

THE
SEGREGATION
FALLACY



AND OTHER
PAPERS

BY
D. D. T. JABAVU



LOVEDALE INSTITUTION PRESS,
1928.

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*(A Native View of some South African
Inter-Racial Problems).*

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PREFACE.

THESE papers are selected from a number of essays and addresses published from time to time and are here brought together after the necessary alterations for the convenience of reference by those interested in the Native view of what is known as Segregation in South Africa.

For permission to republish I am indebted to the editors of the journals and books in which they originally appeared: "The Segregation Fallacy" came out in *The Star* (Johannesburg 1928); "The Hertzogian Segregation versus the Cape Policy" in *The Cape Mercury* (King Williamstown, 1928); "White Students and Black Students" in the N.U.S.A.S. (1928); "The Disfranchisement of the Cape Native" (1927); "Some Aspects of the Native Bills" (1928); in the *Cape Times*, Cape Town; "Native Unrest" (1922), "Crossroads of Native Policy" (1926), in the *International Review of Missions*, London; "The Bantu and the Gospel" in the *Proceedings of the South African General Missionary Conference* (1925); and "Christian Missions and the Bantu" in the volume *Thinking with Africa* (1927), produced by the Student Volunteer Movement, New York; while that on "The Financial Strangulation of Native Education" is based for the most part on excerpts from a Memorandum prepared at the instance of the Ciskeian Missionary Council for the General Missionary Conference of South Africa, 1928.

We trust this effort will arouse all loyal citizens of South Africa to do something to save the country from further mistakes committed under the policy of Segregation.

D. D. T. JABAVU.

Alice, C.P.,

South Africa.

September 1928.

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The Segregation Fallacy.

General Hertzog is rightly recognised as our first politician to urge with constant seriousness the segregation of the Bantu in the Union of South Africa as a solution of what is called the Native question. He suggested this many years ago, and has preached it until, on acceding to Parliamentary power, he outlined it in his Smithfield speech of November 13, 1925, and embodied it in his four Bills of 1926—the Land Amendment Bill, the Native Union Council Bill, the Representation of Natives in Parliament Bill and the Coloured Persons' Rights Bill.

In the first place we wish to submit that the Native is not "a question." The question facing the rulers of the country is how to do justice by the Native. And the problem that equally confronts the Europeans and the Bantu in the Union of South Africa is that of the readjustment of inter-racial relationships in a manner that will conduce to mutual confidence and universal good will.

The meanings attached by various people to the principle of segregation are numerous and confusing. Some consider it only territorially, others politically; some industrially, others residentially; some socially, others only with reference to inter-marriage and so forth.

There is, therefore, a real need for clarity of thought on the subject before segregation as the

settled policy of the Union of South Africa should be approved, discarded or compromised with.

Reasons in Favour.

THE BASUTOLAND MODEL.

Those who favour segregation are at their best when they cite Basutoland as their ideal exemplification of segregation. There is indeed much to commend in this example for these among other reasons:—

(1) Basutoland is a country explicitly reserved for the Basuto by a treaty with Great Britain. It successfully resisted all conquest by Europeans, and was voluntarily surrendered to Queen Victoria by Chief Moshoeshe.

(2) It is governed by Basuto chiefs in accordance with African tribal custom; and the Resident Commissioner with his staff of officials is there to see that this rule by custom is managed without any perpetration of inhumanities such as would be repugnant to common justice.

(3) Here the African has his opportunity to “develop along his own lines” unhampered by European officiousness and institutions. Indeed, he is free to work out a culture of his own, which may, if it have any intrinsic value, render its own peculiar contribution to the rest of civilisation. The policemen and civil service of clerks and interpreters here are all black men.

(4) Basutoland is conveniently near to the Europeans of the Union, who constantly need the

Basuto as workers in their farms, kitchens, mineral mines and all other types of unskilled labour where his low wages are a blessing to employers.

(5) Basutoland is not too spacious. It is not spacious enough to make the Mosuto independent of employment in white areas. It is, in fact, so overcrowded that all arable land is already allotted. Even the mountain slopes of the Drakensberg are being ploughed, and serious encroachments are being made on the remaining limited pasture lands. Many Basuto are obliged, in consequence, to leave their country and seek a living in Union towns, and one finds them in considerable numbers in Bloemfontein, Kimberley, De Aar and as far afield as East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. This is all excellent to the segregationist, because he does not wish the black man to be too far away or unavailable for labour, though segregated.

(6) The African in Basutoland has his own Parliament, the Pitso (or National Council), which handsomely accounts for him by keeping him off from intermeddling in European politics (as the Xosa do at the Cape) and at the same time gives him ample scope to exercise his penchant for political activity.

(7) The Basutoland scheme obviates and disposes of all the social difficulties that arise from the contiguity to the towns of Native urban locations, villages and settlements, where the lower ten of both sides tend to social intermixture with results of immoral miscegenation.

There may be additional reasons, but we think the above constitute a fair summary of the case for the segregationists.

The case is a strong one so long as we confine our attention to the conditions of Basutoland. If it could be applied to the Union, or to portions of the Union in toto, very few people would be found to oppose the principle of segregation. Given a full chance, a virgin country like Rhodesia or Tanganyika, its supporters can make it work just as it has done in the "Switzerland of South Africa." But the insurmountable question is, can it be applied on all fours to any section within the Union? Our answer is in the negative.

For our reasons we may conveniently take the points enumerated above seriatim.

Reasons Against.

The Union contains no stretch of land equal in dimensions to Basutoland, devoid of European settlers and so exclusively reserved for the Bantu that Whites may never enter. The Basuto, it is to be remembered, are about half a million in number and their country is 11,000 square miles in area. With this fact in our minds let us consider the Union provinces one by one and compare their circumstances with Basutoland.

In the Cape Province there are about 1,600,000 blacks. The territory eastwards from Capetown to the Kei River and roughly northwards to Herchel and the Orange River is occupied by black and white in such hopeless intermixture that segregation there is definitely belated and physically impossible because not only could the present oc-

cupants not be moved elsewhere, but the cost of buying them out of their possession would be fabulous. This is one of the discoveries made by a Government Commission eleven years ago. The blacks here are in a state of land hunger because their congestion, for an agricultural people in a country frequented by devastating droughts, is so serious that in certain sections it works out at 100 Natives to the square mile of Native-owned land.

Turning to the Transkeian territories we may divide them for our argument into four sections—East Griqualand, Pondoland, Tembuland and Transkei proper. The first three average more than a quarter of a million people each, and the fourth much less. East Griqualand and Tembuland are already partly white and partly black, and being fully inhabited must be left out of consideration here. The Transkei proper has many white settlers and is already feeling the pressure of over population (with over 40 Natives to the square mile), and offering no room for extraneous additional Natives, needs room for expansion. This leaves us Pondoland as the only portion of the Cape Province that comes anywhere near Basutoland in similarity of circumstances. It is purely black and is not completely inhabited. Its government is by chiefs in accordance with Native custom. It has its national council. Like Basutoland it was never conquered by European forces, but spontaneously submitted itself under British tutelage by a treaty that debarred all immigration. But against all this we make bold to say Pondoland is too late for the possibility of segregation according to the Basutoland model for two causes. First, some years ago

certain Europeans managed to get behind the Paramount Chief and secure a large slice of land round Port St. John's with freehold title and the entire territory is now treated like ordinary conquered Crown land no longer safe from alienation, while there is no knowing when its owners may be again outwitted by whites. Secondly, its taxes go to the consolidated revenue of the Union Government, whereas all Basuto taxes go to the Pitso at Maseru to be managed by the aborigines themselves. It is contrary to human nature to expect the Union Government to abandon the Pondoland taxes for the sake of an academic abstraction like the theory of segregation.

In Natal the Native population, which is a little less than that of the Cape, lives more or less mixed with the whites except in the Zululand reserves. These reserves being Crown land are not assured to the Zulus and not long ago a portion of them was alienated by the Government for European settlements. This alone shows there is no intention to apply segregation, and, according to the determined expressions of the white farmers in that province before the Native Affairs Commission two years ago, "not another acre" will be released by the whites for Native occupation. That is the inflexible reply vouchsafed to the 1913 Lands Act and its amending Bill of General Hertzog. Thus segregation in Natal is indubitably foredoomed to failure.

The Orange Free State is a thinly populated province because its white farmers individually possess huge blocks of land, much of which could be spared and released for the accommodation of

landless Natives. This would call for great sacrifices which South Africa is not yet Christian enough to make. Apart from Christian considerations there is an old Dutch law by which no Native is allowed to buy land in that province. The Boers are not likely to amend that law in the direction of benefitting the blacks, even to accommodate their pet belief in segregation. So that we have a blank non-possimus here that cannot be circumvented. The three tiny oases of Native reserves found there—namely, Thaba 'Nchu, Seliba and Witzie's Hoek—make no difference to the general fact quoted.

The Transvaal has a Native population nearly equal to that of the Cape Province, but has the advantage of containing regions of unoccupied land. Even these, however, are not extensive enough to supply a new Basutoland; and in the meantime they are being so fast encroached upon that it will not be long before we have there a replica of the Natal stalemate position of hardened opinion.

Under this point we may therefore conclude fairly that territorial segregation on the model of Basutoland is an absolute impossibility in the Union.

The " Civilised Labour " Policy.

(2) Government through Native chiefs has historically justified itself everywhere in the world, especially in West Africa and New Zealand. It is the only practical policy for ruling people living in the stage of primitive tribal conditions. On this account it cannot yet be dispensed with in districts

like Pondoland, Herschel, Peddie, Tembuland in the Cape, Zululand in Natal, Witzie's Hoek in the Orange Free State, and among the Bapedi and many other tribes in North Transvaal.

But, as the history of Europe teaches, it is a transitory stage that gradually suffers disintegration by the invasion of individualistic ideas which sooner or later come of necessity to all peoples. There is abundant evidence that the Bantu are no exception to the tendency of such metamorphosis. This steady evolution requires to be recognised and provided for, as due to contact with the white man's Western individualistic civilisation whereby the Bantu who have left the countryside and gone to form an integral part of the urban populations can no longer come under the personal surveillance of a chief. This class of Natives is sometimes termed "detrribalised," but this is a misnomer, because some of them, though urbanised, are not necessarily detrribalised. The present writer, for instance, though urbanised by the circumstances of his vocation is nevertheless not detrribalised. Most of these urbanised Natives have come within the ambit of the European system by reason of their residence and occupation for two or three generations and cannot be governed separately from whites living under similar conditions. And it must be remembered that the Native became urbanised not of his desire in the first instance, but of a set policy of his rulers, who destroyed tribal life as being a danger to European civilisation, arguing that the Native should be taken out of his "idle" kraal life and brought to the towns to be taught the dignity of manual labour. Incidentally

he has acquired his lesson of the dignity of labour so thoroughly that the boot is now worn by the other foot; and we behold the inconsistent spectacle of a subversive "civilised labour" policy to drive blacks out of urban areas back to the "idle" kraal life out of which they had been coerced by the same whites. The tribalism that has once been destroyed can never be resuscitated. It has gone irrevocably. Our political experimentalists in segregation ignore or are ignorant of this steady transition of the black man out of communistic tribalism into democratic individualism and imagine he can be dealt with as an indivisible brood capable of being herded back any time from urbanism to the ancient kraal life of the chief's community. Existing circumstances, if commonsense fails, will teach our segregationist legislators the necessity of making provision in their economic and political schemes for the two classes of Natives: the primitive tribalist and the modern urbanist or individualist who has outgrown the good old days of communism. They need to learn also that the Bantu chief's system is not autocratic, but democratic, for it is the counselors who decide, and the chief acts only as their mouthpiece and executive officer. Modern philosophers have discovered that autocratic rule for certain types of mentality is quite as efficient as democratic government. For us Bantu the path of wisdom lies in recognising that the basis of the Union Government and that of the British Imperial Parliament is democracy. Our aspirations and energies, if wisely guided, should therefore be

directed towards the well-tried system of our examplars who have brought us the pattern.

A Shallow Fallacy.

(3) We are constantly exhorted to "develop along our own lines," as apart from, against, and in competition with white civilisation, just because we are Africans. This shallow fallacy has by sheer repetition become popular and almost a fetish with those who reiterate it. When we seek to elicit further explanation on this article of creed from our kind exhorters we find their conception of it indefinable. Others interpret it to mean that the black man should withdraw from "white" areas (the towns) and emigrate in Israelite fashion back to his own areas, the reserves (which, as we have pointed out, are now overcrowded), there to make his own discoveries and inventions, stew in his own juice and work out his own salvation away from the white man who now wants the towns to absorb the poor whites. This is admirably honest, even if brutal, for it is tantamount to the "civilised labour" (i.e. the "white labour") policy under which the Colour Bar Act aimed to drive out black men from towns and from all skilled trades and industries. This is Native repression often born of race prejudice, here hidden under academic terminology and disguise. It amounts to inviting the aborigines to go out into the wilderness "to see a reed shaken with the wind." Where is this unoccupied land or wilderness to which we are advised to go? Some have suggested the arid wastes of South-West Africa. Why not the Kalahari or the Sahara Desert? The

bathos of absurdity in argument is touched by those who suggest that the black must first get himself out of touch with European influences and institutions in order to be able to build a new and peculiar civilisation and make his contribution to the world of music and invention. As if Sir Edward Elgar, Signor Caruso, Herr Mark Hamburg, Monsieur Bleriot and Mr. Morris must first be cut off from contact with modern civilisation and be exiled to Siberia in order to be able to make their contribution to music and invention.

As to the civil service, the black man in the Union to-day has to trust to prayer if he is to eat even the children's crumbs that fall under the table while he is elbowed out by whites even in his special field of interpreting for his people in certain districts and in circuit courts.

(4) The proximity to the Europeans of the Bantu with their cheap unskilled labour is a *sine qua non* throughout the Union. It goes without saying that the most rabid segregationist does not want the African to be too far away from him for this purpose. He wants his Native servants within his backyard.

(5) The secret but unmentioned purpose of the 1913 Lands Act is to confine the black man within such circumscribed limits that he should never be territorially independent, but be compelled by intolerable congestion to go out of his habitat and seek labour with whites and thus constitute a never-drying reservoir of cheap unskilled labour, especially for the farmers.

Confused Thinking.

(6) The most pitiful confusion of thinking on the part of segregationists occurs in connection with the council system of the Transkei territories. They joyfully affirm "the Transkei Council" has been a magnificent success; therefore give all the blacks similar councils and thus get them out of the white man's Parliament and from the vote."

The position is not quite so simple. That the Transkei General Council has been an unqualified success we heartily agree; and we would be gratified to see some form of it made available for all the aborigines of the Union. But the limited range of its activities deserves to be better understood. It deals only with purely local affairs such as are managed elsewhere by municipalities and divisional councils under the Provincial Councils. Not at all does it touch the larger affairs of State that are in the power of the House of Assembly, where the interests of the blacks are inextricably intertwined with those of the whites, the interests of Railways and Harbours, Customs and Excise, State Agriculture, Higher Education, Mines and Industries, Justice, Posts and Telegraphs, Public Health, Defence, Labour, Native Affairs, Union Finance, and so on. We have a stake in each and every one of these great Government departments because we contribute by direct and indirect taxation thereto on a parity with the white man. Those who suggest that representation in the Senate is sufficient for the Natives must be inadequately informed as to the functions of Parliament. We are under no illusion. The House of Assembly is the sole arbiter over State finance.

The Draconian Poll Tax

Over and above this we pay an extraordinary poll tax of 20s. per male, beginning with mere boys of 18 years of age and which singles out the black man only by reason of his colour. This is the heaviest tax in Christendom when one reckons that the Native labourer whom it afflicts earns an average of only £30 per annum. If the Government dared to impose a general tax of £10 on every European male earning £300 a year we should soon see a bloody revolution in white South Africa. But that is exactly the extent of the enormity of the incidence of this draconian tax which we cannot help but regard as the penalty of being black in our home country. This poll tax also goes to the Treasury of the House of Assembly. The Senate has no control over it, neither have the Native local councils. One would like to know how in the name of commonsense the Native can be ruled out of having a say, or an individual vote for his direct representation in a Parliament to which he, for his circumstances, contributes so substantially? Only one fourth of this unconscionable tax is earmarked for the Native Development Account. The remaining three-fourths are dumped into the general Treasury to benefit Europeans, Coloureds and Indians who are exempted from such a tax. If all of it were credited to the Native Development Account we would have less to say about it. As things are it remains the most bare-faced act of oppression in the British Empire. The Basutoland analogy breaks down here because while the Basuto themselves control all their taxation, ours is dispensed for the whites and for us conjointly by

the House of Assembly. We can obtain our just share of the joint funds only in proportion to the influence commanded by our representation in this Assembly. Hence the importance of the old Cape Native franchise, our jealous vigilance over its entrenchment in the Constitution, and the reason why it is the crux of the Premier's four Bills. No amount of partial or local segregation can help us here. The only imaginable scheme along lines of segregation is one of pure fantasy, that of transplanting all the Bantu out of the Union and right away into some unoccupied country where, like the Basuto, they shall be free from the irksome entanglements of Union taxation.

Segregation Impracticable.

According to a certain Transvaal Native, the most genuine segregation was originally fixed by the Creator when He separated the European from the Bantu by means of the Atlantic Ocean. But as the white man chose of his free will to transgress this natural boundary he can hardly expect us to make room for a new segregation. We are destined to live together as a nation within the same borders. This is the truth in a nutshell. It offers us Hobson's choice, and that choice is not segregation.

(7) The Native urban townships arise out of the need of Native labour in the towns. The undesirable sort of contact at low social levels between black and white in towns is due to slum quarters. Once the housing question is satisfactorily solved, as it is in Bloemfontein, the complaint disappears. But South Africa suffers from

a chronic mania for making laws on racial lines. Subjects like "social equality" (another meaningless shibboleth), racial contact, inter-marriage, half-castes, racial integrity, and so on seem to cause our legislators constantly to dream of creating new regulations for the humiliation of the black man as if the black man alone were responsible for the evils of immorality in the country. What we need here is not segregation laws, but organised patriotic efforts for the moral uplift and the social amelioration of the lower classes on both sides of the colour line. Birds of a feather will continue to flock together and black people like all other human beings, will gravitate to the same residential districts without compulsion by law so long as town authorities grant them reasonable amenities of life and residential facilities as Bloemfontein does. The social contact of intellectual equals with common interests among different races need not and cannot be prohibited by law. There is a limit even to law making. Legalised racial discrimination, as has been well said, tends to produce antagonism and unhealthy feelings of superiority and inferiority. Under present circumstances in the Union, statutory segregation is both unnecessary and impracticable. The day has arrived for the final expulsion of the elusive phantom of segregation from South Africa.

Hertzogian Segregation

VERSUS

The Cape Native Policy.

The theory of Segregation as a solution of the Native question in South Africa has for fifteen years been associated with the name of General Hertzog. He became the Prime Minister in 1924 and introduced his segregation scheme in the shape of the Civilized Labour Policy; the Colour Bar Act of 1926, and his series of four Native Bills.

