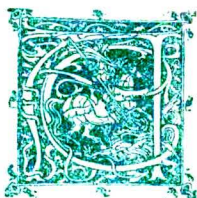


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SOUTH AFRICA
WHITE AND BLACK—OR BROWN?

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

THE COLONIES AND IMPERIAL DEFENCE

THE GOVERNANCE OF EMPIRE

THE EVOLUTION OF SEA POWER

SOUTH AFRICA

WHITE AND BLACK—OR BROWN?

BY

COLONEL P. A. SILBURN

C.B.E., D.S.O., F.R.G.S.

(Regular Army Reserve of Officers)

*A Member of the last Parliament of Natal
and of the first and second Parliaments
of the Union of South Africa*

WITH A PREFACE BY

MAJOR-GEN. SIR EDWARD NORTHEY

G.C.M.G., C.B., etc.

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TO
MY WIFE

*Authors' Club,
Whitehall Court,
London, W. 1.
August 1, 1927.*

PREFACE

BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR EDWARD NORTHEY,
G.C.M.G., C.B., ETC.

*Formerly Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Kenya Colony,
and His Majesty's High Commissioner for Zanzibar*

ONLY a man thoroughly conversant with that vexed question, the racial, economic, and social problem of the Native races of South Africa, should presume to write about it, or, at all events, should pretend to enlighten his fellow-men on a subject which almost invites misrepresentation and misunderstanding. Fortunately the author of this book is fully qualified to deal with his subject. Not only by life-long residence in South Africa and an intimate knowledge of the continent of Africa, but by a close political association with this question is he enabled to express views which are at once forcible and direct, and well worthy of the attention of all who are officially or personally interested in the subject. Not everybody will agree with his contentions and conclusions, but even those who criticize them will regard them with respect.

The suggestion of territorial segregation, upon

South Africa

which Col. Silburn's contribution to the subject is founded, opens up a wide field for discussion. There may be more than one opinion as to its practicability, which, indeed, could only be proved by the preliminary discussion and investigation which it is to be hoped the publication of this book will set afoot. The author, while firmly convinced of the efficacy of his remedy, wisely abstains from going into too close detail as to the methods he would employ to carry it into effect. He lays down in broad outline proposals, the details of which could only be filled in and elaborated after careful investigation and research. Such investigation is not the function of the commentator and critic, however "constructive" he may be, but of those upon whose shoulders the responsibility lies for seeing that the Native races of South Africa receive a "square deal" for the future. No one of unprejudiced mind can contend that they have had it in the past; or, at least, if any illusions remain on that head, the perusal of this book should effectually remove them. What remains to be done is for those in authority to devise and carry out some bold, sweeping, and yet effective project, which shall establish the right of the Native not only to live in the country he inhabits, but to share in its progress and development according to

Preface

the full measure of his capacity. Hitherto this right has not been recognized. Colonel Silburn propounds what is probably the only means by which it ever will be recognized to the satisfaction of the Native himself, and to the full benefit of the country, namely, by allowing the Native to develop along his own lines, and by guiding him into paths of progress which will not cut across those of the White inhabitants.

It will, I feel confident, be found that a very large section of thinking men in Africa will welcome this attempt to solve a problem which bristles with so many difficulties. Between the Negrophiles and the Negrophilists of that country there is a numerically small, but intellectually important, section of Europeans holding a judicial view of the problem. Their ideal is to secure the purity of both races, which under the existing regime is threatened in the many ways pointed out in the ensuing pages. These people honestly recognize that the progress of the Natives in education, in ambition, and in achievement is inevitable, and must be faced as a serious and important factor in the future development of the country as a whole. They have not only the practical wisdom, but the foresight and imagination to see that any attempt to stem the tide of progress by such artificial

South Africa

means as repressive legislation must be futile, and will certainly end in disaster. The Black man in his millions cannot be kept under for ever; is it not better, they argue, that he should be raised to a sense of his nationhood by proper means, and his energies and ambitions directed into the best channels, rather than be left, as he is now, a prey to the very worst elements of political and social unrest?

