist in asking questions." To which I replied "The people need help and if they come to me with problems, I will try to find the answers. These boys have been granted bail; how are the parents supposed to find them?" When he answered "They must go [to] the jail and ask," I realised that 'helpful' was a word deleted from his vocabulary! The two jails in Port Elizabeth are more than 25 miles apart and to get to both prisons in one day by bus is almost an impossibility. So I became involved in going to the jails

and bailing the boys out and bringing them home. Some had been there for over three months. In due course those who had been granted bail were acquitted.

This is just to indicate some of the hassles parents and children went through until the original crimes were buried in the anger and frustration of police counteractions. I began to see that these unarmed boys were fighting a revolution against highly trained and well-armed police and army, with no weapons other than themselves and petrol bombs and fire. Communities which had not liked the burning of schools and people became alienated and ready to join the trade boycotts which developed in many Eastern Cape towns.

By August, the Advice Office was handling not only the usual problems relating to welfare and pensions, but also any queries regarding the detention of young people. To cope with the increase in work our voluntary staff increased from 2 to 4 white women. As the Court cases proceeded the numbers of people coming in connection with the 'troubles' dropped and youngsters who had been out of school since April and who had no prospect of returning began to call for help and advice.

The unemployment in the [Eastern] Cape is very bad. The government, well aware of the desperate situation regarding work was jacking up training programmes for unskilled, unemployed workers. Thus we began to register men for these training programmes. What began as a trickle became a flood. So much so that the Training Centre thought it might be a good idea to do a Builder's Course locally, rather than in Port Elizabeth. They would train unemployed men for three weeks and pay them, but we

would have to find money for the building materials. The first thing that came to mind was the re-building of the Handcraft Workshop. The women in the group felt very positive about the idea and so did the men. Once again western Cape Friends came up with immediate cash -- R2000 for building materials. Another Friend drew the plans and at the end of November building began. World Vision also agreed to assist with R250 per month for a year.

At the beginning of the third week of the building, I checked with the Training Centre when they would close for Christmas -- our R2000 was finished and the R250 per month was not enough for the roof. To my horror I was told if I did not have the materials ready for putting the roof on the following Monday, when another 12 men would begin a course in "Timber Skills", the Training Centre would pull out. The roofing cost R1046. Valley Welfare, the local agency for which I work, was practically out of money but the treasurer and I agreed that provided I could repay most of the money by the end of December, so that she could pay the December accounts for the rations for destitute families, we could borrow the money in time to get the roofing materials delivered before the end of the week, when all the building firms closed for three weeks. And so as 1985 drew to a close, the skeleton of the roof was erected on the new brick Handcraft Workshop. It should be finished by the middle of January.

From where I am at the beginning of 1986 there can be no clarity about the future in South Africa and this year could very well be much worse than last in terms of violence and heartbreak, yet I am filled with wonder that in trying to listen to God within the situation, He not

only had a Way through the darkness and destruction, but could bring new life and new beginnings from the ashes of grief and despair.

APPENDIX F: THE AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT  
and the  
ACCUSATIONS OF COMMUNIST LINKAGE

The civil rights struggle in the United States, as in South Africa, was also confronted with the thorny issue of Communist support and involvement. The long-standing authoritarian and often times tyrannical director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (the FBI) J. Edgar Hoover, at one point wanted all of America to believe that the civil rights movement -- as well as later movements such as the anti-Vietnam war and student free speech movements -- were largely Communist fronts. Hoover in particular wanted to cast suspicion on Martin Luther King. In his Pulitzer Prize Winning book, Parting the Waters, Taylor Branch wrote that while

King largely rejected Communist doctrine, he never wavered in support of the victims of McCarthyism or in his sympathy with Communist advocacy for the oppressed. He also gave the American Communists enormous credit for their record on the race issue. Regardless of their doctrinal contortions, the Communists advocated and practiced racial equality far beyond any other political organization in the country. King knew of wealthy white Southerners who, converted to communism in the 1930s, had given their lives working among Negroes in textile mills and union shops. It was said that FBI agents spotted white Communists by their ease and politeness around Negroes, or by the simple fact that they socialized with Negroes at all. To Negroes, this was all part of heaven's mystery -- why only Communists? Even King's most conservative

teachers had drilled into him the minutiae of Communist history on the color question -- that Stalin, for instance, had written into the Soviet constitution a provision that discrimination by color was a national crime. 'I think there can be no doubt about it that the appeal of Communism to the Eastern nations today can be traceable to a large degree to the Soviet attitude toward race,' Morehouse professor wrote to King in 1952." <sup>1</sup>

Bayard Rustin was one of the more colorful figures in the American civil rights struggle, and one also criticized by his early links with the American Communist Party. Rustin was many things in his life. The youngest of nine children, Rustin was eleven years old when he discovered that his older sister, Florence, was in fact his mother, and his 'parents' were his grandparents. His grandparents were Quakers. They were uneducated cooks and caterers who were fortunate to be given a huge home to live in a good neighborhood by a caring family they worked for. His family also maintained that they were descendants of an Indian tribe. As a young man, Rustin joined the Young Communist League and was a youth recruiter for the American Communist Party. In 1941, he quit the party over a disagreement of policy and aligned himself with A. Philip Randolph, the influential president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and a lifelong socialist. Having recanted Communism, Rustin also joined the Fellowship of Reconciliation and became a learned follower of Mahatma Gandhi. In 1943, Rustin was imprisoned in the Lewisburg Penitentiary for his refusal to fight in World War II and for insisting that, as a Quaker, he be allowed to do war duty in a hospital. After

---

<sup>1</sup> Taylor Branch, Parting the Waters: America in the King Years 1954-63 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), pp. 209-210.

his release, he became involved in the Free India Movement and then worked with African anti-colonists such as Kwame Nkrumah. He also founded the Committee to Support South African Resistance. On his return to the States, Rustin carried on with a glittery life style in New York, swigging whiskey with the likes of Dylan Thomas and Normal Mailer. For his political activities, he was often jailed and beaten up. He was a brilliant strategist and committed to the civil rights struggle in the States, but not everyone in the 'movement'. which included several black conservative preachers, appreciated his background, in particular in early affiliation with the Communist party and his known homosexuality. Many considered him a liability, but Martin Luther King noted his assets and he became a close 'lieutenant' in King's circle as well as a close friend. Rustin features prominently throughout Branch's' book Parting the Waters.