Under the Civilised Labour Policy the object is to eliminate the Bantu people out of all the industries, skilled and unskilled, by a gradual process, especially in the railway system, and to substitute the labour of the "poor whites"—a section of the European population numbering about 130,000 who have sunk so low in social and economic life as to be a burden and a drag on the State. The expression "Civilised Labour Policy" has been adopted as a political figment to conceal the true aim of the policy which is that of repressing the blacks in industry and uplifting indigent whites at the expense of the State. The Colour Bar Act has been rightly described as a blot on the escutcheon of European civilisation inasmuch as it seeks to hinder by artificial means the natural and legitimate development of the Africans in skilled mechanical industries. The Natives, who possess the machinery of an annual Government Con-

ference, and of whom some are voters in the Cape, were not only never consulted, but were time and again blankly refused a hearing while the bill was steam-rolled through parliament in the teeth of powerful organised protests by missionary and other non-political bodies that represent unbiassed European opinion. Under Act 23 of 1920 the Natives are entitled to consultation on all important legislation that vitally affects them. This legal undertaking has thus been openly violated. In connection with the Native Bills we have no grievance on the score of non-consultation; for the Native Affairs Commission visited all Native districts, obtained opinions on the spot, and registered these in their Report of 1926. Also the Government Native Conference considered the bills and categorically rejected them in November, 1926, the principal objection being the abolition of the Cape Native franchise. The Natives on the whole have never wavered nor changed opinions on that decision to the present day. If the word Segregation means anything in South Africa it means the Hertzogian policy which we have just summarised. The policy is in many respects original and unlike anything we knew of in other countries except the Jim Crow system of the Southern States of America where it has resulted in lynching and terrible race conflicts.

Under ordinary circumstances we do find segregation as a common phenomenon in the old countries of Europe and Asia. Historically it is associated with territorial boundaries of nationality fixed and confirmed by acts of conquests. Never

dictated by internal legislation, it has been the spontaneous result of mutually accepted convention in such matters as inter-marriage, race fusion and social intermingling, guaranteed by the will power and national pride that jealously guard race purity out of an idealistic desire for race integrity. Allied to this ethnic tendency we find the existing international groups that voluntarily organise themselves to carry on their purposes of religion, education, art, music, science, agriculture, trade-unionism and so on, all cutting athwart the frontiers of political states and racial divisions. Even in the Southern districts of the United States of America where the Jim Crow system is most rabid there is no legalised discrimination on racial lines in the matters just mentioned. But in South Africa the Hertzogian system is worked on the tradition of the Transvaal and Orange Free State where the State law was that there shall be no equality between the European and the African in Church or State. The constitution of South Africa contains a colour-bar that precludes the African from membership in Parliament. The very primary school syllabus is divided into Higher and Lower certificates for white and black pupils respectively on colour lines. Even in State funds which are raised on an equality and parity by all citizens the grants for education are divided on colour lines so that the State contributes about £15 per white pupil and for the African pupils only a lump sum that works out at £2 per pupil and which is now doomed by a new law never to increase proportionately with the number of school children that

may attend school but fixed eternally on a procrustean bed of a lump sum that must never exceed a particular figure arbitrarily dictated by the Government. These are the first fruits of Segregation. Under this Hertzogian system of Segregation, the forces of the legislature are mobilised to hinder the natural progress of one section of the population in their legitimate development. This means that those who have risen by the efforts of self-sacrifice, character, education and achievement to the top of success are to be penalised and automatically repressed by means such as we see instituted under the items of education and industry. This type of segregation is based ultimately on no nobler foundation than the brute power of military force for the purpose of maintaining European domination. We readily agree that the European has, by virtue of conquest, every right to choose his mode of administration, reinforce his power of capital and brains with military science, plunder, and proceed to impose Pass Laws, Curfew Bells, Land Acts and disfranchise us without rhyme nor reason.

Granting that this policy is capable of enforcement we submit that it belongs to generations long extinct. The philosophy of the modern world has swung away from the vogue of repression as an ideal of administration.

The policy of the Cape Province, the old Cape Colony, has historically been the antithesis of Hertzogian Segregation and its results have amply proved it to be worthy of general adaptation to the northern provinces of the Union of South Africa. Those of us who were born under it have every

reason to admire it and to make an appeal to those European friends whose ancestors framed it, to arise and protect it from its impending abolition by its enemies who now assert it was premature and mistaken. We appeal to all Native Welfare Societies, Joint Councils and other patriotic groups to study it and understand why it has produced the happiest section of the Bantu people in the Union so far as pride of citizenship is concerned. The Cape policy dispensed with the Pass Laws which are the constant source of racial friction in the Transvaal. It never caused its authors any embarrassment with regard to miscegenation, intermarriage and intermixture in religion and education, leaving these questions to the sensible judgment of its wise citizens on both sides of the colour line. It obviated many legal inequalities by its liberal spirit of giving a square deal, in tramcars and public offices. It assumed from the very first that white men, if worth their salt, need not fear black competition because they are well able to take care of themselves without any legislative buttress, being two thousand years older in civilisation. It adopted the Native in the firm of the British nation as a junior partner, as has been well said, with equal rights. The Cape took the long view and gave the Native at once and in accordance with his stage of development all the possible privileges he would inevitably and ultimately aspire to at the furthest end of his development. It followed the course of reasonableness at all times and taught us Booker T. Washington's principle that we may be as separate as the fingers in matters social but as

strong as the hand in national solidarity; thus inculcating the fact that we are not a separate nation within a nation, an *imperium in imperio*, but an integral part of the single State of South Africa. It ensured that whensoever the Bantu should seek, even at an extreme moment of mental perversity, to force a racial issue, they should be countered in advance by the timeless existence of unalloyed justice. In this manner it incidentally eliminated the type of racial snobbery that is the bane of our Northern provinces. By virtue of sympathetic contact it recognised that colour prejudice was due to mutual ignorance, and realised that fear, the fear about which we hear so much nowadays concerning Native progress and the impending ruin of white civilisation, could be entertained only by one inwardly conscious of one's own inferiority in open competition.

In brief, the Cape policy opened wide the door to all men and originated the well known dictum of Cecil Rhodes about equal rights for all civilised men south of the river Zambesi. Unlike the new segregation that aims at repression on the lines of barbarous ages, it gives us the nearest approximation to the ideals of freedom that are now accepted by the world of Christendom with reference to the realisation of individual personality and respect for nationality everywhere. The true salvation of the Bantu people in South Africa will therefore lie not in Segregation as recently expounded but in the faithful interpretation of the British constitution and its implications of justice that afforded all men without discrimination the unstinted opportu-

nity for self-development and the acquisition of a just share in political influence.

South Africa, we are pleased to observe, is not quite devoid of patriotic citizens who believe that its happy future in race relationships will come about as a result of friendly interracial conferences. The history of the last decade provides an interesting list of such meetings. In 1919 a Native of this country for the first time attracted a large European audience and gave an address on agricultural matters in the University of Johannesburg with general acceptance. The experiment was successfully repeated in 1920 in the same place when he gave a lecture on "The Urgent Necessity of Cooperation in the Solution of the Native Problem." Another indigenous African, the late Dr. J. E. K. Aggrey, in the following year thrilled great white audiences with his meteoric lectures on Co-operation in Johannesburg, Stellenbosch, Port Elizabeth and many other towns, leaving behind him the valuable legacy of the Rand Joint Council of Europeans and Bantu. Another worthy Negro orator, the Rev. Max Yergan, M.A., Secretary of the World's Student Christian Movement has during the last six years done admirable work in bringing white and black to a better understanding. The same year a Bantu speaker addressed enthusiastic European listeners in Kokstad, Butterworth, Cala, Aliwal North and Cape Town. In 1923 and 1927 the Dutch Reformed Church Council conducted successful conferences in Johannesburg and Cape Town respectively on the Native question in which leading Europeans and Bantu representatives took

part on terms of equality and with amicable relations. In 1924 a similar gathering of urban advisory boards took place in Johannesburg, while in the same year a meeting of European students of the Cape Peninsula, mostly Dutch speaking, invited a Native to address them under the auspices of the Students' Christian Association (S.C.A.). Between 1925 and 1926 five vacation schools were held in the Universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand and at Fort Hare at which white and black students attended and sat side by side without any mishap. We have had even a government commission composed of Europeans and Natives—the 1919 Education Commission of the Cape Province presided over by Dr. J. W. Viljoen. Several Native Child Welfare Associations have recently been established in the Cape Province of which the committee members are partly Europeans and partly non-Europeans with cases where the chairman is a Non-European elected by unanimous acclamation. While the triennial conference of the Students' Christian Association of the European Universities has been addressed by black men at Pretoria in 1925 and at Port Elizabeth in 1928, a group of S. C. A. students drawn from the Universities of Cape Town, Stellenbosch and Huguenot College travelled to Alice in 1927 and held a successful series of meetings with the Native students of Lovedale and Fort Hare who belong to the same movement. A similar conference has been organised for September 1928 under the aegis of the National Union of South African students where white students are to engage in

friendly discussion with black at Fort Hare and Lovedale.

These are straws that show which way the wind is blowing, indicating that the younger generation is gradually working away from the antediluvian notions of a segregation founded on mutual ignorance and suspicion.

It is our belief that with the spread of better understanding in Church and college circles the future of South Africa is one we can contemplate with a fair degree of optimism in the hope that Christian influences will dispel illusions, transcend the mistaken political expedients of pseudo-segregationists and usher in a South Africa of racial peace and goodwill.

White Students and Black Students.

All true Christians in South Africa will have just cause for gratitude over the consummation of this first All-Student Congress held under the auspices of the National Union of S.A. Students. A Bantu Christian like myself must also join in this feeling of gratitude as well as appreciate the honour of being asked to address a brief word to such a conference. Some appropriate exhortation will doubtless be forthcoming from the right individuals in regard to the subjects that appertain to the aims of this congress. For my part I have chosen to say something about the relation of such a conference to the black and coloured indigenous people of this our common homeland.

The Bantu in the Union have an aggregate of three or four thousand students in secondary and higher schools engaged in work that leads up to the Ministry, Teaching, Medicine and other professions. From these are drawn all types of leaders that play an important part in the progress of the black race. These are never brought into direct contact with white students of their corresponding school grade, because of the social conventions of the country. Politicians regard this as a good thing. The result is that both white and black leaders grow up and attain to maturity in absolute ignorance of each other and each other's aims in life. They only come to know one another late in

adult life after they have independently settled their views on the question of what sort of race-relationship they shall cultivate toward each other. The resulting attitude is often one of groundless mutual suspicion, sometimes one of hostility, rarely one of cordial Christian friendship.

The circumstances that contribute to this dangerous exclusiveness are due to the social conventions dictated by politicians and accepted as the correct philosophy for the country. In my humble opinion it seems open to question whether this is as it ought to be. If we ask ourselves the following questions: Will time be finally on our side? Will the future justify it? What will happen when the three thousand educated black leaders become three million men and women growing up in an atmosphere of hatred and suspicion against the white people of the future? Will that be in harmony with the Christian principle of goodwill among men white and black?—we are at once landed in a quandary.

This is a phase of our race relationship well worth study by this conference because it has been entirely neglected by both the missionaries and politicians. It is the kernel of what is badly named the "Native Question," a misnomer for what would be better understood if we renamed it "Inter-racial Relationship."

One result of the present situation is that the best educated Bantu never come into touch with the best educated Europeans until they have adopted toward each other an attitude based on theoretical and preconceived notions, or notions casually

gathered from anywhere but the right sources. Our sole help to-day for correcting such notions lies in the Native Welfare Societies and Joint Councils conducted for adults long past their formative and impressionable years of life. Would it not make for improvement if this process of mutual understanding took place at an earlier stage of life? If so, under what circumstances and auspices could that be undertaken? How, and by whom? This problem is difficult because many Europeans in this land would shrink in anger at the idea of black students being brought into contact with white students even under Christian auspices, though they take not the slightest umbrage at a European-Bantu conference of forty white men and women discussing political, social and religious questions with forty educated black men and women, as happened at Johannesburg in 1923 and in Cape Town this year.

In such European-Bantu conferences which have been exceedingly good, one is impressed by the belated efforts of many good people to overtake opportunities of learning about the other race rather late in the day of their lives.

One feels that if selected representatives of such an organisation as the Students' Christian Association, both European and Native sections, say, one member from each district or centre, could be brought together in a conference under arrangements planned by the present committee, a great deal could be achieved in the way of influencing future generations towards a better understanding. This would help much in creating an improved tone in general public opinion and dispel much

unfounded prejudice. In fact Professor Edgar Brookes after making his first personal acquaintance with Fort Hare and Lovedale last June threw out a suggestion on these lines to the European students at Bloemfontein.

The lead in such a movement will best come from a conference of the present type. And I humbly leave this suggestion to the meeting in the hope that it may develop like the Scriptural grain of mustard seed into a great tree of inter-racial goodwill under the shadows of which future white and black South Africans shall find solace and happiness.

The Disfranchisement of the Cape Native.

The franchise was first granted to the Natives of Cape Colony in 1854, without distinction as to white and black. Before this privilege was conferred upon the Natives, the evidence of both oral tradition and Cape historical records of the years 1848-1854 enables us to judge that the motives inspiring the officials of the then British Parliament were born of the essential Christian ethic, namely: "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." They were founded on a system of unimpeachable equity to all human beings regardless of colour, race or creed.

Translated into practical politics by Sir George Grey and his contemporaries, who meticulously eschewed all discrimination based on the colour of a man's skin, they were finally crystallised by Cecil Rhodes in his formula of "Equal rights to all civilised men south of the Zambesi." This Rhodesian dictum imposed the criterion of civilisation on everybody alike, excluding both white and black uncivilised men. It was an equitable standard, because it threw the door open for all to qualify for true citizenship and a voice in the councils of a State in which civilized men were bound for the same destiny.

Under such a scheme it was no disadvantage to wear a black skin, because all men who could prove their civilisation by a recognised educational

and property test were eligible for the franchise and Parliamentary membership. Judged from the religious standpoint this was perfectly Christian and at the same time sound economics. The Ministers of Queen Victoria thus made Britons of all civilised black men under the Union Jack on a uniform equality of citizenship with all other British subjects elsewhere in the Empire on which the sun never sets. The old Cape Colony adhered to this policy for nearly half a century, producing a progressive, contented and sane Bantu population.

Change of Spirit.

At the conclusion of the Boer War and pacification of 1902 a compromise was made by which the Britishers yielded to the tradition of the Northern ex-Republics on the principle that a man's black colour should prohibit him from the right to the franchise. A worse compromise was pressed from the same quarter in 1909 when under the Union Act, the right of membership to Parliament was taken away from the Cape Native and Coloured voters. We know that in the deliberations of the 1908 Convention it was the Northern members who pressed for the exclusion of non-Europeans from Parliament; and that it was only under inexorable pressure that the Cape delegates were brought to give way to the notorious Colour Bar Clause No. 26 of the Constitution, and to Clause No. 35, which made it a possibility to dispossess the Cape Natives of their franchise, and which constitutionally placed it under the jeopardy of election vicissitudes whereby all non-Europeans could some day be disqualified by a two-thirds majority in a Joint Sitting.

The spirit that produced this clause was without doubt illiberal, un-Christian and subversive of all that is best in British tradition, resulting in palpable unrest among the people thus stigmatised, as well as considerable mystification and perplexity in the Imperial Parliament when the Draft Union Act was taken thither for ratification. Memorable speeches were made in the House of Commons by the Prime Minister, Mr. H. H. Asquith, and in the House of Lords by Lord Crewe, all urging the South African delegation to abandon the un-British and shortsighted Colour Bar in the Constitution; but to no purpose. In view of this adamant position on the part of the South African delegation King Edward VII. took the extraordinary step of preserving the right of the Cape Native franchise against future dispossession in his "Letters of Instruction" to all future Governors-General. Again, the Imperial Commoners in their despair, after endeavouring to influence the Convention delegates towards a more humane attitude, exhorted the delegates to modify their policy on their return so as to seek a way to withdraw the Colour Bar and extend the Cape Native franchise northwards.

It was not a question of uninformed English negrophiles unduly intermeddling in the local affairs of South Africa; but a case of independent external examiners criticising the patent failure on the part of South African politicians to observe the universal laws common to all humanity. Locally, it was the historical conflict between the ideals of the liberal Cape and the inflexible Northern Provinces habituated to governing their subject races on the principles of so-called

“firmness.” The Imperial Parliament and the King of the British Empire, in their capacity of unbiassed judges, could not forbear to censure the Convention delegates for the glaring injustice committed against the inarticulate Bantu races.

Present-Day Evidence.

Less than two months ago a prominent Cape politician gave expression in a public speech to the following apposite remarks :

“A new spirit had come into Native policy in recent years as far as the Union was concerned—a policy of repression, a policy of injustice, and a policy that went back entirely on the policy of the old Cape Colony. He would go as far as to say that had they at the Convention, or had the leaders of the old Cape Colony in those days, known the position as it is was to-day, there would have been no Union. That was absolutely certain. If they could have foreseen the Bills which were now before Parliament for discussion next session, they would never have dreamt of going into Union. They thought at that time that, with the experience which the Union Government would get, the policy of the old Cape Colony would gradually extend and be supported by the whole of the people of the Union. The policy now was to go back on the policy of the old Cape Colony Under this (Representation of Natives) Bill it was proposed to take every Native off the register, which was absolutely contrary to the Act of Union . . . and it is against the assurances given to the Imperial Government, when the Act of Union was

passed."—(J. W. Jagger, M.L.A., *Cape Times*, December 16, 1926.)

These facts are incontestable and cannot lightly be dismissed as political opportunism or platform chicanery. Since then a change for the worse has become manifest from the spirit that obtained in 1854 and 1910. The Northern provinces have undergone no change of heart since the last sixteen years. On the contrary, there is cumulative evidence that they have steadily overpowered the Cape policy. Indeed their dominance has given birth to the Colour Bar Act of 1926, and to the Native Bills, of which we are to consider clause by clause the one entitled "The Representation of Natives in Parliament."

The Franchise Bill.

The preamble to this Bill contains three extraordinary proposals:—(a). The first is to alter sub-section (2) of section 35 of the South Africa Act in order to remove all the names of Native voters from the registers. The original law guaranteed that "No person who at the passing of any such law (i.e. to disqualify any person by reason of his race or colour only) is registered as a voter in any province shall be removed from the register by reason only of any disqualification based on race or colour." This proposal constitutes a revolutionary violation of both the letter and spirit of the Union Act.

(b) The second is "to make special and uniform provision for the representation of the Native inhabitants of the Union in the House of Assembly." This proposal postulates what we cannot accept,

namely that the members of Parliament should be split into sections according as they represent whites and blacks who live territorially mixed. It is further vitiated by its preliminary basis of depriving one section of the Natives of its franchise rights enjoyed for more than seventy years without abuse or misuse.

(c) The third is "to alter certain other provisions of the South Africa Act, 1909, and the laws governing voters' rolls and parliamentary elections, with a view to effect such representation."

There appears to be no justification for tampering with the Constitution for the purpose of introducing an injustice at the expense of the Cape Native voters.

On this preamble we would offer as a constructive suggestion that no alteration whatever be made in section 35 of the Union Act, but that special provision be introduced to initiate the Natives of the three Northern Provinces into a modified form of the franchise with a high educational and property qualification. That would be a step in the direction of honouring the assurances given in England in 1909 by the Convention deputation. Incidentally it would rectify the long-standing anomaly of the existence of voteless educated Natives and create justice where it is clamantly wanted.

Clause 1 of this Bill definitely disfranchises the Cape Native voters because it repeals sub-section (2) of section 35 of the Union Act.

