

# The History of Native Policy in South Africa

from 1830 to the Present Day.

BY

EDGAR H. BROOKES, M.A., D.Litt.

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*Second Revised Edition.*

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OF  
Native Policy in South Africa  
from 1830 to the Present Day.

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By  
EDGAR H. BROOKES, M.A., D.Litt.,  
Professor of Public Administration and Political Science.  
Lecturer in Native Law and Administration, Transvaal  
University College Pretoria.

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*Second Revised Edition.*

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*Publishers :*  
J. L. VAN SCHAİK, LTD., PRETORIA.  
1927.

History of Native Policy in  
South Africa.

To the  
Rev. Charles Bourquin,  
of the  
Mission Suisse Romande, Pretoria,  
this book,  
with which, where he differs, he will differ in charity,  
is respectfully and affectionately dedicated.

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“Les grands génies ont leur empire, leur éclat, leur grandeur, leurs victoires. . . . Ils sont vus des esprits, non des yeux; mais c'est assez . . . . Mais tous les esprits ensemble. . . . ne valent pas le moindre mouvement de la charité; car elle est d'un ordre infiniment plus élevé.”

## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

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The First Edition of this book having been for nearly a year out of print, the need for a Second Edition has become urgent. The demand for the book has been constant, and I would express my appreciation of the way in which the press and the public have received it.

This Second Edition, while built on the same skeleton structure as the First has been thoroughly revised, scarcely two pages together having been passed without some alteration. The reasons for these changes are four in number.

In the first place, some minor inaccuracies have called for correction. I am glad to say that these are very few in number.

Secondly, a few points required further amplification and explanation in the light of subsequent research. Particularly was this the case as regards the custom of *lobola*.

The third group of changes is a larger one. Perhaps it may be characterised as one of style and taste. The book as first published was over-full of the facile and rather hard dogmatism of youth. I have felt myself sufficiently older and wiser to tone down some too confident conclusions and condemnations. Yet, while I realise much more than when I first wrote the book the strength of the arguments for the policy of identity and the honesty of those who hold them, I have not been able to change my main ground. The policy of differentiation, though I have endeavoured to put it forward with less dogmatism and more moderation, still seems to me, all the circumstances considered, the best for South Africa. I have tried to go a long way with my many friends who feel that in the political and economic fields there should be no differentiation based on race or colour. At times my heart has been with them, but never my head. Ultimately I have come to the conclusion that their policy carries

within it the seeds of strife rather than of peace, and that in the practical circumstances of South Africa to attempt to press it for many generations to come would do the Native more harm than good. In the sincere conviction that a generous policy of parallel development, justly interpreted, is the way out for South Africa, I have left the main argument of the First Edition, the basis of the book, untouched.

The First Edition contained a good many passages which gave offence to critics more imperialistically inclined than myself. I was criticised severely in many of the reviews of the book for this, and I hope I have the manliness to own that the reviews were correct. Whether or not the passages objected to were just—and I believe some of them were—most of them were unnecessary to the main argument of the book. In a country like South Africa, with its divisions of race as well as colour, the virtue of Christian charity is especially needed, and ought to prevail over the desire to score an occasional brilliant "hit." I have tried in this Second Edition to excise every passage which could give offence to the most sensitive critic, unless it was an essential part of the argument of the book, when it would naturally have been fatuous to have interfered with it.

The fourth group of changes is due to legislation, actual or projected, since the publication of the First Edition. No attempt has been made to give a connected account on criticism of General Hertzog's four Bills for the settlement of the Native question, for the good and sufficient reason that at the time of publication these Bills are still in a fluid state, and their final fate is quite uncertain. The Coloured Persons' Rights Bill falls outside the scope of the book. Appropriate references in the text and in foot-notes have been made to the Union Native Council Bill (Chapter XII) and to the Natives' Land Act 1913 Amendment Bill (Chapter XV). The most controversial Bill, however, is the Representation of Natives in Parliament Bill, which as published at the end of 1926, proposed, briefly, to abolish the Cape Native

Franchise and to permit the Natives of the whole Union, in place thereof, to elect seven European representatives in the House of Assembly, with very limited voting powers. To this Bill in the form described above, I cannot give my adhesion for several reasons, the most important being the limitation of the voting powers of the seven members. But the principle of replacing the Cape Native Franchise gradually with a system of parallel institutions and representation was set forth in the First Edition of this book, and to that principle I fully adhere.

I have left my original proposals for the working out of this principle (Chapter XIV) virtually unaltered; but there is one point in which circumstances may demand their alteration. They turn largely on the use of the Senate as the specialist House in Native Affairs. But the powers of the Senate have been limited, and the tenure of office of the Senators nominated to represent Native interests made to depend on the will of the Government, by legislation of 1926. In these circumstances the proposal of General Hertzog to place the seven representatives of the Natives in the House of Assembly would probably be preferable to-day.

