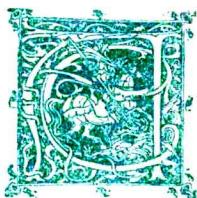


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SOUTH AFRICA
WHITE AND BLACK—OR BROWN?

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.

LONDON

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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

SOUTH AFRICA

WHITE AND BLACK—OR BROWN?

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THIS small book is written in an earnest endeavour to throw some light upon a problem which affects the future of Africa and closely concerns the honour and prestige of Great Britain as the custodian of her coloured subjects. It is written in a non-partisan spirit, with an honest attempt to avoid party politics, and in the belief that Empire must be considered before party—a sound imperialist may be a loyal party man irrespective of party, for the greater includes the lesser; the sole aim of the work being the high and vital principle of giving to each race its due respect and special position, trying to discover the means by which that racial degeneration now threatening South Africa, from where it must spread to other parts of the continent, can be prevented.

An appreciable majority of the people of

South Africa

Great Britain are ignorant of, or indifferent to, the conditions under which the subject-races of the Empire are governed, being oblivious of the fact that these peoples are under the protection of the British Crown, looking to the British Government as their rightful custodian and protector. The people of Great Britain, irrespective of party, should ever bear in mind that their responsibilities and duties cannot be evaded by delegating their obligations to a subordinate authority.

The Imperial Conferences of 1923 and 1926 are responsible for a broader definition of Empire, resulting in the elevation of the status of the dominions to a position of complete autonomy in respect of their own domestic affairs.

As regards Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, each governed by the flexible form of federal constitution, such autonomous powers strengthen rather than weaken the bonds of Empire. In the case of South Africa, however, it is different, the constitution of that Dominion is not flexible, but is of the rigid form and is therefore liable to snap under any undue strain. As regards South Africa, autonomy is understood by the governing class — the Afrikaner — to mean complete sovereignty over the Native British subjects,

Introduction

constituting three-fourths of the population of the Dominion. Therefore any legislation, however unjust, affecting the politically inarticulate majority of the South African population is understood in parliamentary, official, and journalistic circles in Great Britain to be autonomous, or purely domestic legislation, whereas the contrary is the case; for any legislation even remotely affecting the Natives passes out of the province of domestic legislation into the realm of Imperial politics and should be freely commented upon throughout the Empire rather than a grave injustice be done to disenfranchised people by withholding criticism in the mistaken belief that the measures come within the category of autonomous legislation.

An evasion of the responsibilities and solemn obligations of trusteeship on the part of Great Britain occurred when the British Parliament passed, with little or no discussion, the South Africa Act of 1909. Under this Act five and a half million Native British subjects were handed over, without warning or consultation, to the tender mercies of the bare majority of one and a quarter million White South Africans hungering for Native lands and cheap labour.

At the time of the legislative union of the

South Africa

four self-governing colonies—the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange River Colony — the Natives of those four colonies outnumbered the Europeans by five to one. In the case of the small colony of Natal and its Province of Zululand, the Native population was eleven times greater than the European population. Although the proposed constitutional change affected the Natives as closely, if not to a greater extent, than it did the Europeans, they were not consulted in any way as to the form the new constitution, which carried with it a change of overlordship, should take. They were not represented on the National Convention, a tribunal that was to decide their future, nor was evidence called by that tribunal on their behalf.

The South Africa Act of 1909, under which South Africa is governed, is popularly believed to be a constitution in the sense as are those instruments governing Canada, Australia, and New Zealand; but this is not so. South Africa is, in fact, the only part of the British Empire, indeed the only civilized country in the world, which allows such despotic powers as are given by that Act. It gives full play for all the objectionable features of the party system, a system which came into being in

Introduction

its present tyrannical form with the inauguration of union. This party system of government is peculiarly harmful in South Africa by reason of the racial division of the population and its varying degrees of civilization and education. The two principal political parties formed a union upon racial lines, openly preach and, when in power, practise the spoils system. This is a heritage from the two Boer Republics and is accepted as an article of political faith by Boer and Briton alike, irrespective of party. As practised in South Africa, the party system has created another and even greater evil which, in the hands of unscrupulous leaders, gives tyrannical rule, and that is the despotism of the caucus by which a weak minority can impose its will upon a numerically strong majority. Any objectionable measure of a racial or tyrannical nature may be imposed upon the country by an unprincipled or ill-balanced party leader by having it passed in party caucus with a bare majority. When the measure is introduced into the Legislature, party discipline decrees that the party votes unanimously; therefore it is possible for 26 per cent. of the members to impose their will upon the remaining 74 per cent. of Parliament. The danger of such uncontrolled power is all the more

South Africa

serious in a country like South Africa, where four-fifths of the population are politically inarticulate and are deprived of the power, or means, of protecting themselves against fanatical or piratical legislation.

At the time the National Convention was in session in 1909, a certain number of patriotic South Africans, realizing the grave dangers that would inevitably ensue should a rigid form of constitution be adopted, submitted to the Convention a draft Federal constitution, holding that such an instrument of government, by reason of its flexibility, was more suitable to meet the divergent political, racial, colour, geographical, and economic problems so peculiar to South Africa. This draft constitution was rejected by the Convention in favour of the draft submitted by the ex-Republican leaders and which formed the basis of the Act of Union—a faulty instrument of government, largely responsible for the present racial bitterness and solely responsible for the constant state of political unrest in South Africa.

As a solatium to the Federal section, and so that there should be some semblance of security against fanatical or racial legislation, and as a safeguard for the five and a half million Natives, the Crown right of veto was

Introduction

inserted in the draft Act, as is the case in all sub-constitutions of the Empire. *Section 65* of the Act reads :

The King may disallow any law within one year after it has been assented to by the Governor-General and such allowance on being made known by the Governor-General by speech or message to each of the Houses of Parliament, or proclamation, shall annul the law from the day when the disallowance is so made known.

Section 66 reads :

A Bill reserved for the King's pleasure shall not have any force unless and until, within one year from the day on which it was presented to the Governor-General for the King's assent, the Governor-General makes known by speech or message to each of the Houses of Parliament or by proclamation that it has received the King's assent.

These safeguarding provisions are entrenched in the Act by *Section 67* of the South Africa Act, 1909.

It may be stated here that the Republican leaders on the National Convention accepted these safeguarding provisions as the price of union, knowing full well that the British and Native population would require some guarantee before handing over the government of the four colonies to the Dutch section—republicans still at heart, a weak minority of the total population—to make secure for all time the

South Africa

connection with the Crown and a guarantee that any symbol of that connection would not be interfered with—*Sections* 65 and 66 of the Act were considered to be sufficient safeguard against any disloyal attempt to separate from the Crown or to evict the British flag.

The means by which the union of the four colonies was brought about, the short period given to consider the question, and the ominous fact that the Governments of three of the four colonies, viz. the Cape, Transvaal, and Orange River Colony, refused to refer the question to the electors, either in the form of a general election or by referendum, aroused grave suspicions as to the real object underlying such an unexpected and precipitate agitation for union. The genesis of the movement was in the two late Republics, determined to regain by diplomacy more than had been lost in a war of their own seeking. These suspicions have since materialized by the assertion of responsible Ministers that secession is the goal aimed for, and that the substitution of the British flag by a South African flag, by Act of Parliament, is the prelude of this movement of complete separation.

The union was brought about contrary to all precedents in constitutional history. The small colony of Natal was the only one of the

Introduction

four that did not ignore the people's rights, for a hurried referendum was allowed the electors on the constitutional change. At this referendum the draft Bill was adopted by a majority of 7,300 in an electorate of 34,784. This, the smallest colony in area and population, was the only one of the four consulted on a far-reaching question affecting the destiny of six and a half million people.

The Federal opposition to the Act, sensing the object of the three Afrikaner Governments in refusing Native representation on the Convention, and in refusing the inalienable right of the people to be consulted, decided upon the presentation of a Bill of Rights to the British Parliament setting forth the facts as quoted above. This was abandoned upon an assurance being given that the Colonial Office (now the Dominions Office) would apply the provisions of *Section 65* of the Act of Union to any measure containing differential treatment, or which affected the vested interests of the British or Native population, or which threatened the Crown's supremacy in South Africa.

Upon two occasions since union the British Government failed to keep that assurance which alone made the union of the South African colonies possible. The first occasion was when

South Africa

it failed to disallow, under *Section 65* of the South Africa Act, the Native Lands Act (No. 27, 1913), the second occasion being when it failed to apply the provisions of the section to the Colour Bar Act of 1926.

The fact that the British Government neglected to apply the veto in the case of such obviously unjust and provocative legislation as those two measures—possibly due to the fact that the Colonial Office was not petitioned to do so—has encouraged the Union Government to proceed with a measure which Section 65 was inserted in the Act to make impossible. It is not to be considered that any British Government will again evade its pledge to the British and Native subjects of the same sovereign, outnumbering the Republican population by eight to one, by neglecting to invoke that protective clause agreed to by the Republican leaders on the National Convention on behalf of their people as the price of union, and accepted in all good faith by the opposition.

The hauling down of the Union Jack, the recognized emblem of sovereignty in South Africa, by Act of Parliament, in face of the bitter opposition of 80 per cent. of the population, would be interpreted by the Natives as the fulfilment of the Afrikaners' boast that the Empire was breaking up and that

Introduction

South Africa was at last an independent nation. This would be carried, as a statement of fact, through the continent of Africa to the serious detriment of British rule over the African colonies and protectorates. Every Native magistracy in South Africa flies the Union Jack, and if the White man's influence over the African is to remain unshattered that flag must remain, for it is the only flag that the Native mind connects with freedom and justice. Should it be substituted by any other, not six million African Natives, but nearer four hundred million British subjects—Natives of Africa and India—will be informed of the fact and will have ocular demonstration that Great Britain is unable, or unwilling, to protect her loyal subjects, but, acting at the behest of a handful of Anglophobes, influenced from Moscow, has hauled down the Crown's emblem of protection against foreign annexation and tyranny.

It may be that more serious and far-reaching events will follow such ill-considered and provocative legislation, to assist in preventing which is the aim of this book. The Natives of Africa take a fanatical pride in an emblem of sovereignty and will not surrender this lightly, especially should they suspect its surrender signifies a change of overlordship.

South Africa

It may be that the Natives will read the passing of the Union Jack as the end of their allegiance to the emblem of law and order, or it may be that they will endeavour to retain that which they consider the emblem handed down to them by their fathers, of sovereignty, authority—law, order, freedom, and justice—and they may consider any other flag the emblem of tyranny and rebellion; and who but rebels will blame them?

In the anti-British and anti-Native legislation, the Afrikaner people are defeating their own object, which is the consolidation, under the Union Government, of the whole of South Africa.

Southern Rhodesia, warned by the anti-British treatment of the colony of Natal, refused to enter the Union, preferring a constitution of their own under the British Crown. The three Native States of British Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland, though surrounded by, or bordering on, Union territory, have nothing in common with the Union; the Natives of those territories, jealous of their freedom and prosperity, enjoying a superior and more efficient form of government than the Natives within the Union—having, too, a voice in their own government, secure against the bribery and corruption of politically appointed

Introduction

officials—view with suspicion *Section 151* of the South Africa Act, which foreshadows the ultimate absorption of the Native territories by the Union.

Since assuming office, the present Government of the Union has been conducting negotiations with the British Government with the object of acquiring territories whose efficient and peaceful administration, being a reproach upon that of the Union, is a continual source of irritation. The enactment of the South Africa Flag Bill, following so closely upon the repressive Native legislation, would remove for all time any possibility of the Union acquiring control of the three protectorates. The large Native population concerned will bitterly resent such a change of overlordship; for, apart from the differential treatment they might expect, the exploitation of their labour by legislation, a permanent barrier erected against their vocational advancement, there would be, with the withdrawal of the British flag, the certain menace of annexation by such Western or Eastern Power as may resent restrictive legislation against their nationals; possibly a Power suffering from over-population, under the stress of which no other law but that of dire necessity is recognized. It is this inevitable result that must follow a change

South Africa

of flag that is causing serious alarm among the Native population of South Africa and which forbids any possibility of the three Protectorates being incorporated within the Union.

The Native question and that of a South Africa flag are interdependent, and that being so the solution can only be found by the setting up of a joint Commission consisting of British, South African, and Native members to consider the future form of government for the Native population of South Africa, including the three Protectorates, all pending legislation affecting the Natives, including the South African Flag Bill, to be suspended until the Commission has reported. Should the Native legislation and the South Africa Flag Bill, now before the Union Parliament, be enacted and the Royal Assent be granted, then a peaceful and satisfactory solution of the Native problem appears impossible.

CHAPTER II

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE EMPIRE

IF India be excepted, it will be found that the sparsely populated Union of South Africa has cost the British taxpayer more money and has taken a greater toll of British lives than the rest of the Overseas Empire.

The history of European occupation of South Africa has ever been a turbulent one; the racial differences and prejudices are as bitter to-day as they were half a century ago. The White population, though insignificant in numbers when compared with that of the sister Dominions, is made up of the descendants of a number of nationalities inheriting the prejudices and antipathies of their ancestors. There are communities living side by side whose forefathers had been at war with each other in their countries of origin: the old antagonism has travelled down the generations, losing none of its bitterness.

Unlike North America, Australia, and New Zealand, each with its constant and steady increase in population of virile European stock,

South Africa

and the gradual extinction of a less fit indigenous people, South Africa, after three centuries of European settlement, has woefully failed in balancing the White and Black population and has only succeeded in bringing into being a polyglot coloured race. The Negro (Bantu) people are increasing by geometrical progression, with every prospect of absorbing those people of pure White stock.

A careful study of the vital statistics given in later chapters will show how urgent, not only to South Africa, but indirectly to the whole of the African continent, and therefore to the Empire, is the need for a definite policy as regards the relations between the White and the Black population, otherwise to-morrow the former will be replaced by a Brown or coloured people.

As the result of a policy which recognizes as inevitable the fusion of the two races, the increase in the birth-rate of the coloured (as apart from the Native) people is steadily drawing ahead of increase by birth and immigration of the Europeans.

It is due to the regrettable fact that the two White races in South Africa, Boer and Briton, have so far failed to come together and govern the country for the country's good that this vital question, the foundation upon which

South Africa and the Empire

peace and prosperity can alone be assured, has not been settled.

All that South Africa has to show for the countless millions of British money and tens of thousands of British lives expended during a century and a quarter of British occupation is a discontented and divided White population, less in numbers than that of a London borough, governing, with despotic power as serfs, six million Natives, rapidly developing in civilization and education, denied any form of representation and deprived of even vocational rights.

The cause for the sparsity of the White population after three and a quarter centuries of European settlement is not due to climate or soil, therefore it has to be sought elsewhere.

Every credit belongs to the Dutch for the first serious attempt to colonize South Africa. The early Dutch settlers, a mere handful of men, women, and children, settled at the Cape in 1652; two years later Asiatic convicts were introduced, to be followed two years after by 400 West African slaves. In 1688 a number of Huguenot settlers arrived. Here, then, were four distinct and antipathetic nationalities, added to which there were two indigenous races, the Hottentots and Bushmen. From these six races of divergent charac-

South Africa

teristics has evolved that coloured race so peculiar to South Africa and distinct from any other race in existence. These people form a large proportion of the population of the Cape Peninsula, they are increasing by geometrical progression and steadily moving northwards, until to-day they are knocking at the door of Rhodesia.

For a century and a half prior to the British occupation, the Dutch and Huguenots held the settlement at the Cape against the periodic attacks of Hottentot hordes from the hinterland, and they likewise suffered from the depredations of the puny yet treacherous Bushmen. These early settlers were for generations a law unto themselves, their firearms being solely responsible for the safety of their families and for the protection of their flocks and herds. This responsibility, together with contempt and antagonism towards the Natives, created those characteristics—independence, intolerance, furtiveness, and suspicion—so pronounced in the Afrikaner of to-day. Small wonder, then, that after one and a half centuries of such complete freedom, even of law, with the lives of Native slaves in their hands, the British occupation of 1806, although constitutional, was received by these free burghers with the greatest bitterness and

South Africa and the Empire

resentment, in no way appeased by the class of official selected by the Colonial Office for appointments in the Colonies.

Since the British occupation of 1806 the country has been subject to intermittent warfare, for there have been wars between Dutch (Boer) and Briton, Boer and Native, Briton and Native, civil war between the Boers, armed rebellion and industrial trouble calling for armed suppression and bloodshed. These periodic hostilities have had their origin in political differences, racial antagonism, or land hunger. In the major events wise statecraft could have prevailed without resorting to bloodshed.

The union of the four original colonies under an Act of Union, instead of removing the irritant causes of discontent, has only aggravated these by extending the arena for political intrigue, unrest, and racial strife. The sparsity of the White population makes it impossible for the country to find legislators of ability and independence to fill the five legislatures provided under the South Africa Act. Under the present electoral system there is one legislator for every 4,400 electors, as compared with one for every 210,000 electors under the Federal Constitution of the United States of America. If the errors of racial

South Africa

differences and bad government of these legislators were to be borne by the electors returning them, there would be no room for sympathy. Unfortunately this is not the case, for the Natives are the principal sufferers, and they have no voice in the election of those legislators responsible for the government of six million unenfranchised people.

The ill effects of constant racial strife between Boer and Briton falls heavily upon the Native, and it is only the latter's loyalty to the Crown and his firm belief in the paramount authority of the Imperial Government that enables him to bear, with docile patience, the repressive and unjust legislation enacted against him under powers implied under the South Africa Act passed without debate by the British Parliament.

It is noticeable that in the heated controversy which recently occurred in South Africa on the question of replacing the British flag by a tricolour and abolishing by Act of Parliament everything symbolical of connection with the Crown, the Natives, constituting four-fifths of the population, were in no way consulted. As Natives of the country, they are denied any voice in a question which seriously threatened the peace of their country and the safety of their lives and property.

South Africa and the Empire

As South Africa has depreciated in importance in the scheme of Imperial defence, it has steadily declined as an ocean trade route. With the development of aerial transport there is every prospect of the Union, situated as it is at the shank end of a great continent, being isolated from the rest of the world, therefore the question of raising a national flag and such legislative action having for its object complete secession from the Crown and the Empire would be considered of little or no importance outside of South Africa.

The national flag movement and the agitation for secession from the Empire is consequent upon the premature destruction of the German naval squadron off the Falkland Islands by Admiral Sturdee in December, 1914. This squadron had called at the Falklands for coal prior to steaming to the Cape of Good Hope with the object of saving the German Colonies in Africa. South Africa at this time was defenceless, its loyal troops of both races being engaged in the war on various fronts—a large section of the population were passively hostile to Great Britain. Had Admiral Sturdee met this enemy squadron off Capetown and there destroyed it in full view of a disloyal people, it would have been ocular demonstration of the might of British sea-power, which

South Africa

the majority of South Africans believe, even to-day, to be mythical. Had this object-lesson been given, all agitation for secession of South Africa from the Empire would have been settled for all time. Failing to receive this object-lesson, and vainly believing that the newly created League of Nations had the power and means of guaranteeing the independence and security of little communities applying to themselves the grand, eloquent title of nation, the Nationalist Party of South Africa dispatched a deputation to Europe in October, 1920. This delegation was headed by General Hertzog, the present Prime Minister of South Africa. Upon the delegation's arrival in England, Mr. Lloyd George, then Prime Minister, declined to receive it, but deputed the late Mr. Bonar Law to hear the complaints and the plea for secession from the Crown. In replying on behalf of the Government, Mr. Bonar Law raised those hopes upon which the South African secessionists are relying, and now that these people are in power, upon which they are building, for he said, in effect, later, repeating his words in the House of Commons: "If the majority of the people of a self-governing Dominion expressed, constitutionally, a desire to secede, His Majesty's Government would not decline

South Africa and the Empire

to sanction such a step." At the time this far-reaching statement was made, it was not anticipated that a Government, with aspirations towards secession, would be returned to power; yet with the assistance of the White Labour Party of South Africa, the secessionists were enabled to form a Government, the members of which have publicly declared that their policy is sovereign independence.