As we oppose the retrogressive step of the disfranchisement of the Cape Natives, we respectfully suggest that Clause 1 be deleted from the Bill,

Clause 2 establishes seven European members to represent all the Natives of the Union and divides each of the larger provinces into two electoral constituencies where voting is to be carried on only by Chiefs, Headmen, members of local Councils, or by other groups to be organised by Government machinery. This clause is both revolutionary and indefensible; revolutionary because such a system of group voting is without precedent in the British Empire; and indefensible because, (a) the number of members will be clearly inadequate for the immense population concerned; (b) the geographical size of the constituencies will be unwieldy for efficient management; (c) the character of the electoral brigades will be that of men indebted to the Government either as servants or nominees; (d) it supplies only a shadow of its intended substance because the proposed electorates, being all but suborned in advance, give but a faint reflex of real representation.

As a constructive suggestion we would eliminate this clause and substitute instead a modified individual franchise for the three Northern Provinces based on an educational and property qualification.

Clause 3 lays out the manner, date and place of elections.

Clause 4 makes the seven members additional to those in the Union Act, and perpetuates the old and contentious Colour Bar of section 43 of the Union Act.

Clauses 5 and 6 limit the privileges of the seven members in certain respects, and these respects are

just those matters in which the Native voters are at least as deeply concerned as are the European voters.

Clause 7 completes the process of the disfranchisement of the old-time Cape Native voter begun under clause 1 of the Bill.

Now, clauses 3 to 7 should be deleted under our scheme inasmuch as they logically depend for their validity upon clause 1 and 2 which we have already expunged.

Clause 8 is a legal riddle. According to the reading of General Smuts it preserves the status quo of the Native voters in their relation to the Provincial Council. According to Sir Charles Crewe it abolishes it. The ambiguity of this clause thus permits of two diametrically opposed legal interpretations. In either case it is difficult to imagine how the Native voters will continue to vote for their Provincial Council once their names are struck off the register as provided under clauses 1 and 2 of this Bill. This confusion of aim on the part of the authors of the Bill somewhat upholds our suggestion against any tampering with the old Cape Native Vote.

Clause 9 to 11 are negligible as they merely define terms.

Thus we are left with nothing to approve in the Bill except the constructive suggestions already outlined.

In support of this position we may at this juncture state that the Natives of the Northern provinces have, by means of their organisations, journals, meetings, and all other methods of

expression, unequivocally rejected the offers made under this Bill.

They do not want the Bill so long as its advantages to them involve the whittling down of the old Cape Native vote. They prefer to wait until in God's good time the European race of South Africa may be induced to start them on a franchise similar, even if modified, to that of the Cape. It will therefore be purposeless to foist upon these people a pseudo-franchise they un-animously repudiate.

On the other hand the Cape Natives have already lost so many of their old treasured privileges since Union (that is, by the disabilities under the Colour Bar clause in the Constitution, the restrictions arising out of the 1913 Lands Act, the Poll Tax, Pass Laws, the abolition of the right to appeal to the Privy Council, the dispossession of the right to land tenure under the Urban Areas Act, the Colour Bar Act of 1926), they have already lost so many of their privileges, I say, that they can hardly be blamed for being now unwilling to sacrifice their greatest asset for the sake of conferring the franchise on somebody who says he does not want it.

The Case Against the Native Vote.

We shall now discuss eight arguments levelled against the Cape Native Franchise by the Prime Minister at Smithfield (Nov. 13th, 1925) and by others from time to time.

Firstly, the Cape Native Vote is a danger to European civilisation.

Our answer is that a little thinking will shew that this is erroneous because the ordinary Native cannot be a voter until he satisfies the standard set for all civilised men. To become civilised he begins by renouncing barbarism and develops political aspirations that are harmonious with progress and modern culture. Barbarism, as an inferior stage of ethnic development, can always be subjugated by civilisation. Therefore it is a logical fallacy to assume that the Cape Native vote can by any possibility be a menace to European civilisation. On the contrary the history of the last forty years contains abundant proof that the Native vote has substantially advanced the cause of European civilisation, because it has been wisely exercised, producing parliamentarians of the calibre of Sir James Rose-Innes who first entered Parliament in the early eighties as a direct choice of the Victoria East Native voters. Far from being amenable to bribery by unscrupulous orators, it has exhibited judicious selection, decorating the House of Assembly with illustrious statesmen like Mr. Merriman, Mr. Sauer, Sir Richard Solomon, Sir. Charles Crewe, and many more. It has never committed any mistakes. Therefore theory and experience are entirely on the side of the Cape Native vote.

Secondly, we are told it is a danger because it will in time swamp the European vote by reason of its numerical preponderance, transferring political ascendancy from white to black and making this a black man's country.

Our reply is that this is a confession of an unjustifiable fear. Past history provides no more-

ground for fear on this account than the Cassandra prophecies deduced from census figures by a Government official two years ago. A study of the figures reveals that in 1910 there were 6,633 Native voters to 121,346 European voters, that is one to eighteen; and now sixteen years after that there are 14,182 to 156,531, one to eleven. This comparative slowness of Native growth is in keeping with the slow process of a true education, a natural course of development. Supposing it did swamp the whites in our present day, what reason is there to fear four million uncivilised Natives on the part of a million civilized European population backed by forty-five million Englishmen plus the whole League of Nations? A lion might as well fear the future of the mouse. Just as Natal has framed laws stringent enough to limit its franchise to a few Natives, so will the Union Parliament always be in a position to circumscribe the Native vote within whatever standard of Natives it judges to be adequate for the sentimental purpose of obtaining white dominance in Parliament. Furthermore when the Native voters of five centuries hereafter are numerous enough to swamp the whites they will *ipso facto* be civilised enough to run the country on civilised lines and with the intelligence and dignity associated with civilised races elsewhere in the world.

Thirdly, it is argued that political equality will lead to social equality, a position repugnant to Europeans.

In answer, we say political equality is by no means synonymous with social intermixture and

miscegenation any more than the present Native voters seek intermarriage with European women. We desire political equality not for social intercourse but in order to rise in our economic and political circumstances. We cannot thrive economically until we have our due share to the land rightly adjusted. And we cannot obtain our land rights until we get a direct voice in Parliament, that is, political equality. We are already inextricably bound up with Europeans in our territorial occupation of the land, but minus the means wherewith to protect our interests in the land we jointly occupy. Without political equality there is no hope of our attaining justice in our territorial problems; and it is obvious that territorial segregation will for ever be a physical impossibility in South Africa. Christianity alone has failed to secure justice for the Natives. The Natives will get justice only when they get political equality. It follows then that political equality is the only practical policy which Christianity should adopt for the Bantu of South Africa. This has nothing to do with social intercourse.

Fourthly, it is averred that the vote is in essence contrary to the African tradition of tribal rule by chiefs.

Against this we submit that African tribal rule has undergone such disintegration that it can never be re-established among detribalised Natives. Our tribal system is being gradually dislodged by the European democratic system and will ultimately be eliminated according as education spreads. It is useless to urge tribal communism as our ultimate goal in face of the Union Act based on British

individualism which is the enemy of communism. Even a racial or differential *imperium in imperio* will be ineffectual in this country.

Fifthly, it has been said that the Cape Native vote is obnoxious because it places the Cape Native on a higher footing than the Northern Native.

Against this we would point out that the reason why the Cape Native stands politically on a higher footing than his Northern compatriot is that the Cape tradition was historically based upon impartial justice. Christian morality, so far as we understand it, requires that the happy man shall not be penalised by degradation in order to establish a uniform injustice. Rather, the unhappy Native helot of the Orange Free State should be sympathetically raised to the rightful citizenship enjoyed by his more fortunate Cape brother.

Sixthly, political advantage granted to the Native will recoil detrimentally to European interests.

This is a favourite Northern argument based on the theory that the Natives are children and should therefore be treated as political minors. Plausible as this theory sounds, it will be found on closer examination to be faulty because the Native people in the Union are not all children or barbarians. Some have achieved considerable progress and we cannot afford to despise or defy their vanguard of worthy leaders who are already fit to exercise the franchise by their unobtrusive qualification of good character, education and substance. Another mistake lies in the assumption that they will perpetually remain children and never grow out of childhood. A wise policy is that which makes due provision for such members of the population as

grow out of the condition of childhood, as was done at the Cape. Under such a policy the Bantu leaders developed confidence in, and loyalty and love for their Government system, leading the masses behind them to a similar appreciation of authority, thus eliminating any possible detriment to the interest of the rulers.

Seventhly, it is affirmed that the political interests of the Europeans are distinct from those of the Natives.

Our reply is that all political affairs are, in the last analysis, governed by economic interests. Now in the Union it is admitted on all sides that white and black are economically interdependent. In Native affairs the land question is supreme because the land is the indispensable asset that governs the economic status of the Native. All Native prosperity automatically increases European prosperity. Every Native wealthy enough to contribute a substantial income tax is by that much a more valuable citizen to the white government than his impecunious brother who pays only the poll tax, and accordingly deserves a voice in the counsels of the State in which he has so much prosperity at stake. The identity of white and black political and economic interests should be accepted as an indisputable axiom in this country. The only alternative for all those who deny this identity of interest is the impossible task of effecting absolute territorial segregation, placing the blacks on some virgin land where they shall conduct their own separate administration directly under the Imperial Government.

Lastly, it has been recently stated that "As the voting power of the Native increases, so the feeling of bitterness against him will take possession of the white man. It will then doubtless come to pass that the basis of popular government, that is, honest difference of opinion on great questions, will give place to a division on colour and race lines to the neglect of everything else."

This is perhaps the strongest of all the arguments ever advanced against the Native franchise; and it is of paramount importance that the whole of the intelligent public opinion of South Africa be familiarised with the truth that will explode the fallacies that underlie this and the other seven propositions just discussed.

This particular argument presupposes two things to which we cannot subscribe, namely (a) that the white man holds an incorrigible hatred against the black man; and (b) that white and black in South Africa are irreconcilable enemies.

So far as the Cape Province is concerned we venture to state that the voting power of the black man has never produced bitterness against him. Division on racial lines has from the very beginning been conspicuous by its absence. The Natives have always divided along ordinary Parliamentary lines. We remember in the days of the old Afrikaner Bond that Onze Jan Hofmeyr was in league with John Tengo Jabavu with a big following of Native voters; whilst the Progressives had Dr. Jameson with the Rev. Walter Benson Rubusana and an equally large share of the Native voters behind them. These were divisions on lines of honest differences of opinion persisting down.

to the year 1909, with the South African Party and the Unionist each claiming a substantial following of Native voters. There was not even the mention of racialism. There are the historical facts. This situation was due to the kind of spirit that ruled in the Cape. Probably it is an approximation of a Christian spirit of non-racialism. If others are incapable of rising to it, then there appears no good reason for them to blame the Cape Europeans for being good Christians. The pessimistic expectation of a division on race lines is destitute of historical foundation, and either betrays a lack of faith in Christianity, or amounts to a confession that Christianity as we know it in South Africa is bankrupt.

The Cape Native View.

It is desirable that the view of the black possessor towards his franchise should be known.

He regards his vote as a treasured gift of justice inherited from Queen Victoria, the Good. This Queen attracted the Basuto, the Bechuana and the Pondo chiefs voluntarily to surrender their unconquered lands under British tutelage. This franchise is ethically moral because it places a premium on merit rather than colour. It is Christian, indicating the white man's humanitarian duty towards the black. It is economically sound, for it confers equality of opportunity on all to rise freely in the scale of civilisation. It fulfils the challenge of the New Testament towards peace as against hate. It has bestowed the highest mundane privilege of man, citizenship, as opposed to serfdom. The Cape Natives being full-fledged citizens have been immune from the rigours of the Pass Laws which

are the curse of their voteless comrades in the Transvaal. Likewise have they been saved by the grace of the franchise from the operation of the 1913 Lands Act with its painful evictions. They have good reason for being vigilant against any impending dispossession of this citizenship lest such a misfortune be followed by an era of mutual hatred that can only end in the dim and dismal future with a sanguinary conflict. This franchise is thus nothing less than the noblest monument of the white man's rule, emblematic of his genuineness in practising the precepts of Holy Scripture towards the subject races.

The obvious Christian policy is that which will in our day truly lay the foundations for a glorious future of co-operation and good understanding. There seems to be no likelihood of keeping the black man down or back from his march towards ultimate liberty in education, economic life and political privilege any more than it was possible for King Canute to block the ocean tide by an act of volition.

Oppression and restriction will perhaps serve as useful expedients for a time, but the unerring course of evolution and the ultimate destiny of Christianity will inevitably predominate.

All the Native people of the Union pray that the Churches of South Africa will, under the courageous leadership of the Dutch Reformed Churches, awake and respond to the call of Christian duty at this momentous hour when we are at the cross-roads of Native policy, exhorting European public opinion to abandon the fatal path of mere expediency and injustice, guiding all to the safe haven of self-denial, peace and goodwill towards men.

Some Aspects of the Native Bills.

To-day we find ourselves in a crucial stage of African economic and political development. Our rulers have declared their intention to incorporate in the Statute Book a newfangled Native policy that is destined, if wrong, to usher the country into an era of mutual distrust, the end of which is terrible to contemplate. This cannot be the objective of the Premier. We feel certain it never was, whatever be the influences that have induced him to do what he has done. On the contrary, we all owe him thanks for his endeavour and courage in compelling the public attention to Native affairs in a manner that has forced all intelligent people to think furiously.

But as to whether his policy is based on the wisest philosophy is a totally different matter, and one in which we can differ without imputing any sinister motives to the respected author of the Native Bills.

Crossroads of Native Policy.

We have, as a problem set before us, to make up our minds what sort of a Native policy is calculated to produce the most satisfactory interracial relationship for the dim future of South Africa. Is it to be the Northern policy (traditionally associated with the Transvaal and Orange Free State) or that of the Cape?

This country boasts many practical men, who adjure us to be practical at costs, including the cost of fairplay. They commend us to accept human

nature in the Northern Provinces for what it is, and accommodate ourselves to it, or meet it half-way. This kind of philosophy virtually requires us to abandon ideals as impractical, especially the ideals in St. Matthew v., and to content ourselves with bargaining with materialism. It is tantamount to a conspiracy to disregard the vital issues so far as those should be reconciled with the Christian ethic.

Ideals or Compromise.

Compromise is the religious formula of the weak politician; but it is dangerous, if not immoral, to compromise on pure justice and to make terms with injustice in national affairs. And this is just the danger into which the practical man is going to lead us. The practical man has been humorously defined as the man who continually practices the errors of his ancestors.

On the specious plea of compromise the Cape Native is being exhorted to give up his original individual vote in order to bestow a general group-franchise for Natives who are Government servants throughout the Union; truly a remarkable pseudo-franchise. To us the Representation of Natives in Parliament Bill constitutes the crux of the proposed legislation, because the vote is our Victorian heritage, not a privilege, but an heritage of British generosity legalised in 1854 and entrenched in the Union Act in 1909 as a prescriptive right to indigenous Africans by the Imperial Parliament in a spirit that implied that it was not to be liable to confiscation so long as its possessors continued in loyalty to the British Empire.

It epitomises the Cape liberal tradition which, notwithstanding all adverse criticism, granted all non-Europeans the liberty to develop without artificial obstacles, inspired a deep love for British political institutions that recognised no colour discrimination, and engendered loyal attachment to the late Queen of England. The Cape policy has been justified at the bar of history by its effects. It is now the envy of the northern Natives, and as such it can hardly be given up by the Cape Natives without a desperate struggle which will be followed by irreparable injury to their susceptibilities. Hence our unanimity in rejecting every compromise on this point and our determination to grasp and cling to the similitude of the ideal. We also feel that this is not the occasion for South Africa to yield to the insidious temptation of adopting the path of least resistance, namely, temporising with a policy of positive repression due to a baseless fear. Our desire and hope is that the dominant races in this land will practice active Christian charity in governing the Bantu rather than exploit their domination by taking advantage of the weak during their difficult stage of transition towards Western standards of life.

A Rigid Uniformity.

Read through the eyes of the Cape Native, the Premier's Native Bills have been framed so as to establish a rigidly uniform standard of government, and such as will reduce the superior political rights of the Cape Bantu down to the level of the most backward in the reserves. No account is taken of the diversity of intellectual and social attainment in various areas. The northern Native is to

gain only at the expense of the Cape Native every time. Why the Cape must first be penalised for its historical good fortune before benefit can be conferred on the North is a mystery; unless we postulate that the Transvaal policy is to displace that of the Cape in all future legislation. What that means we all know: it means denial of political fairplay.

This is utterly at variance with the promises made to the Imperial Parliament by the National Convention delegates in 1909 during the passage of the Union Act. This constitutes a breach of faith.

The Union is thus seen to have been a disaster for the blacks because under a Federation, which was then urged but to no purpose by the Natives, each State would have preserved its traditional policy and no degrading system of uniformity would have been necessary to retard the progressive Cape Colony.

The Alternatives.

Under the circumstances there seems to be no way out but that of the following alternatives: (a) The elimination of the clause that serves to interlock these Bills. In this case, Parliament would be in a position straightaway to deal with the Lands Act, the most urgent of the Bills for it requires immediate articulation or repeal. This is the Bill that really matters, and we do not appreciate the necessity of its being made to depend upon the distant settlement of the contentious franchise question unless the Bills are forced into the mangle of party politics. (b) The submission of all the Bills to an inter-racial nation-

al convention with all the sections involved being directly represented.

The Prime Minister has asked Parliament to deal with these measures in a non-Party spirit. It will be an earnest of his sincerity if he will disentangle the Bills and concentrate all attention on the Land Question. Likewise, he will do much to win the confidence of all those directly affected by his proposals if he will summon some national Convention or round-table conference.

This desideratum is not met by the annual Pretoria Government Native Conference, because (a) neither the Minister for Native Affairs nor any other Cabinet member ever undertakes to discuss matters with the conference on round-table lines; (b) the views expressed at this Congress are never submitted to Parliament; (c) the decisions made at Pretoria are subsequently altered and added to at the whim of the Minister; (d) the conference, though promised to the people as an annual event, has not been summoned in 1927, in deference to the caprice or convenience of the Minister.

Suggested Convention.

The suggested Convention has been urged from all quarters ever since the Premier's Smithfield speech of 1925, and this appeal has been reinforced by Sir Abe Bailey, who cannot be characterised as a Negrophilist seeing that he believes in the mailed fist enclosed in a velvet glove; and by an important Native Conference that met at Kimberley two weeks ago, which petitioned that "no solution, in order that it may be satisfactory and acceptable to all sections of the population of

the Union vitally affected, shall be arrived at until resort is had to methods of discussion whereby an opportunity would be afforded for free exchange of views and frank presentation of the case as it affects the respective sections of the community. The Congress, therefore, respectfully and yet strongly appeals to the Prime Minister seriously to consider, even at this eleventh hour, the expediency and advisability of arranging for a round-table conference between representatives of the Government and the Opposition and those of the Bantu and Coloured communities, when more careful consideration would be given to this great problem."

External Criticism.

The Prime Minister has recently been taking strong exception to criticism made from overseas on his Colour Bar Act, the Native Administration Act with its extraordinary restriction on individual and public freedom, and the present Bills. He regards the treatment of African aborigines as a purely domestic affair. Possibly he is correct in his interpretation of the constitution, but the inter-racial question is a world-wide issue exceeding the bounds of domestic politics. Slavery in the nineteenth century could not be circumscribed as a domestic concern in any country. There are certain ultimate and ethical standards of equity in political morality that transcend even kings, rulers and governments; and which cannot be disregarded without disaster to the body politic of a country.

