

THE RACE PROBLEM IN SOUTH AFRICA

by the Rev. W. A. Cotton, B.A.
Community of the Resurrection, S. Rhodesia.

Introduction by the Rev. Edwin W. Smith,
Superintendent of the British and Foreign
Bible Society.



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Student Christian Movement

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BY

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ST AUGUSTINE'S MISSION, PENHALONGA, RHODESIA

WITH A PREFACE BY

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PREFACE

THE Race Problem in South Africa is one of appalling complexity. A more difficult situation is not to be found anywhere in the world. We must be grateful to Mr Cotton for helping us to consider it in a Christian spirit.

The position differs radically from that which exists in some of the other African territories, where the Europeans are few and where the natives export the products of their own toil on their own land. In the Union of South Africa, the Whites, who number about one and a quarter millions, own by far the greater part of the land and form an aristocracy almost entirely dependent upon native labour. While the Africans number about four and a half millions and are increasing rapidly, the land reserved for them is quite inadequate. They are making considerable advance in culture and industrial efficiency, while a certain proportion of the Europeans—the so-called Poor Whites—have degenerated. The Whites, as a whole, refuse to admit the Blacks to anything approaching political, social and industrial equality. They fear that were the Blacks given the franchise on the same terms as the Whites, they would dominate the country; and that if they were allowed unrestricted admittance to skilled grades of labour they would oust the Whites. All this on one side. On the other side, the African has rights as a man which cannot be ignored and he refuses to be repressed. How are these rival claims to be reconciled?

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It seems to me that the only solution is the one advocated by Mr Cotton, namely, segregation. Mr Cotton is sure, and I agree with him, that this involves the division of South Africa into two areas, one for Whites and the other for Blacks. Such territorial segregation exists already in Basutoland, where, under the ægis of the Imperial Government, the natives retain their own land and tribal institutions, and are given the opportunity of advancing in a steady manner under the guidance of sympathetic administrators and missionaries. I should like to see all the South African natives living under such conditions.

Things have happened since Mr Cotton wrote his book. The Colour Bar Bill, which aims at excluding the African from skilled trades, has been passed by the Union Parliament. The day on which I write this Preface, the papers announce that General Hertzog has tabled four Bills which embody a further instalment of his programme. Details are not to hand, so I cannot discuss them here. What we want to know is: How does the Prime Minister fulfil his promise to secure more land for the natives? Unless ample provision is made in this direction, the position of the natives will be definitely worse than ever it has been.

I have read Mr Cotton's book with great profit. Without committing myself to everything he says, I heartily commend it to the attention of all who are studying the Race Problem.

EDWIN W. SMITH

June 3rd, 1926

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

“*Our Future is not Assured.*” So confessed General Smuts as he dwelt on the “enormous problems” of South Africa, as compared with other Dominions of the Empire. It was in his notable speech in the Savoy Hotel in May 1917. “The future is dark and uncertain.”¹ Of two dangers he spoke.

The one appeared as he looked beyond the borders of South Africa—to the north. “To-day we have to consider not only Southern Africa, but also enormous territories which our troops have been conquering in Central Africa. What the future of that country will be nobody knows. But . . . my eyes have been opened to the many serious dangers which threaten the future, not only of Africa, but of the world. I have seen there—what I have never before realized—what enormously valuable material you have in that black continent. . . . Before the war we were not aware of the military value of the natives. . . . I hope one result of the war will be that some arrangement will be made by which the military training of the natives in that area will be absolutely forbidden. Otherwise armies may be trained so large that, properly led by whites and

¹ Throughout chapter, *Times Weekly Edition*, May 25, 1917.

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properly equipped, they may be a danger to civilization itself. I hope this will be carefully borne in mind by our statesmen when the time of settlement comes.”¹

The other danger seen by General Smuts was one more real and more within the power of South Africa to deal with, her own internal problem—what her own future as a nation is to be, what race or blend of races shall possess this splendid country. Danger from outside can discipline a nation. But mistake, disunion, festering discontent and moral rottenness within make it worthy of destruction. “We want,” he says, speaking of the British and Dutch people of the Union, “to create a new nation, and that is the South African nation. We shall have a nation which will embrace various traits. You will have a people all blending into one. It is only by bringing about a union like that, and by making the different racial types of people work together, respect each other and understand each other, that you will bring into being a unanimous people which will take the broadest and largest view of the problems with which it is confronted.”¹

I

It was a singular circumstance that in thus pleading for the fusion by intermarriage of the two North European peoples who have colonized South Africa, General Smuts should have gone out of his way to repudiate the apostles of the modern Nordic race gospel. “It is really only in recent years,” he said, “that the remarkable doctrine of

the pure race has sprung up. . . . I am sorry to say that the man who has preached that doctrine most frequently is a Germanized Englishman with the name of Houston Chamberlain. The doctrine is to the effect that you must keep your race pure. . . . We do not intend in South Africa to listen to these forces. We want to create a blend out of the various nationalities.”¹

For this Chamberlain and his master, Gobineau, are among the chief authorities for the axiom which General Smuts lays down (and which we shall see reason to question), when he comes to deal with the relations of the white unified nation with the coloured peoples of South Africa.