## APPENDIX G

HAROLD GEORGE CALPIN

Quite interestingly, Calpin was referred to as George by his friends, rather than Harold, which is how he was referred to by the primary sources I read in Friends House in England and the Quaker Archives in South Africa. One of his closest friends in South Africa, Dr. Ian Player, stated that apart from a few trips to England, Harold Calpin stayed on in South Africa after the closing of Inchanga until his death in approximately 1983. His wife, Dorothy, is also dead and the whereabouts of their one daughter remains unknown.<sup>1</sup> One of his books, At Last We Have Got Our Country Back, was published in Cape Town, the speculated date being the mid-1960s. In it Calpin stated that it was not an autobiography but a series of essays or vignettes. While he chose to exclude a lengthy discussion about apartheid, he did state his political views. He stated that had he remained in England, he most likely would have been a "member of an anti-South African, anti-apartheid movement"<sup>2</sup> but stated also that he felt this was true of the majority of English immigrants after the end of the 1914 war. Calpin believed that English immigrants to South Africa suffered from

---

<sup>1</sup> Ian Player to Brenda Nichols, 14 June, 1993, author's personal collection.

<sup>2</sup> Harold George Calpin, At Last We Have Got Our Country Back (Cape Town: n.d.), preface.

"dual loyalties about which Afrikaners have so much to complain of their English fellows".<sup>3</sup> He also flatly stated that "I came here as a liberal; I am no longer a liberal. A political conservatism has overtaken me."<sup>4</sup> Calpin was affected by South Africa's ease of life. Loving his new homeland but remaining perhaps vaguely loyal to England led him into what he called a "political quietism, a quietism which is the English South African's greatest failing, accounting for his political impoverishment today."<sup>5</sup> In addition to his association with the Natal Witness, Calpin "worked for the Republican Press, the Hyman brothers, wrote stories for their magazine...but towards the end of his life he had a great financial struggle to keep going."<sup>6</sup>

According to his secretary of thirteen years, Mrs. Lorraine Whitely, his financial struggle was in part due to a financial imbroglio "in which his co-directors implicated him in fraudulent dealings."<sup>7</sup> Whitely stated that the "only people who stood by him were prominent Nationalists who had read his editorials and his column."<sup>8</sup> This view is supported by Player who told Nichols that he "counts it a point in favor of Blackie

---

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Player to Nichols.

<sup>7</sup> Brenda Nichols to Betty Tonsing, 19 July, 1993.

<sup>8</sup> Report of a telephone interview with Lorraine Whitely by Brenda Nichols, 23 July, 1993.

Swart the minister of justice, that he secured Calpin's early release from imprisonment."<sup>9</sup>

Mrs. Whitely confirmed his background that Calpin described in At Last We Have Got Our Country Back as being a member of England's lower middle class. He won a scholarship to Cambridge where he read the Tripos and took an Honours degree in science. According to the telephone interview, Mrs. Whitely described him as a "brilliant man. She considers that it was a privilege to work for him."<sup>10</sup> Mrs. Whitely was under the impression that the school Calpin was involved in was the first multiracial school in South Africa. Of course, she was mistaken, but recounts that when General Smuts met the Calpins in Cape Town he "warned Calpin that he was much too far ahead of his time."<sup>11</sup> In his autobiography, Calpin does not necessarily dispel the view that the school was to multi-racial. He presents the material as an interest in the school from two points of view -- the British Quakers who had a tradition of multi-racial schools and perhaps initially assumed that the South African Quaker school would follow this tradition, and the view of South African Quakers who never entertained the notion that their school would be multi-racial. On meeting Calpin, Smuts discussed the schools racial complexity and expressed his annoyance that British Quakers did not understand why this was not possible in South Africa, though he had tried to explain why not. Smuts was also apparently under the impression that the

---

<sup>9</sup> Nichols to Tonsing.

<sup>10</sup> Telephone interview with Whitely by Nichols.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

school was to be multi-racial and said to Calpin "It won't go. I told them [the Quakers] so in England. The country's not ready for it."<sup>12</sup> Calpin said that he could not explain the school's real situation because it was a "one-sided conversation...In the company of Smuts no one talked."<sup>13</sup> Whitely felt that the closure of the school disillusioned Calpin with the Quakers. Praying for guidance at a Quaker meeting, he was inspired to apply for editorship of the Natal Witness. During his career he also wrote an English column for The Beeld.

Despite her admiration for Calpin, Whitely also described him as a "difficult man: a 'curmudgeon' was his own self-description."<sup>14</sup> Whitely stated that by difficult she meant "...in an eccentric way. He was a character."<sup>15</sup> She confirmed that his ideas did undergo a transformation while in South Africa, as Calpin "moved towards sympathy with the strain of idealism in the Nationalist vision for South Africa."<sup>16</sup> Whitely remembered Calpin having commented that "'if it had worked (i.e. the Nationalist vision) we could have been a model for Africa.'"<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> Calpin manuscript, p. 90.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Telephone interview with Whitely by Nichols.