All the more acceptable is this comment from impartial sources when we remember that, under

the Union Act and the newly acquired Status, South Africa became its own final Court of Appeal and therefore no appeal can possibly be entertained by the Privy Council if addressed thereto by the Natives of the Union. By virtue of this omnipotence the political domination of the white race has been guaranteed for all time as far as human agency can determine ; and there can be no fear of harm from friendly comment by others outside of our country.

Equality.

Whilst South Africa is thus politically established beyond doubt as a white man's country, the Native should not be precluded from equality of opportunity to develop and exercise his ability in all legitimate spheres of life.

The ex-Republican Grondwet laid it down that there shall be no equality for the African in Church or State ; and this paradoxical philosophy remains subconsciously at the back of all Transvaal mentality. One can dispense with both equality and membership in any given church ; but not so with the State. Discussion on this subject is confused by the meaning attached to the word "equality" by various people. Most Europeans in this land when they use this term think only of inter-marriage between black men and white women. To the Natives, equality means equal wages for equal work. Social equality we neither ask nor need, just because it is not anything that need be asked for, because one tumbles suddenly into it by dint of achievement. What we want is an equal chance with all other citizens to develop

economically, and so long as politicians legislate to repress us in industry and land acquisition, our salvation will depend upon political equality. Let us not lose sight of the forest because of the trees.

Constructive Suggestions.

As a reply to those who ask for our constructive policy as an alternative to the Premier's Native Bills, we submit the following records :

1. Memorandum "Constructive Proposals for a solution of the Native Land Problem"—by the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Natives. (See Minutes of Evidence taken in May 1927 before the Select Committee on the Native Bills, pages 132-148.)
2. "The Cape Native Franchise," by the present speaker,—*ibid*, pages 239-249.
3. Resolutions of the European-Bantu Conference of 1927—*ibid*, pages 339-349.
4. Government Native Conference Resolutions 1926—See Report of Native Affairs Commission for 1925-6, Annexure IV, pages 60, 67, 68, 76, 77—

not to mention innumerable references and further suggestions in the Native Press throughout the Union.

(This is the substance of an address delivered to an audience of Europeans and Bantu in January 1928 at the Reception Hall of the City Hall, Cape Town, under the auspices of the Cape Peninsula Native Welfare Society.)

The Financial Strangulation of Native Education.

A great lover of the Bantu was once asked what, in his opinion, were the three greatest needs of the South African Natives, and he answered "The first is education; the second is education; and the third is, yet more education." This statement implies a great deal more than is realised by many who favour or oppose the education of the Bantu. Whether we like it or not the fact stands that if the Bantu are to be made self-supporting and placed in a position to increase economic production, to provide more intelligent labour, to give the right expression and interpretation of their ambitions, to realise their value of personality, and generally to forward the interests of civilisation,—the instrument of development will be education. It is an important factor in the adjustment of amicable race-relations. Once an interest is aroused in the modern wonders of civilisation by contact with the Western peoples, the march of African education cannot be arrested by any artificial barriers. We all witness a sort of conscious or unconscious process of education among the blacks employed as labourers for Europeans. Nor is Native education a danger to Europeans but rather a power in the development of the country. In fact it is now inevitable because the Native has made up his mind to get it; and as one writer says, the question is not, what kind of education shall we

give him, but what will he accept from us? The people are keen, and so are the teachers and the children. In a school taken at random near our district, with a roll of 289, the average attendance of pupils, many of whom travel several miles to school, is 260. The manager is a Native and there is no compulsion for attending. One of the teachers, a man with a family and educating his children earns a salary of £64 a year. To support his family on this miserable salary he is forced to exist almost on the point of starvation. This is the condition of things in the Cape Province which has always been the most liberal in the Union towards Native education because almost the whole of the Hut-Tax of 1921 was devoted to this purpose; while in Natal only £49,000 was thus spent out of a hut-tax of £294,000; in the Transvaal it was £46,000 out of £420,000 and in the Orange Free State £5,000 out of £73,000. The treatment was that of justice in the Cape, and injustice in the North, a position characteristic of the political and other relations between white and black in South Africa.

This tradition is so constant that whenever the Union Government undertakes to make a change towards uniformity in Native affairs the tendency is to penalise the Cape Natives under the plea of benefitting the Northern Natives. The finance of Native education in both pre-Union and post-Union years provides a remarkable history of repression and a policy of almost consistent strangulation.

To show that we are not indulging in erratic exaggeration, we shall make a few extensive quotations:—

The report of the 1923 Provincial Finances Commission which, read as a whole, cannot be accused of being unduly Negrophilist, contains the following pregnant paragraphs:—

“When it is considered that the expenditure upon the education of Native and Coloured children is admittedly inadequate, it is impossible to come to any other conclusion than that the expenditure upon European education is too high.”

Also,

“The amount expended (on Native education) is most inadequate: there is a grave shortage in the number of schools; accommodation in existing schools is insufficient; the number of pupils per teacher is, in many cases unduly high; the salaries paid to Native teachers are extremely low.”

And,

“A definite amount of grant-in-aid should be fixed as a grant per pupil; the grant for the training of Native teachers should be the same as the grant for the training of Coloured teachers” (which works out at £5 5s. in the Cape.)

If these paragraphs mean anything they mean that the Native is actually paying for European education, over and above his own.

We now quote an eminent authority who in the course of an article that appeared in the “Fort Beaufort Advocate and Adelaide Opinion,” 15th December, 1927, remarked:

“In 1923 the Minister of Finance met the four Provincial Administrators at Durban to consider

among other matters the financing of education. It was then agreed that an annual *per capita* grant should be paid from the Union Treasury for all European scholars (£14 for scholars in the Cape, and £2 more for Transvaal scholars), each Province to budget for its numbers annually. In this arrangement Coloured education was included, the grant being fixed at £5 5s. In this way an automatic provision was made to meet the expenditure on European and Coloured Education as it increased with increase of population.

“ But Native education was not included in this automatic arrangement: instead, a policy was introduced which lifted the future development of Native education out of the channel along which it had hitherto been borne. The total cost of Native education throughout the Union as met by the State as at 1921 was ascertained, and it was agreed that only that annual amount should be paid out of the Union Treasury. Henceforth whatever funds would be needed for the expansion of Native education must be raised by direct Native taxation, in other words from the Development Fund.

“ Under the terms of the agreement White and Coloured education is so situated that the means for its promotion will be provided automatically and *pari passu* with the development of the country's resources and the increase of its population, both White and Coloured. Native education, the education of the most backward and poorest element of the population, has been withdrawn from this stream of progress, and the whole burden of its expansion placed on the backward and poorest population itself. The sum of £340,000 allowed

annually from the Treasury is to be all the return to Native education and Native uplift from the very large contribution paid by the Natives in the form of indirect taxation and incalculable contributions made by their low-paid services to the wealth of the country."

Consequences of the New Policy.

The Cape Suffers from the Official Miscalculations.

The figure ascertained as the amount paid by the Government for all Native education in the Union at the date of the agreement was £340,000. In the calculation of the Cape Province expenditure very unfortunately two items were not included. The one was the amount of £19,000 which had been paid by the Transkei General Council towards teachers' salaries, and which lapsed as a charge against that Council when the poll-tax was levied. The other was a sum of £15,000, being the cost of the inspection of Native schools, making altogether £34,000.

When the Development Fund came into operation it was immediately saddled with the advances made towards increasing the salaries of teachers, and for the expansion of Native education which at 21st March, 1926, totalled £220,000. This amount the Fund was required to pay back within three years, a period later extended to five. The Cape Education Department was then credited with the £30,000 which it had previously been receiving as a loan from the Treasury. It also received a sum of £16,500 for development. This sum of £16,500 represents all the means that the Cape Education Department received for the extension of Native education between 1921 and 1926.

The position thus is that Native education in the Cape Province, where it is most advanced and where natural expansion is most insistent receives £34,000—less than it was entitled to in accordance with what was the intention of the Durban agreement. For this deprivation no justification whatsoever has been offered. Through what was essentially a misunderstanding between the Union Treasury and the Provincial Administration Cape Native education has been penalised with the loss of 14% of its revenue from the Treasury, and it is apparently intended to continue that deprivation so long as the Durban agreement holds. Towards this loss of £34,000 must of course go the sum of £16,000 received from the Development Fund, the result revealing by a simple process of subtraction that Native education in the Cape is being positively checked and interrupted.

New Schools Unobtainable.

Education is only one of the burdens imposed upon the Development Funds. From its income is expected money for agricultural schools, hospitals and other medical and public services, and for the great variety of efforts indispensable to the advancement of a population so backward and necessitous.

In the Cape Province of 290,000 Native children of school age only 120,000 are given the opportunity of education. For the whole Union the Native-children of school age who are under instruction is only 24 per cent. In the Cape Province alone two-hundred or more additional schools are clamant for aid, and could be put upon the list of aided.

schools at once were funds available. There are many schools in Bechuanaland and Pondoland, which were started by local funds, but which now look to the Development Fund for their support in accordance with the promises and assurances given when the poll tax was imposed. But we are informed that the Educational Department cannot meet them. The Natives of the Transvaal and the Free State cannot be given their opportunity of going forward except at the expense of their more advanced, but equally deserving, neighbours in the Cape, and it may be in Natal. Schools are inadequately staffed, while young Native men and women who qualified as teachers, and whose parents have sacrificed to have them trained, in the expectation that the process of growth that had been normal up to 1921 would continue, are having difficulty in finding employment. Very much needed courses for the training of infant school teachers—specialized teachers for the stage at which so much of Native education becomes sterilized—cannot be established. At every point industrial training is hampered. A supply of books and equipment sufficient for reasonable efficiency cannot be provided.

Maintenance Grants to be Withdrawn.

In pursuance of the policy of Sir George Grey, the Cape Colony Education Ordinance of 1865 encouraged the developing of industrial training schools by instituting maintenance grants for industrial scholars, authorising an annual allowance of £15 for each male and £12 for each female in training. Later, in order to secure a sufficient

supply of fully-trained teachers maintenance grants, £12 each per annum for males and £10 for females, were instituted at the training schools, following the practice in use in white training schools. The apportioning of these Native grants was not determined by any Regulation, and only a proportion of the students was taken into account in allocating them. The practice therefore arose and ultimately was recognised by the Department of Education that the maintenance grant was not put to the credit of the account of the individual student in whose name it was payable, but the total amount of these maintenance grants was used to meet part of the expenses of the school beyond what was covered by the salary grants themselves.

The missionary superintendents do for the Natives the work which the school boards perform for Whites and the missionaries do it without expense to the State. Even the stationery for communicating with the Department is not granted to them. Except in a very few cases no rent is allowed for the buildings which they have erected at the cost of many thousands of pounds although the paying of such rent is authorised in the Regulations. No assistance in the way of loans is available to them for the putting up of new buildings. Not only have they no hope of relief from the burdens ever becoming heavier which they have been carrying hitherto, but in order to provide for other needs it is now proposed to withdraw from the institutions their maintenance grants, which have been their standby for nearly half a century. To cover this loss it is suggested that the Native training institutions increase their fees by an

amount of 20% to 25%. In their impoverished circumstances the Natives, who have already been required to pay a new tax for educational and other developments, are to be asked to accept another much larger burden. The missionaries are to be the agents in imposing it although they know the distress prevailing over the Cis-Kei area and that to a most deplorable extent the Natives are in debt.

We submit that it should now be recognised that the Natives and the missionaries who are labouring for them can be pushed too far. There is a breaking point, and that is being reached.

The General Situation.

Provision for the extension of Native Education is made out of the Native Development Account which is created under Acts 41 and 46 of 1925.

Under Act 41 Section 12 "There shall be established a special account to be styled 'the Native Development Account' and to be administered by the Minister and there shall be paid into that account (a) one-fifth of the amount of the general tax, (b) any local tax or Native quit-rent collected.

Section 13 proceeds:—Subject to subsection (2) of this section the amounts standing to the credit of the Native Development Account shall be applied at the discretion of the Minister, in consultation with the Native Affairs Commission, to any one or more of the following purposes:—

- (a) For the maintenance, extension and improvement of educational facilities amongst Natives;
- (b) For the further development and the advancement of the welfare of Natives.....Provided that any moneys paid into the Native develop-

ment account under paragraph b of section twelve be expended in such area within the Province in respect of which they have been collected as may be prescribed.

There is a further provision dealing with the financing of Native Education.

Act 46, Section 3, reads as follows:—

- (1) There shall be paid to the Provinces grants in respect of Native Education. Commencing with the financial year 1926/27 such grants shall be paid from a Native development account to be established to which account an annual contribution of £340,000 shall be made in and after that year from the Consolidated Revenue Fund.
- (2) In respect of the financial year 1925/26 there shall be paid to each Province from the Consolidated Revenue Fund the following grants: Cape of Good Hope £240,000; Natal, £49,000, Transvaal £46,000 and O.F.S. £5000; Provided that if any Province does not in the financial year 1925/29 expend on Native education the sum allotted to it the grant thereto shall be reduced accordingly.
- (3) After the establishment of the said Native Development Account grants in respect of the maintenance, extension and improvement of educational facilities among Natives and for the adjustment of salaries of Native teachers shall be defrayed therefrom subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by the Governor-General after consultation between the Minister of Native Affairs and the Administrator concerned.

Under this last mentioned Act (Section 2) the provision for education of Europeans and non-Europeans other than Natives is separated from the provision for Native Education detailed above, the former being budgetted for on the basis of the number of Europeans and Non-Europeans other than Native who are receiving education while the fund for Native Education is determined beforehand and irrespective of their numbers.

Under the provisions of the Acts referred to the expansion of education to cover the 75% of Native children still out of school is made a charge upon direct Native taxation. This appears to be unjust discrimination, and imposes a burden upon the Natives which they cannot be expected to sustain.

While European and non-European education except that of Natives is to be budgetted for in the usual way, Native education is laid upon a procrustean bed, and if its requirements exceed the definitely specified grants, its demands must be reduced to fit them.

It appears to have been the intention of the legislature that in apportioning the grants from the Development Fund, the claim of each Province to one-fifth of the total of the Poll Tax paid by its Native population should be considered, but that principle has not been observed in the grants actually made. In the Cape Province, where most progress in Native Education has been made, expansion is more rapid. In consequence the Cape Province is placed in the position of seeming to stand in the way of the advancement of Native Education in the other Provinces, while indeed the

the expansion and the natural development of its Native Education is being made to mark time, if not being actually pushed back, so that Native Education in the other Provinces may come into line with it."

Again from a memorandum prepared by a committee of the Ciskeian Missionary Council, in co-operation with the Transvaal, we excerpt the following:—"Whereas all education other than Native is financed out of the Consolidated Fund upon the basis of the number of children at school, (attendance being compulsory) Native education depends for its support, irrespectively of the number of children at school or the school population, upon an arbitrarily fixed contribution from the Consolidated Fund and a share only of one fifth of the General Native Tax.

It is difficult to justify this differential method of financing Native Education and other social services connected with Natives. By it the maintenance, expansion and development of essential services are made a burden upon the yield from direct taxation of Natives. Such a system deprives the poorest class of the community of any share in the progressive general well-being of the country to which, with other classes of the community, it may be held by their labour and other ways very substantially to contribute.

It would appear therefore that while the new system has reacted to the benefit of smaller and less developed systems, it has not provided for the normal growth and development of the long established and comparatively complex system of the Cape Province.

When however the number of children not in school is taken into account, viz. 176,000 in the Cape, 149,000 in Natal, 169,000 in the Transvaal and 51,000 in the O.F.S., a total of 545,000, it will be obvious that the new system of financing Native Education depending for its elasticity upon only one factor, viz., the increase in the share of the one-fifth of the General Native Tax, will be unable to provide even the necessary minimum number of primary schools whether in the Northern Provinces or in the Cape. Were attendance at school compulsory upon Natives as it is upon Europeans, even taking for granted the continuance of the present system whereby the burden of providing school buildings falls upon the Churches and Missionary Societies, the whole of the General Native Tax would be insufficient to meet the cost.

Setting aside compulsory education for Natives as at present impracticable, though all the arguments employed in urging compulsory education for Europeans might be equally well applied to Natives, and some even with added force, we have still two measures of the inadequacy of the present provision for Native Education, viz. :—

(a) the number of schools at present existing but unsupported by Government.

(b) the number of schools projected but unable to open on account of the absence of aid.

In April of this year a National scale of salaries for Native teachers, drawn up by the Native Affairs Department, was brought into operation as far as the available funds permitted. This scale represents an advance upon salaries previously, paid in the Northern provinces but

is lower than salaries paid to certain classes of teachers in the Cape. From inquiries it appears that an additional £5000 is needed to put present salaries on the national scale in the O. F. S. and an additional £75,000 is required in the Cape to put the Native teacher in a position in which he could live in reasonable decency and bring his salary in a respectable relation to the salaries paid to Coloured teachers.

Under this head an additional £80,000 is required.

A very great service has been rendered to Native Education by the Churches in erecting, equipping and maintaining in efficient condition the institutions for the training of Native teachers and of late years secondary schools. The buildings for these have been erected in most cases from funds supplied by missionary societies or by churches labouring in this country and represent a contribution totalling many thousands of pounds. With the exception of negligible sums in lieu of rent in new buildings recently erected in the Cape and of late years grants in aid of furnishing and equipment varying from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ of the cost, no contributions have been made by any provincial administration for the erection, repairs, administration, furnishing, equipment, lighting or rates and taxes of these institutions. If funds were available and if the practice sanctioned by the ordinance in the Cape were made general and retrospective, it is calculated that at least £10,000 per annum would be required at present to provide funds to meet a 3% allowance on capital cost in lieu of rent on Institution buildings used for educational purposes.

Contributions ought also to be made in respect of essential services connected with institutions, such as lighting, sanitation, repairs and administration.

Summarising what appear to be the most immediate necessities and attempting to estimate their probable cost we get the following table:—

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----------|
| Annual cost of 1500 new schools | |
| immediately required, say | £110,000 |
| Additions to teachers salaries, say | 80,000 |
| Supervision, say | 7,500 |
| Allowances to Institutions, say | 10,000 |
| | £201,500 |
| Total | |

Such figures are merely illustrative of the disabilities under which Native education is labouring at present. They cannot claim to represent the total cost of effectively meeting and remedying the situation that has grown up in Native education through a long number of years. They may be held to represent fairly the cost of the immediate steps in advance. It is certain that the annual cost of Native education will, in common with other systems, be an increasing one. What has been demonstrated is that the amount yielded by the present system of financing Native education is not sufficient to meet current needs and is totally unable to provide for normal expansion even without the application of compulsion to Native education.

The fact that the sums allocated to Native education are inadequate may be fairly inferred from the low per capita cost as compared with the cost per European child. In 1923-24 the average cost per European child in the Union was £17 18s. 6d.

as against costs per Native child of 18s. 5d. for O.F.S., £1 12s. 10d. for the Transvaal, £2 1s. 0d. for Natal and £2 8s. 5d. for the Cape.