“There are certain axioms which have been laid down . . . in regard to the white and black races. One is that there must be no intermixture of blood. All previous civilizations on the African continent have failed—perhaps because that principle was never recognized. . . . Our problem of (white) racial unity is being solved in the midst of the much larger question of the black environment in South Africa. That is a much larger issue. And no one can have any great assurance that we shall succeed in solving it. We know that on the African continent civilization at various times has gained a foothold. . . . These civilizations have now disappeared and barbarism is once more in power over that once apparently civilized land. That is what creates the fundamental doubt about the whole position in South Africa. There are people in South Africa, and they are not foolish people, who are not certain that the white experiment there

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will be a success, or that we shall succeed in making it a white man's land."¹

II

It was a pity that General Smuts appeared too closely to identify the civilization of this country with its being made to be, and continuing to be, "a white man's land." It was still more a pity that he caused great offence to Natives in South Africa by speaking of them as "almost animal-like in the simplicity of their nature, people in fact who appreciate only the most primitive human feelings." For such a description is neither fair nor true. So that the reassurance was welcome.

"We have settled another axiom, a moral axiom. And that is, that in all our dealings with the natives we must build on what I believe Lord Cromer has called the bed-rock of a Christian moral code. Honesty, justice, fair-play are Christian virtues which must be the basis of all our relations. We do not always practise them. . . . Former civilizations in Africa have been more for the purpose of exploiting the native populations, and have probably followed lines of development and action which had the seeds of decay in themselves. . . . But I believe that the vast bulk of the white people in South Africa believe that it is true that they must stick to ordinary Christian morality, and to the precepts of the Christian moral code if they want to do their duty and to make a success of the country."¹

If this promise be faithfully carried out then

South Africa's future *is* assured, whatever may happen to General Smuts' first axiom, and however more widely than he thinks—this lover of “the far away dear land, her sunny spaces, her amazing history”—his appeal for a blending of various nationalities into one new nation may find its answer and fulfilment.

III

General Smuts proceeded: “I wish we had made more progress and had discovered also a political axiom. But there, although we have arrived at nothing definite or settled, still we have gained a great deal of experience in the years of our history, and there is now shaping in our institutions in South Africa a view which may have very far-reaching results in the future civilization of the African continent. . . . The practice is being built up . . . of creating parallel institutions, and of making the Natives run on different but parallel lines to the Whites. It may be that on these lines we may be able yet to solve a problem which might otherwise prove to be entirely insoluble. . . . Instead of mixing up black and white all over the country, we are now trying to keep them as far apart as possible in government. . . . And the result will be, that in the long run you will have all over South Africa large areas inhabited entirely by blacks, where the blacks are looking after themselves according to their own ways and forms of government. In suitable parts you will have your white communities. *Economically the native will*

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go on working in the white areas. As far as possible the forms of government will be such that each will be satisfied and each will develop according to its own proper rights. This is the attempt which we are now making in South Africa.”¹

I have italicized the words about the natives going on working in the white areas. South Africa is, as it is said, “based on black labour.” The white people are its ruling classes. The native and the coloured people are its working classes. Outside of the native territories like Basutoland, this is everywhere the case in South Africa. The Natives Land Act of 1913, which is the largest item in all that General Smuts refers to as leading to separate white and black areas, has not resulted in any movement whatever of the native population away from proximity to the European colonists, nor in the least increase of self-sufficiency on the part of the white peoples in regard to labour supply. And it will be one of our contentions in these pages, that where the natives work, year in and year out, there they must and will have their homes; and that the only segregation that can be finally effective, the only plan of parallel institutions that can be anything but a temporary expedient, must have a geographical basis, and boundary lines not to be violated by any demands for cheap labour.

IV

But in order to see somewhat more deeply into the inwardness of the “view which is now shaping in our institutions in South Africa,” it will be in-

structive to read, without omissions, the part which concerns our purpose of an article which appeared in the *Transvaal Leader* of 27th December 1912. The writer's bad opinion of the Cape coloured people I do not share. And in the chapter on race blending I shall have occasion to controvert it. But the article is illuminating, and leads to a point, which I shall italicize, that calls for a statement of my own purpose in undertaking this present task. It deals with Lord Bryce's then recently issued *Observations and Impressions of South America*, and says :

“The white people of South Africa take it as an axiom that any mixture of the white and black race has disastrous results upon the offspring of such mixed unions. No assumption is more firmly rooted in the minds, not only of our politicians and sociologists, but also of the whole mass of the white people of this country, than that. But, so far as South America is concerned, Mr Bryce contests the accuracy of any such assumption. We do not for a moment assert that any analogy drawn from South America would, as far as the question of race mixture is concerned, be of the slightest value to this country. On the other hand, as we shall endeavour to show later, we are convinced that it is not. But such a conclusion has at least an interest for South Africans, and is worthy of their close consideration.

“‘It might seem natural,’ says Mr Bryce, ‘to assume *a priori* that men of pure European race

would continue to hold the foremost place in these countries, and would show both greater talents and a more humane temper than those in whose veins Indian blood flows. But I doubt if the facts support such a view. Some of the most forceful leaders who have figured in the politics of these republics have been *mestizos* . . . nor have there been any more sinister figures in the history of South America . . . than some who were pure Spaniards. . . . The fusion of two parent stocks—one more advanced and the other more backward—does not necessarily result in producing a race inferior to the stronger parent or superior to the weaker. The *mestizo* in Peru is not palpably inferior in intellect to the Spanish Colonial of unmixed blood, but seems to be substantially his equal. The *mestizo* in Mexico is not palpably superior—some doubt if he is at all superior, either physically, morally, or intellectually—to the pure Tarascan or Zapotec Indian.’ This seems to us to be a very interesting conclusion.