<sup>15</sup> Lorraine Whitely to Brenda Nichols, 9 September, 1993, author's personal collection.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

## APPENDIX H

SOWETO MONTHLY MEETING

There is one 'chapter' of South African Quaker history not explored in this study. This is partly from choice and partly because little information is available.

During the 1980s there was a small group of African Friends in the Johannesburg Monthly Meeting. They wanted their own monthly meeting and center. Some local Friends wondered if they were ready to form their own monthly meeting but acquiesced; the Soweto Monthly Meeting was formed. There has been considerable discord among the members of the Soweto Monthly Meeting. The center, and in particular specific people, have been questioned for improprieties and the business meetings have been considered irregular. The situation has caused considerable pain within the local Society and a great deal of resolution and problem solving is going on. There is also a great deal of 'hear-say' and stories. The entire matter is being treated with sensitivity, privacy and confidentiality. It is doubtful that access to sufficient primary source material to have warranted an historical review would have been allowed. In addition to some limited archival material, the information available was obtained from a crucial meeting held during the 1991 Southern Africa Yearly Meeting. The meeting focused on the status and problems of the Soweto Monthly Meeting. Furthermore, access to many reports and files regarding this issue, all marked 'confidential', has been gained.

There are some in the local Society who feel the matter should be dealt with openly while others feel it should be handled with strict confidence. Almost all would agree that it is a matter among Friends only, and should not be of interest to non-members.

BIBLIOGRAPHYLibraries: Archives, Manuscript Holdings, Government Reports and Journals

Cory Library for Historical Research  
Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa

- James Butler's Papers
- Ernest Collett Butler's Papers
- Mary Emma Butler's Papers
- Richard Gush's Papers
- Lawrence Richardson's Papers (originals at the South African Library, Cape Town)
- Cape Eastern Regional Meeting of the South African Religious Society of Friends Minute Books
- Government Report on Native Churches UG 39-25 Cape Town:Union of South Africa Government Printers, 1925
- IMVO ZABANTSUNDU, on microfilm
- ISO LOMUZI. Adams College Magazine. Vol. 20, Final Number, November, 1956
- SOME SOUTH AFRICAN MISSIONARY INSTITUTIONS. 1963. Horton Davies, editor. Professor of Divinity, Rhodes University
- South African Native Affairs Commission 1903-1905 (also known as the Lagden Commission) Minutes of Evidence. Volume IV. Cape Town, 1905
- South African Native Affairs Commission 1903-1905 (also known as the Lagden Commission) Minutes of Evidence. Volume V. Cape Town, 1905
- They Served Their Country, by A. Scholtz, issued by the South African Communist Party, no date
- Statutes of the Republic of South Africa

Friends House Library  
London, England

- Annual Monitor, 1842 Extract
- London Yearly Meeting Proceedings, 1953
- Report[s] of the Friends School, Cape Town, South Africa
- South African Liaison Committee: Minutes & Papers 1952-1954
- The Friend, all reference citations unless otherwise stated

Hendrik van der Merwe  
Personal Collection

"Quaker Involvement in South Africa." Paper presented at the Friends Peace and International Relations Committee Conference, Peter Selwood Centre (Hants, England) 14-20 May, 1977.

Comments on the Southern Africa Program of the AFSC Report on a visit to the USA 26 June to 6 August, 1978 and an AFSC visit to Southern Africa in 1979.

Reports on the Development of the Soweto Preparative Meeting, Soweto Monthly Meeting and the Soweto Quaker Centre/House.

Reports on 1989 and 1991 'Walk-Abouts' by van der Merwe requested by the ANC and the South African government.

Lilly Library  
Earlham College  
Richmond, Indiana

- Thomas Jones' Papers

Jagger Library  
University of Cape Town  
Rondebosch, South Africa

- Main depository selected by the South African Religious Society of Friends for their Quaker archives (including monthly meeting minutes, correspondence, reports, newspapers and journals)

Jeffrey Butler  
Personal Collection

- Limited Collection of Mary Emma Butler's Papers

South African Library  
Cape Town, South Africa

- James Backhouses' Papers
- "History of Friends in South Africa." Unpublished Report by Emily Fear, 1938
- "Quakers in South Africa: A Brief History." Unpublished Report by Phyllis and Scarnell Lean, 1981

State Archives, Transvaal  
Pretoria, South Africa

- "Notes on the History and Significance of the Quaker Movement in South Africa." Unpublished Report by Will Fox, 1953
- Report by a Deputation from the Society of Friends (in Great Britain and America) to South Africa 1938. "Racial Problems in South Africa" by Russell and Maude Brayshaw, Rufus and Elizabeth Jones and Thomas and Esther Jones
- Select number of earlier South African Quaker journals and newspapers on microfiche

William Cullen Library  
University of Witwatersrand  
Johannesburg, South Africa

- Howard Pim's Papers
- Rheinallt Jones' Papers
- Johannesburg Joint Council (Files) of European and Africans, 1931
- South African Quaker archives (including monthly meeting minutes, correspondence, reports, newspapers and journals)