The only satisfactory way of providing funds for Native education will be found to be by per capita grants out of general revenue, budgetted for from year to year as for European, Coloured and Indian education. Owing however to differences in the development of the Provincial systems, no uniform rate would be fair to the older established systems. Schools would require to be classified and grants paid on an ascending scale in respect of each child in each school division, taking into account infant and primary schools, industrial schools, teacher-training schools and secondary schools. These per capita grants should bear a definite relation to grants given in respect of European pupils in similar schools.

If, for any reason, it is not practicable at present to place Native education upon a similar basis to European and Coloured, it remains to consider what alteration in the present system can be secured in order to afford relief. Under this system there is a certain advantage discernible in deriving the funds for Native education from two sources (a) the Consolidated Fund and (b) the Native General Tax. The first secures that a minimum revenue will be available, but unfortunately it is constant in face of rapidly developing needs. The smaller factor has to bear all the increase and it is quite evident that it is unable to do this. It does not seem fair and just that while the contribution of the Consolidated Fund should

remain constant at £340,000, that fund should benefit to the extent of four-fifths of any increase in the General Tax beyond what it received when the system was initiated.

In 1926-27 the revenue paid into the Native Development Account (including the £340,000 from the Consolidated Fund) amounted to £579,761. This indicates that one-fifth of the General Tax was £239,761 so that, if services other than Education are to be financed out of the Native Development Account it would appear that that account requires at the present moment to be credited with two-fifths and not one-fifth of the General Tax.

While an increase in the fraction would afford much needed relief, there is no guarantee that a similar situation as at present obtains would not arise in the near future. There ought therefore, if the present system of financing Native Education is to be persisted in, to be stated opportunities of revising the fraction of the General Tax credited to the Native Development Account in order to ensure that starvation or restriction of any necessary Native service is not brought about."

From the foregoing quotations it will be seen that whilst the Northern provinces will derive new benefits as compared with previous years when they were callously neglected, the improvements are to be made at the cost of the Cape Natives who are to lose a sum of £34,000 and, worse than that, to have their progress arbitrarily arrested and to stand for ever at the point it had reached by 1922. Then Native education in the Union as a whole is

to mark time as from now until doomsday. As the Native Development Account is already earmarked for a multitude of purposes other than education, this means that no new money is to be available, no new schools to be opened in the Cape, no fresh teachers to be employed—indeed some are already teaching classes of over seventy pupils!—in a word, no more forward advance.

The Native Affairs Commission stated in 1925 that these changes were due to the fact that the Cape Province had too many Native training schools and that the salaries of white teachers in them were too high in view of the meagre funds of Native taxation.

Against this the present writer, as a member of a deputation to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Finance during the same year, stated that there was no valid reason for the Natives to be specially taxed for their education and teachers' salaries inasmuch as they contributed on a parity with other citizens to the general revenue of the country, out of which the Europeans and Coloureds and Indians are educated. Over and above the ordinary contribution of indirect taxation a considerable proportion of the income tax derived from the Rand gold mines and the diamond fields was possible only because of the abnormally low wages of unskilled black labour which was equal to only a fourth of the cost of unskilled labour in Europe and America. This money had always been ascribed to whites and used for whites whilst it was derived in the last analysis to low-paid black labour. The blacks had a just claim on it for their education if justice were to be the governing

principle. The Prime Minister and the Minister of Finance on being challenged on this issue were unable to refute this claim. In their inability to rebut it they stated that the money being now unavailable was being applied elsewhere. That was the end of the matter that day till now. Such is the position of the black man in South Africa. His obvious way out is incessant organisation and propaganda in co-operation with sympathetic Europeans.

The case of the Native teachers and their salaries is a palpable outrage on South African civilisation. Illiterate policemen and other urban Natives whose qualifications for work cost little, are actually better paid than the teacher who has spent years of extreme sacrifice to obtain his certificate.

Comparisons between the earnings of a teacher and those of an ordinary uneducated town Native disclose a surprising and incredibly absurd state of affairs. According to the scale launched in the Orange Free State during 1925 the ultimate position that a Native teacher may aspire to reach is the headship of a school with an average attendance of 414 children, with nine assistants who will be paid £24 for the lowest assistant, £78 for the highest, and he as head gets a maximum salary of £90 without pension—and without a Good Service Allowance! No matter how long he remains a teacher he cannot hope to get beyond that figure. On the contrary an illiterate Native policeman is paid £144 without being saddled with the responsibility of leading a life of culture as a moral leader of his people. A pupil dismissed from school for a serious moral offence more often than not becomes

eventually better off economically than the teacher who by dint of self-denial and painstaking training and years of toil achieves a creditable character and a record of successful work at college. The Native teachers being expected to lead exemplary lives as pioneers of a new civilisation, are to-day compelled by their niggardly salaries to exist only in a squalid social environment, with their souls tormented by the obsession of constant debts to store-keepers because they are the worst paid section of the intelligent Native population as compared with uneducated hotel waiters, and porters. On the side of women it is common knowledge that unschooled maid-servants and nursemaids in Cape Town and Johannesburg earn much more than what the fully qualified Native female teachers command in salary. This is a travesty of moral justice. It is to the credit of the Native teachers that, notwithstanding their life of privation, often of penury, misled by empty government promises of relief, they have exercised patience and shown exemplary forbearance in a situation that could have easily driven less balanced people into acts of desperation. All their circumstances warrant a substantial improvement upon current rates of pay.

We here appeal to all sympathisers to join and help in the cause and knock at the doors of government until they are opened at long last.

Native Unrest.

Introductory. The aboriginal black people of South Africa have not remained unaffected by the general world movement of awakening race-consciousness that is stirring all coloured peoples in Japan, China, Egypt, the United States and the British West Indies. Even politicians and press agencies can no longer afford to ignore the manifestations in Native life noticeable in the various political and other organizations, in riots, and in press and platform utterances. These people slowly emerging out of barbarism, or, to use a more correct expression, out of their African civilization, have for generations remained quiet, docile, even supine in their trust in the essential goodness of Englishmen. Now a remarkable change has come over things: white men both locally and in Britain have become hardened, while on the other hand the black man himself, under the guidance of an ambitious younger generation, has developed intelligence and some feeling of independence that has made him less easy of management. The general result is that since the accomplishment of Union in 1910 there has been a steady feeling of discontentment which has been fanned into active unrest during the last four years; and unless the attitude towards the coloured races and the methods of governing them is changed there is danger that what is known as the Native Question may culminate sooner or later in some ugly collision between white and black.

The questions therefore before 'us' are: What is the nature of this unrest? What is its origin? What should be done by white South Africa to allay it, arrest it, and to rebuild the country on a foundation that will secure the goodwill of all for all time? These questions are not easy to answer satisfactorily. In the limited space of a short article the writer will aim at giving impressions of outstanding factors in the great problem from the viewpoint of a Native of the soil.

Manifestations of Unrest. Amongst the many forms in which Native unrest exhibits itself, the most conspicuous is that of riots and threatened riots for a living wage, as seen at Port Elizabeth, Durban, East London, Cape Town, King Williamstown and elsewhere in all the provinces.

These are an index of the degree of exasperation to which the aborigines have been brought by the unjust wages obtaining at a time of severe stress in the cost of living. The lack of consideration on the part of employers in this matter has rendered the Natives, in their disturbed state, easy victims to the belief in Marcus Garvey, whose Black Republic propaganda promises such great things. It promises among other things: the expulsion of the white man and his yoke of misrule from their midst; Negro autonomy ("I Afrika mayi buye" = Let Africa be restored to us) with Garvey himself as Lord High Potentate; a Black Star fleet with powerful black armies bringing salvation, and bags of grain to relieve Africans from the economic pinch. This, because of its attractiveness, has made a deep impression on our illiterate people, so that even from backwood hamlets rings the magic

motto: "Ama Melika ayeza" (The Americans are coming).

In 1920 the immediate causes of unrest were starvation, low wages and the high prices of life's necessities. In almost all the big towns of the Union the commotion was visible, attaining its climax in the Port Elizabeth riots where there was considerable loss of life; and where a government commission established the fact that "while the cost of the foodstuffs and necessities ordinarily consumed and used by Natives had increased by 105 per cent. the percentage of increase in wage was 60, so that the Native with 2s. 6d. a day in 1914 was really in a better position by 40 per cent. than he was in 1920 with 4s. a day." The causes of trouble therefore were real, but have since been partly mitigated. With seasonable rains at Christmas (1920) followed by a satisfactory crop the situation in regard to wage earners in towns has been somewhat eased. Grievances of another type have now come to the surface, the two chief of which are the land question and the salaries of Native school teachers.

The land question is many-sided. The so-called Native reserves are becoming over-populated, and more land is required from somewhere. The story is the same for Transvaal, the Transkeian Territories and Eastern Cape Colony. Basutoland, for instance, has less than 10,000 square miles of habitable land for her already crowded 420,000 agrarian people who double their number every twenty-five years. Municipalities in many towns deny security of tenure to Natives who supply their town labour, reserve the right and frequently

threaten to move their Native inhabitants from their dwellings and sites at any time and to anywhere, and then blame these people for not beautifying their homes. How the latter can be expected to rise in the scale of civilisation under such conditions it is difficult to conceive.

Again the complete embargo placed on the purchase of land by Natives in the Orange Free State (where no Native may buy land) constitutes one of the crudest anomalies in South Africa and is being more and more felt as a grievance.

Another important cause of unrest comes from the shockingly low salaries paid by the Government to Native teachers. The enormity of neglect in this particular can hardly be exaggerated, for the tremendous power for good this class of Native is to the State in inculcating ideas of loyalty and admiration for British justice in the hearts of the young is well known. The Native teachers have not been agitators for political privileges, but to-day even they, after enduring miserable salaries long before the Great War, salaries which never enabled them to lead decent lives, salaries which to-day are worth about half the pre-war scale, after seeing the salaries of Europeans, Indians and Coloured teachers advanced by substantial margins, have had the chagrin of being treated as the Cinderella of the family.

Not much different is the case of the black labourer whose wages have remained at about the pre-war level whilst his white supervisors, though their trade union, have had theirs sent up to exorbitant figures. The system of artificial

colour-bar laws with exploitation of the black man's sweat and blood is already producing a deep but quiet feeling of resentment in the black man's heart. Not infrequently does one hear private discussion on these lines: "If the white man is really superior to us, as he often claims, then why does he bolster up his superiority over us by colour-bar legislation? Why does he fear black and Indian merchants? Why does he preclude the African from showing what he can do in his alleged inferiority?" So much for the actual items of unrest. We shall now examine the ground in which his unrest is nurtured.

Factors making for Unrest. Among factors making for a charged atmosphere is the fact that a number of better educated Native young men, some apparently without regular employment, who carry weight with the rank and file of Native labourers, influence the latter in one way and another on political and other burning questions affecting their life, and continually raise funds for one project or another. They are often mistaken by the European public for vindictive and anti-white malcontents. In truth they are the product of the many social and economic pin-pricks of justice so universally to be found in the Orange Free State and Transvaal. The influence of the press in South Africa, where there is little independent thought, is greater both for good or for bad than, say, in Europe. And it is unfortunate that in many towns press agencies do not avail themselves more of the opportunities of allaying the spirit of ill-will than they do. For example, the proceedings of a very important General Missionary

Conference at Durban, that admittedly handled the Native question with thorough investigation and business-like methods, received barely a few inches in the press summary as compared with columns on horse-racing, lawsuits and other matter of small national significance. Crime is often the only form of public advertisement for the Native. Undue prominence is given to occasional "black peril" cases and yellow scares, instead of to much valuable constructive work that is being quietly done by both white and black. The Native press, lacking in educated Native contributors, has frequently erred in being either too docile or, on the other hand, too inflammatory. By these varied circumstances Native public opinion has been influenced and developed for many years until the old love for, and confidence in, British impartiality has been undermined. Since the Boer War of 1900 and through various political happenings the Natives have gradually lost confidence in the even-handedness of British institutions, particularly in the Northern provinces. Just as it has taken twenty years for them to lose this confidence so it is going to require more than one generation to restore it.

Again, the South African racial atmosphere of reserve and suspicion will not help matters, because race relations here are artificially strained and unnatural as compared with those in, say, the West Indies, Dahomey and Great Britain. For instance, during my eleven years in England I constantly admired the Englishman's spirit of open-mindedness, justice and real goodness to-

wards foreigners. In sport he was fairness personified, adoring the brilliant Indian cricketers and upholding negro boxers even at the expense of his own race. In social intercourse it was frequently an advantage to be a black man. The Bantu in South Africa have long known that when a white man first arrives from England he is full of love for the black people. But in a few months he is compelled by his fellow whites, at the threat of ostracism, to change. Cases of this are innumerable in ordinary life, whilst mission circles too are in some cases not wholly without it nowadays. The necessity for maintaining this false atmosphere is seriously upheld by semi-educated whites everywhere in South Africa. To take one typical letter in a voluminous anti-Native correspondence in the Bloemfontein *Farmer's Weekly*, in a lengthy and ambitious article on what is called "First Principles and Heredity," long-exploded pseudo-scientific theories are propounded as new discoveries.

"The difference intellectually between the Negro and European races is irrevocably fixed by the limitations set by skull formation and heredity; . . . the natural place of the Negro races in South Africa is to remain hewers of wood and drawers of water; and until our Native policy is based upon the scientific and candid recognition of this fact, we shall find no practical or workable solution of the Native Question."

This is the guiding theory followed by many, however amusing it must be to Jean Finot and modern ethnologists and sociologists.

Next, the effect of the world war constitute a powerful factor in the development of Native

mentality. The Bantu were taken by surprise that European nations who led in education and Christianity should find no other means than the sword and accumulated destructive weapons to settle their diplomatic differences. Their vast contingent of labourers drawn from every tribe visited France, and returned to educate every section of the Bantu on the goodness of whites in Europe as against the hardness of whites in South Africa. The war awakened an otherwise long-dormant race-consciousness in the Bantu, as witness: (a) a spirit of union and growing tendencies for organization on trade-union lines, specially among labourers and teachers, against European exploitation and injustice; (b) a general desire for higher and sounder education, the training schools being overwhelmed with pupils in the worst years of drought and high prices (1917-1920); (c) the spread of religious separatist movements (for instance in one Native township near Johannesburg there are no less than 32 Native churches for the spiritual needs of only a few thousand people; in Pretoria it is said there are 63, while the Union Government has registered 106. Some flourish interesting names such as Bethesda Zion Apostolic, African United Gaza, Natural Church of Ethiopia, Pentecostal Holiness, Christian Catholic Church in Zion, etc.); (d) the evidence of a self-assertive attitude against petty sub-officials who annoyingly impose their authority upon the "School Native."

The fact can no longer be concealed that in many of the smaller up-country towns, where the

European is harsh towards the Bantu a sense of deep contempt for, and resentment against, the white man is unfortunately becoming more and more widespread.* And unless a sympathetic spirit becomes speedily diffused among the whites, confidence in British equity will in time become totally extinguished. This is expressing in mild terms the situation in the Transvaal. Here as in all the other affairs of life it is easier to destroy than to construct. The lasting impression of goodwill left in the memories of the non-European population of South Africa by Queen Victoria took generations to establish. In spite of the treatment under the Dutch régime in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal when a black-skinned man was regarded as no better than a baboon ("zomaar bobetaan") the Basuto and the Bechuana races so implicitly believed in the English and "Mofumahali" Victoria that their leaders, Chief Moshoshoé and King Khama spontaneously and voluntarily handed over their people and territories, though unconquered, to the tutelage of the Great Queen and the English nation. This confidence lasted until the Boer War, when it was shaken to its foundation at the annexation of the Dutch republics by a series of events: the treaty of Vereeniging 1901 (when Englishmen for the first time gave way on their principle of "Equal rights for all civilized men south of the Zambesi," by conceding to the Dutch the denial of the franchise to the Bantu); Bambata's rebellion in 1906 (against an oppressive poll tax); the Union Act in 1910 (entrenching

*See a pamphlet of anti-European poems, *The Dark Musician of the Northern Transvaal*, by Moses Mpahlele of Pietersburg.

colour discrimination in legislation); the Lands Act in 1913 (with its cruel evictions in the Orange Free State) and others mentioned in my *Black Problem*.

It is remarkable how the attitude of the Englishman, long famed for magnanimity, has been considerably changed towards a compromise with negrophobist ideas, whilst the Dutch, with a strong tradition of sternness have, to their credit, toned down.

The Native, too, is by his development contributing unconsciously to this atmosphere of change. He is frequently referred to as a child, a child-race that must be guided and protected by his white guardian. Yes, but this child is no longer a baby; he is growing big, big enough to speak and ask some awkward questions, becoming precocious, irrepressible and perhaps unruly at times, but nevertheless needing sympathy, without which he cannot grow on right lines, though grow he will and must. He wants all encouragement, but does he always get it? The white man himself replies, 'In practice the Native receives very little encouragement, outside of the Transkei, to cultivate his land better; indeed we have known of European farmers looking with great disfavour on any attempt on the part of Native cultivators to increase production.' They must learn to help themselves, hence the origin of bodies like 'The Native and Coloured Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union' and their well-known activities directed against the exploitation of Native labour. They are working on lines of organization and agitation as the only means of securing fair wages.

Conclusions. South Africa has always been in need of scientific men and psychologists prepared to devote their time and brains to a thorough-going study of the Native Question, because most Europeans, including those who have had much to do with ruling the Africans, have not troubled themselves to understand the mind of the black man and its peculiar ways, while most Natives, including the better-educated class, understand only the external character of the white man but cannot know his inner soul and ideals without having lived with him on various social levels and on terms approximating to equal social intercourse.

One exemplary method of doing this, although it has hitherto had little advertisement, is that of the ethnological studies carried on by the South African Association for the Advancement of Science and by the South Africa General Missionary Conference. In these papers it is made abundantly clear that the Bantu cannot be successfully administered as one homogeneous population. Opportunities must be given for those who have advanced in civilization to obtain suitable outlets for their capability. To repress them is impracticable.

A step in the right direction is the Native Affairs Act of 1920, which is a credit to General Smuts. The Commission appointed under that Act is a boon to the country; on the one hand Cabinet Ministers refer to it all perplexing legislation when faced by awkward questions in Parliament, while on the other hand the Native people utilize it as a tribunal before which to voice their grievances at length, thus obtaining the satisfaction of

having their affairs seriously considered. For one party it is a convenient refuge, for the other a useful safety-valve for letting out steam. At best, however, it is only a good beginning, for it is inconceivable that Natives as a whole will ever be satisfied until they have full power of control over their taxation, revenue and its distribution; Whether this can best be done by granting them a sort of *imperium in imperio*, or otherwise, remains to be seen. A wise step here would be the institution of a special Ministry of Native Affairs with a full-time minister taking charge of all the interests of Natives, as has been urged in the European and Native press; the present arrangement satisfies nobody. Certainly the present position of taxation without representation cannot last long without bringing the entire non-European population into lines of direct conflict with the South African Government. The troublesome poll tax agitation is an illustration of this.

The Coloured races (and here one includes Indians, Hottentots, mixed-blooded Coloured peoples and Bantu) need to substitute for untrained leaders a number of intellectual spokesmen of the type of Booker T. Washington and J. E. K. Aggrey, who will call attention in a vigorous but constitutional manner to some of the glaring examples of injustice and who will at the same time furnish constructive schemes for the amelioration of the conditions of their people, on lines of co-operation with the friendly section of the whites.

On the part of the rulers, certain principles deserve study: the better educated Natives cannot

be neglected in legislative affairs by reason of their small percentage as compared with the masses. If they are allowed to become disaffected their influence will react injuriously to the country.