“Not less interesting is the statement contained in the following passage :—‘The ease with which the Spaniards have intermingled by marriage with the Indian tribes—and the Portuguese have done the like, not only with the Indians, but with the more physically dissimilar negroes—shows that race repugnance is no such constant and permanent factor in human affairs as members of the Teutonic peoples are apt to assume. Instead of being, as we Teutons suppose, the rule in this matter, we are rather the exception, for in the ancient world

there seems to have been little race repulsion ; there is little to-day among Mohammedans ; there is none among Chinese. This seems to suggest that since the phenomenon is not of the essence of human nature, it may not be always so strong among the Teutonic peoples as it is to-day. Religion has been in the past almost as powerful a dissevering force as has racial antagonism. In the case of Spaniards and Portuguese, religion, so soon as the Indians had been baptized, made race differences seem insignificant. Islam has always done this in the East and in Africa.' Fortunately the Teutonic races do form the exception, if absence of race repugnance really is the rule. But what Mr Bryce says shows how weak such influence may prove. In South Africa good would be done by some systematic study, on the part of the white people who live in the northern parts of the Union, of the problem of race mixture as exemplified in the south.

“ On this matter we are compelled to say that prejudice too often takes the place of a desire to arrive at some knowledge of the facts. Abhorrence is commonly expressed of what is known as the ‘Cape Policy’ with regard to the native peoples of South Africa—the grant of the franchise to native and coloured persons—but as we all know the question of the franchise hardly touches the fringe of the real problem. Colour mixture in the Cape preceded by many years the grant of the franchise to the native and coloured people of that province. It was the inevitable consequence

of slavery. And when slavery was abolished, the evil that it had done in this respect lived after it. It still lives. Worse, it flourishes and grows. Enlightened opinion in the Cape—the opinion of the very men indeed who support what is known as the Cape Policy—deplores the evil and searches desperately for some remedy to it. The fact is that the prevalence of colour mixture at the Cape is due to the fact on which Mr Bryce has laid stress in the last of the passages which we have quoted above. *Race repugnance is no such constant and permanent factor in human affairs as members of the Teutonic peoples are apt to assume.*

“Those who discuss this question on Transvaal platforms are prone to assume that race mixture at the Cape involves the degradation of the coloured or native woman by the white man. No such thing. *Regular unions between white men and coloured women are common at the Cape. Such cases occur every day and in constantly increasing numbers. The truth is that the white man, when brought into close propinquity with the coloured or native woman, exhibits a tendency to lose his race repugnance.*

“And the effect is disastrous. Those who have had experience of the coloured people of the Cape would not question that they have, as a class, suffered serious degeneration, physically and morally, if not intellectually, in the last twenty years. They have now little conception of the duties which attach to the gift of citizenship with which they have been endowed. As a

class they are less and less willing to fulfil the ordinary obligations of employment, domestic, industrial or agricultural. Honesty is at a premium among them. And the grosser vices flourish, ravaging the whole class.

“A preventive in the North, a remedy in the South, is to seek for all this. If they are to be effectual they must cut at the root of the evil. They must establish a healthy race repugnance on both sides of the colour line. Mere refusal of the vote is not sufficient. The only course which holds out any hope of success is to spread among the native peoples of this country, no less than among the whites, the conviction that any mixture of the white and black blood cannot fail to be disastrous to the future of both.”

v

Now it is possible, just possible, to conceive the establishment and maintenance of such a “healthy race repugnance” for ever keeping apart two populations occupying one country. It is possible to conceive them going along on their parallel lines and building up their parallel institutions, in mutual honour, rendering to each other absolute justice, and uniting in a common patriotism and devotion to one beloved fatherland. To this possibility, its implications and difficulties, we shall devote our serious attention. It will be the subject of our second chapter.

The ideal of race integrity is no doubt a lawful ideal. But it is an ideal rather than an axiom.

And the *bona fides* of those who hold it must be shown, not only by the sacrifices which they are ready to make in its behalf, but also by their acknowledgment that it is a secondary ideal. Whereas justice is primary. "Men of the South," says a recent American writer, "place race integrity above politics, property, religion, or even life itself." Such sentiments must be destroyed. And the zeal of those working for race integrity must be ever modified by a willingness to submit it to the judgment of truth, of history, of destiny, and of God. This is our first position.

But the present writer at once confesses that while his head and conscience constrain him to attend carefully to the strong convictions of so many better men than he, yet his heart and instincts have ever rebelled against the idea of thus perpetuating the cleavage of a nation into two sections. He is a Colonial, steeped from early youth in the interest of politics, and, like every Colonial, his politics all focussing in a passion for the making of a new nation. Herein he differs from the typical Englishman, whose splendid capacity is shown, and whose satisfaction is found, in the practical labour of the administration of the particular Imperial domain of his vocation and choice; whose beloved *patria*, mighty yet ever to be mightier, is still old England's green and pleasant land. The Colonial looks to the building of the new Jerusalem, not in England or for England, but in and for the new land of his birth, of his unconditional adoption.