At the Imperial Conference held in London in October and November, 1926, General Hertzog, the Nationalist Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, raised the question of Dominion status, claiming all the rights and privileges of an independent nation, yet holding that the freedom and security of the Union of South Africa guaranteed by the British Navy should be a charge solely upon the British taxpayer. As his colleagues of the Conference, representing larger populations, were more concerned with the practical rather than the theoretical aspect of imperialism, and believed that "A rose by any other name would smell as sweet," they agreed to an alteration in the *channel of communications between the Dominion Governments and the British Government*. This has satisfied, for the time being, only a section of the secessionists, yet it has caused grave dissatisfaction

South Africa

among a loyalist section of the Empire, for it is interpreted as a gradual retreat before the demands of the dissolutionists. The extremists of the Nationalist Party hail it as a victory for complete secession, claiming that Great Britain has less sovereign powers over South Africa *and the large Native population* than she had over the late Republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State. The loyalists, including the Native people, look with great concern upon any action which has for its object the weakening of the powers of the Crown over the Native races of Africa, realizing that the usurping, or the delegation, of these powers by the small White population can only mean a reign of injustice and tyranny.

The first overt step taken by the Nationalist Party towards severing connection with Great Britain was the introduction of a measure creating a national flag to replace the British flag, and any design symbolical of connection with the Crown. This legislation was introduced solely for the purpose of testing the strength of the secessionists for a future referendum on the question of secession. The Government has promised that this flag question will be submitted to the people in the form of a referendum. Such a course must give a larger majority against any symbol of Imperial con-

South Africa and the Empire

nection than would be the case if the question was decided in Parliament, for a strong minority of the South African Party are Republican, and will vote for a national flag, whereas in Parliament the vote would be on party lines. The Government, having felt its strength, will then proceed to introduce legislation authorizing a referendum on complete severance from the Empire and secession from the Crown. The European population of one and a half million is made up of 52 per cent. Dutch Afrikaners and 48 per cent. of British, a very large proportion of the latter are nationalized Germans, Prussians, and Poles, whose vote will go for secession. At such a referendum a majority for secession will be greater than the majority for the national flag, and it is to estimate what that majority will be that a referendum is to be taken on the flag question.

The Native population of five and a half millions is unanimously against the abolition of the British flag, for the Natives regard it as the symbol of their freedom and security. These British subjects have in no way been consulted on the question, and they are not to be consulted on the bigger question of secession, their transfer from one overlord to another.

It is not expected that any British Govern-

South Africa

ment will repudiate the late Mr. Bonar Law's pronouncement ; but there is some qualification necessary in so far as some guarantee for the just government and fair treatment of the Native peoples are concerned, and in fairness to the British taxpayer it should be made clear to any Dominion seeking secession that Great Britain will in no way hold herself responsible for the defence of that Dominion nor interfere in any act of aggression on the part of a foreign Power, suffering from a surplus population, feeling itself aggrieved by legislation restricting the entrance of its nationals into that Dominion. Should the Union of South Africa legislate herself out of the Commonwealth of nations known as the British Empire, many plausible and sound reasons could be advanced for her annexation by one of those first-class maritime Powers whose country is over-populated and who sooner or later must establish Colonies for its surplus people or die as a nation. South Africa is sparsely populated and can carry many more millions of thrifty people. The climate has proved congenial to an Asiatic people ; whilst its value to the Empire is more sentimental than material, to an overcrowded Eastern or Western nation the value of South Africa would be incalculable.

The movement towards secession is an

South Africa and the Empire

inflated idea of importance governed by egotism, cultivated by the spirit of personal and political expediency, encouraged and spread by the agents of Communism.

The causes which led to the secession of the Southern States of America from the Union in 1861, and which culminated in civil war, are closely allied to those conflicting elements existing in South Africa to-day. In the United States, prior to 1861, there had been a struggle between two civilizations, each the logical result of its environment and each endeavouring to work out the best interests according to its lights. Of the two civilizations one was reactionary, believing in the bondage of the coloured race—patriarchal, dictatorial, and tyrannical. The other was progressive, creative, and commercial. The Federal Constitution had been adopted as an experiment for the peaceful government of these two opposite types. It was feared by some that it was too rigorous for liberty to survive under it, others wanted a more centralized machine. It was, like the South Africa Act, a compromise, but without a sovereign Parliament or Power to appeal to in the event of disagreement. It was drafted by a Convention that sat in secret, and ratified as the last hope of avoiding anarchy and dissolu-

South Africa

tion. The sixth article of the Constitution reads: "This Constitution and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof shall be the supreme Law of the Land and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." Within the limits of its delegated authority, concerning whose extent its own Supreme Court was to be the final judge, the Nation was supreme. The ratification of this document destroyed the possibility of rupture of the new Union by anything short of revolution, and for nearly a century this federal instrument succeeded in successfully governing the two divergent civilizations. The Civil War, which followed the break away of the old civilization (the Southern States) from the later one, represented by the Northern States, was not directly due to secession but was the outcome of the retention by force of public property of the United States by the newly formed Confederacy.

In South Africa to-day the history of the period between the union of the thirteen States of America and the secession of the Southern States is being repeated. There we have the same war between two civilizations. The Afrikander who, despite modern

South Africa and the Empire

education, still firmly believes in the slavery of the Negro, the bondage of all people of colour, and dominance over the progressive British element. To expel this later civilization from the country a steady policy of de-Anglicization has been pursued from the union of the four colonies in 1909. This policy has been accentuated by the Nationalist-cum-Communist Government since taking office in 1924. This Government has given expression of its enmity to progressive civilization by such stupid acts as the removal of British South Africans from the Government services, their exclusion from all Government employment, the boycotting of British students in Government school examinations, the removal of the King's head from stamps, the Royal arms from notepaper, and the Royal cipher from Government offices and mail vans, etc.

The hostility of the Boer for the British section of the population, culminating in the abolition of the Union Jack in South Africa by Act of Parliament, brings within the sphere of practical politics the question of secession from the Union of the Province (once the British colony) of Natal, together with the Province of Zululand.

Those denying the right of a once self-governing colony to revert to its original

South Africa

status and constitutionally call out of abeyance the instrument granting responsible government to that colony at an earlier period are assuming that the Act of Union (South Africa Act, 1909) is the self-imposed Constitution of a free and independent people—the wish is father to the thought. The preamble of the Act clearly shows it to be a sub-constitution, granted under the British Constitution, for it reads: “Whereas it is desirable for the welfare and future progress of South Africa that the several British colonies therein should be united under one Government in a legislative Union under the Crown of Great Britain and Ireland.”

The concluding paragraph of the preamble makes the subordination of the Act to the British Constitution quite apparent. “Be it therefore enacted by the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual, Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same as follows.”

There is nothing in the wording of the Act, following this preamble, which surrenders the right of the King, the Lords, and Commons of amending or repealing the South Africa Act.

As the British South Africans and the

South Africa and the Empire

Natives, constituting three-fourths of the population, look to *Section 65* of the South Africa Act as the charter protecting their interests in South Africa, and making secure the Crown's authority, so do the Afrikaners contend that *Section 152* (one hundred and fifty-two) of the Act overrides *Section 65*, holding that this section empowers Parliament to abolish the authority of the Crown and its emblems from the Union. If this was so then the South Africa Act itself would become invalid, for the King is an integral part of the Parliament of the Union, *Section 8* of the Act reading: "The Executive Government of the Union is vested in the King and shall be administered by His Majesty in person or by a Governor-General as his representative. All Acts of the Union Parliament must be enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the Senate and the House of Assembly of South Africa," otherwise they would be invalid, and any Act attempting to delete the King as part of Parliament would itself be invalid. It therefore follows that when the Nationalist-Communist Government are ready to secede from the Crown, as the next logical step after hauling down the Union Jack by Act of Parliament, the first constitutional move will be to appeal to the electorate by referendum or

South Africa

general election, and, if given a mandate to secede, to adopt a resolution by both Houses of Parliament which would be submitted to His Majesty by respectful address, later to be embodied in a Bill of Secession to be enacted by the British Parliament.

There is nothing in the Act of Union, or in the reply given to the Nationalist Secession deputation by the late Mr. Bonar Law in 1920, which denies to any British Province within the Union the right of constitutional secession from that Union; if by violation of the Act that Province has suffered, all the constitutional machinery for the preliminary stages exists. The Provincial Council would appoint a Select Committee, or Commission, to inquire into, take evidence, and report upon the question. The next step would be to place the Committee's or Commission's report before the Provincial electorate and ask for a mandate from it, either by general election or referendum; if this be given, the adoption of a resolution by the Provincial Council asking for the South Africa Act to be amended, submitting this in the form of an address to this Crown. Then would follow a deputation to England, the preparation of the amending Bill, the granting of Letters Patent to the resuscitated British Colony, the setting up of a

South Africa and the Empire

joint Commission to adjust between the Union and the new colony public property, the finances, and the services.

This may appear the most difficult part of the procedure, especially the reinstatement of the army of persecuted British officials, but it will be less intricate now than at a later date when secession becomes inevitable.

CHAPTER III

THE COLOUR PROBLEM

RACIAL antipathies are more active where two or more races live within the same constitutional borders. Of all racial prejudices none are more bitter or contain such potential dangers as that against colour. The growth of education, the spread of knowledge, and the enlightenment of Christianity, appear to be impotent in eradicating colour prejudice from a people sharing the land with a race of a different colour though they profess the same religious faith. This may be a survival of some atavistic sense of self-preservation.

As regards the colour problem of South Africa—the problem is common in varying stages of growth to the whole of the African continent; there are but two schools of thought recognized among the Europeans, the Negrophilists and the Negrophiles; no intermediate attitude upon the question is tolerated. Here, then, lies the outstanding obstacle to the solution of a not very difficult problem, if it be approached with an open mind earnestly desirous of justice and security for both races.

The Colour Problem

The unprecedented rapidity of transition from savagery and barbarism to varying stages of civilization and intellectual advancement of the Natives of Africa has been such that the Europeans have failed to adequately appreciate its significance, and have consequently neglected to make provision for the rapidly changing conditions in the Natives' mentality and customs, and for the growing aspirations of a people hitherto divided only by tribal customs and jealousies; the abolition and extinction of these, for which the Europeans are responsible, is rapidly co-ordinating the people of Africa into one great Black nation. These people are but waiting for the advent of a leader, and a common cause, to rise to full nationhood.

The safeguards against the dangers of such rapid progress of a great population emerging from savagery and the tribal unit system towards civilization and full nationhood cannot be of a repressive nature, but to be successful must be sympathetic recognition of natural progress or legitimate aspirations, and legislative and administrative assistance, by which those national aspirations can be directed into safe channels of progress.

A close parallel to the transition of the Africans may be found in the rapid evolution of the Japanese. Half a century ago these

South Africa

people were considered by civilization to be but an insignificant and quaint Asiatic race. In one generation these people assimilated the best of Occidental learning and culture, and to-day stand in the forefront of civilized nations, a great naval, military, and commercial Power. European training is responsible for the awakening of China, the harvest of which will be reaped by the sowers; and as no preparation has been made for that harvest, it threatens to be one of confusion spreading throughout Asia and India.

In considering the present and future status of the African, a fact that is often overlooked and therefore not provided for is that the child of the savage is no longer born into savagery, as were his parents, but under conditions which enable him to observe from infancy the products and benefits of centuries of European progress, education, and culture, the heritage of which may be his in the present generation. These benefits have been so suddenly acquired that unless they be wisely used and guarded there is the fear that they may be cast aside and a reversion to the savagery of the last generation occur. There are many cases on record of Negroes taken from Africa in infancy, brought up as Europeans, receiving a University education, trained

The Colour Problem

in medicine, theology, and at the Bar, the language of their own people entirely forgotten; they were, to all appearances, civilized and cultured gentlemen. Those educated Negroes, returning to Africa at ages varying from thirty to forty-five, have, as a result of environment and witnessing some savage rites of their race, spontaneously cast off civilization and culture, and, reverting to barbarism, have used their trained brains and education in adding refinement to the crude cruelties of savagery. These spasmodic recurrences are to be expected where the border-line from savagery has been so recently crossed; they are only the flickerings of a dying social state and may be expected to occur less and less frequently as civilization becomes more ingrained, mastering the inherent instincts of savagery.

The history of the European colonization of Africa is replete with disaster and full of disappointments. North Africa, contiguous to Europe, from which it might be confidently expected an inexhaustible supply of colonists would flow, has never succeeded in establishing, for any period, a White population that will in time grow to independent nationhood. The Latin, Anglo-Saxon, and Teuton have each failed to make any lasting impres-

South Africa

sion upon the ethnological conditions of Africa. Whereas the European has succeeded in planting colonies of his race in distant lands, colonies that have developed into nations and remained true to type, he has failed to do so in Africa ; time has yet to prove whether the small colony of Whites, a minority of the population of South Africa, can by wise statecraft escape the fate that has overtaken previous European attempts at colonization in the Dark Continent.

South Africa stands alone among the British Dominions and self-governing Colonies in lagging behind in European settlement. Although but half the distance from Europe that Australia and New Zealand are, and having been settled by the hardiest and finest type of Dutch, French, and British people for close upon three centuries, it has only to-day a combined White population of less than a London borough. Neither the climate nor the fertility of the soil is responsible for this poor response to the invitation for settlers. The former is equable, equal, in fact, to that of California, which it closely resembles. It is, indeed, similar to that of the North Island of New Zealand. Its varied crops of fruit and grain bear testimony to the productivity of the soil. The herds of thoroughbred cattle, flocks of

The Colour Problem

merino sheep and Angora goats are proof of its pastoral fitness. The mineral wealth is unsurpassed by any other part of the world; the sub-continent produces 98 per cent. of the world's output of diamonds, and 33 per cent. of the gold—and yet it fails to attract or keep settlers.

Many of the descendants of the early Dutch settlers have settled in the Argentine, Peru, and Chili, and this is not from political reasons, as many would like to argue. In the course of my travels I have met South Africans in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the United States, and many in England; in all cases the reply to my question as to why they have left the country of their birth or earlier residence has been the same—the Native problem. It is not that the Native is a menace in a warlike sense, but rather a serious danger in a social sense to those desirous of keeping pure the White blood.

A few generations ago the rapid evolution of the Native in mind was not suspected, and provision for the unparalleled increase in the Native population was not made. The accelerating rate at which the coloured (half-caste) population is increasing is in itself a serious warning to those Europeans desirous of rearing a pure-blooded, self-reliant, and hardy family.

South Africa

Many depraved half-caste degenerates are to be found in South Africa to-day bearing the names of some of Britain's most noble families.

The rapid civilization, much of it but a veneer, and the spread of education, largely unduly forced, brings the Native into competition and closer intercourse with the Europeans than was the case twenty years ago.

To understand the problem it is necessary to cite both sides: that of the Native and that of the South African.

It is commonly believed, even in South Africa, that the Bantu (the Negro) is indigenous to South Africa; that he is the aboriginal of the sub-continent, and that the Europeans, both Dutch and British, are but usurpers. This is, of course, erroneous. It is open to question whether the Bantu crossed the Zambesi River in his gradual migration South any earlier than van Riebeck landed at the Cape. The arrival of the White man in South Africa appears to have been contemporary with that of the Black man. Certainly up to the sixteenth century the Zambesi was the ethnological boundary. Owing to pressure from the North the Bantu swept across this barrier, moving South until he reached the Great Kei River, towards the end of the eighteenth century.

The Colour Problem

During this slow migration tribes were formed, and, separating from the migrating column, occupied tribal areas with more or less defined geographical borders. These migrating Bantus, hiving from the parent stock, planted in the Great Rift Valley of Central Africa, had little or no opposition from the nomad bands of Bushmen, the aboriginal people of South Africa. There is no evidence to show whether such migration of the Negroid races, bred in Central and North Africa, had previously occurred in the dim past. The Hottentot and Korana people, though now accepted as of Mongolian descent, are of much older occupancy of the sub-continent than either the White or Black man, for the very earliest voyagers describe these people as the only inhabitants of the Cape and the territory adjoining.

Whilst the census returns show a steady increase of the Bantu race in the Union, these returns indicate that the Hottentots are rapidly disappearing. This is explained by the fact that, like the Bushmen, who have completely died out, they had no source from which to draw fresh blood. The Bantu blood streams from the North and is uninterrupted. The White man's migration has, perforce, been by artificial means over six thousand

South Africa

miles of ocean. The migration of the Bantu has been, and still is, a natural process, by land, from an ever-flowing source. Had the European migration to Africa been a century or two earlier, or the Bantu a century or two later, then the Zambesi would have been held as the natural geographical and climatic border-line between White and Black.

As European institutions took root, tribal customs were abolished, the good with the bad. The mistake for which South Africa is now suffering was the abolition of Native law and customs (in Natal and the Transvaal these are only partly abolished) without replacing such with a code of law and customs in keeping with the Native character, temperament, and mentality.

Monarchical government is inherent in all African Natives, respect for authority is a fetish, anything of the spirit of republicanism is repugnant to them. From times immemorial the tribes of Africa have had grades of aristocracy. The tribes are socialistic only so far as land tenure is concerned—that is, the land belongs to the tribe—and practically all the Native wars of the past had their origin in trespass. The injustice of these wars is more apparent than real, for the Native land was sparsely populated; but the error was in

The Colour Problem

allowing the land hunger of the settlers to appropriate such areas without provision being made to meet the future and legitimate requirements of the Natives. This was contrary to the settler's policy, for he not only coveted the Native's land that was allotted him by a sympathetic Government, but he required the Natives then domiciled upon the land to tend his herds and flocks. For the right of living upon his own land the Native and his family were called upon to do labour.

It was not until the Basuto war of 1881-82 that the Imperial Government asserted any authority and stopped further land-grabbing. In that year the Basutos successfully resisted the armed attempt of the Cape Government to annex Basutoland. When the ill-equipped Colonial troops were defeated by the Basutos under French officers, the Cape Government asked the Imperial Government for the services of an experienced military officer. Colonel Gordon, later of China and Khartoum fame, was sent out. Before taking the field he characteristically inquired into the cause of the trouble; when he satisfied himself that it was another land-grabbing expedition he refused the command, returned to England, and reported to the Colonial Office.

As a result the Imperial Government inter-

South Africa

vened, and have administered Basutoland direct from the Colonial Office. The land is held in community and the Chiefs are vested with limited authority, the best customs of the tribes being retained. Europeans are not allowed to acquire land nor to prospect for minerals in the State.

For forty-six years this State has been a model of Native administration for the rest of Africa; a Native Parliament, or Pitso, is held annually, and is presided over by the administrator.