The various missionary societies, while they have in their proper and traditional manner supplied the spiritual and educational needs of the Bantu with conspicuous success cannot, however, afford to stop there in their work. For with quickened race-consciousness the Bantu, in the words of missionaries themselves, "claim to be allowed a larger share in the organization of the Church and the direction of ecclesiastical concerns." These demands are not unjust, and missionaries, being *in loco parentis*, should be patient and meet them in the way that has been adopted by the United Free Church of Scotland of late. If no consideration is accorded him in this respect then the black man's Christianity, through the prevalent divisive tendencies, will continue to sink deeper into chaos. Under this head one should mention that religious bodies at the home base should make greater use of their juvenile organizations in inculcating a spirit of friendliness towards foreign races. Members of the Y.M.C.A. and the Student Christian Movements should, out of higher spiritual patriotism, seek work as teachers in our Native secondary schools as far as that is possible, with the purpose of applying the principles of Christianity in a practical fashion to counteract the growing contempt which the Natives are developing for white Christians who preach to them at length without living out their message. Such practical testimony of a true Christian life goes much

further than any amount of philanthropic donations to African missions. The social uplift of the benighted races must be regarded as being as important as preaching, for it is there that the missionaries can best show the depth of their sympathy and love. Black people are easy to manage if you love them, for they are emotionally sensitive and quick to respond; otherwise they are difficult. After all this is true of most human beings.

The European races of South Africa will solve their Native Question when, and probably only when, they as a whole make a serious endeavour to deal with the Bantu people in a sympathetic spirit, which in the last analysis is founded on our Lord's gospel dictum "Love thy neighbour as thyself."

Cross-roads of Native Policy.

The beginning of the year 1926 sees South Africa standing at the cross-roads of race relationships. The adjustment of these has been a problem since the first contact between white and black in the East of the Cape Province in the last quarter of eighteenth century. War after war took place between these two races until 1880, after which Cape Colony became free from interracial conflicts. In the northern states (Orange Free State, Transvaal and Natal), however, struggles continued intermittently down to the Zulu rising under Bambata in 1906. After this date the whole country has been practically peaceful so far as white and black are concerned. The black races concerned in these struggles fall, roughly, under three types distinguished on general lines by their locality; the Zulus of Natal, the Basuto in the Orange Free State and Transvaal, and the Xosa (along with the Pondos, Tembus and several minor tribes) in the Cape Colony.

The colonization of South Africa was undertaken by Europeans coming from two stocks, the English and the Dutch, who, on the one hand, were rivals in the competition for the possession of the country and, on the other, were invaders holding opposite views as to what the treatment of the aboriginal subject races should be. The first English settlers were recruited principally from missionaries whose attitude towards the Natives was broadly liberal. The emigrants of Dutch extraction were mostly of

the hard-working type whose chief objective was success in agriculture and the economic development of a virgin land. To the early English missionaries, the Bantu and Hottentots were brothers entitled to equality of opportunity in political, economic and even in social life. To the Dutch farmer the black man was a servant and a tool for carrying out the schemes of his master. There were dangerous extremes on both sides; on one hand, we have on record a British missionary who was such a thorough-going believer in social equality that he married an African woman; on the other side there were Dutch farmers who practised cruelty towards their African servants and slaves. This conflict in ideals came to a crisis in 1836 when certain Dutch farmers, moved mainly by the loss of their slaves by emancipation, made an exodus to the north and eventually established their republics. From this mere outline (which may be verified in any book on South African history) it will be seen that a fundamental difference in the attitude of white towards black in the Cape and the northern provinces of South Africa constitutes the first principle in the understanding of the political controversy on what is called the Native Question. The efflux of time with the intervention of deeper mutual knowledge has produced considerable modification; nevertheless it is the most important first principle that requires to be grasped by the honest student of racial developments.

In some countries where black and white live side by side the matter of satisfactory race relationship presents no problem. For example, in the West Indies (say Jamaica or Trinidad) white and

black rule together without distinction of colour, peaceably and on terms of perfect equality, the population being fairly balanced between the two colours. In New Zealand the Native Maoris are outnumbered but enjoy a large measure of equality in political and social conditions. In Dahomey the French are few but they have granted an unreserved equality in every sphere of life for the Native African. There is no colour question in Sierra Leone, Nigeria and the Gold Coast under English domination. The Latin races of Southern Europe tend to grant equality where they govern black people. The acute colour question is found in the United States of America and in South Africa and is far more acute in the latter. In the former the Negroes are outnumbered by ten to one but they have absolute equality of opportunity to develop economically. They are a growing power in politics with franchise rights but in social matters they are largely denied equality. This is the source of much inter-racial friction. In South Africa the blacks, outnumbering the whites by four to one, are denied the franchise, except in the Cape Province. They speak different languages and they are to be found in all grades of civilization: firstly, those living under primitive conditions of tribal life numbering about two millions out of the aggregate of four and a half millions; secondly, those who have abandoned their tribal conditions and are engaged in farm-work either as servants to Europeans or on their own locations under semi-civilized conditions, these also number about two millions; thirdly, those living in urban areas, brought into direct contact with the white man's

civilization, these number a little over half a million. This third group includes all sorts of unskilled and semi-skilled workers, clerks, interpreters, teachers, ministers, editors of newspapers and seventy graduates (of whom five are doctors, ten arts graduates—five being graduates from Italian universities—five lawyers from British universities and graduates from American universities).

The social conditions of life, the graded stages of development and the variety of racial mentality present a complex study which ought to attract social anthropologists from afar. The physical virility of the Bantu, with their apparent capacity for assimilating the white man's civilization has produced a real fear amongst the whites lest European civilization be submerged and black men be the dominant race. "Maybe we are afraid," said General Hertzog to the Government Native Conference at Pretoria on the 3rd December 1925, "and it may be that our policy is dictated by fear; be it so, but our fear is wisdom, for what we fear is a bad future. We are anxious for a good future, a future of goodwill."

This is an important admission. It represents the attitude of the three northern provinces towards the Bantu. The Europeans in those provinces really fear that the black man, given equal opportunity to rise economically and industrially, will overwhelm the white man. It is only a belief, and a fear. In Cape Colony there never was such a fear; the black man was from the beginning given equality of opportunity to rise in industry and politics and the white man was never

once threatened by submersion, absorption or extinction. On the contrary the Cape policy produced real contentment among the Natives. They even lost industrial enterprise and were politically satisfied and supine under white guidance, spontaneously electing white candidates and declining to utilize their privilege of standing as candidates for Parliament. The Transvaal and Orange Free State republics believed that white supremacy depended upon the repression of the black man; that the blacks should not vote or have any say in politics; that Native education was unnecessary and even dangerous; and that colour bars should be set up against the Bantu in industries.

Sixteen years after the establishment of the Union of South Africa the opposite results of these pre-Union creeds are still evident: the northern provinces are the home of Native discontent, the Cape, the seat of Native progress. The influence of the Union has politically modified all races. Among the upper educated circles the number of liberal-minded Dutchmen of the type of the late "Onze Jan" (John H. Hofmeyr, the liberator of Cape Native voters from all anti-Native laws) has increased; on the other hand many Englishmen have hardened and have espoused illiberal ideas. The Cape Natives are now losing confidence in the erstwhile beneficent tutelage of British institutions.

Out of this welter of contradictory views as regards the correct methods of governing the subject races emerges what is popularly called "The Native Question." The expression has been so much used in South Africa that the Bantu

have begun to be bored at being called a "Question." For why should they be a Native Question to the white man any more than they regard him as a White question? Is it the Bantu or the European, they ask, who squeezed by economic congestion and land hunger in his Native habitat, migrated to find a haven of rest in hospitable and spacious Africa? Which of the two is really the problem? We must, however, admit that these queries are belated and futile because the white man to-day claims Africa by the simple reason of his conquest and that not only by arms but by virtue of superior resources of capital, business enterprise and intelligent organisation.

Agreed. But these advantages cannot be claimed and retained for the purpose of selfish interest alone. On that rock have all ancient civilizations foundered. Man cannot live by bread alone. There are higher duties and moral responsibilities towards backward races to be considered by the more advanced nations. Only by the successful correlation of these two attitudes can European domination be justified. What we have to solve is not so much the Native Question as the question of how to reconcile European domination, based on battalions, education and professed Christianity, with justice and equity towards defenceless Africans aspiring to a modern civilization. To the Bantu the question is: How can we rise to the heights of civilization as all other races have done and fulfil our destiny under Providence? The British constitution is broad enough to allow defeated races to govern themselves; when then,

and how, shall we too be allowed our fair share in the government of the country? To the Europeans the question is: How shall the supremacy won by centuries of effort and development be retained intact? How shall coming white generations be secured against the rising tide of colour?

Europeans have endeavoured to solve the problem in three ways: (1) By the Cape policy that grants equal political and industrial rights to all civilized men, throwing open the door of equal opportunity and upward development for white and black in the same territorial and economic spheres. (2) By the northern repressive idea that in order to enable the white man to remain dominant the black should be kept down in a position of inferiority as servant to Europeans and be prevented by artificial legislative barriers—e.g. the colour bar in industry—from attaining to the white man's standard of life. (3) By the Hertzog compromise of equality of opportunity for white and black in separate territorial and industrial spheres.*

If we examine these three policies by turn in the light of academic theory and then in the light of actual facts they yield divergent results. These results offer guidance as to the ideal conditions that will produce the most satisfactory inter-racial relationships for the unknown future.

(1) The Cape policy was initiated by Sir George Grey (1854-1861), who is universally regarded as

*See *The History of Native Policy in South Africa*, by Professor Edgar H. Brookes, M.A., D.Litt. Chapter XV. on 'Segregation and the Land Question.'

the best and wisest governor South Africa has ever had. On the granting of self-government to the Cape Colony in 1854, Sir George conferred the franchise without any distinction of colour. He adopted a forward policy of advancing the Natives in education and industries by instituting liberal grants to Lovedale and Healdtown (Native centres of learning and industrial training), by building the Grey Hospital in King Williamstown to counteract superstition, and by suppressing strong drink and fire-arms. The comment of historians is that these wise measures accomplished much good, and a set was given to the Native policy of the Cape which still honourably distinguishes it. This cannot be denied. It is our experience. But while practical experience points to the wisdom of the Cape policy the northern doctrinaires preach the reverse. General Hertzog said in November 1925 at Smithfield: "It is clear to me that the other three provinces cannot permit the Native franchise to be extended on the Cape basis; neither can the Native be given the right to become a member of Parliament. It is clear, further, that the grant of the franchise to the Natives on the Cape basis would necessarily mean the ruin of the white population and of European civilization in the Union. . . . It must be patent to all that the Cape franchise must be fundamentally altered unless we want to see either civil war or the white man's ruin and that of European civilization in South Africa."

Such is the contrast between actuality and hypothesis.

(2) The second policy is favoured by what Dr. C. T. Loram calls the "Repressionists,"¹ who must be classed as "the majority of the whites in the Southern States of America and in South Africa. Their view is that the black man is an inferior creature, and he cannot escape from that inferiority." He was condemned by the ancient curse of Ham to be the hewer of wood and drawer of water for the white man. "The moment he wishes to raise himself in the social scale, to profit by the white man's example and to turn to his own use the latent powers within him, then he is to be sternly repressed as imperilling the supremacy of the white man."

Thinking people have veered away from this repressive view, but the majority of whites in South Africa, especially the backvelders, cling to it or else remain utterly indifferent to the whole problem. It is typically the policy of the Transvaal and Orange Free State and it has historically proved wrong, unjust and bad. It has produced an anti-white race of Natives; it has perpetrated the worst forms of legal injustice, ugly racial collisions and a spirit of racial animosity. Examples are abundant but space forbids. As Dr. Loram says: "If the Repressionist would listen it might be possible to convince him that his policy cannot be carried out to-day, even if it were ever desirable."

Although repression is still held by a large number of white South Africans as a policy, we may here dismiss it as impracticable and fraught with supreme danger to the future of South Africa.

¹See *The Education of the South African Native*, p. 17.

(3) The newest proposal is that of Segregation as expounded by General Hertzog, the Prime Minister of the present Pact Government (Dutch Nationalist and English Labourists), and in political theory by Professor Edgar Brookes. Its aim is equality of opportunity in separate territorial and industrial spheres, so that on the one side the white should be sufficiently segregated to enable him to preserve his traditional civilization secluded from the degrading influence of the black man's lower civilization, and to rehabilitate the 130,000 "poor whites" whose degeneracy is assumed to be due to the black man's competition and upward rise; and, on the other side, to enable the black man to reach the zenith of political and economic achievement, developing independently "on his own lines" (as if two different types of civilization were now possible), unhampered by the thwarting influences of the European's superior organization.

At first sight this proposition looks attractive. It has the advantage of appearing just. But whether it is feasible is the problem of which as yet no solution is vouchsafed by its sponsors. It is the ideal dream of the Segregationist and it has been approved by a number of highly respected thinkers who need not be named here. We should therefore be satisfied that it is hopelessly impracticable before rejecting it in favour of the only other alternative, the Cape policy.

To begin with, the three forms of segregation that really concern us are the territorial, industrial and political, because social and educational

segregation are already in being, as the result of evolution dictated by local convention. At this juncture we need not discuss political segregation, for that will automatically follow when once territorial segregation is possible. Industrial segregation presupposes two things: first that the black man is able to conduct his commerce and pursue his present vocations alone and divorced from the white man; secondly, that the white man is able to carry on all forms of unskilled work on the roads, on the farms, in the stores, in the kitchens and underground at the mines, independently of the black man.

Both hypotheses, we may at once affirm, are equally impossible in South Africa. They are possible in the United States of America, in Australia and in West Africa, but the South African white man is incapable of undertaking unskilled work in the presence of the much cheaper and equally efficient black labour. As proof of this, the white Labour Party in the Hertzog Pact has devised the Colour Bar Bill, the effect of which will be to limit the black man by legislative barriers to the bottom unskilled work and to reserve all the skilled work to which he naturally aspires to the white man; in fact to "encircle a white oligarchy with a ring fence" in the words of General Smuts. Under such a system the black man will be between the agricultural serfdom of landlessness and the industrial serfdom of the colour bar—a veritable case of the devil and the deep sea. Such a principle is unlikely to outlast its days as a temporary expedient. It is not a solution with any element of permanency in it. It is selfish, unscientific, un-

natural and non-moral, and carries with it its own damnation. Industrial segregation may thus be dismissed as impractical.

The key to the whole Native Question is territorial segregation. If the white people of South Africa were Christian enough to do the Bantu justice in a thorough-going scheme of territorial segregation then the future would be promising. But unfortunately Christianity has not yet been practised to that extent. The first attempt we have had of territorial segregation is that of the Natives Land Act of 1913. This Act confirmed the Natives in the sole occupancy of their reserves in which they were already overcrowded, proposed the setting aside of additional areas in which Natives could purchase land and forbade them to purchase in other areas except with the special permission of the Government. This Act satisfied no one. The Natives naturally objected to the restriction of their right to purchase and the Europeans were unwilling to have their farms set aside for Native occupation. Two commissions were appointed to recommend the areas which should be set aside but their suggestions have never been accepted. The Act is now thirteen years old, but no additional areas have been opened for Native occupation. On the contrary the evictions of Native tenants who have nowhere to go have been rigorously carried out by the farmers with harrowing results. Both General Smuts and General Hertzog as Prime Ministers have proudly owned this Land Act as their first step towards a segregation policy, to the amaze-

ment of the Natives who expected the Act to be either repealed or carried out to its reasonable conclusion. Of all grievances harboured by the Natives against European rule the greatest is this Land Act. Native confidence in the white man has been further undermined by the present Government which within twelve months lays claim to the doubtful record of having introduced a greater number of anti-Native bills in Parliament than any other previous Government: A tax on blankets used only by Natives; the Colour Bar Bill; the increase of Native taxation in three of the provinces; the attempted resuscitation of two defunct odious Pass Laws against Transvaal Native women and Transkei Native voters respectively; the civilized-labour policy that has displaced Native workers by white workers in railways and other industries and other projected anti-Native measures like the Masters and Servants Bill. The present Government are showing the world that their first care is the protection of the white race even at the cost of injustice to the Bantu, their candour has thrown the favourite political expression, "making South Africa a white man's country," into bold relief. We Natives are equally frank in our belief that present-day Christianity is not going to prove influential enough to induce Parliament to provide the land needed for Native development. Hence our lack of faith in the new Hertzog solution. We have no option but to judge it by its stern deeds and not by honeyed words.

Our lack of equal economic opportunity, now confirmed by the legal colour bar, is a stern reality.

No cure is offered by the Churches to assuage our ills. We have been further disappointed that General Smuts, who has played an important part in European councils of world policy, has, in his native land, proved helpless in constructive measures of Native policy.

The most influential economic group in the country is that of European farmers. Their clamant need is cheap Native labour to operate their farms. They are solidly opposed to any scheme of segregation calculated to provide more land and independence for black men. These farmers control the government of the country. They rely for their labour on the black man who is squeezed out from his tribal location by the prevalent intolerable congestion. European farmers own large estates, in many cases of five thousand to fifty thousand acres each, while black men are herded together, between thirty and a hundred souls to the square mile of Native-owned land. The belief of the white farmers is that additional land provided for the Natives will react detrimentally on their labour market. This is where the Hertzog compromise breaks down.

What then is our hope? In our view the Cape liberal policy proves itself best. It has stood the test of time, giving the maximum satisfaction to both white and black. The Transvaal policy satisfies only the Northern party and engenders an anti-white feeling in the hearts of the Natives, a feeling that will ultimately recoil disastrously on the whole country. The black man does not ask for much, only for justice, justice in land distribu-

tion, justice in economic opportunity and justice in political representation. This is no excessive demand. Historically it has been natural for all races from the time of the Greek helots and Roman plebs. There will never be any inter-racial goodwill in the country until it is granted willingly by the authorities. We Natives deliberately stand or fall by the Cape policy because we know it. The Hertzog compromise we do not know; nor do we see any likelihood of its materialization under existing circumstances and in the light of our knowledge of the psychology of the white South African. Our conviction is that the Hertzog conception of segregation is chimerical. It has no parallel in the world. What we observe in actuality is the complete racial, territorial and political segregation of France, Italy and Portugal. If we were allowed to live in our own autonomous Crown Colony, like Basutoland or the Bechuanaland Protectorate, extracted from the Union of South Africa and governed direct from Downing Street, then we would heartily say: "Yes." But the day of such a system of segregation has passed irrevocably.

The farmer-politicians of the northern provinces of South Africa are not prepared to make any sacrifices for the purposes of enlarging the supply of Native land, for that would work against the interests of those who depend on Native labour for their farms and industries. Some apposite comments are made in the Report of the Government Economic Commission (published February 1926) with reference to this argument:—"The contact of the Native and the European has lasted too long,

and the economic co-operation is too intimate and well established, for the Native to be excluded from European areas and European industries. The provision of adequate Native reserves has been delayed too long for it to be possible for the present Native population of the Union to live without dependence on outside employment, and it was far too long the policy of the Union to drive the Native by taxation and other devices to work for Europeans for it to be possible now to exclude him from the field of employment he is occupying."