Interviews

- Biggs, Bunty. Formerly of Natal Monthly Meeting, now residing in England. Interview held at Cape Town, South Africa. Interview, December, 1991.
- Butler, Frederick Guy. Grandson of James Butler, son of Ernest Butler, nephew of Mary Butler. Grahamstown, South Africa. Interview, April, 1992.
- Butler, Jeffrey. Grandson of James Butler, son of Ernest Butler, nephew of Mary Butler. Connecticut, USA. Telephone interview, August, 1991.
- Clark, Petronella. Cape Western Monthly Meeting and Quaker Peace Centre. Cape Town, South Africa. Interview, December, 1991.
- Elliott, Rosemary. Cape Eastern Regional Meeting. Addo, South Africa. Interviews, April and June, 1991, and September, 1992.
- Ellis, Mary and George. Cape Western Monthly Meeting. Interviews, (Cape Town) September, 1991 (and by telephone), September, 1992.
- Gibson, Olive. Johannesburg Monthly Meeting. Interviews, November (Johannesburg) and December (Southern Africa Yearly Meeting, Modderpoort), 1991.
- Hewison, Hope Hay. Westminster Monthly Meeting. London, England. Interviews, August, 1991.
- Povall, Mark. Natal Regional Meeting. Telephone interview, October, 1991.
- Robert, Rommel. Cape Eastern Regional Meeting. King Williams Town, South Africa. Interview held at Grahamstown, South Africa. September, 1992.
- Taylor, Elizabeth. Johannesburg Monthly Meeting. Interview held at Southern Africa Yearly Meeting, Modderpoort, December, 1991.
- van der Merwe, Hendrik. Cape Western Monthly Meeting. Cape Town, South Africa. Interviews, November and December, 1991.

Newspapers

South African Friends started their first newspaper in 1907. Since then, local Quakers have always had some form of regional journal, but it has had several names. It is not known why local Quakers changed the name of their newspaper so frequently. This may be confusing to the reader. Therefore, listed below are the names and dates of local publications by South African Quakers.

<u>South African Friend</u>	1907-1916
<u>South African Quarterly</u>	1914-1915
<u>South African Ambassador</u>	1916-1920
<u>South African Circular Letter</u>	1918-1930
<u>South African Friend</u>	1931-1933
<u>South African Friends Newsheet</u>	1935-1937
<u>South African Friends Leaflet</u>	1937-1939
<u>Society of Friends in Southern Africa News Bulletin</u>	1940-1950
<u>South African Quaker</u>	1950-1961
<u>Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter</u>	1961 ----

## Other Newspapers:

Daily Dispatch. East London, South Africa. 9 April, 1992; 22 June, 1992, and 11 September, 1992.

Daily News. Bloemfontein, South Africa. 5 September, 1970.

Eastern Province Herald. 12 February, 1990, and 12 November, 1992.

Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette. Fort Wayne, Indiana. 20 October, 1991.

Natal Witness. Pietermaritzburg, South Africa. 11 September, 1970.

Midland News. Cradock, South Africa. 22 June, 1923.

Rand Daily Mail. Johannesburg, South Africa. 11 September, 1970; and 2 July, 1962.

The Weekly Mail. Johannesburg, South Africa. 9-15 October, 1992.

Articles and Theses

- Anthony, David. "Max Yergan in South Africa: From Evangelical Pan-Africanist to Revolutionary Socialist." African Studies Review, vol. 34, no. 2 (September, 1991):27-55.
- Bailey, Sydney D. "Non-Official Mediation in Disputes: Reflections on Quaker Experience." The Royal Institute of International Affairs. (Quarterly, 1985): 205-228.
- Bradford, Helen; Davenport, T.R.H.; Davey, Arthur; Dederling, Tilman; van Jaarsveld, F.A.; and Wright, John. Review of A History of South Africa, by Leonard Thompson. South African Historical Journal. no. 24, May 1991, pp. 211-232.
- "Calm and Bravery His Weapons: The Life of Devout Richard Gush." Eastern Province Herald. 2 September, 1959.
- Centre for Intergroup Studies Brochure. Rondebosch, South Africa.
- Cobbing, Julian. "Rethinking the Roots of Violence in Southern Africa c. 1790-1840." Comment no. 7 (Summer, 1991): 7-16.
- Crichton, June. "Helping hand for thousands." Eastern Province Herald. 12 November, 1992, p. 16.
- Current Infant Mortality Rates. Daily Despatch. 9 April, 1992.
- Cuthbertson, Gregory Craig. "The Non-Conformist Conscience and the South African War 1899-1902." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of South Africa, 1986.
- Forest, James. "The Power of Fearlessness: a conversation with Richard Steele, South African conscientious objector." IFOR Report [International Fellowship of Reconciliation]. November, 1981, pp. 10-14.
- Gardner, Jane Mary. "Jim's Journal: The Diary of James Butler." M.A. Thesis, Rhodes University.
- Grogan, John Graham. "Emergency Law: Judicial Control of Executive Power under the States of Emergency in South Africa. Ph.D. dissertation, Rhodes University, 1989.

- Hamm, Thomas D. "The Transformation of American Quakerism 1800-1910." Ph.D. Dissertation. Indiana University, 1985.
- "Holomisa, Academic Meet." Daily Despatch. 11 September, 1972, p. 2.
- "Inside the Fortress; The Revolution is Inevitable." Newsweek. 24 March, 1986, pp. 22-30.
- le Cordeur, Basil. "What is South African History?" Review of South Africa: A Modern History, 4th ed., by T.R.H. Davenport. South African Historical Journal. no. 26, May 1992, pp. 39-44.
- Marks, Shula. "Scrambling for South Africa." Journal of African History. no. 23 (1982):97-113.
- "Name seen as a banner." Eastern Province Herald. 12 February, 1990.
- "Only the beginning." Eastern Province Herald. 12 February, 1990.
- Pottier, Françoise. "A Pacifist Vision of South Africa." Fellowship (July/August, 1991): 8-10.
- "Quakers' War Role Re-Examined." Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette. 20 October, 1991.
- "Ramphela: Apartheid Hurt SA's Environment." Daily Despatch. 11 September, 1992, p. 13.
- Root, Ivan. "The Short and Troublesome Reign of Richard IV." History Today. (March, 1980):11-15.
- Sadie, David. "Prophet and Priest: Archbishop Trevor Huddleston Returns to South Africa." Internos, vol. 3, no. 3. Published by the Southern Africa [Catholic] Bishops Conference, July/August, 1991.
- "Society of Friends 50th Anniversary: First Meeting Held in Johannesburg in 1912." Rand Daily Mail. 2 September, 1962.
- Stober, Paul. "Institute of Troubled Relations." The Weekly Mail. 9-10 October, 1992, p. 13.
- "Study: SA Church Justifies Violence." Daily Despatch. 22 June, 1992.
- "Sullivan's Principles." New Republic. 7 September, 1987, pp. 14-16.