I am myself convinced that the direct contact of the South African Native with the so-called civilization of the Whites has, up to date, proved a failure so far as concerns the Native himself. It has not, at all events, yet produced any policy which could be remotely regarded as "settling the Native question." Territorial segregation, as advocated and outlined by Colonel Silburn, might achieve this. It certainly would remove the Native from the unhappy position in which he is to-day, as the shuttlecock of political parties upon which he has no representation. It would achieve something even more important. It would preserve the purity of his race, and of our own, in a country where one of the saddest evils would thereby be brought to an end.

EDWARD NORTHEY.

DUNSTER,
SOMERSET.
August 1, 1927.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	7
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION	13
II. SOUTH AFRICA AND THE EMPIRE	27
III. THE COLOUR PROBLEM	46
IV. BRITON AND BOER	68
V. THE NATIVES	86
VI. THE COLOURED PEOPLE	98
VII. NATIVE GRIEVANCES	109
VIII. REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION	128
IX. SEGREGATION—THE SOLUTION	143
X. THE NATIVE POLICY OF RHODESIA	156
XI. IMPERIAL CONFERENCES AND THE NATIVES	165
XII. CONCLUSION	181
INDEX	189

INDEX

- Act, Colour Bar, 133, 138, 148
 Act, Glen Grey, 80, 115
 Act, Native Lands, 22, 104, 115, 124
 statement on, 117
 Act, South Africa, 15, 18, 31
 amending or repeating of, 42
 implied powers, 32
 preamble of, 42
 Aerial transport, 33
 Africa, Central, 177, 187
 Africa, East, 173, 177
 Africa, South—
 annexation of, 38
 isolation of, 33
 secession of, 33
 Africa, West, 177
 African Communities League, 93
 African Council, 188
 African National Congress, 92
 Afrikaner characteristics, 30
 Afrikaner governments, 21
 Afrikaner people, 70
 Agents-General, 169
 America, North, 27, 86, 98
 America, South, 86, 150
 War of Secession of, 39
 Argentine, 51
 Asia, 48
 Asiatic, 109, 139
 Asiatic convicts, 22
 Asiatic descent, 137
 Assembly, House of, 43
 Ativism, 103
 Australia, 14, 16, 50, 63, 66, 86, 177
 Autonomy, 14
 Azores, The, 107
- Bantu Union, 92
 Bantus, the, 28, 53, 55, 77, 86, 101, 147
 Bastards, the, 74
 Basutoland, 24, 56, 60, 147, 151
 Basuto War, 55
 Batavia, 74
 Bechuanaland, 24, 147, 151
- Belgium, 185
 Beri-beri, 87
 Boers, the, 28, 68
 Bolshevism, 66, 109, 114
 Bonar Law, Mr., 34
 Botha, General Louis, 71, 75, 80, 81, 117
 Bourbon, Island of, 157
 Brazil, 61, 64
 British flag, abolition of, 32
 British Government, 21
 British guarantees, 38
 British Navy, 39
 British Parliament, 15
 British rule, 23
 British sea-power, 33
 British students handicapped, 41
 Burr, Aaron, 82
 Bushmen, the, 29, 30, 53, 77, 86
- Calcutta, 179
 Cambridge University, 71
 Canada, 14, 16, 50, 63, 66, 75
 Canary Islands, 107
 Cape of Good Hope, 16, 20, 133
 Cape Town, 63
 Caucus, despotism of, 17
Century of Wrong, A, 71
 Chamberlain, Sir A., 166
 Chartered Company, 56, 158
 Chili, 51
 Civil War, 31
 of America, 40
 Climate of South Africa, 29
 Clive, 84
 College, Native, 91
 Colonial Office, 20, 22
 Colour Bar Bill, history of, 133
 Commons, House of, 42, 110
 Commonwealth of Nations, 38
 Communism, agents of, 39, 91, 109
 Conference, Imperial, 35, 165
 Conference lines, 178
 Constitution of U.S.A., 40
 Constitutions, sub-, 19