We should have thought that the white South African could have realized, in his personal and business interest if from no nobler motive, that the economic development of the five million Bantu was a paying proposition for his markets. It is a curious spectacle to see one million and a half white settlers transporting all sorts of products to foreign markets and neglecting the five million potential consumers in their own country. In fact the lack of progress among the Natives is manifestly an economic hindrance to the white commercial community. Booker T. Washington was correct in saying that you cannot keep the black man down in the gutter without keeping yourself there too. The one process inevitably involves the other.

The application of legislative machinery, such as the Colour Bar legislation, by a modern civilized people for the purpose of repressing a backward race must be the despair of the rest of the civilized world. To quote again from the Report: "To the Commissioners it appears to be an unsound policy

to exclude by legislation a class which has no representation in the legislature from the economic developments at present open to them, for the benefit of a politically privileged class. The white man has less to fear from an improvement than from a deterioration in the economic status of the Native The Commissioners declare that a market for South African manufactures, from which much is hoped to be found, is the growing demands of the Native population, but any growth will be checked by a policy that restricts the Native's opportunities for employment and so keeps down his wages."

Our last hope lies with the world of the Church and its inculcation of higher ethical standards among the rulers of South Africa, where the underlying belief is that the application of Christianity to economics spells suicide. To believe this is to confess that Christianity is a failure. A Transvaal farmer-politician in commenting upon the Hertzog proposals on Native policy says: "A solution is impossible. It can only mean the extermination of the Native, and such a solution the white man will strenuously oppose, not because he loves the Kafir so much, nor because he needs the Kafir so badly, but simply because there is such a thing as right and justice, and because our deep-rooted Christian civilization prevents us from flying to remedies which are elemental, even if we had the power or strength to make use of them. Indeed, it is just this ingrained conception of fairness and equity that makes the problem so difficult. We wish to apply Christian principles,

but apparently we cannot do so without committing suicide."

We do not believe that the application of the principles of Christianity to economics is suicidal, but the duty of proving and preaching this falls to the Church. The most influential Church in South Africa is the Dutch Reformed Church, inasmuch as it claims the great majority of our rulers. We Natives are not in a position to bring any influence to bear directly within the councils of this Church, but we highly appreciate the recent important European-Bantu Conference convened by this Church at Johannesburg in 1923. Therefore we urge that the sister Churches should intercede in our behalf and pray with us that a new heart be created in our rulers. We trust to the Almighty God to help us out of our gloom. Laymen can help us through their Rotary Clubs and Round Table Conferences. We can do our share in the existing Joint Councils, Native Welfare Associations and other inter-racial conferences (such as the European-Bantu Conference) which have proved effective to a considerable degree in bringing together the moderate leaders of all sections and races, dispelling much mutual ignorance and suspicion and creating knowledge and good understanding.

The Bantu and the Gospel.

There are two current platitudes which have been an obsession with the great masses of unthinking people in this land with reference to the Natives : The first is, that the Bantu are a child race ; the second is that the Europeans are two thousand years ahead of the Bantu in civilisation.

These two ideas roughly constitute the basic philosophy of most Europeans in South Africa when they dogmatise upon the Native question. The very simplicity of these dogmas is insidious because on the one hand they appeal to the bucolic backveldter as obvious axioms, while to the sophisticated but untrained thinker they suggest an irrefutable logic based on historical facts.

To sift the truth from the confused half-truth is now our task, for these dogmas form the germ of our subject of Bantu Psychology and Ethnology of which we must begin with a clear understanding. Psychology is the scientific study of the working of the mind, whilst Ethnology is the systematic collation of the ascertained historical facts of the development of a race.

Assuming that we are agreed on these simplified definitions, three questions at once arise, the successful answering of which may greatly help us in our consideration of our subject :

- a. Is Bantu psychology different from the psychology of any other given race ?
- b. What is the connection between Bantu psychology and ethnology ?

c. Of what use is that connection, if proved, to our question of the representation of the Gospel to the Bantu?

A popular story tells us that an Orange Free State farmer once dreamt he had been in heaven, and on the following morning he gleefully described the entrancing beauties of the celestial mansions to his servants. The latter accidentally asked him whether he had seen any black people there, and the reply was "No, I forgot to go to the kitchen to see." One mentions this story for what it is worth in order to show that there are many white Christians in this land who honestly believe that a black person is essentially an inferior creature to the European in the eyes of God exactly in accordance with their mundane anti-Native prejudice. They hardly believe the black man has a soul, or if they do, then that it is a sort of soul branded with the racial stigma derived from the earthly negro-phobism Biblically based upon the Old Testament curse of Ham. Evidently there is a great deal of work requiring to be done by preachers to convince many of their fellow-professing Christians that the black man possesses a soul as worthy as that of any other race, and, by inference, a body containing that soul also worthy of tender consideration and just treatment.

In anticipation of this discussion the Rev. B. J. Ross, writing in the "Outlook" of last May, argues that there is no difference in kind between the psychology of the Bantu and that of any other race. From the point of view of pure psychology this is true, but to be practical we need to include also the view of Educational and Social Psychology,

and consider the factors of environment and language and how these re-act upon temperament and suggestibility. Environment is perhaps the most important factor because even if we grant that the Bantu are psychologically similar to the Europeans in mental behaviour, the environment under which they grow and live is utterly dissimilar to that of the Europeans. The influences that surround the Native must be taken into account in all our study of the presentation of the Gospel.

Is it possible for these influences to be known and mastered by the missionary novice from overseas? For the Europeans who, having been born and bred among the Bantu, have learnt to speak the Bantu language as efficiently as the Natives, will command every advantage that can be claimed by the Bantu in this respect, except the confidence mutually shared by those bound together by the identity of racial interests. Therefore I agree with Mr. Ross when he says: "To the European who knows the language as well as the Bantu himself, and who, in talking to a black man, quite naturally thinks as well as talks in that man's language, what difference there is seems to be no more than one of language and environment, and such a European has no greater difficulty in understanding Bantu psychology than he has in understanding European.

But there are very few Europeans situated in such a happy position, and we have to solve the problem for the majority who wish to learn. This can be done in two ways: first, by the study of certain theoretic principles; secondly, by direct study and observation.

To begin with, we may lay it down that it is necessary to distinguish carefully between the three cognate studies of Ethnology, Sociology and Social Anthropology, in order that the energies of those concerned may be saved from a fruitless occupation of their limited but precious time devoted to those studies.

(a) Ethnology, according to Professor Radcliffe Brown, collates historical data of races with reference to law, morals, art, language and social institutions of every kind. Thus we see that while the subjects it deals with are just those in which we are deeply interested, we must acknowledge that if we end only at collating historical data thereon we shall not get very far. Therefore, for our purpose I would not recommend a study of ethnology *per se*.

(b) Sociology too cannot be recommended here because the term covers an indefinite and undefined ground. Nowadays, it is in fact condemned by usage in English-speaking countries, says our authority, because it stands for a formless study of a vague assortment of subjects. It is not specific enough for our purpose.

(c) Social Anthropology deals with the subjects mentioned above under Ethnology, but with this difference that it assumes that "these phenomena are subject to natural laws, and that it is possible by the application of certain logical methods to discover and prove certain general laws, statements, or formulae, applicable to a certain range of facts or events."

It is these phenomena in relation to environment and the manner in which environment impinges

upon the people that render Bantu psychology different from European. This conference is in a position to bring together original contributions on information now rapidly disappearing with the death of the older Natives, throwing the much needed light upon the psychological working of the Bantu mind. As between psychology and social anthropology we may distinguish by saying that the "former deals with individual behaviour in its relation to the individual; the latter deals with the behaviour of groups or collective bodies of individuals in its relation to the group."

Social Anthropology can be of immense and almost immediate service. "The study of the beliefs and customs of the Native peoples, with the aim not of merely reconstructing their history, but of discovering their meaning, that is, the place they occupy in the mental, moral and social life, can afford great help, to the missionary, or the public servant who is engaged in dealing with the practical problems of the adjustment of the Native civilisation to the new conditions that have resulted from our occupation of the country.

"Let us imagine the case of a missionary or a magistrate who is wondering what are likely to be the results of an attempt to abolish or to discourage the custom of *uku-lobola*. He may experiment, but then he risks the chance of producing results that he has not foreseen, so that his experiment may do far more harm than good. Ethnological theories as to the probable past history of African tribes will afford no help whatever. But social anthropology, though it cannot yet provide a complete theory of *lobola*, can tell

him much that will be of great help to him, and can set him on the path of enquiry by which he can discover more."

So much for abstract theory. Now we come to direct observation. This we shall take from three standpoints:—

- (a) the ancient customs;
- (b) the transition period;
- (c) some suggestions.

(a) In the case of Native primitive customs, the modern view is that our predecessors in the mission-field committed a serious blunder when they hurled iconoclastic bricks at every ancient custom simply because it was a Native custom. For it is now being discovered that some of these customs had something in them worth preserving, if only the evil features could have been eliminated. For example, in the case of circumcision ceremonies for males and the female puberty rites of the "into-njane," we had the grave exhortation to the young men and women when they were enjoined to acquit themselves thenceforth like true men and women. This being followed with a valuable enumeration of all the highest and noblest duties and virtues of ideal manhood and womanhood. In consequence of the categorical condemnation of the whole custom we have to-day lost much that was worth conserving. Dr. Aggrey, with characteristic wisdom, once said he wished all missionaries had learnt algebra, for then they would have known how to eliminate by substitution. Indeed the lack of appropriate substitutes for all the things that have been annihilated by missionaries in the social life of new converts is being felt now as

having been a mistake in tactics. Take for instance the wholesale abolition of the old amusements and musical dances, with nothing else put in their place. In my district the heathen Natives sometimes taunt the Christians with being a long-faced, lugubrious and unamused community devoid of the natural entertainments of the good old times. Unwise as this has proved in the rural villages, it has been a positive evil in most urban locations where the absence of healthy recreation during the earlier evening hours has not only undone much of the good work produced by our missions but has actually aided and abetted the evils of gambling, drunkenness and immorality. This is truly a missing link in the modern missionary system, and the Gospel will not thrive until it is supplied.

(b) In the Transition Period, contact with European civilisation has altered the conditions of primitive African life irrevocably, and we must acknowledge that in our preaching of the Gospel there are certain axioms which must be granted and remembered:—

That the Bantu are no longer a virgin soil, no more a *tobula rasa*; they are already affected, perhaps contaminated, by European society, usually of the lower stratum. They are no longer a child race for they are in the boyhood stage. They are not homogeneous in their attainments. They are not identical in their psychology. Their rural and urban social conditions are not uniform, hence, what applies to the one group does not necessarily apply to the other. They do not speak with a single voice, for they have their defiant extremists led by bombastic press writers, and on

the other hand they have their moderate sections and dignified communities controlled by leaders of sanity. They are not going to take as long as two thousand years to overtake modern European culture because they have immeasurably greater advantages than the ancient Britons had during the wars of Julius Cæsar. They are not going to die out like the Red Indians or the Australian Blackfellows for they are multiplying in their virility faster than their dominant white rulers. They possess an enduring racial solidarity founded upon their traditional tribalism, which demands that the preaching of the Gospel to them shall be adapted to their actual conditions rather than superimposed upon the debris of the total destruction of their social system. They are keen critics of European civilisation and Christianity when talking in mutual confidence among themselves although they are reserved before strangers.

*(c) Suggestions :—*In conclusion one might throw out a number of suggestions which may be of help in the presentation of the Gospel to the Bantu.

The best presentation of the Gospel I know is the Gospel as carried out in actual life by its Professors rather than the degree of eloquence that may be displayed from the pulpit of a Sunday.

This may sound a commonplace platitude, but it is more important to-day than it was some years ago because the Bantu are fast developing the faculty of criticism. Both the African and the European Christians are challenged in this respect by non-Christians and also by fellow Christians. The criticism of the Native converts

by anti-black Europeans is equalled only by that of the European Christians by the anti-European extremists.

The strongest argument used by the Native extremists is the hard fact of the rigid social conventions of South Africa that preclude social intercourse between people of different races. Not that they are hankering after miscegenation but that these inflexible customs prove a hindrance in the presentation of a Gospel that knows neither Jew nor Gentile. The obvious inference from this is that if these conventions are to be retained, then the day of the European missionary among the Bantu must sooner or later pass away, and must be hastened to pass by the adequate training of responsible Bantu missionary leaders on the lines of the Bantu Presbyterian Church of Africa recently effected by the United Free Church of Scotland. This can be done through a friendly policy of a gradual devolution of responsibility consistently with mutual confidence and a spirit of co-operation on both sides.

Other factors which will probably be fully dealt with by the other speakers in this conference are:

- (i) The right use of recreation for Bantu converts;
- (ii) The uplift of Native women; social service;
- (iii) The organisation of Native pupils in training institutions into Students Christian Associations; and
- (iv) The development of Native Agriculture as a missionary factor—on the lines indicated by my paper in the "Forward," (The Wesleyan Methodist missionary magazine of last month).

Fortunately we have a tangible illustration of

this in the policy of the Dutch Reformed Church in its Central African missions as recently noted by Dr. Jesse Jones.

Let us hope this Conference will be divinely guided to discover the true foundations of a policy that will effectively assist the spread of the Gospel among the Bantu in fulfilment of the command of our master in the last chapter of St. Matthew.



Christian Missions and the Bantu.

The old order changeth ; and so we behold to-day in the drama of the life of the South African Bantu a slow but sure metamorphosis from a primitive conservatism to an aggressive modernism, in both political and religious affairs. The leaders in this movement are the younger educated men who owe their training to the elementary and secondary schools originally founded by European and American missionaries. It is therefore natural that the youth in American churches and colleges, to whom this paper is addressed, should desire to know directly from the aboriginals what is agitating the minds of their conferences in African churches and colleges in regard to Western Christianity.

When the first white missionaries arrived in South Africa over a hundred years ago, the aborigines lived in real darkness under the haunting spectre of cruel superstition. The hinterland bush was infested by man-hunting savages. The reign of the witch-doctor was everywhere supreme ; he stood above correction even by the chief, virtually wielding powers of life and death over any individual or society suspected, rightly or wrongly, of mischief. The Bantu, though boasting an efficient system of communistic tribalism, led a life devoid of spiritual outlook, enslaved by tyrannical witchcraft, and harassed by the constant dread of malevolent spirits. Departed spirits controlled the affairs and destinies

of living men, whom they were able to behold from some mysterious point of vantage.

Such were the circumstances and people among whom the first missionaries came to labour. They brought words of hope to the hopeless, and of knowledge to the ignorant, substituting the sure salvation by Christ Jesus for the erstwhile blind fatalism. From all accounts they were fervent Christians, sincere in their love for the people whose spiritual redemption was their concern, and deeply genuine in their social relations with them. They did not hesitate to live in the often verminous huts of wattle and daub in which dwelt their converts, eating and travelling with them, and conducting themselves as if they were spiritually, socially and politically their guides, philosophers and friends.

During wars, whether with Europeans or between tribes, the lives of missionaries were held sacred even by the most bitter foes of the white invaders. This phenomenon alone is extraordinary testimony to their friendly relationship with the indigenous people. A single quotation from Prof. du Plessis will illustrate this:—"Missionaries were the counsellors of the chiefs under whom they dwelt and laboured. In many cases, indeed, the missionary was the uncrowned king of the community, able by his personal influence to persuade a whole tribe to move to more suitable sites and richer pasturelands. The re-peopling of what is now the Eastern Free State is in great part due to the missionaries, who induced wandering tribes to cease their fugitive existence or their predatory career, and to adopt the settled life of agriculturists."

The value of their work, the good they have rendered to the Bantu, the foundations they laid for the modernisation of the African, not to mention the supreme gift of the Gospel, cannot be reckoned. They have placed generations of Africans in a position of being their grateful debtors. For the missionaries sacrificed home, relations and comfort for our sake, and for the service of God and humanity. But for them and their self-denial we would never have been in a position to express ourselves through any medium such as this article. They were the first whites to establish friendly contacts with Native Africans, in contrast with their commercial fellowmen who brought the sword and dispossessed us of some of our beloved territory. They were the only friends among the white race that we could count upon for better or for worse. A mission station was always a bright beacon and a lighted window in darkness. Of the three agencies of civilization, the missionary enterprise constitutes the most important, the other two being conquest and commerce. Missionaries in Africa transformed the lives of the blacks and inculcated the principles of humility, love, obedience, peacefulness, of work and honesty, of cleanliness and sanitation. They founded schools, beginning with Sunday schools and elementary schools in the 'twenties, following in the 'fifties with secondary institutions of the type of Lovedale and Healdtown, of which there are now about 30 in South Africa. These are capped by the Native University College at Fort Hare which trains for degrees in Arts, Science, Pedagogy, Theology and Medicine. In a word, the

missionaries were beneficent in the humanities and peaceful arts of civilisation.

The Dutch farmers who first settled in the Cape bitterly resented the fraternal attitude of the missionaries towards the Natives, as they held that the Bantu should not be regarded or treated as Christian brothers but rather "be kept in their place with the lower order of animals." The final result of these differences, for which there was much to say on both sides, was that the missionaries who insisted on the human rights of the Bantu commanded supreme influence with Exeter Hall and the Imperial Government. The Boers, disgusted at the political interference of the missionaries, quitted the Cape Colony, migrating to what is now known as the Transvaal and Orange Free State and Natal, where they hoped to handle the black man according to their own notions unhampered by the officious interference of missionaries. Whatever be the merits of this controversy, whatever the mistakes committed by the missionaries against the Boers, or the injustice perpetrated on the Natives by the Boer farmers, this fact stands out to-day in bold relief that the Cape Colony is the one province in all South Africa where the black man has been treated with sympathy and justice, and where he has attained to happiness; whilst in the three Northern provinces he has always suffered an unhappy life, groaning under the yoke of contempt and injustice.

Serious as were these hindrances from European neighbours, the missionaries further encountered difficulties arising from the nature of the Bantu pre-Christian conditions and environment. The

Bantu social system and customs, the rigid authority of the chiefs and counsellors, the legacy of sensualism due to the system of polygamy and the consequent degradation of the status of women, their love of strong drink and the absence of a true sense of responsibility before God and need of a Saviour, all these constituted real hindrances to successful effort in Christian work.

As one looks back over the history of Christian missions in Africa there are apparent now some serious mistakes both of omission and commission. They omitted to supply their converts with organised leisure activities, individual and corporate, as substitutes for the Native pastimes which they condemned as demoralising. In primitive life the youth of Bantu Africa were accustomed to indulge in organised dances and vigorous gymnastics performed under the auspices and regulation of the parents, particularly during the harvest season. As these were inseparable from superstitious customs and were accompanied by suggestive postures and movements of the body there was no alternative for the missionary but to condemn them. The consequence was that the children of Christian converts lost the natural safety-valve for their exuberant energy and were deprived of many harmless amusements which legitimately belong to all adolescents regardless of race or place. In the case of the African boys and girls employed in urban areas this proved often disastrous. Their evening hours from seven till nine o'clock after the day's work, and their spare time on Saturdays and Sundays being blank, they were avidly seized upon by the devil who gives

idle hands things mischievous to do. This neglect to build up substitutes partly accounts for the gangs of ruffians so notorious in city and village that they have become a problem for both Government and missions.