- Thuynsma, Peter. "Reflections and Refractions: The Literature of District Six." The Arts in Grahamstown, A Collection of Lectures for the 1987 National Arts Festival Winter School. Grahamstown: 1820 Foundation, pp. 20-24.
- Wyatt, Martin. "The Peace Testimony and Racial Justice." There Is A Unity. London: Quaker Home Service, 1984.
- "W.C.C. Explains Grants for Guerrillas." Rand Daily Mail. 11 September, 1970.
- "W.C.C. Denies Funds Will Be Used for Arms." The Daily News. 5 September, 1970.
- "World Council's Action Rejected: S.A. Churches Discuss Aid to Terrorists." Natal Witness. 11 September, 1970.

#### Monographs

- Abraham, Garth. The Catholic Church and Apartheid: The Response of the Catholic Church in South Africa to the First Decade of Nationalist Party Rule 1948-1957. Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1989.
- Adam, Heribert, and Moodley, Kogila. The Opening of the Apartheid Mind: Options for the New South Africa. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- Angle, Paul M., and Miers, Earl Schenk. The Living Lincoln. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1955.
- Armstrong, James. "The Slaves, 1652-1795." Elphick, Richard and Giliomee, Hermann, eds. In The Shaping of South African Society 1652-1820. Edited by Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee. Cape Town: Longman Penguin Southern Africa (Pty) Ltd., 1979.
- \_\_\_\_\_ and Worden, Nigel A. "The Slaves 1652-1834." Elphick, Richard and Giliomee, Hermann, eds. In The Shaping of South African Society. Edited by Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1989.
- Backhouse, James. Extracts from the Journal of James Backhouse Whilst Engaged in a Religious Visit to van Deiman's Land, New South Wales, and South Africa, Vol. II. London: Harvey and Darton, 1842.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Extracts from the Journal of James Backhouse Whilst Engaged in a Religious Visit to South Africa. Part VIII. London: Harvey and Darton, 1840.
- Banner, James M.; Bell, M.D.; Holland, L.B.; McPherson, J.M.; and Weiss, N.J. Blacks in America: Bibliographical Essay. Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1971.
- Barbour, Hugh, and Frost, William. The Quakers in Puritan England. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Quakers. New York: Greenwood Press, 1988.
- Barclay, Robert. An Apology for the True Christian Divinity. Glasgow: Murdoch, 1886.
- Baster, Roy. Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln 1864-1865 Vol. VIII. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1953.
- Becker, Charles; Merle Lipson; David Hauk; Jan Hofmeyr; and Stephen Davis. The Impact of Sanctions on South Africa. Washington, D.C.: Investor Responsibility Research Center, 1990.
- Beinart, William; Delius, Peter; and Trapido, Stanley. Putting a Plough to the Ground: Accumulation and Dispossession in Rural South Africa 1850-1930. Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1986.
- Bell, Henry. Archbishop Laud and Priestly Government. London: Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd., 1905.
- Belloc, Hilaire. Charles the First: King of England. London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1933.
- Benson, Mary. A Far Cry: The Making of a South Africa. London: Penguin Book, 1989.
- Bird, John. Annals of Natal. Vol. I. Pietmaritzburg: P. Davis & Sons, 1888.
- Blassingame, John. The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979.
- Branch, Taylor. Parting the Waters: Martin Luther King and the Civil Rights Struggle. New York: Simon & Shuster, 1988.

- Braithwaite, William Charles. The Beginnings of Quakerism. Introduction by Rufus Jones. London: MacMillan Ltd., 1912.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Second Period of Quakerism. Introduction by Rufus Jones. London: MacMillan Ltd., 1921.
- Bronner, Edwin. William Penn's Holy Experiment: The Founding of Pennsylvania 1681-1701. London: Greenwood Press, 1961.
- Brookes, Edgar. Apartheid: A Documentary Study of Modern South Africa. World Studies Series. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The History of Native Policy in South Africa from 1830 to the Present Day. Cape Town: Nasionale Pers, 1924.
- Brown, Robert McAfee. Kairos: Three Prophetic Challenges to the Church. Grand Rapids Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1990.
- Bundy, Colin. The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry. London: Heinemann, 1979.
- Bunyon, John. The Pilgrim's Progress. London: L. and G. Seeley, Fleet Street, 1849.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Holy War. London: MacMillan Ltd., 1926.
- Butler, Frederick Guy. A Local Habitation. Cape Town: David Philip, 1991.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Karoo Morning: An Autobiography 1918-1935. Cape Town: David Philip, 1977.
- Butler, Jeffrey; Elphick, Richard; and Welsh, David. eds. Democratic Liberalism in South Africa: Its History and Prospect. Middletown, Conn: Wesleyan University Press, 1987.
- Campbell, Roy. Collected Works: I. Edited by Peter Alexander, Michael Chapman and Marcia Leveson. Vol. 1. Johannesburg: A.D. Donkers (Pty) Ltd, 1985.
- Carter, Gwendolyn M. Which Way Is South Africa Going. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1980.