In 1893 the small Native State of Pondoland, a piece of fertile country lying between the Cape Colony, Natal, and the Indian Ocean, was annexed by the Cape. The British Government only sanctioned this conditionally upon the land being retained for the Natives solely. In the same year the British South Africa Company annexed Matabeleland and Mashonaland, claiming the ownership of all lands. This annexation was inevitable, for it is unthinkable that in an age of enlightenment a barbarous race of savages should hold sway over a vast area such as the Rhodesia of to-day.

Yet here again the mistake of not making provision of land for Native occupation was repeated, with the result that the Natives of Matabeleland revolted in 1897. Then it was

The Colour Problem

that the Imperial Government intervened with an Order in Council of 1908, whereby the Company should assign to the Natives land sufficient for their occupation.

It was also provided that a Native might acquire land upon the same conditions as Europeans.

As the Native problem of Rhodesia is much more simple than that of the Union of South Africa, it will be considered under a separate heading.

Although the problem has its origin in the indiscriminate appropriation of Native occupied lands, leading to the breaking up of tribal customs and the loss of traditions, the abolition of the authority of the hereditary Chiefs and headmen, certain other factors have arisen from time to time which add to the complexity of the problem, not the least of these hostile factors being the vested or selfish interests of Europeans, repressive legislation, and the refusal to provide an outlet for those political and economic aspirations the European had created in the Native mind. Month by month the army of educated and discontented Natives is growing in numbers; many of these men have been educated in the United States and return to Africa with stories of the equality of Black and White in the

South Africa

Eastern States, though no reference to the treatment of Negroes in the Southern States is ever made. As the Natives leave the schools in increasing numbers they gravitate to the towns in search of clerical employment ; this they endeavour to find in the small legal offices, where money is loaned to the Natives at exorbitant rates of interest. In these small legal and money-lending offices a staff of Native clerks and interpreters is kept ; these are used as touts among their more unsophisticated brothers. They quickly acquire the sharp practices of the legal office and apply these to their daily methods of life. The raw Native, viewing with pride his one or two head of cattle, has with a smattering of education evolved into a legal tout, having to trust to his wits to find himself a niche in the new scheme of things. He is now beginning to realize that if this education is to lead him anywhere he must have an open road upon which to travel—there must not be those barriers he is now confronted with. He also realizes that it is to his detriment, as it is to that of the White men, if they come into competition with each other. He sees, too, that a fusion of the White and Black blood is unhappiness for the parents and degradation for the child. His education

The Colour Problem

enables him to see that logically he is entitled to equal political rights with the White man, that if these rights are given, the Bantu automatically become masters of the country, that a Black Parliament would be elected and a Black Government formed. His common sense and experience of the White people tell him how impossible such a state of affairs would be. Yet he inquires why has he been fitted for that which is now denied him, and unfitted for those things to which he was born. His sisters have, like him, been through school and have passed the seventh standard. They have been to "the pictures," where all the heroes have been White men; they have read books, too, in which Negroes are not mentioned. They end either by marrying a low White or living with one, and a large family of half-caste children are coming into the world—and what is to become of these coloured children? They are despised by the Whites and scorned by the Blacks, and are, therefore, being driven to swell the criminal classes, for this is the only society in which colour is not a bar. This educated Native, suffering from an education that has unfitted him for the scheme it has placed him in, realizes that among the five and a half million Natives there is a place for him, and all such

South Africa

as he, if they are organized in communities of their own colour. He sees how well this works in Basutoland, where the Native lawyer serves his Native clients, the Native doctor his Native patients, the bricklayer, the carpenter, and the saddler working for their own colour. He does not wish to compete with the White man, but he wishes to be allowed to earn a living among his own colour. He does not wish to make laws for the White man, but he does wish for a say in those laws that are to govern his own people. He does not wish to pay rent to the White man for the right of living on a few yards of Africa, but he wishes to live on a piece of African soil among his own people.

Now these are all simple requests which, if granted, would solve the problem. The opposition to granting these just requests is founded upon vested interests only, for it cannot be denied that if certain Native claims are refused, South Africa must, at a comparatively early date, be populated by a degenerate coloured people, most of them bearing the honoured names of South African families.

The figures given in all the official census returns for the Union of South Africa serve as an ultimatum to the White race of that sub-continent. These figures, when inter-

The Colour Problem

puted, mean : " You gave us civilization and education and placed us upon the path to progress ; if you do not open the road to self-determination by granting us a voice in our (not your) Government, and thus enable us to keep our race pure, we will absorb you peacefully, but by very numbers, to our mutual degradation."

In the early days of the settlement of the Cape of Good Hope there were very few White women in the Colony, therefore cohabitation with Native women was common, especially so in the case of deserting seamen. Here was the origin of that miscegenation which is increasing at an accelerating rate and is threatening the purity of both races. Unless it is checked South Africa's racial future is to be seen in that of Mexico, Brazil, Haiti, and Liberia. No legislation can stop the intermixture of Black and White blood, the result of which is the rapid growth of a hybrid people. South Africa's White population is not increasing by immigration, but, on the contrary, the Union loses more people annually by emigration than it gains by immigration. In 1924 over 2,700 Europeans left South Africa for other countries, proving that the economic conditions were adverse. The Native policy is at the root of these adverse economic conditions, as will be shown.

South Africa

From 1871 to 1891 the European population doubled itself, and in the next twenty years it again doubled itself; but in the last decade it has only increased by 19 per cent. Between 1891 and 1911 the non-European population increased 69 per cent. During the last thirty years the European population has increased from 620,619 to 1,519,488; therefore the European population to-day, after two and three-quarter centuries of settlement, is only one-fourth of that of Australia, a country twice the distance from Europe and a country that has only been settled for a century and a quarter.

The non-European population of the Union has increased during the last thirty years from 2,779,187 to 5,409,092. From these figures a liberal estimate will place the European population in fifty years' time at four millions, and a conservative estimate places the non-European population then, roughly, at nineteen millions. The Whites, during that period of half a century, will have increased by 2,500,000 and the Blacks by 13,500,000. If we calculate the increase of the two races by the actual returns of the last census (1911, 1921) the result is even more startling, for it gives the European population in 1921 as 3,650,000 and the Black population at 24,000,000.

The Colour Problem

Prior to union the successive Governments of the self-governing Colonies, like the last and the present Union Governments, were abused for not adopting a vigorous immigration policy. Week after week, year in and year out, shiploads of healthy and virile European immigrants were and are to be seen in the ports of Durban and Capetown on their way, a further six thousand miles, to Australia, or still further to New Zealand. For every thousand immigrants that have passed or are passing the shores of South Africa, barely ten go to that country. Whilst Canada, Australia, and New Zealand are steadily and vigorously employed in building up nations with virile and healthy stock, annually spending large sums of money in doing so, South Africa is barred by her Native policy from doing likewise, and she has to be content with the few wayfarers who find their way thither, or those moral, mental, and physical degenerates of Semitic strain who are refused entrance to countries jealous for the honour of their nationhood.

Would any South African Government be justified in adopting a vigorous immigration policy until the Native question has been satisfactorily settled—settled in such a manner as to safeguard the purity of the European

South Africa

blood and the non-competition of cheap Native labour? Both questions are interdependent, for Native competition drags the unskilled European worker down to the level of the Native; the colour-bar is then crossed and degenerate coloured progeny is the inevitable result.

Prospective immigrants from Europe naturally make close inquiries as to the possibilities of suitable countries in which to settle. When it is made clear to them that for every White child born in South Africa, eight Native children and two coloured children are born, they realize the certainty of sooner or later becoming ancestors to coloured progeny and in their wisdom rightly pass South Africa by for a country where there is a certainty of their descendants being of pure White blood.

Less than fifty years ago the ethnological conditions of Brazil and Mexico resembled those found in South Africa to-day, except that the non-European population was not of pure Negroid blood. A large proportion of the population of both those countries was of pure Spanish, Italian or Portuguese blood. In less than fifty years this had been merged into the coloured race, so that to-day there are few pure-blooded Europeans of the second generation in Brazil or Mexico.

The Colour Problem

The future of South Africa may be read in present-day Brazil and Mexico unless the question is taken in hand, and that at once.

What effect have the census returns upon the Native? To one section, that section inspired and influenced by the American Ethiopian Missions, the rapid overwhelming in numbers of the Whites by the Blacks signifies that their ideal of a Black South Africa being preached in the Negro universities of the United States is close at hand, and that the time has already arrived to prepare for assuming a more prominent part in the government of the country they fondly believe they will eventually govern.

In May, 1924, the Native National Convention held its session in King William's Town, Cape Province, and the Europeans must feel disturbed by the resolutions adopted there—one calling for the full franchise and another for direct representation in Parliament. But fortunately for White prestige in South Africa the great bulk of the Native population is still conservative, though it will not remain so for a much longer period unless a definite policy is found. Educated Natives with ambition and ideals have for many years been at work upon the mass of their countrymen, and those canker-worms, Communism

South Africa

and Bolshevism, have already been introduced by Semitic immigrants from Russia and Germany.

That section of the European race opposing territorial segregation of the Natives holds that immigration will solve the problem. Yet a little consideration of the subject should satisfy any but a prejudiced inquirer that the greater the influx of White blood from overseas the more complicated becomes the problem. By a slight consideration of the figures it will be quickly realized by any but those who refuse to be convinced how futile any form of immigration must be except to aggravate the problem.

To equalize the races in number, say in five years' time, would mean having to transport from overseas approximately four million immigrants at the rate of 2,200 *per diem*; at 1,100 persons per voyage this would call for a fleet of one hundred vessels kept in constant commission. Assuming that this difficulty was successfully overcome, would it be possible to collect 2,200 suitable and willing immigrants *per diem*, and if so, could these be settled upon the land or absorbed by the industries, such as they are, and only now in their infancy? Most of these industries, too, only exist upon the cheap coloured (half-caste) labour.

The Colour Problem

Canada, with all the inducement that healthy country has to offer, and only half the distance from Europe that South Africa is, only succeeded in collecting last year 75,000 immigrants. Yet the attractions for poor people seeking immediate and certain employment were such that South Africa could not offer even for a limited number. These 75,000 immigrants were transported at the rate of 1,400 per week.

Australia, offering immediate employment, with no fear from competition of cheap coloured labour, has for the last five years succeeded in obtaining an average of 600 persons per week.

If the money and the ships and the land upon which to settle the immigrants were forthcoming for such an extensive immigration policy as would make South Africa half White and half Black, the Union would have to sweep the dregs of Europe for four-fifths of the people required.

CHAPTER IV

BRITON AND BOER

THE antagonism that exists between Briton and Boer in South Africa, and which is mainly responsible for that country's slow progress, originated in the bitter feud that existed between the British and Dutch East India Companies when the latter Company was formed in 1601. This antagonism has alternately waxed and waned during the last three and a quarter centuries.

The conditions under which the Boers lived during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, cut off from civilization, having only the most primitive means of communication, were such as to keep them in ignorance of current events. Such information as reached them would be many months, and even years, late, and was usually transmitted by word of mouth; such news was therefore received in an exaggerated and distorted form. This was always the case where reference was made to what they considered their hereditary enemies—the British.

Much of the South African history, as

Briton and Boer

taught in the Government schools to-day, is based upon such hearsay evidence, handed down from father to son in the form of legends, but given the stamp of truth in the official textbooks as published in South Africa.

Any form of official rule has always been distasteful to the South African Boer. It was this dislike for regulated law and order that was the incentive to migrate into the unknown interior of Africa. British rule was no more distasteful to them than had been that of the Dutch East India Company, for incipient, and at times active, rebellion was rife during the administration of all the Dutch Governors.

The excuse for the Great Trek of 1836 was to escape from British rule. It must be remembered that the large majority of these migrating farmers were illiterate, as were most of the people of those days, and ignorant of the fact that the Cape of Good Hope had been formally, and quite legally, annexed to Great Britain half a century before van Riebeeck formed his settlement on behalf of the Dutch East India Company in 1652, or that the Cape had been ceded to Great Britain in perpetuity at the General Peace of 1814. The hatred of these migrating Boers for the English was inflamed by the belief that the Cape had been discovered and settled by their

South Africa

own countrymen, annexed by their mother country—Holland—and forcibly seized by the English, a fiction the political leaders in South Africa to-day encourage for political motives, a fiction they are instilling into the Native youth. These imaginary wrongs only added to the long indictment of fictitious grievances the Boers have since formulated against Great Britain and the flag of that country. Formed upon false premises this unjust bitterness is instilled into the Boer youth at infancy, it is ingrained into his character and has become the ruling characteristic of the Afrikaner people. This is the inflammable material now being used by the political leaders in the subjection of the British and Natives, over 80 per cent. of the South African population.

Instead of education and culture eradicating this bitterness and hatred of the British by the Afrikaner, such only makes it the more intense, though cleverly concealed in the guise of sincerity.

British enterprise, genius, and capital is responsible for the prosperity of the Boer population of to-day. The mineral wealth discovered upon the African farms would still be undeveloped but for the energy of the British, or exploited by a foreign Power but for the protection of the British Navy. This

Briton and Boer

newly and easily acquired wealth enabled the Afrikaner youth to receive the benefits of an advanced education, which he acquired, from choice, in Great Britain, where he enjoys to the utmost the hospitality of those he was taught to consider the hereditary enemies of his people.

This hospitality is, in most cases, cynically abused—the learning received at Oxford, Cambridge, London, or Edinburgh universities is used in active propaganda against Great Britain and her flag.

It was a graduate of Cambridge that was primarily responsible for the Anglo-Boer War; it was upon his advice that the late Republics presented an insulting and aggressive ultimatum, followed by the invasion of a friendly British colony. The same gentleman, born a British subject, endeavoured to justify his action in bringing about that war by writing, in 1900, a book entitled *A Century of Wrong*, with the avowed purpose of perpetuating racial bitterness.

The Peace of Vereeniging was signed on May 31, 1902; subsequent events have conclusively proved that with the exception of General Louis Botha, the Boer leaders signed that treaty in the same spirit as the Zulu chief Dingaan signed his treaty with Piet Retief in

South Africa

1836. The British hailed this Peace treaty as the end of a three-century-old feud, though there were those who, knowing the dominating characteristics of the Afrikaner, realized it to be but a truce. The irreconcilables only surrendered upon a pledge given by certain of their leaders that Germany was preparing for war against Great Britain, and upon the outbreak of that war the Boers would drive the British from South Africa. When the Great War of 1914 did break out certain of the leaders refused to keep the pledge given at Vereeniging, for which breach of faith they have not been forgiven by the Nationalist Party.

The election of a National Convention in 1909 for the purpose of drafting a Constitution for the four colonies of South Africa appeared as though the ancient feud had actually been killed and was to be buried by the Convention, for both Briton and Boer were equally represented. But the Boers' representatives were still imbued with bitter hatred for their imaginary enemy. Being men of education and diplomacy, they successfully dissembled their feelings and intentions under a cloak of sincerity, by which the British delegates, holding a different standard of honour, were brought to agree to a Constitution, the articles

Briton and Boer

of which, if honourably adhered to, meant everlasting peace between Briton and Boer. In 1927 the Boer leaders, delegates on the South African National Convention, cynically state that there had never been any intention of adhering either to the spirit or the letter of those sections of the Constitution that had made its acceptance unanimous. It is now admitted that the acceptance by the Boer leaders of certain clauses in the Act of Union were for the purpose of securing from the British Government the sovereignty over the Native population of South Africa against the wish of those people.

The racial and political differences that exist between the two White races of South Africa have a very important bearing, with far-reaching effects, upon the Native problem, and are largely responsible for its complexity, adding to the difficulty of solution.

The White population of the Union, according to the last census, is 1,522,000, and may be classified as 52 per cent. Dutch Afrikaner, colloquially known as Boers or Afrikaners, and 48 per cent. as British; but this latter includes practically the whole of the naturalized alien population, more British than the British when it benefits them. Their economic, social, and political standing is solely depen-

South Africa

dent upon the racial antagonism between Boer and Briton, and this they keep alive by propaganda.

It has been observed by ethnological students that the descendants of the early Dutch settlers of Batavia and the Malay Archipelago have reacted to climate and environment, and are evolving a distinct type. It is also noticeable that certain facial characteristics appear in the third and fourth generation of pure European ancestry. The same process of evolution, though more gradual, is observed to be occurring among the Europeans of South Africa. The pure-blooded descendants of the settlers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have certain characteristics in common, the features being a low forehead, high cheekbones, and oblique eyes.

The Boer and the Briton share certain characteristics. The Boer youth assimilates learning more rapidly than the average youth of other European peoples. At the European colleges and universities representative scholars of this small people have won and are winning great distinctions, though, as a curious commentary on education, the greatest men these people have produced, as was the case in the American Colonies prior to secession, were men of little or no education or were self-

Briton and Boer

taught. Such men as Paul Kruger, Pretorius, Piet Uys, Retief, Delarey, and Louis Botha are outstanding examples.

The Boer and the Briton are alike in temperament and mentality; it is therefore difficult to explain the racial antagonism between these two White peoples. In Canada there is the difference in the temperament of the Latin and the Anglo-Saxon, and there is a difference in religious faith. In South Africa there is but slight difference in the ritual of the Dutch Reformed Church and that of the Anglican Church. The youth of both races follow the same sports with equal fervour and skill, they belong to the same clubs and play in the same teams. The principal cricket and football teams are made up of Boer and British players, and racialism is never found in sport. This love of the same sports is gradually eradicating racial antagonism, and it will be upon the sports field that it will eventually expire and be decently buried. The postponement of that day is mainly due to the non-sporting, self-seeking politician of both races, gentlemen whose stock-in-trade is racialism. For party reasons these persons assist the naturalized aliens, often agents of foreign Powers and revolutionary societies, to keep the two races apart and fan the dying embers

South Africa

of racial antagonism into the flame of racial hatred.

In the Anglo-Boer War both sides discovered the better traits in each other's character; many illusions were dispelled. The Boer revealed himself as a brave and chivalrous foe, and many of the stories of brutality and treachery can be directly traced to political propaganda invented by men whose only part in the war was that for personal gain without physical risk.

In the earlier wars of the Cape, in the Zulu and Matabele campaigns, in Somaliland and upon every front in the Great War, Boer and Briton fought side by side under officers of both races. It is, therefore, all the more regrettable that the men responsible for keeping these two races apart are those who have never faced danger for their country, nor would they be heard of if danger again threatened—never having fought for a flag but only supported that which is of the greatest financial value to themselves.

The Boer view of the Native is very different from that taken by the average person of British descent, although there are certain South Africans of Scottish descent who in this respect hold with the Boer view. It must be remembered when criticizing the

Briton and Boer

Boer attitude towards the Native races that for generations they have been in close proximity with the Natives, and when not active foes these people served the Boers as serfs. Moreover, there is not a Boer living who cannot truthfully claim, in some degree, ancestors who cruelly suffered at the hands of the Natives; this has left the imprint of prejudice upon the present generation of Boers, to such an extent, indeed, that they must be considered dangerous advisers where Native policy is concerned. Even among the present generation there are Boers who won the title to their large farms from the original owners by the rifle, and in some cases the original occupiers of those farms are working on them as labourers.

As proof of how lightly the Boer holds Native life, it is only necessary to quote the treatment meted out to any Native captured when acting as a scout during the late Anglo-Boer War.