And how is a nation created? First there must be some more or less compact organization in one

political society. This society has its dangers and reverses, challenging its instincts of self-preservation and hammering it into unity. It has its successes and triumphs and survivals of peril, inspiring it with rising pride and loyalty. It finds and makes its home in a certain portion of the earth, the heritage of man. There it takes root. There it possesses the land. And in turn the land possesses the people and moulds the nation. The soil itself energizes and produces. Its climate, its landscape of mountain and valley, hill and plain, its kindly light and air, work in the physical constitution, in the soul of the people. The soil becomes identified with the nation. The soil becomes the *patria*. And the soil calls for a people "of one blood." The races organized into one society biology would blend into one race. The nation is built up in kinship. "For everywhere the family is the basis of society and kinship in the larger sense is the basis of nationality."

The years pass over it—long times of peace, home makings, obscure marriages, silent domesticities, with many social irregularities, in all the corners of the land—sharp periods of distress and struggle, when every man is called up from his cottage, his barn and threshing floor, to give his voice in the counsels of the nation, to add his strength to its armament. Leaders and "fateful personalities" are raised up from anywhere, to guide its destinies—for each age the new man and the new task. In each age the new people rise as one to the bugle call of opportunity and destiny, their hearts rushing together from every quarter, as streamlets to a

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swelling river, in one impulse of patriotic fervour. And "nationality is the matured product of the collective historical action of a nation."²

Now to such a conception of how a nation may be created, the idea of separate institutions in South Africa for white and black, running on parallel lines which are never to meet, the idea of setting ourselves to foster "a healthy race repugnance on both sides of the colour line" seems disharmonious and incongruous. Only if the two are to cease occupying the same areas, only if they are to break off their present wide co-operation in national development, can it begin to be acceptable. And if the idea of race repugnance requires that the native and coloured people are ever to be held down to labour as a serf race, inferior in political, economic and social standing, it becomes absolutely intolerable.

VI

For again, if appeal is made from this axiom of race integrity or from this opinion of race inferiority to the principles and axioms of the Christian religion, it must be admitted that the whole tenor of the New Testament is adverse to it. To the Old Testament we must go, with its prohibition of intermarriage between Israelites and Canaanites, to Nehemiah dealing with the Jews who had taken wives of the people of the land, when he "contended with them, and cursed them, and plucked off their hair."³ To principles and a code

² Jhering, *Evolution of the Aryan*, p. 72.

³ Nehemiah xiii. 25.

now superseded for nearly two thousand years, we must go for the sources of this axiom. But in the New Testament, and in the practice of Catholicity through all the Christian centuries, it is entirely without solid support.

VII

While, then, we may allow that even in areas where white and black are economically most closely interlocked, the simple ideal of racial integrity, the respect of each race for that which differentiates the other from itself, may operate powerfully in the future history of South Africa; while we can hope that the white people may, in large part and during long periods, remain racially as they now are, for the more secure establishment of the highest form of European civilization; while we may desire that the pure Bantu race, in various groups, may be preserved, developing along lines most suitable to its own peculiar qualities, making the contribution it alone can to the Africa that is to be; yet we shall find that two other factors must come in for consideration and acceptance in order to bring peace and stability in our times. One is a territorial segregation that gives also an economic severance. And the other is race assimilation, race blending, and fusion.

At first we may think of these two as alternatives. We may see a choice before South Africa—one or the other. Make a great sacrifice. Confine white settlement within limits. Withhold it from great areas, extensive territories, adequate for the native

populations. Give these latter, with whose labour you must learn to dispense, give them countries within whose boundaries they may, like the many nationalities of Europe, permanently confine themselves. Either this, or else "make your account for a legitimate and honourable interblending between whites and blacks."⁴ For four hundred years it has been proceeding, and still it proceeds, dishonourably. From henceforth let it be accepted and lifted out of degradation into honesty.

But the choice is perhaps too hard. And indeed great human issues will not be tossed on the horns of any dilemma. It is the writer's realization of this, after many years of travail, that has caused him to embark on his present attempt. Both segregation and race blending will be factors in the solution of the South African problem. Still, he thinks, a choice lies before the people. But it is not this *or* that. It is not *this* to exclude *that*, or this because you won't do that. Rather the choice is, how much more of the one, how much less of the other "in the constant adjusting and readjusting of the relations between the white and black races of South Africa, which must continue indefinitely."⁵

Segregation, in one form or another, is already an acceptable idea to our minds. The interblending of races, of different colour, but "of one blood," now so widely unacceptable, must also gain an entry to our thoughts. To *some* extent it will continue to operate, as it has operated in the past,

⁴ Lord Olivier (*cf.* p. 50, MSS.).

⁵ Sir Wm. Beaumont's "Minute," *S. African Land Commission*, 1913.

everywhere in Africa. Hostility to it must be modified. Against the extremest prejudice it persists. Irresistible forces of nature urge it on. It can no longer be repudiated as evil in itself. It must be accepted, hallowed and vindicated, as socially justified, and as being agreeable with the dictates of religion.

VIII

Before, however, looking forward towards the ways in which the South African problem may find its solution, let us first look back and take some glimpses of the human elements that are contained within its scope.

The present population of the sub-continent has been formed by two great movements of peoples—one coming from the south northwards, and the other descending from the tropics and crossing the Zambezi into the temperate regions of Southern Africa.

From the south, first arriving there by sea, came the Dutch, whose colony was founded at the Cape of Good Hope under Table Mountain in 1652. During 150 years they spread rapidly up country, through the western and towards the eastern part of what is now the Province of Cape Colony.