- \_\_\_\_\_ and Karis, Thomas, eds. From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1964. Stanford University: Hoover Institution Press, 1977.  
Vol.1: "Protest and Hope 1882-1934." Sheridan Johns, editor.  
Vol.2: "Hope and Challenge 1935-1952." Thomas Karis, editor.  
Vol.3: "Challenge and Violence 1953-1964." Thomas Karis and Gail Gerhart, editors.  
Vol.4: "Political Profiles 1882-1964." Thomas Karis and Gail Gerhart, editors.
- \_\_\_\_\_ and O'Meara, Patrick, eds. Southern Africa in Crisis. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1977.
- Collins, Lewis John. Faith Under Fire. London: Frewin, 1966.
- Cory, Sir George. The Rise of South Africa. Five Volumes. London: Longmans Ltd., 1910-1930.
- Cunningham, Anna. "Howard Pim." Parktown Westcliff Heritage Trust, no. 20, Johannesburg, South Africa.
- Davenport, Rodney Hope. South Africa: A Modern History. 3rd ed. London: MacMillan Ltd., 1977.
- \_\_\_\_\_ South Africa: A Modern History. 4th ed. London: Macmillan Ltd., 1991.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Cape Liberal Tradition to 1910." In Democratic Liberalism in South Africa. Edited by Jeffrey Butler; Richard Elphick; and David Welsh. Middletown, Conn: Wesleyan University Press, 1987.
- Davey, Arthur M., ed. Lawrence Richardson: Selected Correspondence 1902-1903. Cape Town: van Riebeeck Society, 1977.
- De Beer, Mona. Who Did What In South Africa. Johannesburg: A.D. Donker (Pty) Ltd., 1988.
- De Gruchy, John. The Church Struggle in South Africa. Cape Town: David Philip, 1979.
- \_\_\_\_\_ and Villa-Vicencio, Charles, eds. Resistance and Hope: South African Essays in Honour of Beyers Naude. Cape Town: David Philip, 1985.

Degler, Carl H. Out Of Our Past. New York: Harper & Row, 1984.

Dictionary of South African Biography. Vols. I-V. Pretoria: Human Science Research Council. Cory Library's (Rhodes University) holdings, 1972-1987.

Doherty, Robert W. The Hicksite Separation: A Sociological Analysis of Religious Schism in Early Nineteenth Century America. New Brunswick: Princeton University Press, 1967.

Doxey, Margaret. Economic Sanctions and International Enforcement. London: MacMillan Ltd., 1980.

\_\_\_\_\_. International Sanctions in Contemporary Perspective. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987.

Dubow, Saul. Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid in South Africa 1919-1936. London: MacMillan Ltd., 1989.

du Toit, André, and Giliomee, Hermann. Afrikaner Political Thought: Analysis and Documents 1780-1850. Volume One. Cape Town: David Philip, 1983.

Edgar, Robert. Because They Chose the Plan of God: The Story of the Bulhoek Massacre. Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1988.

Elphick, Richard. Kraal and Castle: Khoikhoi and the Founding of White South Africa. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.

\_\_\_\_\_. and Shell, Robert. "Intergroup Relations: Khoikhoi, Settlers, Slaves and Free Blacks 1652-1795." In The Shaping of South African Society 1652-1840. Edited by Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1989.

Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1971. "Gurney."

Encyclopedia of Religion. "Quakers," by Hugh Barbour. New York: MacMillan, 1987.

Endy, Melvin B. William Penn and Early Quakerism. New Brunswick: Princeton University Press, 1973.

Fiske, John. The Dutch and Ouaker Colonies in America. Vol. II. London: MacMillan Ltd., no date.

Fletcher, Anthony. The Outbreak of the English Civil War. London: Edward Arnold Ltd., 1981.

- Fox, George. The Journal of George Fox. Edited by Normal Penney. Introduction by Rufus Jones. London: J.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1924.
- Fry, Ruth. Quaker Ways. London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1933.
- Gardiner, Samuel Rawson, ed. The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution 1625-1660. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906.
- Genovese, Eugene D. The Political Economy of Slavery: Studies in the Economy and Society of the Slave Trade. London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1966.
- Giffard, C. Anthony, and Hansard, William A. Total Onslaught: The South African Press Under Attack. Johannesburg: Macmillan, 1984.
- Gifford, A., editor. The Reminiscences of John Montgomery. Grahamstown Series. Rhodes University, 1981.
- Graham, John. Conscription and Conscience: A History 1916-1919. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1971.
- Greaves, Richard. Deliver Us From Evil: The Radical Underground in Britain, 1660-1663. London: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Gregg, Richard B. The Power of Non-Violence. 4th edition. New York: Schocken Books, 1971.
- Haller, William. The Rise of Puritanism. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938.
- Hancock, W.K. Smuts: The Fields of Force 1919-1950. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968.
- Harrison, David. The White Tribe of Africa. Johannesburg: Macmillan, 1983.
- Hershberger, Guy Franklin. War, Peace and Non-Resistance. 3rd ed. Scottdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1969.
- Hewison, Hope Hay. Hedge of Wild Almonds: South Africa, the 'Pro-Boers' & the Quaker Conscience. London: James Curry Ltd., 1989.
- Hibbert, Christopher. Charles I. London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1968.