After many generations the Boer has absorbed some of the characteristics of the Native. Like the Native he is highly suspicious; for generations both the men and the women lived in constant fear of their lives from treachery, the poisoned arrows of the Bushmen, poison administered by Hottentot

South Africa

slaves, or sudden attack from the Bantu warrior—therefore treachery is always associated with the Native in the mind of even the most cultured Boer. But he carries this attitude towards all foreigners; he is suspicious and furtive in his dealings with the British especially; it is markedly so in his attitude at the universities and even on the playing field, though he does not allow it to interfere with the game. In negotiations with other Europeans he never approaches the subject directly, but moves round it. This is a legacy from his ancestors, acquired from their experiences in negotiating with Native Chiefs. His suspicion of the British is based upon unfortunate experiences, spreading over generations, until to-day it is his paramount characteristic. Many sharp practices, such as the retention by dishonest agents of most of the money voted by the British Parliament as compensation for the abolition of Hottentot and Bushmen slaves, was attributed to British trickery.

It is claimed by men who have lived among Natives all their lives and speak the language like one of themselves, that no European can know the Native mind; it is equally true that no Briton can know or understand the Boer mind. Both the late Cecil Rhodes and Sir Starr Jameson knew the Boers as well, if not

Briton and Boer

better, than most Englishmen, and respected them accordingly, yet both admitted that it was impossible for any Englishman to win the complete confidence of even the most enlightened Boer leaders. Yet in spite of the tremendous handicap these two great Empire-builders had against them in this respect, they won greater regard and respect from the Boer than has any other Englishman. The Boers held Rhodes and Jameson responsible for depriving the Transvaal Republic of what to-day is Rhodesia by anticipating an expedition under General Delarey, already on the march, for the annexation of Matabeleland, and they also held those two Englishmen responsible for the Jameson Raid and consequently the Anglo-Boer War. The personality of both men rose above this, and disarmed Boer rancour, as was proved in subsequent political intercourse; and it was a personal triumph for Jameson when he was made Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, a country more Boer than British in sentiment, and eventually became one of the political leaders responsible for the National Convention resulting in the Union.

The discovery of diamonds in the Cape Colony in 1867, and the opening of the gold fields in the Transvaal in 1886, attracted

South Africa

adventurers from all parts of the world ; these men, many of them Englishmen and many masquerading as such, gave good and ample cause for the Boers' distrust, for many of these men succeeded by every imaginable trick, legal and illegal, in filching from the Boer his diamond or gold-bearing farms. To-day many of these Boers' descendants have gone to swell the ranks of the bywoners, or Poor Whites.

Although there are several political leaders in South Africa to-day with the imagination and ability to solve the Native problem, not one of these has, as yet, the influence to overcome party opposition or the personality to win the support of both White races, and this is essential if the question is to be removed out of the realm of party politics.

Unfortunately for South Africa and for the Native races, the three men, any one of whom could have successfully solved the problem, have passed away ; these men were the late Cecil Rhodes, Louis Botha, and Sir Starr Jameson. The first-named indicated the Native policy he favoured for the whole of South Africa in his Glen Grey Act, the underlying principle being segregation and local government. The two last-named statesmen accepted this policy as a nucleus

Briton and Boer

for the Unions' Native policy when they safeguarded these rights of the Natives in the Act of Union.

For the last half-century South African politics, as was the case in the United States of America during the latter part of the eighteenth and the opening years of the nineteenth centuries, have centred around certain personalities, and it is both instructive and interesting to note the remarkable similarity in character and mentality of the chief actors in the constitutional affairs of the widely separated countries and periods.

General Louis Botha was almost the reincarnation of General George Washington! Both big men physically and mentally, patriots of simple and unblemished character; neither cared for intrigue, as was the case with their chief lieutenants; both held the love and trust of all sections of a mixed population, and both had the launching of constitutions of a revolutionary nature; then again, both men were natural soldiers and born statesmen; the love of farm or country life was paramount in both.

In General Hertzog, the present Prime Minister, there is a resemblance to Alexander Hamilton, Washington's Finance Minister, though Hertzog is sadly lacking in Hamilton's breadth of vision; both were by choice

South Africa

barristers and perforce soldiers ; both did well at the Bar and in the field. Like Hamilton, Hertzog is an ardent and unselfish patriot ; if he errs it is done conscientiously. He is an idealist, erudite, cultured, and essentially just in his dealings with those of his own race, neither susceptible to flattery nor intolerant of criticism. The resemblance goes further, for, like the great Federalist, Hertzog is slight of build, quick and vivacious, is highly strung, and inclined to be moody. Like Hamilton, he played a most important part in drafting the Constitution for his country, and has since had a chequered political career, due to his political convictions. The tastes that Hamilton had Hertzog has ; as the former was a classical scholar of repute, so is the latter.

There is an even more remarkable coincidence in the reincarnation of Aaron Burr in General Smuts. As Burr and Hamilton were lifelong opponents, so are Smuts and Hertzog. Physically, mentally, and temperamentally, Smuts is the counterpart of Burr, possessing all the latter's brilliance and charm of manner, but, like Burr, trusted politically not even by his closest friend. Like Burr, Smuts is peculiarly susceptible to flattery and intolerant of criticism, and, like him, a brilliant lawyer and a good soldier. He, too, is highly strung.

Briton and Boer

As it was overweening ambition and a firm belief in the Jesuitical policy, "the end justifies the means," that extinguished the career of Aaron Burr, so has it been with General Smuts.

The lives and characters of Abraham Lincoln and Paul Kruger were largely similar, both being Puritanical in their beliefs and simple to the point of austerity in their daily lives, rough in speech and manner and rich in Biblical idiom. The Scripture being the only literature they knew, it served as their sole textbook, and its literal interpretation governed all their actions. Both were constantly appealed to by their rural subjects for decisions in disputes in preference to appealing to courts of law, and in both cases their decisions reflected the wisdom of Solomon. Both men drew the sword conscientiously believing that Right was Might, and both died in the service of their country.

When commenting upon the undoubted fact that the British in South Africa have been sadly deficient in producing political leaders of note or ability, one must remember that British settlement only seriously commenced in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Cecil Rhodes and Sir Starr Jameson were outstanding figures, not only in South Africa but in the Empire, and stand with Clive,

South Africa

Warren Hastings, Cromer, Milner, and Strathcona in a category of their own. The late Right Hon. J. X. Merriman was an English South African, a political leader of ability and a great Parliamentarian. He was always opposed to any oppressive or unjust legislation affecting the Natives, yet he never initiated any constructive Native policy, nor made provision for the rapid evolution of the Native from barbarism to civilization, and its attendant social and political demand. He belonged to that school of thought, peculiar to the old Cape of Good Hope, that looks upon fusion of the Black and White races as inevitable.

The small British Colony of Natal produced two statesmen of ability and personality. Unfortunately these two men, the Right Hon. Harry Escombe and Sir John Robinson, were twenty-five years before their time, therefore their scope of usefulness to South Africa and the Empire was limited to Natal. In launching the self-governing Constitution for that small Colony, they instilled respect for British justice and institutions among the Native races, and when, later, Zululand was annexed to Natal, although the Native population outnumbered the Europeans of Natal by eleven to one, during the lifetime of these two men there was never a murmur of discontent or an

Briton and Boer

act of violence as the result of unjust treatment. Both men died before the evolution of the Native had assumed the importance it has so suddenly done.

The Labour Party, as it sheds its extreme views, is attracting a larger number of the better class of British settlers. But the leaders of this party can only view the Native as an economic competitor, and are intolerant of his rights. Like the majority of the rank and file of the party, many of the leaders are comparatively recent arrivals in South Africa, and they only see an increasing horde of "black savages," anxious to compete at a starvation wage. They therefore concern themselves with legislative measures to forbid this, not to direct the menace into channels that will benefit the Native, themselves, and the country.

CHAPTER V

THE NATIVES

THE advent of the White man in the North and South American continents heralded the decline and ultimate extinction of the teeming populations of those countries, so that to-day few representatives of the aboriginal races are in existence.

In the case of Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific Islands, the process of extermination was much more rapid, for in less than a century the last specimen of the aboriginal of Tasmania has disappeared; the Maories of New Zealand have been considerably reduced, as a result of civilization; and the aboriginal of Australia is only to be found in those inaccessible parts where our civilization has not yet penetrated. Throughout the Pacific Islands the Natives have rapidly dwindled in numbers wherever they have come in contact with Europeans.

In South Africa, as apart from the rest of the African continent, the same process of extermination, when brought in contact with civilization, has occurred among the aboriginal races of the sub-continent. The Bushmen

The Natives

have disappeared and the Hottentot is rapidly disappearing. On the other hand, the Bantu (or Negro), really an exotic or alien south of the Zambesi, is increasing at an accelerating ratio. If it was not so, there would be no serious colour problem for consideration. Until the abolition of slavery, Africa was the recruiting-ground for the world's demand for slaves. For five thousand years, and perhaps longer, there had been a constant flow of the surplus population of Africa through the slave-ports of the East and West coasts. The slave-raids accounted for a large number of people killed, and large numbers died in the weary marches to the coast, and a large proportion of the slave-gangs died at sea. When this constant and steady overflow of surplus population was suddenly stopped, disease took over the duties hitherto performed by the slave-raiders; smallpox, dysentery, beri-beri, elephantiasis, and malaria were the means Nature employed to keep the population within reasonable bounds. Then, too, there were periodic floods and famines. The White man again intervened and by means of vaccination practically exterminated smallpox; by discovering its cause he has defied the malaria-carrying mosquito; by sanitation and organization he has made most parts of Africa

South Africa

comparatively healthy for the Negro ; by initiating law and order he has abolished intertribal wars. To have more than met the demands of the world's slave-markets for fifty centuries and more, the Africans proved themselves abnormally reproductive people ; that reproductivity has in no way decreased, but has been considerably increased by the abolition of slavery and of intertribal wars, by the eradication of disease and by sanitation. It can, therefore, be predicted, with a certain degree of confidence, that within a comparatively short period the continent of Africa will become over-populated. It is true that shortly after the abolition of slavery certain areas had become thickly populated in consequence ; then it was that sleeping sickness made its appearance and quickly devastated these thickly-populated parts. The *Glossina palpalis* and *G. morsitans* have for many years done that work which fell to the slave-raider. But as the Natives, under the advice of European authorities, are taking certain precautions, the death-roll is becoming less each year ; moreover, it is possible that a remedy has at last been found.

This nursing of the teeming population of Africa has been chiefly in the hands of British officials. It was the British Navy that abolished

The Natives

slavery ; the British engineer that placed the population of Egypt and the Sudan beyond the reach of famine ; British soldiers that made them secure against the periodical raids of hostile tribes. It is because of the character of her officials that Great Britain, among all the European nations, stands out prominently as a colonizing Power ; as administrators, commissioners or agents, her sons have never failed to win the respect and esteem of those subject-races they are called upon to serve over. As a rule these officials seldom speak the vernacular, and it is a curious fact that those that do, use it as seldom as possible, for it is known that the Natives' respect for the White man speaking the vernacular is less than it is for the man only using it when compelled to do so. The speaking to a Native in his language leads to familiarity, and from then on respect begins to fail and authority is undermined and lost. It is largely due to the type of man that Great Britain has sent as officials to the Native States that her Native administration has been so greatly superior to that of other European Powers. It is not the brilliant man that is a success among the Natives ; he usually fails, and he cannot explain why or where he fails ; but he can't just "get there" with the Native. It is

South Africa

usually the healthy-minded sportsman that appeals to the Native and always "gets there." It is such men, then, as are moulding the future of our West African possessions, the mandatory territories in East and Central Africa, and our own possessions and Protectorates there—and it is such men as are influencing the Native for his own good in Rhodesia, British Bechuanaland, and Basutoland. Second only in importance to the officials as an influence for good are the missionaries, providing they curb their enthusiasm.

Those missionaries that have been most successful in the practical civilization of the Native races of Africa are at the two extremes of orthodoxy, the Roman Catholics, the Scotch and the Dutch Reformed Churches. At these mission stations the dignity of labour is instilled into the Native mind; the Native is taught discipline and respect for authority and is turned out a useful tradesman or husbandman. There are other mission societies the products of which are the bane of the conscientious official's life. The missionaries of these societies are well-meaning university graduates, imbued with the all-absorbing idea that the heathen of Africa requires the mental equipment of a university don. An attempt is made to force the contents of a tumbler

The Natives

into the capacity of a wine-glass, with sad results to the latter. In this mental process, physical work is eschewed, the missionaries and "our Native students" are familiars. These students are usually introduced to work for the first time when they make the acquaintance of the Commissioner for forging some White man's name to a liquor pass or a hut-tax receipt. Upon the expiration of his term of imprisonment the Native is good material for the Communist agents to work upon.

As the evils of this form of education have become apparent it has been discouraged by the authorities in certain of the Protectorates.

It was such mission societies that instilled in the minds of the Natives of the Union a desire for higher education. In 1880 it was recognized that provision must be made for giving an education to the Natives up to a university standard, for Natives were seeking this education in America and other countries, where they imbued revolutionary ideas. It was not until 1915 that the South African Native College became an established fact. This college is designed to provide a liberal education of university standard, and also training for those who wish to qualify themselves for one of the learned professions or to follow the higher branches of agriculture,

South Africa

industries or domestic arts. In addition to this Native college there are no less than twenty-six institutions in the Union where the Natives are provided with higher education. The education thus provided is taken ample and full advantage of, which is in itself an expression of the aspiration of a people towards improvement. This thirst for knowledge, for education, brings with it the inevitable discontent with their condition in the social, economic, and political communities. To right these real or imaginary grievances certain Native societies were formed, among the more important of which are :

1. **THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.**—This is the strongest of the political organizations among the Natives. It was founded in 1912 and has increased rapidly in strength, and its influence now extends beyond the borders of the Union.

2. **THE BANTU UNION.**—This is a political organization with headquarters in the Eastern districts of the Cape. It is growing in importance, and its influence is exerted for loyal support of the Government of the day.

3. **THE INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL UNION (I.C.U.).**—This is modelled upon the European trade unions and aims at uniting the Native

The Natives

workers into trade unions and federations. It is an organization that is being made use of by Communist agents, as the material is inflammable. It conducts a newspaper, which is anti-European, and preaches the gospel of Africa for the Black.

4. **THE INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL WORKERS UNION (I.C.W.U).**—From the flamboyant name it will be seen that these Native societies have emulated their White labour brothers. The I.C.W.U. is a rival of the I.C.U., also in the hands of Communist agents.

5. **NEGRO MUTUAL IMPROVEMENT SOCIETY AND AFRICAN COMMUNITIES LEAGUE.**—This society was formed by the notorious Marcus Garvey, the West Indian Negro. There are four branches at work in the Union, and these are preaching the gospel of Africa for the African. This society is a channel for the distribution of Communist propaganda to the Natives. The Native Affairs Commission, in reporting in 1923 upon these societies, stated: "The Commission does not think that any special legislation or other action on the part of the Government is necessary. The Natives, as a whole, are a sensible, law-abiding people who are not hostile to the White race; added to this is a marked inability to submerge tribal

South Africa

and local jealousies, which makes racial union very difficult. Their political and economical movements should, however, be carefully watched by the authorities."

This Commission is beginning to realize that the Native is emerging from his barbarous state and with European assistance is awakening and is demanding certain political and economic rights; for it proceeds in its report, *Section 3*, p. 17: "The Commission feels that religious, social, and political organizations will continue to exist, and if America is any criterion their number will increase. Their existence is partly due to the African fondness for social gatherings, partly to their traditional group system of government, partly to an imitation of the methods of the Europeans, and partly to a desire to express their dissatisfaction with the Government. Occasionally really dangerous men will secure the control of these groups and trouble will follow. It seems difficult to prevent this (except by supervision and prompt police action, if necessary) without an undue interfering with individual liberty. The real remedy is undoubtedly to push ahead with the establishment of lawful bodies which can advise in Native matters. Such bodies are the advisory boards in urban areas, councils under the mission stations and the

The Natives

Glen Grey Acts, and the proposed councils under Act No. 23 of 1920. In one or other of these local government groups the Natives will have an opportunity of expressing themselves and of bringing their grievances to the authorities through constitutional channels."

The Native character is seen at its worst in that intermediary stage between barbarism and civilization, for in that stage of evolution the Native has shed tribal tradition with its attendant discipline, has no longer any faith in the gods of his forefathers, and derides those ancient superstitions which acted as an effective code of right and wrong; nor is he yet broken to the discipline of civilization. The awakening mind is in a troubled state, for he fails fully to understand the new faith that is offered him in place of that generations of his ancestors had followed. The worst characteristics of savagery are the last to be dispensed with, and the worst fruits of civilization are the first to be acquired; the result is a mixture of two evils.

The discovery of the diamond and gold mines and the opening of industries are primarily responsible for this dangerous stage of evolution. Any consideration of the future of the Native as a race is antagonistic to the exploiting of the Natives as an economic asset,

South Africa

and is therefore strenuously opposed by those who benefit from the labour of these people. Had it not been so the mines and industries of the country would fail to pay the dividends that are expected of them.

The Natives' introduction to modern civilization, as represented by the large mining centres or industrial towns or ports, is usually through Native labour recruiting agencies. In all the thickly populated Native areas there are numbers of European solicitors; these men advance a small sum of money to the Natives for the purpose of paying rent due to the European owner of the land or to pay such tax as may be due, or it may be to pay the exorbitant costs of some law-suit the solicitors' touts have inveigled the Native to place in his hands; the Native is coerced into placing his mark upon a document acknowledging the debt and agreeing to work upon the mines for a period of one year; he is now handed over to the recruiting agent, who in turn advances part of his pay to the solicitor. The Native is then confined in a mine compound, the comfort and sanitary conditions of which are in every way excellent; the food is plentiful and better than the average European miner is served with. He is provided with modern recreation. The evil starts with his

The Natives

contact with the lower type of European of both sexes ; these are more or less of the criminal class and prey upon the Native. At the expiration of his year's contract he returns to the tribe, a scoffer at tribal superstitions, many of which are the foundations upon which tribal customs have been built. He has lost all respect for the head of the kraal, his head-man or tribal Chief.

This has resulted in the rapid decay of tribal discipline, the gravitation to the Native locations adjoining the towns where a dissolute and immoral life is led. This bad influence extends to the Native women ; they are tempted from the tribal kraals as domestic servants to European families ; they quickly fall a prey to the lower class of European or half-caste, and contribute to the ever-increasing half-caste population.

CHAPTER VI

THE COLOURED PEOPLE

THE coloured or half-caste people of the United States of America are mainly confined to the Southern States. These people had their origin in America as a result of slavery, with the abolition of which, together with the rapid influx of immigrants from Europe, miscegenation practically ceased. To-day the Black, the full-blooded descendant of the African Negro, is but 8 per cent., and the half-caste or coloured less than 1 per cent. of the American people.

This small section of the population is rapidly being submerged by the accelerating rate of increase of the European stock, and the coloured people are no longer a social, economic, or political menace in the United States.

In Africa, the country of origin of those Negroes found in the American Continent, a reverse process is taking place, with the important difference that the Negro is an exotic in America, whereas the European is exotic to Africa. The climatic conditions of North America being more congenial to the

The Coloured People

European than to the Negro, the former was able to gain and increase his vital supremacy. This does not hold throughout the American continent, for the nearer to the Equator the Negroes were planted the more firmly they and their descendants became established, and the more pronounced has been their influence upon the ethnological conditions.

As miscegenation owed its origin in the Southern States of America and in the South American countries to slavery, so was the slave system of the Cape of Good Hope responsible for the origin of that twilight people now threatening to submerge the White race of Southern Africa as completely as the White race has submerged the Black in the United States.