They found, indigenous in the country, the Hottentots and the Bushmen. The latter were the original inhabitants—a yellow, dwarfed, wild and untamable hunter people. They have been wiped out pretty thoroughly. Their hand was against every man—both European and African—and every man's hand against them. Here and there you

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may still see a small person, with yellow, parchment skin, high cheek-bones, a wizened countenance, hair in little tufts far apart, low of stature, speaking Afrikaanse, and recognise a descendent, more or less pure, of the ancient Bushmen.

The Hottentots were a nomadic, pastoral people, larger in stature than the Bushmen and more amenable to the behests of industry and civilization. They became the servants and slaves of the Dutch. But being not sufficient for their masters' needs, their numbers were increased by the introduction of tropical Africans—in those slave-dealing times—from Mozambique, as well as of many Mohammedan Malays. Thus a servile class of considerable proportions was created.

Through all the old days, and right up to the present time, race intermixture has gone on between the Whites and these various peoples. Theal tells us that few pure Hottentots are in existence now, and that every successive generation sees the number become smaller and smaller. When the English came and formed settlements in Eastern Cape Colony and Natal, they contributed equally to this blending process. Thus the Hottentots, the Malays, the Bushmen, and the descendants of the Mozambique slaves have all been absorbed into the mixed race which we know as the Cape Coloured People. Some of them are Mohammedan, but the vast majority are Christian. And including the, as yet, less numerous class which has come from the mixture of European and Bantu blood, the coloured people of the Union of South Africa, according to the census of 1921, now number 546,000.

With these we should associate 165,000 Asiatics, mostly Indian, who were brought into Natal as indentured labourers on the sugar plantations. They have become a permanent factor in South Africa, and will no doubt be assimilated more and more to the coloured mixed race just described. These all belong with the whites to the movement from south to north, from the sea to the interior.

The Dutch people cover the country with their network of great farms of from one to twenty thousand acres, and number somewhere about 800,000. British immigrants have also contributed largely to the farming population. The Province of Natal, within the Union, and the Colony of Southern Rhodesia, outside of it, both owe their origin and development to the enterprise of British pioneers. These have been, however, more attracted to the industrial centres, especially the seaports, the gold mines and the diamond mines. Together with between fifty and one hundred thousand Jews, and with white immigrants of many European nationalities, they bring the white population of the Union up to 1,520,000, to whom we must add some 35,000 in Southern Rhodesia, and the few thousands each in Portuguese East Africa, South-West Africa, Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland. So that there are now not far short of 1,600,000 of white people, occupying a large part of South Africa up to the Zambezi river.

And here this comparatively small, this diverse European community, has laid the solid foundations and organized the essential services of civilization,

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so that the Union of South Africa, with Southern Rhodesia in close alliance, ranks with Canada and Australia among the self-governing states of the British commonwealth. The history of this state—amazing, as General Smuts justly terms it—is well known to those who will be reading this essay, and I need not enlarge upon it.

IX

But the European immigrants had to reckon with an opposing movement which had been before them. Far back in the Middle Ages a great migration of African tribes was on foot—waves of migration, similar to those which brought our own savage ancestors into Europe. Coming from the north, the Congo basin and the lake countries, these roving, warlike tribes drove on ever southward. A brown people, very dark in the moist lowlands, lighter and of a copper colour on the plateaus and uplands, tall and strong, they were a pastoral folk with large herds of cattle, agriculturists too, the women hoeing gardens and gathering harvests, while the men made war or hunted game. Pressing on, they were for ever seeking new pastures and new conquests. That these tribes all belong to the great family of peoples called the Bantu, which now covers the whole continent south of the Equator, appears at once in their tribal names, especially in the prefix *Ba* or *Ma*, which is common to all, as for instance to the Basuto and the Baganda, the Amazulu and the Masai.

The records they have, kept and handed down

by the old men, show how unceasing were their wanderings. The framework of all these records is the lists of chiefs, the rivers they have crossed, and the names of the places where they were settled from time to time. The cause of their division into so many tribes seems to have been the great proneness of the sons of chiefs, other than those who succeeded by right, to be dissatisfied with the arrangements made. By fair means or foul, by craft or by military prowess, they would contrive to gather a following and would "go out." So as the people increased the tribes multiplied. The records of a tribe will begin with the chief who thus took them apart from the parent stock. A tribal elder will have all the old chiefs at his finger-tips, going back a couple of centuries. But where the first came from, what tribe he split off from, may be quite unknown. Nor may there be any desire to admit the possibility that "our nation" originally came out from another.

For, though so closely related, these tribes were always attacking one another, coveting lands and cattle, or jealous of another's power. The old men can remember the time when none could venture a half hour's walk from the tribal enclosure without shield and assegai. Those were the days when the spear ruled in the land. Under a strong chief the tribe would dwell secure, and the village grow to a town of five, fifteen or twenty thousand. Or perhaps there would be a federation of villages covering a wide area. Upon his weaker successor some strong neighbour would fall, seize the tribal cattle and drive out the people. And so they would

leave those green gardens by the river side and migrate many miles to this rugged mountain country. Nevertheless there were long periods of comparative security—a sort of give and take, live and let live, among the tribes. And war was not often pushed to utter extermination.

These people read the accounts of *Genesis* as if they were the history of their own tribes. For there is so much in it all similar to what their fathers handed down in their traditions. Abraham and his conquest of the kings, with much spoil of cattle. The disagreement of his herdsmen with those of Lot, and the dividing of the country. The famines in the land. The long journey of the tribes in the wilderness. Their hunger and thirst. The rejoicing when water is found :

“ Spring up, O well :
Sing ye unto it :
The princes digged the well,
The nobles of the people digged it,
By the direction of the lawgiver,
With their staves.”⁶

This might have been the jubilation of a tribe of the Bantu finding water in a South African drought.