- Hill, Christopher. A Turbulent, Seditious and Factious People: John Bunyon and His Church. London: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Century of Revolution. Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1961.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The World Turned Upside Down. London: Temple Smith Ltd., 1972.
- \_\_\_\_\_; Reay, Barry; and Lamont, William. The World of the Muggletonians. London: Temple Smith Ltd., 1983.
- Hirst, Margaret. Ouakers in Peace & War: An Account of Their Peace Principles & Practice. Peace Movement in America Series. New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1923; Reprint ed. Englewood New Jersey: Ozer, 1972.
- Hobhouse, Emily. Report of a Visit to the Camps of Women and Children in the Cape and Orange River Colonies. London: Frairs Printing Association Ltd., 1901.
- Hobson, J.A. The War in South Africa: Its Causes and Effects. London: James Nisbet, 1900.
- Holden, David E.W. Friends Divided: Conflict and Division in the Society of Friends. Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 1988.
- Hopkins, Eric. A Social History of the English Working Class 1815-1945. London: Edward Arnold, 1980.
- Howard, Michael. War and the Liberal Conscience. London: Temple Smith Ltd., 1978.
- Huddleston, Father Trevor. Member, Community of the Resurrection. Naught For Your Comfort. London: Collins, 1956.
- Hufbauer, Gary Clyde, and Schott, Jeffrey. Economic Sanctions Reconsidered: History and Current Policy. Washington, D.C.: Institute of International Economics, 1985.
- Jabavu, Davidson Don Tengo. The Segregation Fallacy and Other Papers. Lovedale Institution Press, 1928.
- Jones, Rufus. The Faith and Practice of the Ouakers. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1927.

- Kalley, Jacqueline. South Africa Under Apartheid: A Select and Annotated Bibliography. Shuter & Shooter. In Association with the Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa, 1987.
- Kenyon, J.P. Stuart England. New York: Penguin Books, 1978.
- Keppel-Jones, Arthur. South Africa: A Short History. London: Hutchinson University Press, 1949.
- Kuper, Leo. An African Bourgeoisie: Race, Class and Politics in South Africa. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965.
- Laws Affecting Race Relations in South Africa: 1948-1976. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1978.
- Lewis, Gavin. Between the Wire and the Wall: A History of South African 'Coloured' Politics. Cape Town: David Philip, 1987.
- Lockyer, Roger. Buckingham. London: Longmans Ltd., 1981.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Early Stuarts: A Political History of England 1603-1642. London: Longmans, Ltd., 1990.
- Lodge, Tom. Black Politics in South Africa Since 1945. London: Longmans, Ltd., 1983.
- Loukes, Harold. The Discovery of Quakerism. London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., 1960.
- Luthuli, Albert. Let My People Go. London: Collins, 1962.
- Macmillan W.M. The Cape Coloured Question. London: Faber & Gwyer, 1928.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The South African Agrarian Problem and its Historical Development. Johannesburg: Central News Agency Ltd., for the Council of Education, Witwatersrand, 1919.
- McCracken, J.L. The Cape Parliament. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967.
- Marais, J.S. The Cape Coloured People 1652-1937. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1957.

- Martin, Phyllis M. Martin, and O'Meara, Patrick, eds. Africa. 2nd ed. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1986.
- Mayer, Frederick. American Ideas and Education. Columbus Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., 1964.
- Mbali, Zolile. The Churches and Racism: A Black South African Perspective. London: SCM Press Ltd., 1987.
- Meet the Quakers. London: Quaker Home Service Pamphlet, Friends House, 1971.
- Meredith, Martin. In the Name of Apartheid: South Africa in the Post-War Era. New York: Harper & Row, 1988.
- Metro Goldwyn Mayer (MGM) Pictures, Inc. Dry White Season, 1989. Screenplay adapted from book by André Brink.
- Michelman, Cherry. The Black Sash of South Africa. London: Oxford University Press, 1975.
- Millar, Anthony. Plantagent in South Africa: Lord Charles Somerset. London: Oxford University Press, 1965.
- Moodie, T. Dunbar. The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid and the Afrikaner Civil Rights. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.
- Morrell, Robert, ed. White But Poor: Essays on the History of Poor Whites in Southern Africa 1880-1940. Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1992.
- Mufson, Steven. Fighting Years: Black Resistance and the Struggle for A New South Africa. Boston: Beacon Press, 1990.
- Munger, Edwin. Afrikanerdom and African Nationalism. London: Oxford University Press, 1967.
- McElwee, William. The Wisest Fool in Christendom. London: Faber and Faber, 1958.
- McPherson, James M. Battle Cry for Freedom. New York: Ballentine Books, 1968.
- Nash, Gary. Quakers and Politics: Pennsylvania 1681-1786. New Brunswick: Princeton University Press, 1968.

- Nathan, M. The Voortrekkers of South Africa: From Earliest Times to the Foundation of the Republic. London: Gordon & Gotch, 1937.
- Nelson, Jacquelyn S. Indiana Quakers Confront the Civil War. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1991.
- Nichols, Theo. Capital and Labour: Studies in the Capitalist Labour Process. London: Fontana, 1980.
- Nuttall, Geoffrey F. The Puritan Spirit. London: Epworth Press, 1967.
- Odendaal, André. Vukani Bantu! The Beginnings of Black Protest Politics to 1912. Cape Town: David Philip, 1981.
- Pakenham, Thomas. The Boer War. London: Futura, 1982.
- Perkin, Harold. The Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969.
- Pampallis, John. Foundations of the New South Africa. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1991.
- Paton, Alan. Apartheid and the Archbishop: The Life and Times of Geoffrey Clayton, Archbishop of Cape Town. Cape Town: David Philip, 1973.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Journey Continued. Cape Town: David Philip, 1988.
- Peare, Catherine Owens. William Penn. London: Dobson Books, Ltd., 1959.
- Penn, William. The Rise and Progress of the People Called Quakers. Philadelphia: Society of Friends. Reprint ed., Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 1976.
- Picard, Hyman. Lords of Stalplein: Biographical Miniatures of the British Governors of the Cape of Good Hope. Cape Town: H.A.U.M., 1974.
- Prall, Stuart E. The Puritan Revolution: A Documentary History. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969.
- Pringle, Thomas. Narrative of a Residence in South Africa. London: Edward Moxon, 1835.
- Prior, Andrew. Catholics in Apartheid Society. Cape Town: David Philip, 1982.