For two centuries the half-caste was increasing slowly in South Africa, and for that period was a negligible quantity. These people were mostly the offspring of European fathers and Hottentot or Malay mothers. In the early part of the nineteenth century Capetown increased in importance as a port of call. European sailors of various nationalities deserted, and, moving beyond the confines of civilization, cohabited with the Hottentot or Korana women, resulting in a rapid increase of the half-caste population. Many

South Africa

of these families formed themselves into clans, and, settling in the then sparsely populated district of Griqualand West, assumed the title of Griquas from the original tribe. The White blood was strengthened by outlaws, deserting sailors and soldiers from the Cape; these men gave their names and a semblance of civilization to their offspring. Many of these names are of British, Dutch, French, German, and Scandinavian origin. The constant addition of European blood increased the vitality of these people; they rapidly grew in numbers, and by the third and fourth generation had developed a well-defined type. In 1861 the Griqua tribe, owing to internal differences, divided; one section, under Adam Kok, migrated to the south-east, and settled in what is now known as Griqualand East; the remainder, under the Chief Waterboer, remaining in Griqualand West until the discovery of the diamond fields, when the tribe broke up and became scattered over the Northern part of the Cape Colony.

The results of miscegenation in the Transvaal, Orange Free State, and Natal, have evolved quite a different type of coloured person, for here is found a cross between the European and the Bantu or Negro approximating closely to the half-caste, quadroon, and

The Coloured People

ctoroon of the Southern States of America. The uncivilized Bantu tribes, though polygamous, have a strict moral code, and they discourage miscegenation. Therefore the half-caste, or the person with a trace of colour, is despised by the pure-blooded Bantu, hence, until some of the evils of civilization broke down their tribal code, miscegenation was slow in its demoralizing progress. Momentum was, unfortunately, given to it by the influx of a degenerate type of European drawn to South Africa by the discovery of mineral wealth. This momentum is increasing, until it now threatens to alter the ethnological conditions of the country.

It is a regrettable fact, the reasons for which are not appreciated in Europe, that in the Southern States of America and in South Africa the coloured person is treated with contempt by the pure-blooded Negro and is considered an outcast by the European. These people aspire to European standards. They have organized their own industrial associations, they are given all the advantages of free education, though, as in the case of the Native, the laws of the four Provinces vary in their treatment of them, for under one law they are classified as Native and under another as European. In the Cape Province they

South Africa

enjoy most of the legal privileges of a European, including the franchise. In the Province of Natal they are exempt from Native law and also enjoy the full franchise. Yet their position is a tragedy. As an ex-Cabinet Minister stated in the House of Assembly when the problem was under discussion: "There was nothing on the statute-book to prevent one from dining at the same table with these people—but it is not done." The effect of this ostracism has resulted within recent years in the large majority of these people registering themselves as Europeans. It is therefore difficult to trace by census returns the rate of increase of this section of the population. The last census returns give the coloured population of the Union at 541,221, or two-thirds less than that of the Europeans. As the increase over 1911 was only 15,384, as against the 1911 increase over 1904 of 80,609, it is obvious that false returns have been made. For several generations many of the coloured people of the Cape of Good Hope have returned themselves as Europeans, and there are cases where this description had led a pure-blooded European to intermarry with those families in ignorance of the colour. Such mixed marriages, however ignorant the contracting parties are of coloured

The Coloured People

ancestors on the one side, lead to great unhappiness, for sooner or later a case of atavism appears in one or more of the progeny.

In the report of the Native Land Commission of 1916, attention is drawn to the ambiguous position of the Griquas and half-castes under the Native Land Act, and it states that "under *Section 10* of the Act 'Native' is defined as :

any person, male or female, who is a member of an aboriginal race or tribe of Africa."

The Commission proceeds: "It may be inferred from this definition that it was not intended to class Griquas and half-castes with Natives, and the Minister, in introducing the Bill, is reported to have said that it was not intended to include coloured or mixed peoples under the term 'Native' as used in the Act.

"The Act, however, does not define or specially refer to this class of people, who are the children or descendants of Native mothers by European fathers, and who form a very considerable portion of the population, and unless the position is made perfectly clear confusion is likely to arise."

South Africa

But it is not only in the Native Lands Act that confusion arises, for the South African Native Affairs Commission, after a very full consideration of the question, makes confusion more confounded by including in the word Native "half-castes and their descendants by Natives" (*Section 74*). As no clear definition of half-caste or coloured persons has yet been made, these persons, to escape the many disabilities they and their children would be subject to if registered as Native, register themselves as European.

In the Orange Free State there is no legal distinction between Native, half-caste, or coloured person :

"All who in accordance with law or custom are called coloured persons or are treated as such, of whatever race or nationality they may be." The drastic nature of this definition is the keynote to the Native and coloured policy of the Union.

In the Provinces of the Transvaal and Natal the Acts differ in their definition of Native ; in some of the statutes it includes and in others excludes Griquas, half-castes, and coloured people.

That the coloured population is rapidly on the increase is confirmed by the report of the Native Land Commission of 1916, for it

The Coloured People

draws attention to the fact in the following words :

“ In several of the Cape districts the mixed or half-caste population predominates, many of them owning land and having the right of franchise.”

That the census enumerators have the greatest difficulty in deciding as to whether a person is White, Black or Brown is made clear by the report (July 13, 1919) of the Magistrate of Namaqualand. He says :

“ The Native reserves in this district are occupied by Bastards,¹ and the difference between the Bastard and the Native is often so slight that it would be almost impossible to say which were regarded by the census enumerator as Bastards and which as Natives.”

In and near the towns of the Cape Province the difficulty is to distinguish between the coloured person and the European of pure blood. This is confirmed by a reference in the Native Lands Commission Report of 1916 on a visit made to Griqualand East. Here they were met “ by a large deputation of Griqua men of all shades of colour, whose origin relates back to a European father and a Native mother. These people urged very

¹ Official term for a half-caste or coloured person.

South Africa

strongly that they should not be classed as Natives for the purposes of the Act."

This large section of the South African population, the result of contact between White and Black, is in itself an obstacle to the territorial separation of White and Black, for the opponents of segregation hold that no such separatist scheme can be complete unless the coloured people are included among the Blacks. A small section of the White hold that the coloured people should be included among the Europeans for segregation purposes; this view is held by the Native population as a whole.

The effect of a segregation policy which provides for the inclusion of the coloured people within White areas will be the gradual disappearance of the coloured blood by a process of absorption by the predominant people.

This process of absorption of the lesser by the greater is the experience of a small tribe of coloured people domiciled in Pondoland, near the scene of the wreck of the ill-fated East Indiaman, *The Grosvenor*, lost on the South African coast in 1776. Some of the survivors are said to have intermarried with Pondos and founded a small tribe of coloured people. To-day all trace of White blood has disap-

The Coloured People

peared, though the members of this tribe still hold the traditions of their ancestry.

Where the conditions are favoured by comparative isolation from an accession of fresh blood, the coloured people become fixed in type. The inhabitants of the islands of St. Helena, Mauritius, Bourbon, and the Seychelles are a type that has become fixed within the last one and a half centuries. This is not so either in the East or the West Indies, owing to a constant accession of either European or African blood.

The people of Malta, Madeira, the Azores, and the Canaries are examples of the vitality and persistence of the African blood under congenial conditions, for here is proof that, even under mild climatic conditions, this blood is stronger than that of a European people. Within three centuries the influence of African blood has spread, as a result of slavery in the first place, throughout the tropics and sub-tropics, with the exception of Australasia. It has dominated the ethnological conditions of South and Central America, the East and West Indies. A further example of the vitality of African blood is the comparison of European penetration from Southern Europe into North Africa with African penetration into Southern Europe; in the former case in every such

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South Africa

attempt the White has been absorbed by the Black, and the ethnological conditions of Northern Africa show no appreciable trace of European blood, yet the contrary is the case in Southern Europe, where the growing influence of African blood is becoming more and more apparent.

CHAPTER VII

NATIVE GRIEVANCES

FROM the dawn of history all subject-races have suffered from real and imaginary grievances, which have been, are being, and will be the stock-in-trade of the professional agitator. With the rise and rapid spread of Bolshevism it was natural that Native races, subjects of the British Empire, should receive preferential attention from Russia's revolutionary agents.

British statesmen cannot judge the danger to the Empire of Communism as preached by the Russian agent in Great Britain by its effect upon the British working men: the poison has its antidote in the British working man's sense of humour. The Native races of Asia, India, and Africa, suffering from real and imaginary grievances, provide the material with which the Russian revolutionary agents are successfully forging an instrument for the dissolution of the British Empire.

The British Government may have most excellent and sound reasons for refusing to accede to public opinion and the demands of a

South Africa

majority Press to expel from Great Britain and the Colonies those apostles of murder, anarchy, and red revolution, the accredited representatives of a Government the avowed enemy and self-appointed destroyer of existing society, religions, and morals. No doubt British Ministers and their advisers are justified in believing that British common sense is proof against the evils of a propaganda which has for its object the destruction of the capitalist equally with that of the working man and his family. The Government, therefore, declines to give these fanatics or self-seekers that notoriety their pernicious doctrine and cause thrive upon. But there is another and much more serious aspect of this case, an aspect not even referred to in the debates in the House of Commons on this question. It is so serious that it alone calls for drastic measures, and the immediate expulsion of the Moscow representatives. It is this: valuable capital is being made by the large army of Bolshevik agents scattered throughout the Empire and across its frontiers of the British Government's negative attitude in face of the emphatic criticism of responsible newspapers, statesmen, and publicists.

This negative or protective attitude is being interpreted to the Native races of Asia, India,

Native Grievances

and Africa as proof of the cowardice and weakness of the British Government and of the right, power, and courage of the Soviet of Russia.

The apparently impregnable position held in London—the capital of the British Empire—by the Russian representatives is quoted to the hundreds of millions of coloured British subjects as absolute proof of Russian power and British weakness. Now the present coloured population of the Empire are the descendants of people conquered by our ancestors; these people have since been civilized and organized constitutionally by successive British Governments which, irrespective of political party, have always shown strength, tempered by justice, in their administration. The British officials have always held the admiration and respect of the Natives by administering the law peacefully and firmly, in accordance with all the fine traditions of British justice. Thus the belief in the strength of the British Government is inherent in these people, the large majority of whom are in their beliefs as children, and would be just as affected if those beliefs were shattered.

As evidence of the power of the British Government, *their* Government, they will quote the abolition of slavery, the extermination of piracy, the eradication of tribal wars and

South Africa

barbarous customs, of human sacrifice and of cannibalism; with pride they will ask you—a White man—to quote any other nation that has done likewise. Now is this inherent faith in the power of Great Britain to be shattered for the sake of placating a few Semitic traders or Hebrew speculators because of some small influence they may have in certain constituencies? The unchecked spreading of this insidious poison among our Native races is of some years' standing; it was responsible for the trouble in Amritsar; the attitude of the British Government was quoted by the Russian agents as conclusive evidence of the power of the Russian Government, for it was claimed that the British Government had climbed down upon instructions from Moscow, as it is claimed to-day that the Government is protecting the Russian agents upon orders from Moscow. This is believed by, and duly impresses, the Native; his faith in British power is being shattered and his loyalty undermined. Every action, however innocent, of the British Government is interpreted by the Bolshevik agent to the Native as being dictated by Moscow.

No Native, be he of Asia, India or Africa, will tolerate weakness in those in authority. Harshness, brutality, and even injustice, if

Native Grievances

administered with a strong hand, he will submit to with humility, for it is inherent in his race to associate such characteristics with strength and power. The rumblings in India—reports of unrest among this or that frontier tribe; the insecurity of European lives in Egypt—seditious speeches of the political leaders of that country; attacks upon life and property of Europeans in China; insubordination of Native Chiefs in Bechuanaland; fanatical outbursts among certain small tribes of the Sudan and Somaliland, though widely separate geographically, can be traced to the same cause—propaganda from Moscow.

During the last five months of 1925 Moscow flagrantly expended over one million sterling in engineering revolution in Great Britain. This caused righteous indignation among all sections of an outraged people—yet the revolutionary agents were protected by the Government. It is doubtful if any Government could keep within bounds the fury of the people if it became known that the Russian agents from Moscow have been and are still expending vast sums of money upon revolutionary and anarchist propaganda among our subject-races. The success or failure of this propaganda depends as much upon the attitude of the British as upon the action of the Russian

South Africa

Government. Let the Government act with strength and courage and expel the Russian representatives and foreign revolutionaries from Great Britain, the Crown Colonies, and Protectorates, and let the fact be widely advertised to our Native races throughout the Empire, then some of that prestige the British race has lost through the negative policy of the Government in this matter will be regained, and that wholesome respect for British authority and power be again felt and shown by the subject-races of the Empire.

Nowhere in the Empire has the Bolshevist agitator a better field in which to preach his pernicious doctrine than in the Union of South Africa, where the just grievances of the Natives provide all the capital required to illustrate, with slight exaggeration, the inequities of British rule. The Natives of Africa cannot discriminate between the South African and the British Government, and the Bolshevist agent is careful that there shall be no discrimination, for it is in the very best interests of revolutionary propaganda that the British Government should bear the odium for the Native grievances due to unjust legislation and administration by the Union of South Africa.

The first official admission that the solution

Native Grievances

of the race or colour problem lay in territorial separation of the two races was made by the Legislature of the Cape in 1894, by enacting a measure known as the Glen Grey Act (No. 25, 1894). This Act elaborates the individual system of land tenure, and by providing for Native Councils allows a small measure of local government. The next step in this direction was less fortunate, for it has been the cause of considerable suspicion and discontent among the Natives. This was the Native Land Act (No. 27, 1913), and was the first attempt of the Union Parliament to legislate for the Native races. It is avowedly only a temporary measure, with the object of maintaining the *status quo* as regards the ownership and occupation of the land in the Union relatively by Natives and by persons other than Native, so far as that could be done without imposing undue hardship, "until Parliament makes other provision." Provision was also made for the appointment of a Commission for the purpose of inquiring into and recommending to Parliament what areas in the Union should be set apart within which (a) Natives, and (b) persons other than Natives, should not be permitted to acquire or hire land or interests in land. In 1916 this Commission reported and made recommenda-

South Africa

tion as to the areas that should be set aside for Native occupation. In 1917 a Bill was introduced to give effect to the recommendations of the Land Commission, but this measure only increased the suspicions and unrest among the Natives, and it was therefore dropped under the Native Affairs Act, 1920. A Native Affairs Commission was appointed, the functions of which are :

(1) The consideration of any matter relating to the general conduct of the administration of Native affairs or to legislation in so far as it may affect the Native population (other than matters of departmental administration), and the submission to the Minister of Native Affairs of its recommendations with regard to any matter of administration of Natives submitted to it by direction of the Minister.

(2) The right of the Commission to bring before both Houses of Parliament any matter in the event of Government not accepting its recommendation.

(3) The power to recommend the constitution of Native local councils and general councils.

(4) The power to recommend that conferences of Natives be convened by the Governor-General to ascertain the sentiments

Native Grievances

of the Native population in regard to any measure in so far as it may affect such population.

The Commission consists of three European members, with the Minister of Native Affairs for the time being as chairman. For such a Commission to secure and hold the confidence of the Native races, these people should have had direct representation upon a body largely responsible for their welfare; no reason for refusing to place a Native upon this Commission has ever been advanced.

This Commission very quickly discovered that the first suspicion that had been aroused by the Native Land Act was steadily increasing and was the cause of much unrest.

In July, 1923, the Government found it necessary to issue the following statement as an endeavour to allay this discontent :

STATEMENT ON THE NATIVES LAND ACT, 1913, AND SUBSEQUENT ADMINISTRATIVE POLICY.

1. The Natives Land Act, No. 27 of 1913, gives effect to the policy approved by Parliament that there should be a measure of territorial separation of land rights between the European and Native races.

2. The restrictions laid down in *Section 1*

South Africa

of the Act check the indiscriminate occupation of land by Europeans and Natives, with its attendant evils.

3. Appended to the Act is a schedule of Native areas in which no person other than a Native can acquire land, or any interest in land, without the special permission of the Governor-General. Outside of these areas no Native can purchase, hire, or acquire any land, or interest in land, from a European, nor a European from a Native, without the approval of the Governor-General.

4. The areas mentioned in the schedule to the Act comprised all then existing Native reserves or locations throughout the Union, and in addition much land privately owned by Natives for tribal purposes.

5. The Act maintains the *status quo* as regards the ownership and occupation of land in the Union relatively by Natives and by persons other than Natives—so far as that could be done without imposing undue hardship—“until Parliament shall make other provision” in the direction of further legislation to be based on the Report of the Natives Land Commission, for the appointment of which provision was made in *Section 2* of the Act.

6. The Commission (commonly called the Beaumont Commission), whose inquiries were

Native Grievances

delayed by the War, submitted its report in 1916.

7. In the following year the further legislation foreshadowed in Act No. 27 of 1913 was introduced into Parliament in the shape of the Native Affairs Administration Bill. The Native areas recommended by the Beaumont Commission were embodied in a schedule to the Bill, which after the second reading was referred to the Select Committee on Native Affairs.

8. After hearing a vast amount of evidence from both Native and non-Native sources, the Select Committee found that the recommendations of the Beaumont Commission could not be accepted in their entirety, and recommended the appointment of "local committees" to revise the recommendations of that Commission. Local committees were accordingly appointed in respect of (1) the Cape Province, (2) Orange Free State, (3) Natal, (4) Eastern Transvaal, and (5) Western Transvaal.

9. The local committee reports were furnished in 1918, and the proposals put forward were received with the same antagonism as had been exhibited in many quarters on the part of both Europeans and Natives towards the recommendations of the Beaumont Com-

South Africa

mission as embodied in the Native Affairs Administration Bill.

10. The Government decided, therefore, that the Native Affairs Administration Bill covered too wide a field, that the various principles embodied in it might more suitably be dealt with in more than one legislative measure, and that it would be premature to ask Parliament to set aside definite Native and non-Native areas until some of the other principles had been dealt with.

11. In other words, it was clear to the Government that the time was not ripe to deal finally with the position arising out of the legislation of 1913 until the recommendations of the Beaumont Commission of the various local committees had been co-ordinated and machinery devised for enabling Native opinion to be focused on the proposals.

12. Consequently the Government decided that before further action was taken to deal with the land question the more helpful course would be the passing of legislation having as its objects :

- (a) The appointment of a permanent Native Affairs Commission with full advisory powers,
- (b) the establishment of Native local councils ; and
- (c) the summoning of representative conferences for the purpose of ascertaining Native sentiment,

Native Grievances

feeling, and opinion in regard to any proposed legislative measure particularly affecting the Native population of the Union.

Legislation was accordingly introduced on these lines, and became law under Act No. 23 of 1920.

13. In the meantime the Government, as will be seen below, has not hesitated to supply by administrative action indispensable requirements which it was originally intended should be met by the further legislation foreshadowed in the Natives Land Act.

14. In July, 1918, General Botha decided that applications by Natives to buy or lease land should be dealt with on the following lines :

- (i) If the land was situate in an area recommended by the Beaumont Commission as well as by a local committee for Native occupation, and it appeared that the price or rent was reasonable, the Governor-General should be asked to approve of the transaction.
- (ii) If the land was situate in an area recommended for Native occupation by the Beaumont Commission or by a local committee (but not by both), the proposed transaction might be submitted for approval after close scrutiny, the likelihood of hardship resulting from a refusal being the deciding factor.