Such was the people coming down southward. Long before the Dutch had colonized the Cape, they had filled Rhodesia, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State in the interior, and, on the coast, Zululand and Natal. Early in the nineteenth century, after the Cape Colony had been taken over by the British, and slavery was disavowed and abolished, they first came seriously into collision

⁶ Numbers xxi. 17-18.

with the white settlers and the Kaffir wars resulted. In the outcome of these the British Government was more lenient with the truculent tribes than the Dutch settlers thought right, and large bodies of the latter went off in the "Great Trek" to found, towards the north, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State Republics.

A powerful chief in Zululand had organized his forces on European models and had become a destructive tyrant, holding all the surrounding tribes in subjection. The interior native peoples of the Transvaal and Orange Free State, the Basuto group of tribes, weak and defenceless through their disunion, were scattered to the winds by the Matabele, an offshoot of the Zulus, under Moselikatsi or Umziligazi their chief. Those who stood and resisted were wiped out. Others were allowed to remain on condition of paying tribute and giving their youth to tend the victors' flocks and herds. Old men in the Pretoria District of the Transvaal will point out a pass in the mountains where Moselikatsi made his headquarters. And there the Basuto carried sacks of corn, bowing beneath their weight for many weary miles.

Thus was the way prepared for the Boers who came up as deliverers. They smashed the power of the Matabele, driving them far to the north. The Basuto returned to their domains only to find that the white farmers expected them to work. Men are still alive who remember the days when the immigrating Boers came and they were taken as herd boys. When the yoke became too heavy, there was fighting and again certain defeat. For,

as they will say, repudiating any inferiority in strength or in courage, "as the assegai is to the naked hand, so is the rifle to the assegai." Again they retreated until, when it was quite plain that the white man had gripped the land and had come to stay, they returned. Where they could they bought bits of old tribal land back again, and settled down in subjection to their new masters. Later on, British forces subdued the Cape Colony Kaffirs, the Zulus and the Rhodesian Matabele. The whole sub-continent was brought under the sway of Western civilization, and by now the native people have finally abandoned the habit of armed resistance.

In the Union they number about five millions. And if we add to these the native populations of Basutoland, Swaziland, Portuguese East Africa, Bechuanaland, South-West Africa and Southern Rhodesia, we reach a total for the whole of South Africa of not less than seven and a half millions of native Bantu people.

The majority of these are in great native territories and reserves. Perhaps one-fifth of the whole have become Christians. And the proportion is rapidly increasing. But already the South African industrial organizations take account of and powerfully affect them all. In all the towns, whether as males living in compounds, or in town locations by their families, or in domestic service, they are present in their thousands and hundreds of thousands. In the agricultural industry, whether as hired labourers, or as farm tenants living in detached cottages and entirely broken away from

tribal life, or congregated in semi-tribal fashion on land they have been allowed to occupy communally, they are the mainstay of labour.

x

Let us glance at a native community of the last-mentioned description. For here we have the Native midway between his ancestral tribal condition and the very changed circumstances of his industrialized and Europeanized state. The writer visited it, staying for a month, in 1913. It was on a small tribal area in the Pretoria District of the Transvaal, which the chief had bought, for many cattle, after the Dutch Boers had possessed the country. For a couple of generations the tribe has lived there, growing in numbers, cultivating the fields, sending out little colonies into surrounding districts, and adding to its small domain as land could be bought. For this was possible until the Natives Land Act, of the very year of my visit, stopped it.

The days of the spear have passed, and the land has peace. Instead of war the men put their hands to the plough, and begin to take their place as the family bread-winners. From time to time they go out to labour in the mines or on the surrounding farms, returning as often as possible to the family fireside, where the old routine, in which the women are still the principal actors, goes on as of yore.

On my arrival I was met and kindly welcomed by the teacher, a good-looking young man, neatly dressed in European clothes, self-possessed and

obviously influential with the people. The village was built in straggling fashion. Perhaps there were a hundred houses around a rugged little kopje which stands out like an islet off a rocky coast in front of a line of hills, to the north of and parallel with the Mahaliesberg. And it looks out over the wide rich plain between the two ranges, a large part of which is now irrigated from a great dam recently completed. This scheme and the plots laid off for irrigation are, of course, for white settlers, whose coming must challenge the secure tenure of the native community I was visiting.

The teacher's wife was an attractive person and a good housekeeper, so that at once it was clear the visitor was to be comfortable. A little chamber clean and sweet, an iron bedstead with mattress, snowy pillows, sheets and counterpane, two tables, and a mahogany chair with seat of tightly stretched strips of goatskin were prepared. The house was very plain and roofed with corrugated iron. In front and behind were enclosed courtyards where most of the family life goes on, save sleeping and when shelter from rain is required.

Family affection was a marked feature of the household. Relations were much in evidence. Husband and wife were fond of each other. He was the grandson of a chief. And the wife was obviously proud of him, his education and his position. He had been in domestic service in Pretoria and knew all about European cooking. And for the preparation of food for the European visitor she came to him for instructions. It was noticeable how the woman would always defer to the man, and how,

if occupying the chair or stool when he came in, she would always leave it as a matter of course and sit on the floor, which after all is the traditional way for everybody. This seems to us an inversion of the true chivalry. But to see the young wife thus give place, with a certain shy and modest affection, forbids any boldness of conviction that it is our business at once to break down such customs.