- Punshon, John. Portrait in Grey: A Short History of the Quakers. London: Quaker Home Service, 1984.
- Quaker Life. Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Meeting USA.
- Quarles, Benjamin. Black Abolitionists. London: Oxford University Press, 1966.
- Race Relations as Regulated by Law in South Africa 1948-1979. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1982.
- Race Relations Survey, years 1985-1992. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race.
- Ramphele, Mamphela, and Wilson, Francis. Uprooting Poverty: The South African Challenge. Cape Town: David Philip, 1989.
- Reader, John. Of Schools and Schoolmasters: Some Thoughts on the Quaker Contribution to Education. London: Friends House, Quaker Home Service, 1979.
- Reader's Digest Association of South Africa. Reader's Digest Illustrated History of South Africa. 1st ed. Cape Town: Reader's Digest Association of South Africa (Pty) Ltd., 1988.
- Reay, Barry. The Quakers and the English Revolution. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985.
- Richardson, R.C. The Debate on the English Revolution. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1977.
- Riley, Eileen. Major Political Events in South Africa: 1948-1990. Oxford: Facts on File Ltd., 1991.
- Ryan, Colleen. Beyers Naudé: Pilgrimage of Faith. Cape Town: David Philip, 1990.
- Sacks, Benjamin. South Africa: An Imperial Dilemma: Non-Europeans and the British Nation 1902-1914. University of New Mexico Press, 1967.
- Saunders, Christopher. The Making of the South African Past: Major Historians on Race and Class. Cape Town: David Philip, 1988.
- Scott, Michael. A Time to Speak. London: Faber and Faber, 1958.
- Sharp, Gene. The Politics of Non-Violent Action. Boston: Porter Sargent Publisher, 1973.

- Shi, David E. and Tindall, George Brown. America. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1989.
- Simpson, Alan. Puritanism in Old and New England. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955.
- Smith, Ken. The Changing Past: Trends in South African Historical Writing. Johannesburg: Southern Book Publishers, 1988.
- Soderlund, Jean R. Quakers & Slavery: A Divided Spirit. New Brunswick: Princeton University Press, 1985.
- Sparks, Allister. The Mind of South Africa: The Story of the Rise and Fall of Apartheid. London: Mandarin, 1990.
- Stevenson, Gertrude Scott. Charles I In Captivity. London: Arrowsmith, 1927.
- Stewart, W.A.C. The Educational Innovators Vol. II: Progressive Schools 1881-1967. London: MacMillan Ltd., 1968.
- Stow, George. The Native Races in South Africa. London: Swan Sonnenschein Co., 1905.
- Strong, Roy. Henry Prince of Wales and England's Last Renaissance. London: Thames and Hudson, 1986.
- Swan, Maureen. Gandhi: The South African Experience. Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1985.
- Tatum, Lawrie. Our Red Brothers and the Peace Policy of President Ulysses S. Grant. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970.
- Tatum, Lyle, ed. American Friends Service Committee. South Africa: Challenge and Hope. 2nd ed. New York: Hill & Wang, 1987.
- Tawney, R.H. Religion and the Rise of Capitalism. London: John Murray, 1926.
- Theal, George McCall. The Beginnings of South African History. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1902.
- \_\_\_\_\_. History of South Africa. London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1893.
- Temperly, Howard. British Anti-Slavery 1833-1870. London: Longmans Ltd., 1972.

- Thompson, Leonard. A History of South Africa. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Political Mythology of Apartheid. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Unification of South Africa 1902-1910. London: Oxford University Press, 1960.
- \_\_\_\_\_. and Wilson, Monica, eds. Oxford History of South Africa. Vols. I and II. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969-71.
- Trapido, Stanley. "The 'Friends of the Natives': Merchants, Peasants and the Political and Ideological Structure of Liberalism at the Cape, 1854-1910." In Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa. Edited by Shula Marks and A. Atmore. London: Longman, 1980, pp. 247-274.
- Tredgold, Sir Robert, Acting Governor General of Southern Rhodesia. "The Contribution of Quakers in a Multi-Racial Society." Johannesburg: Transvaal Monthly Meeting, 1954.
- Trevor-Roper, H.R. Archbishop Laud. London: MacMillan Ltd., 1940.
- Turabian, Kate. A Manual for Writers. 4th ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973.
- Turrell, Rob. Capital and Labour on the Kimberley Diamond Fields 1871-1890. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Underdown, David. Pride's Purge: Politics in the Puritan Revolution. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1971.
- van der Merwe, Hendrik W. Pursuing Peace and Justice in South Africa. London: Routledge, 1989.
- \_\_\_\_\_. South Africa, Morality and Action: Quaker Efforts in a Difficult Environment. Chicago: Progressive Publisher, 1981.
- van der Poel, ed. Selections From the Smuts Papers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973.
- van Etten, Henry. George Fox and the Quakers. Translated by E. Kelvin Osborn. London: Longmans Ltd., 1952.

- Wyatt, Martin. "The Peace Testimony and Racial Justice." There is a Unity. London: Quaker Home Service, 1984.
- Yarrow, C.H. Quaker Experience in International Conciliation. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978.
- Young, Nigel. "Peace Movements in Industrial Societies: Genesis, Evolution, Impact." The Quest for Peace: Transcending Collective Violence and War Among Societies, Cultures and States. Edited by Raimo Vayrynen in collaboration with Dieter Senghaas and Chrisitan Schmidt. Forward by Javier Perez de Cuellar. London: Sage Publications, International Social Science Council, 1987: 303-316.