15. This decision met the position in areas where there was considerable identity of recom-

South Africa

mendation, but proved of little advantage to Native interests in districts in which the coincidence of recommendation was but slight.

16. The position was consequently reconsidered by the Government in 1922, when it was decided that, in general, local committee areas were to be regarded as areas in which Natives could buy or lease land.

17. The present position, then, is that the Government readily recommends for the sanction of His Royal Highness the Governor-General transactions whereby Natives are to acquire by purchase or lease land, or an interest in land, in areas recommended for Native occupation by one or other of the local committees, and thus, in so far as these areas are concerned, relief is afforded from the restrictions imposed by *Section 1* of the Natives Land Act.

18. It must be clearly understood that the Government at this stage does not propose to expropriate privately owned land within committee areas with a view to making such land available for Native occupation, nor does it propose to make free grants of land for tribal locations.

19. Speaking broadly, and excepting, perhaps, certain readjustments and one or two special cases, the time has come when it must

Native Grievances

be recognized that any additional land which a man or a community now needs must be paid for either by way of purchase or of lease.

20. As regards Crown land in the committee areas, the Government does not purpose to authorize permanent alienation without Parliamentary authority. It recognizes, however, that Natives should be given liberal rights of user of such land, and has decided, therefore, that no further European rights shall be established. If an exception in this connection is made for very cogent reasons, other land, equally suitable for Native needs, will be made available.

21. This statement applies primarily to the Transvaal and Natal, as in the Cape Province the facilities for acquiring land and interest in land are, so far as Natives are concerned, exactly the same as they were prior to the passing of the Natives Land Act. In the Orange Free State, where Natives are debarred by law from acquiring an interest in land, the position cannot be modified except by legislation. The conditions in the latter Province are engaging the anxious attention of the Government with a view to the law being altered so as to enable Natives of the Barolong tribe to purchase or lease land in that portion of the Thaba 'Nchu district which was recom-

South Africa

mended by the local committee as a Native Area."

In their Report of 1923, the Commission state that "The land question was brought forward at most meetings, and it was represented that the Natives Land Act, as well as the policy underlying it, has caused the Natives much perturbation, and has been the means of concentrating Native opinion on their grievances."

The following points were some of the grievances raised at the meetings held by the Commission in 1923 :

1. Freedom to purchase or lease wherever a man wishes and is able to do so, and not where the Government decides he may.
2. Aliens have greater rights and advantages than the aboriginal inhabitants of the land.
3. The Government's policy shows distrust of the Natives, which is undeserved, for they have been loyal and law-abiding people.
4. Natives evicted from rent-paying farms should be allowed to go to any other farm on rent-paying terms—or Crown land should be provided in which they can reside on rent terms.
5. The Act (Natives Land Act) has brought about a form of slavery, for the Native is

Native Grievances

forced by circumstances to become a farm labourer, and farmers have taken advantage of the position.

6. Natives are compelled by circumstances to enter into contracts with farmers under which their wives, daughters, and their sons must give labour. These conditions are regarded as a very great hardship.

7. The proposed Native areas are in most cases barren and unproductive.

8. Locations are overcrowded, owing to the influx of evicted Native families; are overstocked and more land is required.

9. Local offices have advised tribes to purchase land, but even if the Chief, his councillors and the men agree to do so by a tribal levy, there is no means of compelling recalcitrant members to meet their obligations; a suggestion was put forward that failure to pay a tribal levy should be dealt with in the same way as failure to pay poll-tax.

The burden of the annual reports of this Commission is ever the same. The Natives are crowded off the land. At the Native conference summoned by the Governor-General and held at Pretoria in October, 1924, this fact was emphasized by the principal Native delegate in these words: "In regard to

South Africa

segregation, the principle would be acceptable if the Government were benevolent, but the Natives did not see how they could be segregated and yet be given sufficient land for development. They were greatly disappointed to see Crown land being cut up for Poor White settlement when the Whites had already so much land at their disposal."

He spoke for the Zulus, who saw large tracts of Crown land hitherto regarded as their own now being cut up for Europeans. Large tribes were being moved away from these territories. "Where," he asked, "were the lands to be given to them as indicated by the Natives Land Act?"

A large proportion of the Natives squatted on European land, yet the Natives were continually told that they were to have their lands where they could develop.

Anyone knowing the land question was aware that only in Pondoland and Transkei did Natives have sufficient land to develop.

Another well-known Native leader spoke even more strongly: "Sir George Grey (a former Governor of the Cape) had employed cajolery to get the Natives off the land to work for Europeans. The great Cecil Rhodes had employed similar means. In the Cape, out of 260,000 square miles only 3,000 square

Native Grievances

miles were in possession of Natives, and over a million Natives populated that small area."

Yet this leader might have made his case stronger, for the area of the Cape is 276,966 square miles, of which only 3,000 square miles is held by 1,982,588 Natives, and the balance of 273,966 square miles is held by 588,377 Europeans.

This grave disparity in the occupancy of the land extends throughout the Union, for the Natives Land Commission Report shows that 12.4 per cent. of the land of the Union is occupied by the Native population.

CHAPTER VIII

REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION

FANATICAL, oppressive, absurd, unjust or illogical legislation denotes bad electoral laws, and is only possible in a country whose governing Constitution is weak and faulty.

The history of parliamentary government reveals the outstanding fact that big constituencies return big men by big majorities and that small constituencies elect small men by small majorities. A small constituency of three or four thousand electors is certain to have at least one local question of greater import to it than a matter of national importance, therefore a local man with no political knowledge outside of his small district, possibly of poor intelligence and with some hold over his neighbours, is more readily elected for his party than a candidate of wide knowledge on questions of national policy with no local "pull." Therefore, any electoral system which divides a country into a number of miniature single-member constituencies can only expect to elect to its national Parliament a large majority of parochial mediocrities. Under such

Repressive Legislation

an absurd system two former Prime Ministers of South Africa and a number of Ministers have been defeated by local men upon local, and not national, questions.

The large constituency swamps the parochial question and drowns the mediocrity, and invariably returns an able man upon a national question, leaving the parochial man with his local knowledge for useful work with municipal or provincial bodies.

An electoral system to be efficient should be framed upon the principle of a three-mesh sieve, the large mesh representing the national legislature. The electorate, being equivalent to the mesh, retains only the big candidates, the second mesh retaining the candidates for the Provincial or State legislatures, and the third-grade mesh those candidates for municipal or local bodies.

A national legislature made up of a number of men representing small constituencies is an arena of warring elements, each representative conscientiously believing that the interests of the twelve or fifteen hundred voters that have returned him are paramount to all else; to obtain his end he coalesces with a number of others also holding parochial views.

The few big men, party leaders though of outstanding ability in such an elected assembly,

South Africa

are compelled to sacrifice national policy in face of such parochial coalitions in order to save the country from the greater evil of being governed by the mediocrities themselves. It is such influences, created by the faulty electoral laws emanating from the South Africa Act, that are responsible for the Native problem being neglected or badly handled, and for repressive legislation affecting the Natives. The Native question is sacrificed on the altar of parochial prejudice and ignorance, local selfishness and party expediency; such would be impossible if all national questions were in the hands of a small but efficient national Parliament elected by large constituencies.

A young Parliament, governing a small White population no larger than an American Senatorial constituency, made up of representatives of small electorates, is apt to be impatient or ignorant of such historical precedents as are the safe beacons to all statesmen. History makes no error as to the evil consequences of oppressive rule or repressive legislation. The downfall of the Persian and Roman Empires, the decline of Greece, Portugal, and Spain, and the decadence of Turkey and chaos in Russia to-day, are examples for every legislator to note for guidance.

Unjust measures more often than not recoil

Repressive Legislation

upon those responsible ; they make victorious enemies of what might be loyal subjects. The cause of the World War can be traced directly back to the repressive measures taken by Napoleon against the defeated Prussians in 1806. Half Prussia's territory was taken from her and half of the remainder was kept under the iron heel of the conqueror ; every galling measure possible was proclaimed to keep subdued the late enemy. This had, as it invariably has had and always will have, the opposite effect, for within six years Prussia suddenly reappeared as a Great Power and placed in the field an army as large as that of her Russian allies. It was Napoleon's repressive measures that created the hatred in Prussia and, later, Germany for France, resulting in the Franco-Prussian War and later in the World War. The evil effects of Napoleon's repressive measures are not yet ended.

The four constituent colonies forming the Union of South Africa vary in their treatment of the Natives. This is an unfortunate legacy for the Native ; of the different policies pursued prior to Union, from that of equality and fusion in the Cape to that of intolerance and serfdom in the two former Republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State, many of

South Africa

the laws affecting the Natives have not yet been consolidated or are still those of the original units.

Under the mining laws of the four Provinces, with the exception of those of the Cape, the Natives have few rights, as the following provisions will show :

Transvaal.—No right may be acquired under the mining laws by a coloured person, excepting certain grazing and water rights in locations if such be proclaimed a public digging.

Orange Free State.—Prospecting licences are only issued to White persons. Coloured persons within the boundaries of a public digging must obtain a monthly pass, at a cost of one shilling per month.

Natal.—Prospecting claim licences and mining licences cannot be obtained by Natives in respect of Crown lands.

The land vested in the Natal Native Trust may be prospected with the permission of the Union Government ; but Natives are prohibited from prospecting thereon.

Cape of Good Hope.—Any person—on satisfying the Civil Commissioner that he is of good character—may obtain a prospecting licence. There is no colour distinction. It has been observed elsewhere that suspicion

Repressive Legislation

and discontent have been caused and are fostered by land legislation affecting the Native. This discontent is not confined to the land legislation. A repressive measure of the most flagrant nature has just been passed by the Union legislature. It is an Act which strikes at the root of justice, ignores the principles upon which all democratic Constitutions are based, and even flaunts the Royal Instructions. This measure is the South African Mines and Works Amendment Bill, 1925, better known as the Colour Bar Bill. The history of this measure is interesting, for it sheds some light on the attitude of a large section of the European population towards the Native. It has brought together the two extremes in political thought in South Africa, and is an excellent example of political principles being sunk for self-interest. The Conservative Afrikaner, adhering to the belief that the Black is supplied by Providence to labour for the White, and the Socialist Labourites, the majority of whom are immigrants from Europe, believing that the Native is an economic danger if allowed to compete in anything but the lowest menial work—these extremes have joined forces to keep the Native in perpetual servitude.

The two Republics of the Transvaal and

South Africa

Orange Free State had a colour bar law, but this was repealed under Crown Colony Government. The first colour bar law passed by the Union Parliament was that of October 12th of 1911 (Works and Mines Act). This was introduced by the Hon. J. C. Smuts, then Minister for Mines. *Section 4* of this Act provides *inter alia* that the Governor-General may make regulations in respect of competency required from persons employed at or about mines, works and machinery. Under this section regulations were framed and these excluded the Black man from certificates of competency. These regulations were approved by the Minister himself, a King's Counsel. As such he must have known full well that these regulations were *ultra vires* in so far as the provisos of colour were concerned. In 1923 the manager of a mine in the Transvaal was placed upon his trial for a breach of the Act in that he had employed a Native on work reserved to White men under the Act. The Supreme Court held that the colour bar in the Act was *ultra vires*, and he was acquitted. The Conservative Boers and the White Labour Party therefore combined to legalize and extend the colour bar section; hence the Mines and Works Amendment Bill of 1925. The colour bar section reads as follows :

Repressive Legislation

Section 4 of the Mines and Works Act 1911 is hereby amended by the addition to end of sub-section (1). The regulations may provide that in such provinces or areas as may be specified in the regulations certificates of competency in any occupation referred to shall not be granted to Natives or Asiatics and the regulations restrict certain classes of work as between Natives and Asiatics and other persons respectively in respect of mines, works, and machinery.

The opposition in the Legislature to this measure lost all its force by reason of its hypocrisy, for it was led by the very man who, as Minister, had in 1911 used all his persuasive powers to introduce the colour bar into South African politics; not only that, he had, as Minister, enforced regulations which he, as a King's Counsel, knew full well to be illegal.

There were stormy debates in two sessions of the Lower House, two sessions of the Senate, and finally a session of both Houses sitting as one Chamber. The Bill was then passed by the small majority of 16, the number of members of both Houses voting at the joint sitting being 150. A petition from clergy of various denominations, including the Dutch Reformed Church ministers, was presented to Parliament protesting against the measure on the grounds "that the proposals violate moral and religious principles. It is, we hold, wrong

South Africa

that any man should be debarred by law from doing any kind of work for which he is qualified, and it is certainly wrong that any man should be legally prohibited from doing such work merely on the ground of colour."

It does not follow that this measure, denying a whole population, because of colour, the right to do certain work or improve its condition, will become law, for under *Section 65* of the South African Act the King may disallow any law within one year after it has been assented to by the Governor-General. Should the Bill become law, endless litigation must ensue over the definition of the word "colour." Such judges as have been called upon to give a definition of "coloured persons" have either differed or failed to give such definition. A judicial interpretation of the phrase "of European descent," as used in the South Africa Act,¹ was given by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa. The Court held that when once it is established that a near ancestor, male or female, is of other than European race, a descendant is regarded as being of "non-European" descent.² The ambiguity of this

¹ South Africa Act 26 (*d*) and 44 (*c*).

² *Moller v. Keimoes School Committee* (1911) A.D., p. 635.

Repressive Legislation

ruling lies in the omission of any definition of the phrase "near ancestor." In the United States the definition of "coloured person" varies: whilst in one State it includes the sixth generation from a Negro, in another it means "descended from a Negro." It was the definition that made the first anti-Asiatic Bill a double-edged weapon. The Bill was initiated by the Jewish traders and usurers, so numerous and influential in South Africa, with the object of driving their successful competitor, the British Indian, from the country. It was then discovered that the phrase "of Asiatic descent" covered the Hebrew; this discovery brought support for the Bill from those not hostile to the British Indian. It also meant that all the Jewish influence was exerted to defeat their own measure, with the result that it was dropped. The passage of the Colour Bar Bill was only possible by the protective functions of the Senate, or Second Chamber, being annulled by *Section 63* of the Constitution. Here is the weakness of a compromise Constitution. When drafting the South Africa Act the National Conventions were divided on the question of a bi-cameral or uni-cameral legislature. A compromise was effected by making it bi-cameral but restricting the extent of the veto of the Upper House.

South Africa

Experience has shown that a Second Chamber, being beyond the coercion of an excitable electorate, is an efficient check upon hasty or fanatical legislation. In this particular case (the Colour Bar Bill) the Senate, not dependent upon the changeable temper of constituencies, was able to consider the measure upon its merits, in an atmosphere free from passion, and this body of experienced legislators rejected it by a large majority. A year later this same unprejudiced body, after twelve months' impartial inquiry, rejected the Bill again by an increased majority. *Section 63* of the South Africa Act, therefore, very largely nullifies the object for which the Upper House was created, with regrettable consequences not only for South Africa but for the whole Empire.

During the last session of Parliament a repressive measure against the Asiatics resident in South Africa was introduced. Unlike the Native, the Asiatic can bring pressure to bear upon the British Government through the Indian Government. This he has so far successfully done, for the Bill has been referred to a committee. This Bill forbids any Asiatic to own land, to trade or to reside within certain areas—that is, he will be segregated within certain areas. The enactment of such a law

Repressive Legislation

as it is drafted must seriously embarrass the British and Indian Governments. If it was part of a territorial segregation policy for the separation of the coloured and the White peoples it could not be considered as repressive legislation, for it would be affecting all inhabitants of the Union alike.

Since 1913 India has protested against the Union's anti-Asiatic legislation, and this has caused concern to successive British Governments, especially as the exclusion of Asiatics is the unanimous policy of the British Dominions and self-governing Colonies. This policy is often criticized in Great Britain, but such criticism is founded upon ignorance of the social, economic, and, especially as regards South Africa, ethnological conditions.

The Asiatic was introduced into South Africa in 1860, when a few sugar and tea planters, rather than go to the trouble of training the Native of the country, which circumstances have now forced them to do, persuaded the British Government to allow Indian labourers to be brought into the Colony of Natal under indenture. As the wage for the men was 3½d. and the women 1½d. per fourteen hours' day, it will be understood that only the dregs of humanity were recruited.

South Africa

The term of indenture was five years, and expired in the Colony; the Asiatic then became an economic and social menace to the Native as well as to the European.

Within twenty years these Indians had outnumbered the Europeans, and by 1890 they had ousted the European storekeeper and trader from the country towns. Their standard of living is such that the lowest European cannot compete with them.

With Union, in 1909, the door to South Africa was effectually closed to all Asiatics, and every encouragement has been offered them to return to India. Of the 163,000 Indians resident in the Union, 64,000 were born within the Union and are entitled to reside therein equally with the Europeans and Natives. Of the 163,897 Asiatics in South Africa, 140,858 are confined under the Act of Union to the small Province of Natal; it is a punishment fitting the crime, inasmuch as it was the parsimony of a few Natal planters that introduced these people into South Africa. The Republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State, recognizing the grave danger to the Native population by the fusion of Oriental blood, prohibited the entry of Asiatics into their countries. In 1896 the British Government, foreseeing the danger of contact between

Repressive Legislation

the Asiatic and the Zulu, stipulated that Zululand would be handed over to the Colony of Natal providing the Asiatic was excluded from that territory. This fact is apparently forgotten by the British and Indian Governments of to-day.

The National Convention of 1909 had the opportunity of placing the Asiatic question out of the reach of repressive legislation by including the Asiatic among the Union population instead of segregating him in Natal. Had this been done the Asiatics would have been lost sight of, instead of remaining a compact and disturbing mass. It should be remembered, moreover, that if the Act of Union were strictly applied there would be no call for any anti-Asiatic legislation, for if the present immigration laws are properly enforced the Asiatic ceases to be a menace.

As there is no real necessity for the legislation it is regrettable that it is persisted in, for it is playing into the hands of the disloyal in India. Differential legislation for the Native and the Asiatic must inevitably react upon those responsible, and must lower that British prestige which has always stood so high with the coloured races of the Empire. Such legislation will be cited as a precedent for racial, class or religious legislation. In the event of a Moham-

South Africa

medan Government obtaining power in India, such a measure as the Colour Bar Act of South Africa may well be used as an example for legislation against the European or the Hindu, the Jew or the Gentile.

CHAPTER IX

SEGREGATION—THE SOLUTION

THE National Convention responsible for the South Africa Act, i.e. the Constitution, began its labours at Durban, Natal, on October 12, 1908, and concluded them on February 2, 1909, at Bloemfontein, Orange Free State. This Convention consisted of thirty-three delegates, representing the four constituent Colonies and Rhodesia: twelve from the Cape of Good Hope, five from Natal, five from the Orange River Colony, eight from the Transvaal, and three from Rhodesia. The Native races of South Africa were not represented either directly or indirectly upon this Convention, nor was evidence heard on their behalf as to their views upon their future government.

Inasmuch as the Constitution is embodied in a Statute of the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain (*cf.* Edward VII, chap. 9), it is, like those of Canada and Australia, a subordinate Constitution, for its authority is drawn from the British Constitution, and in theory, though not in practice, its Legislature is subordinate to that of Great Britain.

South Africa

In its anxiety to take advantage of the temper of the small European electorate of the four Colonies, then ripe for any change in its form of government, the National Convention hurriedly threw together a compromise Constitution, which its draughtsmen proudly termed a new departure in instruments of government. It is a cross between the rigid form and the flexible type of Constitution. Time has proved it to be like all hybrids—sterile, and because of its impotency it is responsible for the constant political unrest among that small people it was created to govern.