South Africa

- Convention, National, 18, 19, 21, 72
 Cromer, Lord, 84
 Crown, the, 14
 abolition of authority of, 43
 right of veto of, 18
 supremacy of, 21

 Diamonds, discovery of, 79
 Dingaan, Zulu Chief, 71
 Dissolutionists, 36
 Durban, 63
 Dutch, credit to, 29
 Dutch East India Company, 68
 Dutch Reformed Church, 75, 90, 135

 Edinburgh University, 71
 Election, General, 44
 Elephantiasis, 87
 Empire, British, 16
 Empire, Council of, 169
 Escombe, Rt. Hon. H., 84
 Ethiopian Missions, 65
 European descent, ruling of Court, 136

 Falkland Islands, 33
 Federal Bill, draft, 18
 Federal Constitution of U.S.A., 31, 39
 Flag Bill, South African, suspension of, 26
 Flag, South African, 20
 Foreign Affairs, Secretary of State for, 165

 General Peace of 1814, 69
 Geneva, 165
 German naval squadron, destruction of, 33
 Germany, 66
 Gold, discovery of, 79
 Gordon, General, 55
 Governors, Colonial, 179
 Governors, general powers of, 19, 116
 Great Britain—
 evasion by, 15
 honour of, 13
 responsibilities of, 14
 Great Trek, 69
 Griqualand East, 105

 Griquas, 100, 103
 Grosvenor, wreck of the, 106

 Haiti, 61
 Hamilton, Alexander, 81
 Hastings, Warren, 84
 Hebrew speculators, 112, 137
 Hertzog, General, 34, 81
 High Commissioner of South Africa, 157
 High Commissioners for the Dominions, 169
 "Higher status," 35
 Hofmeyr, Mr. Jan, 170
 Holland, 79
 Hottentots, 29, 53, 77, 86, 99
 Huguenot settlers, 29, 30

 I.C.U., The, 92
 I.C.W.C., The, 92
 Imperial conferences, 165
 Imperial connection, 37
 Imperial court, 168
 Imperial defence, 170
 Imperial Parliament, franchise for, 167
 Indies, East and West, 107
 Irreconcilables, the, 72

 Jameson, Sir Starr, 78, 80
 Jameson Raid, futility of, 79, 83
 Japanese, rapid evolution of, 47
 Jewish influence, 137
 Jews, Russian, 165

 Kei River, 52, 146
 King, the, an integral part of Parliament, 43
 King William's Town, 65
 Kok, Adam, 100
 Korana people, 53, 99
 Kruger, President Paul, 75, 83

 Labour Party, 85
 Latins, the, 49
 League of Nations, 34, 165, 181
 Legislation, fanatical, 18
 Liberia, 61
 Limpopo, 164
 Lincoln, Abraham, 83
 Lloyd George, Mr., 34
 London University, 71
 Lords, House of, 42