I must not omit another instance of family affection. The little herd boy of a neighbouring house (all boys here are herds for some years of their lives) was given a beating one day, and, in the bitterness of his heart, ran away. In the night when the cattle came home there was no little Makense with them. The night was dark, and great was the anxiety of his mother and grandmother. The father was away from home. A search party turned out and came back with the happy news that they had found him in a hut on the other side of the mountain all safe and sound, and with people to take care of him. The path was hard and steep, great boulders in the way, and many thorn bushes sweeping across. But nothing would stop the grandmother from going out, without lantern, and clambering across the two or three miles that separated her from the child of her child.

The routine of each day goes on regularly and smoothly. In the morning, after housework and breakfast, there is an animated confabulation of half a dozen friends in the courtyard. Then you see the women of the village, in their blue print dresses and woollen shawls, filing off to the fields with bowls of porridge on their heads for refresh-

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ment at mid-day. Others will be going to the spring to fetch water, which they carry in the same way, in great heavy cans. Lift one and you will be amazed that these slender girls can poise them aloft and carry them so easily and gracefully.

One is fortunate if privileged to witness some of the more occasional industries, handed down from time immemorial. An old man sews for himself a new skin apron. A woman engages in the moulding of pots, of different sizes, for various uses. She ornaments them with patterns in white and black that are strangely reminiscent of Egyptian art. She bakes them in an oven, cleverly constructed for the purpose, but perishing with its first using. A certain pride and easy confidence is manifest in these operations. It is a pleasure to show to strangers this skill. This craft was "taught us by the ancients." It was not learned from the white man. It is none of his "wisdom" but peculiarly "our own."

In the evening you will see a few men and boys coming home with the cattle. Some will be dragging bushes which they have cut for fuel, or to stop the cattle pen with their thorny branches. The women return before dusk, and soon have the evening meal in hand. This is the principal meal of the day. The evening star is called "the one that asks for supper." A fire is made in the accustomed place in the courtyard. Water is boiled and meal stirred in very thoroughly with a pronged wooden stick cleverly constructed for the purpose. And—for the visitor—tea is brewed. The thick stiff porridge is put into wooden bowls, previously moistened, so that it will not stick. And these are

handed round, each being shared by two or three persons, and eaten with a relish of stewed meat or cabbage or beans.

In many ways they seem to have solved the question of how people may get along together at close quarters, and work together, submitting to one another, giving each his due, better than we have. It is beautiful to see the politeness with which people greet each other, and especially to see the respect, the consideration and the courtesy of address which is tendered to the old men and women. There is, of course, a hard and very unlovely side to their village life. But still they may seem, in their tribal life generally, to be more successfully social beings than we in our "dorps" and towns. And from them it would appear we have somewhat to learn.

July is the harvest month. Mealies and Kaffir corn have come in from the field and all the resulting operations are communally carried on in the home courtyards. On my arrival I found a group of girls and a few boys breaking off the corn from the mealie cobs to the accompaniment of much talk and laughter. Work is social and pleasurable. At night after supper you may see an illumination—smoke rising and sparks flying—by a neighbouring house. Going to see what it is, you look over a five-foot wall and see a circle of perhaps thirty people of all ages and of both sexes. They are taking off the dry husks from the mealie cobs. A bright bonfire burns in the middle. And into it these are thrown. Faces are lit up in the glare and bright with merriment as remarks and retorts go to and fro—all talking, it would seem, at once. A song breaks out—

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now some old ancestral melody, now a hymn tune. Now it is a Sesuto love song about a girl who wants to write a letter to her lover, is forbidden by her mother, and therefore begs tearfully to be dispatched from this vale of woe. Now it is some song that has been caught in school or in town. Or some older person will have a song that the British Tommies used to sing in the Boer War. And so, "Polly Wolly Doodle," "Jingle Bells," "Old King Cole," "Ta ra ra boom de ay," or "Good-bye, Susan Jane," each has its turn and each its harmonies.

Meanwhile there is a continuous baking of mealie corn in rough little iron pans held over the fire. When it pops and is "done," children hold out their hands and all take (or grab) their share. Some youths come in, their soft felt hats, tan boots, flannel trousers, white sweaters, telling that they are just from town. They are joyously welcomed. The fun increases and the work goes merrily on.

An old man is one of our party. I cannot describe his dress—he holds to the ancient customs. Now and then, taking a pinch of snuff, he tells of the old days and how the Zulus came and then the white men. Also how, being once sent with a deputation to Cape Town, he had seen a steamship, which he describes with many puffs and gestures. Very little stimulus is needed to get on to the old folk tales. And we hear of the prowess of Brer Rabbit—the identical individual of the well known American Southern States stories. About Masilonyane, who became heir to some beautiful cattle which came from the great toe of a wonderful old woman—a sort of cross between a witch and a fairy godmother ;

how he was murdered by his brother Masilo for the sake of these cattle ; and how his spirit became a little bird disclosing the crime to the people. We hear the story of the woman who was married to a serpent, who, after fleeing in shame from a visitor, is called back from the deep pool by the faithful and loving entreaties of his spouse, having become changed meanwhile into a handsome chief.