The National Convention was fairly representative of the two White races, though with a slight preponderance in voting strength in favour of the Dutch party. The negotiations were mainly confined to a struggle between the British and the Dutch for securing the future government of the country, and here the British delegates were beaten by better brains. In this struggle for power the fundamental problem of South Africa was entirely ignored. The delegates from the Cape of Good Hope succeeded in having their Native policy of fusion of Black and White reflected in the Act in the form of an entrenched clause. The delegates of other Colonies succeeded in confining the operation of this clause to the Cape Province.

Segregation—the Solution

To secure the government of South Africa for Europeans the Convention restricted the membership of the Legislature to Europeans. Had this not been so the government of the country would eventually pass into the hands of the Negroes. Yet events have shown that it would have been an heroic, though wise, action for the Convention to have given small, direct representation to the Natives in the Senate. As is the case in New Zealand, such a course would have gone a long way towards solving the problem, and would have checkmated a growing agitation for those political rights which cannot be given without surrendering the government of the country to the Black races.

The political leaders responsible for the Convention, not satisfied with ignoring the claim of over five million Natives to representation on the Convention and refusing them a very small voice in the Legislature, omitted to formulate a consolidated Native policy from the four divergent policies followed by the separate Colonies. It was expected that a sub-Constitution creating a Native legislature, with advisory powers only, would have resulted. Such a Constitution would have, without doubt, directed those growing political aspirations of the Natives

South Africa

into safe and progressive channels. Again, in 1920, another opportunity of giving the Native some shadow of responsibility in his own government was neglected by omitting to place a Native representative upon the Natives Affairs Commission.

This suppression of the political aspirations of a large majority by a minority leads to discontent, suspicion, and unrest, which grow more acute with each act of suppression. Owing to the problem being valuable propaganda for the two White political parties, neither side desires its removal from the political arena. Both parties agree that the solution of the problem lies in segregation, but neither party has sufficient courage to adopt this as its policy, for the very good reason that it calls for the sacrifice of the title to large areas of unoccupied but tied-up land and cheap labour by the European electors.

The adoption of territorial segregation for the White and Black as the only course for avoiding a Brown population would not be entering upon uncharted seas, for the beacons for such a policy were placed as far back as 1820, when the Secretary of State for the Colonies declared the Great Kei River to be the boundary between Black and White. This wise policy was again followed at the conclu-

Segregation—the Solution

sion of the Zulu War, for Zululand was declared a segregated Native area. Two years later, the Cape Government being unable to deal with the Basutos, the British Government intervened, and restricted that country to Native occupation only. This peaceful and prosperous territory is an object-lesson to all opponents of segregation, no matter what the grounds for opposition. In 1893 Rhodes, with the example of Basutoland before him, annexed Pondoland for the Cape upon the distinct understanding that it should remain exclusively Native territory.

The Colonial Office was responsible for Bechuanaland and Swaziland being kept as segregated areas.

If we include Portuguese East Africa as segregated Native territory, we find that over 90 per cent. of the Native labour of the mines of the Union is drawn from segregated areas. Therefore, by developing the policy already in existence in South Africa, the industries of the country are not going to suffer. Segregation means an organized supply of unskilled labour for industries and agricultural work. Because of system and organization there should be less wastage than at present. In segregation areas there would arise a demand for local labour resulting in a gradual, though not

South Africa

disturbing, withdrawal of Native labour from European areas to be replaced by European labour—men and youths who now consider it derogatory to do menial work. Gradually the Native cook and the nurse-boy will be replaced by the White girl. Eventually, and without any economic upheaval, the Native will disappear from the European areas, and the European will withdraw from the Native areas. By segregation only can unemployment and the Poor White problem be solved, for it is the unsolved Native question that is at the root of all the economic difficulties of South Africa.

With the growth of towns there has arisen a class of Native artisan whose standard of living is such that he is driving the European workman from the market. This was a reason given for the Colour Bar Bill. In a segregated area these Native artisans would be fully employed at their various trades, and, therefore, no call for vocational segregation would be heard. Basutoland is an example, for there Native tradesmen are able to ply their trades at profit to themselves and to the benefit of the community.

It has been shown how the Native is being educated through schools and colleges, the vernacular Press, by trade unions, societies,

Segregation—the Solution

and associations, to the value and effect of that political power of which he is deprived. If the White man is to continue to rule in and govern South Africa his prestige must be retained, hence a safety-valve must be found for that political ambition the White man has aroused in the Native by the education he has forced upon him. That safety-valve is territorial segregation, for this would carry with it full enfranchisement for an advisory Native Parliament, with limited executive powers restricted to Native affairs. This Native Parliament would initiate, prepare, and debate and then submit to the South African Parliament certain Native legislation. The statesman, or even politician, holding that the Native question can be answered without the aid of the Native himself is a danger to South Africa.

Upon examination and inquiry it will be found that the opponents of segregation are interested in the exploitation of the Native, and with them the future of the coming generations is a matter of indifference.

Segregation is a term open to wide and varied definition, and is, therefore, misunderstood, and often wilfully misinterpreted by interested opponents, and applied to any scheme which has for its object the social separation

South Africa

of the two races. Those who have given close study to this ethnological problem are satisfied that segregation is the only practical solution, and understand it to be a two-stream policy, giving a peaceful and beneficial flow for each on parallel lines, each enjoying the resources and benefits of the same country without fear of that intermingling of blood which inevitably results in the degeneracy of both races and brings into being a hybrid people. Only by segregation can the blood of both races be kept pure, and the ethnological history of the Latin Republics of South America be avoided.

It will be remembered by many that the late Cecil Rhodes propounded a segregation policy which meant the removal of all Blacks in South Africa to North of the Zambesi—under existing conditions this would be an impossible scheme. Segregation as a practical policy must conform to certain conditions, and the principal conditions should be :

- (1) To ensure justice to the Native the segregation policy should be formulated with the assistance of Native representation.
- (2) There should be no undue interference with existing economic conditions.
- (3) The withdrawal of Native labour should

Segregation—the Solution

be gradual, so as not to cause loss or inconvenience.

- (4) Segregation areas to be of that extent necessary for carrying an agricultural and pastoral population.
- (5) Segregated areas to enjoy the franchise for Native advisory Parliaments with specified executive powers.
- (6) A limited number of European officials under an Administrator only allowed in segregated areas.
- (7) Government labour bureaux to be in segregated areas for the collecting of Native male labour and its distribution, under proper supervision, in White areas.
- (8) Government trading depots to trade direct or to Native-owned trading stores. No European private traders to be allowed within Native areas.

Some of these conditions are already in force in Basutoland and the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

That the Natives are themselves desirous for segregation is evidenced by the migration of tribes and communities within recent years, and by the speeches and addresses delivered by responsible Native leaders at the Native

South Africa

conferences periodically convened by the Governor-General. Some twenty-six years ago the Baralong tribe migrated from the Orange Free State to Bechuanaland. As recently as 1924 there was the case of a small tribe migrating from the Cape Province to the Northern Transvaal.

The following territories are solely occupied—except for a few officials—by Natives, and these areas are well able to carry the five and a half million Natives of the Union if they were encouraged to migrate.

These eight territories are to all intents and purposes segregated areas. Here will be seen the area of each, with the population per square mile :

	Square Miles.	Population per Square Mile.
Bechuanaland Protectorate ..	125,350	0·5
Bechuanaland (Cape) ..	51,924	1·7
Swaziland	6,536	15·2
Zululand	10,424	29·0
Basutoland	11,716	34·5
Tembuland	4,129	55·2
Pondoland	3,906	57·4
Transkei	2,552	73·1

The sparsity of the population of these territories is better appreciated if we compare

Segregation—the Solution

them with some of the more arid provinces of Egypt, away from the Nile Valley, and where irrigation schemes have not yet been erected. The population of these provinces varies from 470 to 1,100 per square mile and the rainfall is no greater than that of Bechuanaland. It would be unfair to compare the fertility of the arid zones of the two Bechuanalands with well-watered and fertile territories such as Zululand or the Transkei. The Bechuanaland territories are excellent pastoral countries, and exceedingly healthy for man and beast, and the Bantu is essentially a pastoralist.

There is very good reason for the Natives to view with suspicion any reference to segregation. If it has been vocational segregation it has meant the benefit of the European, the degradation and deprivation of the natural rights of the Natives. If it has been political segregation it has been depriving him of such political rights as had been granted him by previous Governments. If territorial segregation it has meant the breaking of treaties depriving the Native of rich and fruitful lands upon which absentee sugar-, tobacco-, and cotton-planters can wax rich, and placing the Native upon barren or unhealthy lands in place of those from which he has been evicted. The segregation policy herein suggested has

South Africa

no relationship to such policies of hypocrisy. It is a clear-cut, plain policy of territorial segregation, which embraces political, social, economical, and vocational segregation. It is, however, a policy that cannot be carried out by coercion, it calls for patience in educating the European, as well as the Native, in its benefits. The policy must be raised above party politics, and it calls for the hearty co-operation of the Imperial Government. As it is the first step towards a measure of self-government for the Natives, the policy should be carefully prepared by a Royal Commission consisting of Imperial, Union, and Native representatives; and the greatest care should be taken that none of these representatives is interested either in land or industries relying upon the exploitation of Native labour, though every facility for hearing objections to such a policy from interested parties should be given.

The Natives will only have confidence in a Commission upon which there are representatives of the British Government, for they fully realize that then any British territory that is surrendered to meet the requirements of a segregation policy will be used for that purpose only. The National Convention and, later, the Union Government endeavoured to persuade the British Government to hand over

Segregation—the Solution

to the tender mercies of the Union the Native territories of British Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland ; fortunately the British Government was alive to the fact that the land was urgently required to supply hungry electors with farms.

CHAPTER X

THE NATIVE POLICY OF RHODESIA

THE efficiency of a political Constitution lies in its brevity and simplicity rather than in wealth of detail, confused phraseology, and complexity. The Constitution granted to Southern Rhodesia, under Letters Patent dated October 1, 1923, is a model instrument of government, a common-sense document free from all ambiguities, elastic enough to meet the changing conditions of a rapidly increasing population, sufficiently flexible to meet any strain caused by the rapid evolution of the Native races from barbarism and savagery to civilization, yet rigid enough to ensure justice to White and Black, irrespective of colour.

Those responsible for framing this self-governing Constitution had before them the disastrous example set by the South Africa Act, the numerous ambiguities, omissions, and compromises in which have been the cause of grave injustice to Europeans, Asiatics, and Natives; resulting in continuous litigation, racial differences, and strife; in fact, responsible for a state of political and racial chaos.

The Native Policy of Rhodesia

The leaders of the responsible Government party of Southern Rhodesia laid the foundations of the future government of their Colony, guided by the example of the weak and strong points together with the working of the various Constitutions of the self-governing Dominions and Colonies—examples, both good and bad, by which an efficient Constitution could be framed. Rhodesia is even more fortunate in having across her borders examples of Native policies, the good results of which can be usefully applied to her own Native policy, now in the making.

The Imperial Government, realizing when too late the injustice it had perpetrated upon the Native races of South Africa by handing them over to the tender mercies of the Union Government without providing safeguards, made provision for the Natives of Southern Rhodesia in the Letters Patent. These provide that there shall be a Native Department, the permanent head of which shall be appointed by the Governor-in-Council with the approval of the High Commissioner.

The area of Southern Rhodesia is 150,000 square miles; the European population at the last census was given as 33,620, and the Native population was estimated to be 862,319. The area of land reserved for the use of the

South Africa

Native population, including mission reserves and Native-owned farms, is 34,450 square miles, as against 48,500 square miles owned by the Europeans. As the distribution of the land has been made under the rule of the Chartered Company, the present Government can in no way be held responsible for any unfair distribution or inadequate provision of land being made to meet the rapid increase of the Native population and its future requirements.

The Rhodesian Government lost no time in recognizing its responsibilities to the Natives, for in January, 1925, a Commission, consisting of three members, was appointed to report upon the expediency and practicability of setting apart areas, outside of Native reserves, within which only Natives or Europeans, as the case might be, should be permitted to own or occupy land, and to make consequent recommendations. The Commission's inquiries were not complicated by the intrusion of the coloured or half-caste problem, as is the case in all such inquiries into the Native problem in the South African Union. European settlement is of too recent a date for the appearance of the coloured problem; the Natives are still loyal to their tribal traditions, and almost untouched by the vices of our civilization.

The Native Policy of Rhodesia

The small European population is mostly drawn from sturdy British stock, and therefore view miscegenation with repulsion. Its degradation is impressed upon them upon their first arrival on the shores of South Africa, for at Capetown they find a population of coloured people distinct from White or Black. The features of these, being neither Aryan nor Negroid, give the impression, to a new arrival, of being unnatural. As the Rhodesian settlers leave Capetown for the North, they will notice that for fourteen hundred miles of their journey the population is principally a "twilight" people. It is a lesson in miscegenation the majority of travellers never forget, and they reach Rhodesia determined to endeavour to keep the two races pure and avoid at all costs the breeding of a hybrid people. From Kimberley to the Rhodesian border the population becomes more black in colour, and at the border the twilight people are left behind; the pure Bantu and the pure White are the sole inhabitants, for very few Asiatics have penetrated to Rhodesia.

It is reasonable to suppose that in framing their Report the Rhodesian Native Affairs Commission were largely influenced by the rapid march northwards of the "twilight" people. In less than fifty years these people have

South Africa

advanced some fourteen hundred miles from the seaboard. The Commission, representing a people jealous for the purity of the large Native population committed to their care by the Imperial Government, considered that territorial segregation would be the only means of avoiding miscegenation and a coloured population, that fate which is so quickly overtaking the Cape of Good Hope, and which threatens the rest of the Union. Therefore the Commission, in their Report, definitely declare for segregation, stating that the evidence "leaves no room for doubt as to the wishes of all classes of the inhabitants affected, and we have no hesitation in finding that an overwhelming majority of those who understand the question are in favour of the existing law being amended and of the establishment of separate areas in which each of the two races, Black and White respectively, should be permitted to acquire interests in land. Missionaries, farmers, and town dwellers, the officials of the Native Department, the Natives in the out districts and reserves, in so far as they can grasp the subject, and the more advanced Natives, are, generally speaking, all of one mind in this respect."

The Commission recognize the fact, which successive South African Governments have

The Native Policy of Rhodesia

failed to do, that only by segregation can the many causes of friction between the two races be successfully avoided, for the Commissioners say :

“In the world generally the relationships between the White and the coloured races tend to become more and more embittered ; and of those who have given the subject most thought many fear that wars of extermination between the races will take place in the future unless effort is made to secure a better understanding between them. . . . On that account, and especially where the two races are living in the same country, it becomes all the more necessary to remove as far as possible all causes of friction.”

Although the Commissioners unanimously recommended territorial segregation, two of the Commissioners have raised a controversial question as regards certain hardships which they consider would be inflicted upon the Matabele occupying the districts now settled by Europeans should those Matabele be removed to Native areas (the Matabele is pure Bantu), as would be necessary in case of a policy of complete segregation being adopted. Those two Commissioners, therefore, recommended the creation of certain neutral areas in which mixed occupation should be allowed. If such

South Africa

a recommendation is adopted, then the principal object for complete segregation, viz. the privation of miscegenation, will be defeated, for these neutral areas will be the centres in which the "twilight" people will be produced and from which they will spread over Rhodesia as they have spread over the Cape of Good Hope.

The rapid transition of the Bantu from barbarism to civilization is even more noticeable in Rhodesia than in the Union of South Africa. As recently as 1893 the country was still under the savage and despotic rule of Lobengula; there was a second Matabele War in 1896, and in 1898 a caravan of slaves was intercepted on its way to Lake Nyassa, and the slaves released, at Fort Jameson.

To-day we find that in Southern Rhodesia there are 1,089 schools of different grades; these are attended by over 70,000 Native pupils. All of these schools are under the control of the various missionary societies, though supervised and partly financed by the Government. As the Native education includes handicraft, industrial and agricultural instruction, an increasing number of Native artisans and skilled tradesmen are produced each year. Owing to the small European population and the scarcity of White labour, and the problem

The Native Policy of Rhodesia

of Native competition in the skilled or partly skilled trades, the Legislature may adopt the policy of territorial segregation in time for the Native artisan to be fully employed at his trade in his own area, among his own people, and the White artisan left to work free from Native competition for the people of his own race.

The majority of the members of the present Legislature of Southern Rhodesia entered that country as pioneers of civilization at a time when it was under the despotic rule of Lobengula. These men, unlike the legislators of the South African Parliament, many of whom never have seen a Native in his kraal, have had first-hand experience of the Natives in their savage state, conforming to Native customs and traditions and ruled by a Native despot. They have assisted in the Natives' transition from savagery to a form of civilization; and these legislators, supported by a like experienced electorate, are well able to lay the foundations of an efficient and just policy of territorial segregation, the effects of which will beneficially influence the million Natives of Northern Rhodesia, the one and a half million Natives of Nyassaland, and the seven and a half million Natives of Tanganyika. The effect the Rhodesian Native policy will

South Africa

have upon the Natives of Bechuanaland and of the Union of South Africa will greatly depend upon its justice, foresight, and efficiency.

The union of Northern Rhodesia with the Colony of Southern Rhodesia would add 291,000 square miles of a very sparsely populated but highly fertile territory to the Colony ; such a union would greatly facilitate a Native policy beneficial to the Natives of both territories.

The spirit of Rhodes abides in the great country bearing his name, and that spirit is the propelling force for expansion northwards, free from the unctious rectitude, the parochial expediency, and racial bitterness of the south.

The spirit of Rhodes calls for a great Federation of the territories north of the Limpopo and Zambesi as an integral part of the British Empire, loyal to the Crown and as the guardian of British interests in the Continent of Africa. This great future for Rhodesia was only made possible by the courage of those who declined the overtures and ignored the threats of disloyal politicians of a potential Republic in the south.

CHAPTER XI

IMPERIAL CONFERENCES AND THE NATIVES

THE deliberations of the periodical Imperial Conferences might have a more important bearing upon the coloured races of the Empire than has been the case in the past. In the first place, the subject-races are as deeply concerned in international peace as are the Europeans, and they may well expect these Conferences, representing one-fourth of the world's population, to have a more practical bearing with that desired end in view than those expensive yet abortive sessions of the Assembly of the League of Nations, for the discussions should be frank and free from national jealousies, suspicion, and intrigue.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on March 28, 1926, in making a statement to the House of Commons on the results of the last League session, paid a tribute to his colleagues, the representatives of the Dominions, when thanking them for their services at Geneva. From the British point of view this session was far from disappointing. The

South Africa

facts that Sir Austen Chamberlain was accompanied by representatives of self-governing parts of the Empire, that they were consulted in all questions dealt with by the League, and that their advice was sought, are direct evidence to the world at large that the widely scattered Empire, occupying one-quarter of the habitable globe, containing one-fourth of the world's population, stands four-square and is a League of Nations in itself, but a United League. Sir Austen's thanks to their representatives are proof to the Dominions that they have a distinct voice in the Empire's foreign policy, and the last session at Geneva finally disposes of the accusations—made by the anti-Imperialists anxious for the disruption of the Empire—that the Dominions and self-governing Colonies have no say in matters outside of their own borders.