Index

- Madeira, 174
Madras, 174
Malaria, 87
Malay archipelago, 74
Malays, the, 99
Malta, 107
Mandates Commission, 182
Mandatory territories, 90, 183
Maories, the, 86
Mashonaland, 56
Matabeleland, 56, 78
Matabele, the, 161
Merriman, Rt. Hon. J., 84
Mexico, 61, 64
Milner, Lord, 84
Miscegenation, 99
Monarchical government, Natives
 and, 54
Mongolian descent, 33
Monopolies shipping, injury by,
 176
Moscow, 110, 113
Namaqualand, Bastards of, 105
Napoleon, 131
Natal, Asiatics in, 140
Natal, Colony of, 16, 20, 24, 84,
 102, 132
 secession of, 41
National Convention, 16, 74
 and Asiatics, 141
National Convention, Constitu-
 tion of, 143
Native Administration Bill, 117
Native Affairs Commission, 117
Native British subjects, 14
Native Conference, 125
Native Commission of Rhodesia,
 160
Native Land Act, 103
Native Land Act, statement on,
 117
Native Land Commission, 103,
 117
Native Law abolished, 54
Native Parliament, 149, 151
Natives National Convention, 65,
 117
Natives of Africa and India, 73
Naturalized aliens, 75
Navy, British, 170
Negrophiles, 9, 46
Negrophilists, 9, 46
New Zealand, 14, 16, 50, 63, 177
Nile Valley, 153
North Africa, 49, 53
Orange Free State, 104, 132, 134
Orange River Colony, 16, 20
Oxford University, 71
Pacific Islands, 86
Party discipline, 17
 system, 16
Peninsula War, 186
Persecution of British, 41
Persian Empire, 30
Peru, 51
Pitso's Basuto, 56
Planters, 153
Politicians, self-seeking, 75
Pondoland, 56, 106, 147
 Colonies, 185, 186
Poor Whites, 148
Population, White, 73
Portuguese East Africa, 147
Pretorius, President, 75
Protectorates, acquiring control
 of by Union, 25, 90
Provincial Administrators, 179
Prussia, 131
Racial bitterness, 18, 46
Racial parties, 16
Rebates shipping, injury by, 178
Recruiting agencies, Native, 96
Referendum on Flag, 36
Referendum on Union, 30
Republican leaders, 18, 19
 feeling, 37
Republics, two late, 20
Retief, Piet, 71, 75
Rhodes, Cecil, Rt. Hon., 78, 80,
 83, 147, 164
Rhodesia, Constitution of, 156
 Government of, 158
Rhodesia, Northern, 163
Rhodesia warned, 24
 coloured people and, 30, 90,
 156
Rights, Bill of, 20
Robinson, Sir John, 84
Roman Catholic Missions, 90
Roman Empire, 130
 agents of, 110
Royal Arms, removal of, 90

South Africa

- Royal Commission on Native affairs advocated, 154
Russia, 109
Scandinavian origin, 100
Scotland, Church of, 90
Secession, agitation for, 34, 37
Secession, Southern States of America, 40
Segregation, 8, 10, 19
Semitic race, 63
 emigrants, 66
Senate, the, 43
Slavery, abolition of, 87
Slaves, West African, 29
 compensation for, 78
 raids, 87
 system of, 99
Sleeping sickness, 87
Smallpox, 87
Smuts, General C. J., 82, 83, 134
Solicitors preying upon Natives, 96
Somaliland, 113
Soudan, the, 89, 113
Spoils system, 17
Sport, love of, 75
Sturdee, Admiral, 33
Swaziland, treatment of Natives in, 24
Taxpayer, British, 27
Tembuland, 152
Territories, Native, absorption of, 23
Teutons, the, 49
Tobacco planters, 163
Transkei, the, 153
Transvaal, the, 16, 20, 78, 104, 132, 133
Twilight People, the, 99, 189
Union, Act of, a faulty instrument, 18
Union Bantu, 92
Union, five legislatures under, 31
Union Government, 22
Union Jack, hauling down of, 22
 Natives under, 23
 passing of, 24, 43
University education, Natives', 48
Uys, Piet, 75
Vaccination, 87
Valley, Great Rift, 53
Van Riebeeek, 52
Vereeniging, Peace of, 71, 72
War, Anglo-Boer, 74
 responsibility for, 71, 78
War, Franco-Prussian, 131
War of Secession, 40
War, the World, 72
 cause of, 131
Wars in Africa, 31
 Basuto, 55
 origin of Native, 54
Washington, George, 81
Waterboer, Chief, 100
West Africa, 90
Zambesi, 52, 54, 86, 150, 164
Zululand, 16, 153
 annexation of, 84
Zulus, the, 126
Zulu War, 147