I desire here to record my protest against this change in the constitution of the Senate. It arose from the Senate's repeated rejection of the Colour Bar Bill—a rejection which, in my opinion, was not only justifiable, but a matter of duty. Exaggerated as has been the language used by the opponents of the Colour Bar Bill, and little indeed as has been its practical effect, I would yet record here my complete dissent from its principle, and would say that nothing in this book as originally published supported it. Psychologically its effect on the Native population has been disastrous, and it has made the task of evolving an acceptable Native Policy immeasurably more difficult—all for nothing.

While I have ventured to criticise some of the actions of the Hertzog Government, I desire to record here my admiration of the courage, sincerity and statesmanship underlying the later proposals of General Hertzog, as out-

lined in his famous "Smithfield Speech" of 13th November, 1925. General Hertzog has done South Africa a great service in compelling the electorate to face the tremendous issues of Native Policy frankly and fully—one of many great services to his country.

Finally I wish to thank my friends Mr. F. W. Mullan, M.Econ., Mr. H. A. J. de Bruyn, M.A., Mr. A. G. Gladwin and Mr. B. C. Mullan for their kindness in correcting the proofs of this edition during my unavoidable absence in Europe.

EDGAR H. BROOKES.

Dingaan's Day,  
16th December, 1926.



## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

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To combine a University Thesis with a popular exposition, a piece of historical research with a constructive examination of a practical political problem, is, perhaps, to run a great risk of failing in both tasks. Between the somewhat snobbish pedantry of research and the defects which serve to win popularity, the way of success is narrow and hard to attain. The hardened researcher wants evidence without conclusions; the journalistically trained "man in the street", conclusions without evidence. Probably both will be disappointed in this book.

The writer can but plead that he has striven to give of his best without partiality, fear or favour, and express the hope that the results of some years of patient study may be of help to his countrymen in assisting in the solution of their greatest problem.

He cannot but realise the force of those quaintly-worded sentiments to which Sir Walter Raleigh gives expression in the Preface to his "History of the World": "Whosoever in writing a modern history shall follow truth too near the heels, it may haply strike out his teeth: there is no mistress or guide that hath led her followers and servants into greater miseries." Yet he has ventured to court the dangerous honour of truth's service.

To those pedantic souls who may feel disposed to censure the intrusion of conclusions of legal and political science into the strict domain of history, the author would plead the urgency of the problem, and the presumptive value of the application to it of an impartial historical research.

One of the more pleasant tasks of a Preface is to record the obligations under which the author has been placed by his friends. In the first place, he desires to record his thanks to the Hon. the Prime Minister (General J. B. M. Hertzog) and to Senator the Hon.

W. J. C. Brebner, whose liberality has endowed this book and made its publication possible. It is especially gratifying to be able to place on record the broad-mindedness 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 encouragement which he has given while the book has been awaiting publication will always be remembered by the author with grateful appreciation.

Next he would wish to thank the officials of the Archives, especially Messrs. Goldman and Morkel, for their prompt and courteous assistance; Mrs. S. O. Samuelson and Mr. H. S. Walker for access to a large number of valuable official and personal papers of the late Mr. S. O. Samuelson; Messrs. P. A. Linington and W. P. E. Stokes-Waller, F.I.S.A., B.Econ., of the Native Affairs Department, the latter now a colleague at the Transvaal University College, for the loan of many valuable books and pamphlets and for other generous help; Mr. J. Frank Clark, of Durban, for access to certain Zulu publications and the loan of some most useful printed matter; Dr. S. P. Engelbrecht, of the Transvaal University College, for the loan of several books bearing on Sir T. Shepstone; and the Rev. R. W. Loffhagen, formerly of the Diocese of Lebombo, for some useful information regarding Portuguese East Africa. Finally to his many Native friends, and perhaps he may be allowed specially to mention Mr. I. Bud-M'belle, of the Native Affairs Department, and the Rev. H. D. Hlabangane, of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, Pretoria, the author must express his thanks for the help they have given him from time to time, greater perhaps than they sometimes realised, in his efforts for the advancement of their race, which he has learned to regard with an affection and loyalty second only to that which he feels for his own young nation.

In conclusion, it should be said that this work is based upon, and in large part identical with, a Thesis

presented to, and accepted by, the University of South Africa for its D.Litt. Degree. In the final editing of the manuscript, however, a few changes have been made from the wording of the original Thesis—mainly due to the legislative and administrative changes which have taken place since 1922, such as the Urban Areas Act, the Administrative reconstruction of the Department in the Transvaal, etc.—and the book as now issued does not therefore bear the *imprimatur* of the University in every particular.

E.H.B.

NOTE.—Since this book was first prepared in MS. form, a great National Conference on Native Affairs, organised by the Dutch Reformed Churches of South Africa, has met and passed a series of resolutions, now published in pamphlet form, embodying a constructive Native Policy. It is gratifying to note that, on nearly every point, they confirm the conclusions of this book.

E.H.B.

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