A second mistake is suggested by the dissolution of the ancient customs connected with puberty rites. All the Bantu observed rites of circumcision which officially transferred boys into the dignity of manhood, and the puberty ceremonies for girls which changed girls into women. Attached to both customs was repulsive revelry. It is unjust to take the missionaries to task for abolishing such debasing orgies but in eradicating them they went to the other extreme and threw away with the evil many elements of good. These festivals were occasions for pointed exhortation by the elders, for the inculcation of noble principles governing the duties of adult age. Nothing has been supplied of a Christian type to replace this age-long opportunity of youth for receiving authoritative precepts on the code of adult conduct in a manner compatible with national tradition.

Another mistake concerns the perpetuation of denominationalism. It is regrettable that the old tribal divisions should be again cross-divided by an extraneous sectarianism with the genesis of which the Africans had nothing to do. One outcome of this religious separatism is that the indigenous races have taken these divisions more seriously than did their authors; and the unnecessary emphasis laid on them by some missionaries has produced lively antagonism among the newly-born

Christians. This has made it harder to convert the heathen, because when these are visited by rival mission bands they inevitably ask: "How many Gods are there? Which God are we asked to believe?"

The overlapping of missionary work due to denominationalism produces some absurdities. For instance in a village like Nancefield, near Johannesburg, containing only about five thousand Natives, there are as many as thirty-four different Gospel bells or waggon-hoops ringing at eleven o'clock of a Sunday morning; and in the Pretoria Location there are sixty-five places of worship!

While missionaries have taken tender care of the souls of their converts they have not shown similar concern for their land-rights; in certain cases to-day the Natives actually believe they have lost their land to the mission station. This gives colour to the accusation that the missionary is the sweet-tongued predecessor of his land-grabbing brother. It is quite common now to hear a Native tub-thumper addressing a crowd of his fellowmen and decrying Western missions on the ground that: "They told you to close your eyes and pray, and the other whites came and took away the land from behind your back while you kept your eyes closed."

And this: "At first we had the land and the white man had the Bible; now we have the Bible, the white man has the land." In one of our Native reserves an obstinate Native on being asked by the missionary why he would not surrender to Christ, replied sardonically: "If I take this religion, then you whites will take my name down in your book,

and a government Magistrate will follow and take away my land in your absence."

The attitude of Christian missions towards war has always struck the African thinker as one of enigmatic inconsistency. While the New Testament exhorts, "Blessed are the peacemakers," the missionaries pray to the God of peace for victory in war. Is war Christian or un-Christian? And ought not Christians to be examples, in attitude of mind as well as deed, of the ideal standard of Jesus?

While Natives in town and country are enjoined to observe the Sabbath and keep it holy they see many Europeans in towns like Pretoria dressed in sports clothes on Sunday going out to play tennis, cricket, golf, and to disport themselves in public swimming baths. Then the Africans naively ask: "Why do the white ministers allow their congregations to desecrate the Sabbath?"

Despite all these criticisms, we do not lose sight of the wonderful good done for the aboriginal Africans through the advent of Western missionaries. The good certainly far outweighs the evil mistakes. We have already acknowledged the benefits they have brought to the Bantu in politics and education. They have trained Native successors of whom they may well be proud, to carry on the Gospel in connection with every church. All our Native leaders to-day in every sphere of life are men who owe their education and training to some missionary school or college. Some missionaries, like the late Andrew Smith of Lovedale, have endowed scholarships for the higher education of Native youth. Certain missions have

given the Natives a generous chance to develop their own indigenous church under the auspices and encouragement of the mother Western missions. Such is the "Order of Ethiopia" instituted by the Church of England and placed under the control of an aboriginal clergyman. Such also is the "Bantu Presbyterian Church," founded by the missionaries of Scotland but now placed in the hands of the Natives.

Infinite is our debt to the missionaries for reducing our languages to writing, for permanently conserving our folklore and history, for establishing a considerable African literature and "Bibliography of African Christian Literature" by Rowling and Wilson, as well as for directing the pursuit of African philology, sociology, anthropology, and ethnology on scientific lines.

We shall now consider the present position and such questions as: "What do young Christian Native leaders really think of Western missions? What is the relation of missions to the unhampered development of indigenous Christianity and to the future wellbeing of the African race? What do the Africans, Christian and non-Christian, think of the character and status of organised Christianity in their midst?"

In order to correct half truths and be fair to both sides we shall state first the criticisms that emanate from modern young Native educated leaders, and consider how far they are based on facts.

The most energetic Native organisation in the country and that which gets the loudest advertisement in the white press is the "Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union," commonly called the

"I.C.U." Its leader, Clements Kadalie, is a Native of Nyasaland who formerly attended school under white missionaries at Livingstonia. The spokesmen of this organisation form the "left wing" or the extreme section of the present day intelligent Natives; that is to say, they are the most outspoken critics of Western missions and of white exploitation, capacity, materialism, and economic strangulation. Being in intimate touch with the suffering of the depressed proletariat, and being acquainted with the godless and unscrupulous employers of labour, they poignantly feel the brunt of the inexorable present struggle for existence. In their meetings they often deliver vigorous tirades against Western Christianity and missionaries. Their charges are usually based on the exceptional lapses of individual missionaries. But one cannot rebut their censure on the failure of Western organisations to live up to the ideals of Christianity. They attack the social snobbery of some modern missionaries. They unfavourably contrast the apparently luxurious life of modern white missionaries who travel about in automobiles with the humbleness of the earliest missionaries who lived the lowly life of Africans. They affirm that Christianity fails to mollify the essential cruelty outside missionary circles, coarseness and selfishness of the ordinary white man. All this cannot easily be dismissed as being the rancorous vapourings of disgruntled agitators injured by exclusion from church communion, as indeed these speakers are mostly non-church members.

In a concise pamphlet entitled "The Bantu and Christianity" a young African clergyman, the

Rev. H. M. Maimane of Transvaal makes some striking animadversions that are typical of the opinion of critical Christian African workers:—

“Most Natives have abandoned the Christian life through the white men who are non-communicants, non-service-attenders, non-prayer-sayers, because they find the whites playing tennis, working or strolling about the streets, watering gardens, and what not, on Sundays while Church services are going on, and they wonder! They see and hear of so much unfairness done by individual whites here and there, and then by the State officials towards the blackman that they naturally wonder why people who preach to them of a loving good God who has no respect for colour should commit such wickedness towards other human beings; so they conclude that the whole thing, Christianity, is a deceit. All through South Africa Natives talk of Christianity as a ‘white man’s religion.’ I personally do not think it a white man’s religion. The very failure of the whites, failure to observe religious laws, should be an indication to us that this is not naturally a white man’s religion.”

“It is a question whether the now prevailing idea that Christianity is a white man’s religion is not the direct fruit of the European presentation of the Gospel to the aborigines; That the missionaries being keen, not only to spread the Good News, but also to win the Bantu to pay allegiance to European power, preached and taught blunderingly at the expense of the Bantu’s good grasp of the principles of Christianity. It seems they did not present this religion in such a way that their Bantu converts could associate it with their own religion. They did not start from the known to the unknown. They went hurry-skurry in condemning all that was Bantu. In fact some did not preach Christianity as such but rather the destruction of Bantu customs and used Christianity as an effective means towards that end, threatening people with hell-fire. Speaking from a close acquaintance of the Bantu Christian’s regard for, and attitude towards, Christianity, one may assert that they, as a whole, were not, and are not, converted from Heathenism into Christianity, but from the ‘—isms’ of Bantudom into those of Europe. They were led to plunge headlong into the unknown Western civilisation, leaving all they knew and vitally depended on, behind to

rot. They embraced Christianity not as such but because it was an essential element of Western civilisation. Their moral standard and their moral teachings were discouraged without anything substantial being put in their place. Bantu inventions, handicrafts, songs, and so forth were discouraged as not compatible with real Christianity. Beads were cut off from the bodies of converts as not becoming to Christians. Now that the Natives, when awakening from the sleep of ignorance, find they have been made to lose their initiative, to lose their inventive powers, which were starved to death by men who to-day scornfully censure them as 'of non-inventive powers,' when they know truly that they found the Bantu with their inventions, now that the Bantu have to buy these utensils dearly from a European store, now that they see clearly how their land with their ancient iron and tin mines has been cunningly taken from them in order to render them uninventive and to enrich the white man by making him the sole possessor of all the material resources and necessities of this life, and of the best arable land; I say, when the Natives observe all this, they feel dizzy and find themselves resenting everything that is European and Western. So, without fairly testing Christianity and comparing it with their own religion, in essence, they condemn it only because it was introduced by Europeans in whom they are fast losing confidence, if it is not already irrevocably lost. Though some of the destroying of Bantu customs and of the deprivation of their rights to the land, was, and is done by the State and not by the actual preachers of Christianity; and though the Bantu themselves have been to a certain extent the direct agents of the downfall of some of their customs, they are not educated enough to see all this. They blame the missionary most as he is the nearest white man whose mode of living actions they can study and be brought into direct contact with. They hear him preaching Christ Jesus but do not see him or his State acting him. They say that the State is Christian; it has sent this man to blindfold and hoodwink us with this mild religion to the advantage of the State. The missionary and the politician are brothers working in collusion for the same end."

For space reasons we forbear to quote further from many other Native writers, such as Moses

Mpahlele, Gabriel Mabeta, John Manelle, Miles Mzili, who write in similar strain.

The whole trend of Government legislation during the last seventeen years has undermined the influence of Missionary enterprise. Its fundamental laws bearing on land-tenure, political rights, passes, farm servants, poll taxes, industrial labour, culminating in the notorious Colour Bar Act of 1926 which has astounded even the world outside of South Africa, have been both oppressive and insulting to the susceptibilities of the Bantu. The colour bar on the Transvaal tram-cars, race discrimination in law-courts and public offices, not to mention innumerable other unpleasant points of contact, are injurious to the tender feelings of black men. "No square deal for the black man until the white man is served" seems to be the tacit governing principle; and the position between Christianity in the ideal and Christianity in practice becomes arrestingly paradoxical. Nevertheless it is only fair to say that vigorous efforts have been made of late by the clergy of the English Church and the Dutch Reformed Church to protest against the more outrageous anti-Native Government measures; but the activity of a few years can hardly exonerate older missionaries from the lethargy and reticence of many previous years when the Natives underwent unspeakable sufferings from the tortures of the 1913 Natives' Land Act.

The biggest racial stumbling-block to the whites of South Africa is the word "Equality." The *fons et origo mali* of all our legislative troubles and Native Church separatism is the denial of equal

treatment for those Natives who have advanced enough in education, civilization, character and ambition to claim and deserve an equal opportunity to satisfy their reasonable ambitions to secure the ordinary advantages and requirements of life for themselves and their children. Many of the white race seem to be determined to deny the black race the chance of getting land, an education, adequate labour wages, officials billets, and landed property rights in urban areas on equal terms with the white. Social intermixture and miscegenation the black man does not beg nor want. But we believe that the spirit of the New Testament gives us the justification to expect from the missionaries at least, if not from the rest, an acknowledgement of the principle that in the eyes of God all men are equally precious and are by inference entitled to equality of treatment in the ordinary affairs of life even where local prejudice otherwise forbids social admixture and intermarriage. We claim equality of opportunity, nothing more nor less. This is the vexed question of the "Colour Bar" by virtue of which the Constitution of the South Africa Act of 1909 lays down in Clause 26 a racial bar or stigma against the eligibility of all Non-Europeans to membership in Parliament, a bar always quoted as a precedent to exclude black men from the legitimate fruits of their labour in industry and public service. It would appear to be the duty of the missionaries from the very nature of their calling to be outspoken in their repudiation of such an un-Christian principle; but the young educated Africans observe that many missionaries show indecision, and sometimes approval of what we

otherwise look upon as unjust. Prof. du Plessis lays it down that: "A century of Christian missions in South Africa has since proved the fallacy of the opinions held by van der Kemp as to the . . . natural equality of all men."

Upholding racial exclusiveness in church organisation, the same author proceeds to say that the equal status and other elements of fraternity between Native and European workers as illustrated by the South African Wesleyan Methodists have been "always open to question." On the other hand he admits the advantage of such coalescence when he says: "The Anglican and Wesleyan churches, affirming as they do the principle that no distinction should be made between European and Native clergy, between white and black congregations, are easily first among the missionary agencies in South Africa in the number of their Native ministers and helpers."

Evidently the particular kind of equality dreaded by the whites of South Africa is social intermixture that goes hand in hand with intermarriage presumably ending in the economic submersion and political domination of white by black. If this be the case, why apply it to other relations and confuse it with the rightful claim to equality of opportunity apart from race mixture? The African needs equality of opportunity for his own existence and service to his compatriots and to the world in which he was placed equally with other races by the inscrutable dispensation of God? It is this failure of the missionaries to rise above the ground-level of obfuscated ideas and irrational prejudice held

by an un-Christian world that has called forth censure from young Africa.

To gather up our argument on the present position we may affirm: that young Native Africans gratefully acknowledge all the benefits that are being provided for them by the modern missionary; that some of our extremists have, for their own reasons, found it profitable to denounce the missionaries without restraint; that the criticisms of the type submitted by the young African preacher quoted above are not the angry ravings of an injured man but the valid, considered, and constructive views of an earnest worker who has maintained his church status with integrity working in co-operation with white missionary associates; that with regard to the government, the missionaries and the whole of organised Western Christianity have been remiss and should exert greater effort in the future to influence governmental policy along lines consistent with Christian policy; that the time has come for organised Christianity to revise and define its attitude on the principle of equality among white and black Christians.

We conclude with a few constructive suggestions of missionary policy which we believe will save the future from the mistakes of the past, accelerate the evangelisation of Africa, remove the conditions that make for retardation and stagnation, and meet the legitimate aspirations of younger educated Africans.

Our strongest critics do not go the length of condemning Christianity *per se* as being a discredited religious system; nor do they advocate any other alternative. What they feel is that the

professors of Christianity have dismally failed to live up to the standard commanded them by their Master. They readily confess that Christianity is the best religious system they know. "Of all the religions of the earth, the Christian religion is the most uplifting and civilizing agency the world has ever produced. It is puerile to discard the religion of Christ simply because other peoples have failed to grasp its meaning."

We want Christianity because it is the only religion which has proved adequate for all our life and spiritual ideals. It suits our psychology; and is readily assimilated with our former spiritualism and customs if only the right methods are used.

The ancient Bantu believed in the "Great Great One" whom they vaguely revered alongside with spirits of their departed ancestors. The Rev. Mr. Maimane rightly declares that the heathen invariably show lively interest whenever one preaches to them about the Pauline "Unknown God;" for Christianity is "a fuller revelation of God and fuller details of Him, and of man's concern with Him and His concern with man. These ideas cannot fail to bear good fruits if they are carefully fostered in the minds of the Bantu."

The problem of amusements has been solved in a practical manner by the American Board Missionary in Johannesburg, the Rev. Ray Phillips, who devotes his whole time and attention to the provision of healthy recreation for Natives. Instead of the one missionary there ought to be over a hundred distributed over the whole of South Africa to counteract the evils that beset our young generation in the modern city and country-side.

At this point we would venture a recommendation that missionary societies broaden their policies to permit of the setting aside of specially trained workers for the adopting of Christian social service methods to the needs of our Native people. Such activities and institutions as playgrounds, boy-scout and girl scout troops, athletic leagues, community centres, women's clubs for domestic science and child welfare study, men's clubs where discussions and debates under Christian guidance may be held, community bands and choirs—all these are badly needed.

We would urge too, that missionary leaders make it their business to see that commercialised amusements such as the road-side carnival and the moving picture shows, which are exercising an increasing influence on the young, be subject to rigid censorship. Our people should have the best, not the worst, that Western civilisation has to offer.

We rejoice that the Y.M.C.A. is moving to extend its activities to Bantu youth, and that the boy-scout movement is sanctioning the extension of that organisation to Native boys. Missionaries have been influential in bringing about these developments. May they continue to extend their influence in all those activities making for the growth of Christian character.

Special Evils.

Among the special social evils confronting missionary work and requiring an intensive and concentrated attack from Western home bases is the problem of alcoholism in its various forms: intemperance, illicit liquor traffic, shebeens, pro-

hibition, local option, vested drink interests, municipal saloons or cantœens, and so on. It is no exaggeration to say that most of the best educated Bantu leaders, past and present, have been lost to Africa through drink. No foreign missionary programme will ever be complete without a special department established to protect Christian Natives from this evil.

Sexual immorality, another serious evil confronting the Christian Church, is rather waxing than waning. It has derived fresh impetus from Western industrialism, civilisation, and the fatal transition period resulting from the collapse of the ancient Bantu social system which formerly kept this evil within limits notwithstanding crude methods. Its spread is closely associated with the lack of organised and supervised recreation for adolescents to occupy especially the idle evening hours and week-ends. One solution is suggested by the activities of the Rev. Ray Phillips in establishing the Johannesburg BantuMen's Social Centre that provides for the African progressive men just what the great Y.M.C.A. centres in United States of America do for Coloured men and women. Every South African town and Native country village sorely needs such an institution, especially for the women. The present writer and his wife have attempted this in their village church but only with limited success, owing to lack of friends and outside help.

Another development causing deep concern is the breakdown of family discipline among missionised Natives, traceable also to the fatal transition away

from Bantu customs. This has been accentuated by the increased poverty in agricultural districts where in many a family the real breadwinner has become the boy or girl who goes out from home to earn wages by work in the industrial centres, and who in consequence acquires exaggerated ideas of self-rule and independence. This is a vast problem which has assumed alarming proportions.

For full information on the subject of Education there are abundant records. Let it suffice to add here that we need a reinforcement of funds, endowments and scholarships to enable the more promising men and women in our secondary schools to proceed to Higher Education at the Fort Hare University College and undergo a training that will fit them as worthy leaders. It is heart-rending to see so many potential leaders being lost to Africa through lack of funds or scholarships founded on the lines of the Andrew Smith bursary (at Lovedale) or by the English Society of Friends (at Fort Hare).

Africa offers an infinite scope for the inter-racial co-operative movement that has achieved such conspicuous success in the adjustment of race relations in the United States of America. We need more and more Travelling Secretaries like the Rev. Max Yergan provided by the Negro Y.M.C.A. (U.S.A.) to work in South Africa not only to give Christian direction to future leaders through the Students' Christian Movement in Native colleges, but also to serve as a racial link between white and black in a general effort to increase co-operation and goodwill. We need also a linking association between missionaries doing

Native world and white pastors engaged with white congregations in the purpose of mutual education in inter-racial questions and to moderate public opinion and Government circles.

We need white immigrants of Christian character who will migrate to South Africa as school teachers and ordinary citizens to live the practical life of Christianity working as missionaries among the white races, taking the lead in local Native Welfare Societies and inspiring an under-current of Christian influence towards better racial relationship. Such a class of white Christians can be of immense service in inter-racial conferences such as are being periodically held and may do much to restore the loss of confidence in Western institutions, religious and political.

Our concluding appeal to the present and future Western missionaries is this:

Young educated Africa appeals for sympathy with her legitimate aspirations towards religious autonomy; for the dissemination of liberal views in press, pulpit and platform on the right of the Bantu to a happy future in the land of their birth; for protection in the settlement of land questions so inseparably bound up with the principles of religion; for the inculcation of Christian principles on Native affairs in white homes, schools, farms, towns, or clubs; for the kind of life that Jesus would have led had he lived as a white man to-day in South Africa.

To our fellow students in the colleges of North America we appeal for more intelligent understanding and co-operation that we may be enabled

to grow in the brotherhood of Christ / us, in the
service of our fellowmen, and to / chieve our
national destiny under the providence / f Almighty
God.