Since 1887 these Imperial Conferences, in spite of the outstanding ability of their personnel, have been more in the nature of informal meetings of British Dominions and Colonial representatives to discuss questions common to the Empire. These meetings have always resulted in a better understanding between the component parts and with the Mother Country—yet, although the best brains of the Empire are brought together, nothing

Imperial Conferences

of a constructive nature has yet been achieved. The granting of the higher status to small populations is destructive rather than constructive. It is probable, however, that under the presidency of the present Secretary of State for the Dominions some formula may be found whereby these Conferences will become an important part of the Empire's legislatures.

It is held by a school of enthusiastic imperialists that the grouping together of Colonies into Dominions, Federations, and Unions must logically be followed by an Imperial Federal Constitution, providing for an Imperial Senate legislating upon Imperial matters only. This ideal has been considered all the more probable as modern science is practically eliminating distance and time; but the Dominions have grown so rapidly, and have developed upon such independent lines, that the realization of that ideal is no longer possible. No super-Constitution, encroaching upon their existing or accruing rights and privileges, would be acceptable to the Dominions. Yet it is realized that if the Empire is to continue as a Commonwealth and the secessionists be confounded, some formula, other than a franchise for an Imperial Parliament, must be sought.

Though the Dominions have acquired independence of the British Parliament in practi-

South Africa

cally all legislation as concerns themselves, their relationship with each other and with foreign countries is such that an Imperial Court is essential—a body empowered to adjudicate upon certain matters that have in them elements, not only dangerous to the Empire's unity but to the world's peace. Each step towards further consolidation calls for the greatest caution; the time has long passed for use of spur and whip. Yet indifference by Great Britain is just as galling and dangerous.

The present policy of indifference as to independent legislation by Dominions, affecting directly or indirectly external relations, can no longer continue, for when such legislation, even indirectly, affects a foreign country, Great Britain and not the Dominion will, quite rightly, be held responsible. The tendency for provocative legislation by Dominions is growing. Should Great Britain tender advice it may be considered an interference, yet should trouble result from that legislation the Dominion concerned would shelter herself behind the power of Great Britain.

The Dominion representatives having been officially recognized as advisers in foreign affairs, as well as in Imperial questions, it now requires some future Conference to frame a short Constitution of such elasticity as not

Imperial Conferences

to conflict with any of the self-governing Constitutions, and the result should be a Council consisting of certain representatives of the British Government, of the Indian Government, the High Commissioners, and Agents-General of the Dominions and self-governing Colonies, this Council to be augmented at extra or special sessions by the respective Prime Ministers; these extra-ordinary or special sessions would then replace the present Conferences.

In its youth this Council might be vested with such powers only as are necessary (a) to protect the Empire from provocative legislation initiated by one of its legislatures and in conflict with the interests of other parts of the Empire, (b) to scrutinize (or veto) proposed legislation affecting the Empire's relations with foreign Powers, (c) to scrutinize (or veto) proposed legislation of a differential, class, or racial nature, especially where it affects subject-races.

Out of this small but efficient Council, erected primarily as a safeguard against hasty and ill-considered legislation, there should evolve, with time and experience, a more authoritative and responsible body, elected on an Imperial franchise.

The proposed Council of Empire, repre-

South Africa

sending over four hundred millions of people, should be more efficient in work and effective in action, and less costly than that farcical extravagance, wholly impotent, known as the League of Nations.

As a result of the War and its aftermath, many subjects previously considered of little importance have assumed Imperial significance. It is to be expected that beside the outstanding question of (1) Imperial Defence and Dominion contributions to the Navy there is urgent need for consideration of such subjects as (2) Dominion legislation affecting subject-races, (3) the control of coloured migration within the Empire, (4) alien emigration and naturalization, (5) shipping monopolies and ocean freights, (6) nationalization of ocean and land transport, (7) legislation prohibiting rebates and secret commissions, (8) the appointment of Colonial Governors.

(1) DEFENCE AND NAVAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

At the first Imperial Conference held in London in 1887 a formula was sought for an equable contribution by the Colonies for Naval defence. The late Mr. Jan Hofmeyr, representing the Cape of Good Hope, suggested a scheme whereby all foreign ships entering British Empire ports should pay a special

Imperial Conferences

defence tax, such tax to be used towards the upkeep of the Navy. Unfortunately this suggestion was not adopted, so that to-day the British taxpayer pays 99 per cent. of the cost for the security of practically the whole of the Empire's seaborne commerce. It is for the Conference to consider this question from the business angle rather than from the sentimental—a naval protection premium should be levied on all ships, irrespective of the flag, entering any port of the Empire; the revenue thus raised would mean a substantial remission of income tax. The question of shipowners and shippers paying a premium for naval protection cannot be considered as trespassing upon Free Trade, Protection or Tariff Reform platforms, for payment for services rendered is purely a business proposition. The Navy, instead of being a spending service, as it is so usually described, is in reality the greatest earning service in the Empire. The shipowner and shipper pay a heavy premium for insurance of ships and goods. This insurance is only made possible by a strong and efficient Navy. The large profits earned from the protection afforded by this Navy is reaped, not by the British taxpayer, to whom part of it rightly belongs by virtue of the heavy premium he annually pays—some sixty millions sterling—but by the

South Africa

shipowner, the importer, the exporter, and the underwriter. The weaker the Navy the heavier must be the insurance premium. A conservative estimate places the proportion of ocean risk eliminated by the British Navy at 60 per cent.

By charging a naval protection premium upon every policy issued for the insurance of shipping and cargoes, a working formula for a naval contribution is found, and one that in common fairness should be accepted by the Dominion delegates at the Conference.

The following return, showing the payments towards the Navy, illustrates the disparity in bearing the burden of the Empire's defence :

	Expenditure per head.	Amount per £1,000 of Import and Export Trade.
United Kingdom ..	£1 6s. 11d.	£26 17s. 7d.
Canada	15 cents	75 cents
Australia	13s. 2d.	£12 8s. 2d.
New Zealand ..	8s. 2d.	£4 19s. 11d.
South Africa ..	1s. 9d.	18s. 11d.

In spite of the disparity revealed by the official figures, each part of the Empire is equally dependent upon the Navy for its

Imperial Conferences

territorial independence and its economic existence.

(2) DOMINION LEGISLATION AFFECTING SUBJECT-RACES.

At no previous Conference had this question arisen, for there had been no need for it, but owing to recent legislation by the South African Legislature, directly affecting the six and a half million Natives of the Union, and indirectly affecting the temper of the 120 million Natives of Africa and causing serious concern to those European Powers holding territory in Africa, the question is one for serious consideration. The six and a half million Natives of South Africa are legislated for by one and a half million Europeans, and have no voice whatsoever in this legislation, not even of an advisory nature. Legislation by such a small minority calls for some supervision, more especially when that legislation is racial. The question, however, is an Imperial and not a Dominion one, and is in itself a strong argument in favour of the creation of a Council of Empire, if only with power to act as a Court of Equity or of Appeal for the protection of subject-races.

South Africa

(3) CONTROL OF COLOURED EMIGRATION.

At each of the Imperial Conferences this question was fully discussed, but with futile results. Recent anti-Asiatic legislation by certain of the Dominions, together with the attitude of India, demands that an Imperial Court, with power to do something more than pass pious resolutions, should be created. India is concerned at the apparent unjust treatment of the Asiatics in South and East Africa. The Native of Africa is dismayed at the penetration of his country by a man of (to him) despised colour, and he looks to the European as of the governing class for protection. The European is seriously alarmed at the demoralizing effect on the future generation of a mixture of African and Asiatic blood, at the lowering of the European standard of living due to Asiatic economic competition, at the hygienic habits of the Asiatics and their demoralizing example to the Native. The mentality, characteristics, and habits of the Asiatic are the antithesis of those of the African. And let it be remembered that the Asiatics, as found in Africa, are the dregs of Calcutta and Madras, originally recruited as coolie labourers—hence in justice to both races, if for no other reason, the European,

Imperial Conferences

being guardian to the Native, rightly objects to the intermixture of Asiatic and African blood. Africa, unfortunately, has sufficient indigenous racial problems without importing an additional one. In this dispute, arising from faulty, hasty, and unjust legislation, there are germs of racial strife that may well envelop the races of Asia and of Africa. The South and East Africans refuse to be dictated to by India, and India declines to accept or recognize South African legislation affecting the Indians; but both sides can accept with dignity the impartial dictum of a Council of Empire, upon which the contestants are equally represented and before which their cases can be debated.

(4) ALIEN EMIGRATION.

It is here that the younger nations of the Empire have set Great Britain an example. The question of a common naturalization law and the qualifications for citizenship is one that is made more difficult by procrastination. Hitherto England has been the dumping-ground for the refuse of the cesspools of Europe and America. If this is allowed to continue, the British House of Commons will have a majority of naturalized Polish and Russian Jews. The law of Great Britain allows

South Africa

such persons to acquire, for a few pence, the dignity of Imperial citizenship. The newly created citizen is then free to enter any of the Dominions as an apostle of Anarchy and Communism, and to subvert the laws of his newly found country. He is even eligible for Parliament, a privilege rightly denied him in the country of his birth.

(5) SHIPPING MONOPOLIES.

The Empire, being bound together rather than divided by the ocean, is dependent for its economic existence upon its Mercantile Marine. It was due to the free and open competition in mercantile shipping that the overseas possessions were settled and developed; and whilst free and open competition continued and liberty was allowed to importer and exporter, the Dominions and Colonies rapidly advanced in prosperity. Twenty-five years ago there started the era of shipping "combines," and each year since the War has seen the absorption by large "combines" or "rings" of those small shipping lines that by their competition were able to keep shipping freights at a fair figure. To-day half a dozen men control the mercantile shipping of the Empire; they dictate to Governments and levy toll from the consumer and producer alike. This

Imperial Conferences

monopoly affects the Dominions in varying degrees. It has not yet secured the same strangle-hold upon Canada, Australia, and New Zealand as it has upon South, East, and West Africa, where it has a direct bearing upon the prosperity and progress of some fifty million Natives, but this hold is spreading to all our Dominions. By a system of rebates held in hand by the shipping companies as a guarantee of good conduct, the shippers are bound to their shipping "combine," and any attempt to break away is punished by financial ruin, for all shipping being under one control, no merchandise will be carried for a delinquent. In addition to the ordinary rebate a secret rebate is allowed to certain big shippers, enabling them to create a monopoly in their particular commodity. This secret rebate is sufficient for a "ring" of merchants to defy competition and squeeze from the consumers, nine-tenths of whom are Natives, of South, Central, East, and West Africa, exorbitant profits; hence the shipping monopoly is mainly responsible for the high cost of living not alone in the Dominions and Colonies, but in Great Britain. Legislation on the question, to be effective, should be common to the Empire. The protests from the Dominion and Colonial Governments at the increasing

South Africa

freights and rates and passenger fares, now in some cases 100 per cent. higher than in 1914, are unavailing. The Government of South Africa has introduced a measure by which the Government can control ocean freights. The Conference Lines are using all their secret service machinery to defeat this measure.

(6) NATIONALIZATION OF OCEAN AND LAND TRANSPORT.

Owing to the handicap placed by the shipping "combines" on mercantile intercourse between Europe and the Dominions, the advisability of State-owned or controlled shipping lines, to be run in conjunction with the State-owned railways of certain Dominions might be raised before the Council and concerted legislation suggested. Certainly some measure of State control should be adopted before the Conference Lines become omnipotent.

(7) LEGISLATION PROHIBITING REBATES AND SECRET COMMISSIONS.

Providing such could be made sufficiently drastic, it would be the means of dissolving the shipping "combines" and reinstating the small competing ship owners, resulting in a

Imperial Conferences

substantial drop in the cost of living and a rapid increase in Imperial trade, to the advantage of the Natives of Africa as producers of raw products and as consumers of British goods.

(8) THE APPOINTMENT OF DOMINION AND COLONIAL GOVERNORS.

The one remaining visible connection between the Crown and Dominions and Colonies is the Governor of each. These high officials, representing His Majesty, have the right of vetoing legislation, usually acting with the advice of Ministers. It is therefore obvious that these men should be absolutely free from political bias, and in no other way but by the present system of appointment could this be secured. Then it must be remembered that all the Dominions and Colonies raise large loans in Great Britain for their development; it is therefore only right that investors should have a non-political representative in authority to guard their interests. In Canada and South Africa, where the Provincial Administrators are appointed by the Dominion Governments, these men are party agents, and therefore fail to have the confidence and respect of the people. In the United States, where the State Governors are elected by the people, it is no

South Africa

unusual thing for these high officials to be impeached with a change of Government.

However fit and able a "Colonial" may be for a Governorship, it would be extremely unwise to appoint him as such within his own Dominion, as has been proved in Canada and South Africa. To obviate the charge of nepotism by the selection of politicians on account of party, as apart from Imperial service, to these high offices, the selections might be approved by the suggested Council of Empire.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSION

THE man in the street understands the League of Nations to be an International Court of final appeal for the peaceful settlement of disputes between nations, to prevent war by removing probable elements of friction, and to end a war by supporting with an overwhelming force that belligerent the League rules to be in the right—unfortunately the constitution, the legislative and executive machinery of the League, is far too complicated for such simple and practical action. Long before the complicated machinery, the working of which is only understood by a select few, could be set in motion a war of average duration would have run its course. Since the League came into being in 1918, no less than sixty-four wars or armed disputes of varying degrees have occurred in different parts of the world, and the League has proved itself impotent to prevent or place a period upon these. Both Great Britain and Italy have refused to recognize this supreme International Court as arbitrator in the international disputes in which they

South Africa

were recently concerned, for both realized that there is no power, beyond that of moral suasion, behind the League decisions.

Had the League of Nations functioned as was promised by its sponsors, it might have devoted some attention to, and study of, the conditions under which the subject-races in Africa are governed. As an international parliament it should be in a position to advise or make recommendations affecting these people without offending the susceptibilities of the European nations concerned.

Apart from keeping the peace of the world, the League was expected to protect the interests of smaller nations and weaker peoples. It is understood that subject-races come under the latter category, and it is therefore to be supposed that this International Court would have set up a Commission, similar to its Permanent Mandates Commission, to inquire into the varying degrees of civilization of the Africans, the conditions under which they are governed, and their fitness for limited political representation or for having subsidiary political institutions of their own.

The Permanent Mandates Commission has, so far, confined itself to criticizing the Mandatory Powers' interpretation of the Mandates. Instead of assisting by advice, suggestions or

Conclusion

recommendations the smooth working of the several African Mandates, the Commission has, so far, devoted its time, in an attempt to justify its existence, to the preparation of voluminous reports, criticizing certain terminological expressions used in political speeches or in official reports. In June, 1925, the Prime Minister of South Africa, when speaking in the Union Parliament on the South-West Africa Constitution Act, used the following words in describing the Mandate: "The Mandate for me is enough, and it should be enough for the Union. It gives the Union such complete power of sovereignty, not only administrative but legislative, that we need not ask for anything more." For eleven months these few words gave the Mandates Commission material for serious and expensive consideration. They were discussed at the June session of 1926 without any decision being reached. The following September the matter was given prominence in a debate in the First Committee of the Assembly of the League; again there was a deadlock as to the meaning of those words. Since 1923 the Mandates Commission has been occupied, to the exclusion of more practical and effective work affecting the African Natives, in endeavouring to arrive at the sinister meaning underlying the words

South Africa

“in full dominium,” appearing in the South-West Africa Railways and Harbours Act of 1922. The Commission has made three reports to the Council of the League objecting to the words and requesting these to be substituted for something less definite.

Much useful work, with far-reaching results, can be carried out by the Mandates Commission, or to be even more effective by a special African Commission investigating within the areas to be reported upon. There are those who will consider it derogatory for such a body to undertake anything of a practical nature, even though it be with the laudatory object of eliminating the causes of friction between those European nations claiming sovereignty over African territory and between the sovereign Power and the subject-races.

If the League was brought into being primarily for the purpose of preventing and eventually abolishing war, then the continent of Africa, with its many conflicting elements, from which a race war, spreading to a world war, may break out unexpectedly, is the arena for the League's activity.

It is well within the province of the League to carefully consider, and recommend, the re-adjustment of territory, where such is in the interests of a large majority of the population,

Conclusion

and where such readjustment would not cause injury, injustice or harm to the minority. The League would well justify its costly existence if it carefully considered the repartition of Africa south of the sixth parallel of South latitude. This repartition could only be in the best interests of those concerned, viz., Great Britain, Portugal, Belgium, the Union of South Africa, Rhodesia, and the Natives of that part of Africa. The beneficial effect of the administrative changes such a readjustment must have upon the Natives would extend beyond the territorial demarcation lines. Such a readjustment by exchange and compensation is desirable, and could only be negotiated through the medium of the League of Nations without friction. Certain exchanges of possessions would remove obstacles now in the path of progress and development ; the removal of these obstacles mean the rapid advancement of that part of Africa south of the sixth parallel of South latitude. Anomalies would be abolished and geographical absurdities removed. The readjustment need call for no sacrifice or loss of prestige on the part of any European nation, but the contrary ; without losing an acre of the area of their possessions, the barriers now holding back development would be removed

South Africa

and the national prestige would increase accordingly.

Portugal's possessions in Africa might, with advantage to her, be considerably increased and consolidated on the West, thus giving Portugal rapid, easy, and economical access to her African Empire, which to-day, owing to its scattered form and wide separation, necessitates expensive administration and long lines of ocean communications.

The consolidation of the Portuguese African colonies would call for an exchange of British and (or) Mandated Territory ; the cancellation of long-outstanding debts, some of which date back to the Peninsular War ; adequate compensation to nationals ; and the purchase of vested interests in exchange for the Portuguese possessions of East Africa.

This suggested readjustment, if carried out, allows for immediate railway and harbour development, together with industrial and agricultural expansion of the enlarged Portuguese possessions, by foreign capital attracted by the stable security the proximity of this valuable territory to Europe gives. The opening of safe harbours on the East and West coasts and the linking of both coasts by rail, giving Rhodesia the choice of two seaports, one on the Atlantic and the other on the Indian

Conclusion

Ocean, is the natural corollary to an exchange of territory. The peaceful settlement, development, and progress of South and Central Africa, and therefore the peaceful solution of the Native problem, depends more upon the communications running east and west than north and south. It is the opening up of the dark places of Africa that will have such an important bearing upon the solution of the Colour problem, and for that reason the League of Nations, if it desires to do something to justify its existence, should devote some attention to Africa, with its teeming millions of Black people in varying stages of savagery and civilization. The progress or the retrogression of Africa south of the sixth parallel of South latitude hinges upon the repartitioning of the present European possessions within that sub-continent.

Many of the racial problems of the Empire would be more easily and efficiently solved if the services were retained, in an advisory capacity, of such experienced and distinguished officials as the retiring Governors, Administrators, and Commissioners of the Empire. There are four retired High Commissioners for South Africa; three of these were also Governors-General of the Union. Each of

South Africa

these gentlemen made a special and close study of Native problems; all four are yet in the very prime of life. Is this valuable experience and knowledge to be neglected and thrown away at a time when the very best brains and wisdom are required to deal with a problem which threatens to assume serious proportions if longer neglected? There are a number of retired Governors and Administrators with expert knowledge of the Natives of Africa; as members of an advisory council in African affairs—an African Council—their valuable experience and knowledge can only be of the greatest service to the Empire and would be some safeguard against repressive and racial legislation.

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