At last the work slackens. The fire is allowed to die down. The guests look up at the stars and judge how near midnight it is. One by one they take their leave. Little ones who have fallen asleep and lie on the pavement wrapped in blankets are lifted up and led bewildered home. The court is swept and the mealies piled neatly in a corner. The day is done.

In the moonlight week of my stay we were favoured with dancing parties nearly every night. There is no host or hostess and no orchestra. Only the moonlight and the village "green"—and young hearts free from care. Here the burden of the white man's work and laws are forgotten. And the children of nature, as through all the generations of their wanderings, join with the thoughtless praise of all creation, rejoicing in the gift of life. You hear a sound that reminds you of something heard long since in a city theatre. And, amazed at such a thing in this place, you venture as near as you may. You see perhaps fifty young people in the midst of a wide open space. You see the white-dressed girls moving backwards and forwards, in orderly array, in and out of the crowd. Arms are lifted up and hands clapping. And the singing ! It is nothing

elaborate. Just a phrase of a dozen or so notes repeated over and over again. The girls supply the treble and other wonderful parts. The young men boom out a monotonous but solid and resonant bass. When this tune is tired of, a great cheer rings out. There is a moment of noisy laughter and confusion, and then the chorus takes up another song. Imagine a dancing party at home, at its fastest and merriest, when the orchestra has given the best piece of the evening. Connect this with what you remember of the most riotous pantomime in Drury Lane, and you will have an idea of it. Suddenly there is a rush of feet as the whole troop doubles off to another part of the village, lest any should slumber, unaware of this gladness. I doubt if anywhere one could hear human joyousness—the pure *joie de vivre*—more exuberantly expressed. This joyousness must be one of the great contributions of these people to the Africa that is to be.

The name of “heathen” is not mentioned in this place. And probably there is not one but would be offended at being so designated. They know that their “nation” has come into the citizenship of Christendom. The distinction is between those who “have learned” and those who “have not learned.” And a pathetic distinction it is when the little graveyard is pointed out, with the symbol of Christian hope on every grave, as for the former only: or when one of the latter dies, and the piercing wail of the mourners is heard through the village, as they bury him deep in the cattle kraal by his door.

Many are the faults, the backslidings and the futilities of these people. They will try the patience of any one who labours for their advancement. They have an immense capacity for making mistakes, and a persistent habit of relapsing into the sleep of heedlessness or indifference. A friend of mine had gone home on furlough. And his native boy didn't think he would come back, because doubtless "he was tired with finding fault with black people," who so often and in so many ways go wrong. He thought they must be a great trial to English people. I said the English people also had faults. "Oh yes," he said, "only not quite so many."

Such, at any rate, are the Bantu people, who now, with the mixed coloured race as a sort of intermediary, are interlocked with Europeans in the economic organization of South Africa. They take to our civilization as ducks take to water. In contrast with the natives of some other continents, they are triumphantly surviving its decimating influences on primitive races. Slavery has touched them but little, so far as their remembrance reaches. They have an independent spirit.

The European counts the land as his own. And everywhere he has gained the freedom of it. The African says nothing. Only, sometimes, speaking of what he calls the "little song" of "the White Man's Country," he smiles, and wonders whether, really, it is not his country too.

And so we face the future and engage with the problem.

CHAPTER II

RACE INTEGRITY AND EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

IN this chapter we are exploring the possibility and the necessary conditions of social segregation, whereas in Chapter IV. we contend for thorough-going segregation in the geographical or territorial sense. So this will be the place to set down clearly the difference between the two, as well as an important judgment, which nevertheless the writer cannot accept, in regard to their respective merits.

I

It was at a Conference on the Native Question, held in Johannesburg in September 1923, representing, except the Roman Catholic, all the more important Christian bodies engaged in the work of uplifting the native peoples of the Union. And its resolutions have a special significance in that it was called by the authorities of the Dutch Reformed Churches, and that its conclusions have behind them the ideals, as modified by experience, of the Dutch people in this regard. One of the most hopeful features of this generation in South Africa is that our Dutch fellow Christians have at last been roused to their duty of imparting the riches of the

Gospel to the natives in this our "Afrikander" country, their whole attitude towards whom is certain to be profoundly modified thereby.

Professor Brookes, the author of the most considerable book thus far produced in South Africa on the history of Native Administration, told the Conference that "by complete or residential segregation is meant the division of the races on the basis of residence. In the black areas no white man would be permitted to live; in the white areas no black man. It must be realized that this means the complete withdrawal of native labour from our economic system. . . . Native labour is to be withdrawn, not partially, but wholly, not only from industries and mines, but from the farm and the home."¹ He judges it to be impossible. "Neither white nor black is at heart in favour of complete segregation. . . . No level-headed and intelligent man can go before a South African audience and definitely advocate complete segregation as a practicable policy. . . . But all the same, prominent politicians go all over the country preaching segregation, complete and absolute, as a panacea for the country's ills. For heaven's sake let us have done with this hypocrisy." And the Conference endorsed this view, resolving that "understanding segregation in its limited, geographical sense, the Conference believes that segregation is neither possible nor desirable."¹

But the Professor gave his support to the policy of "parallel institutions," of legal, administrative,

¹ Throughout chapter, *European and Bantu: Papers and Addresses*, Citadel Press, Cape Town.

political, economic, or cultural differentiation, and of differential development, and opposes race fusion as between black and white. And this policy is to be strengthened by the "partial" or "possessory" or governmental segregation which we have already noticed in General Smuts' speech. "In the black areas no white man *may possess rights to land*; in the white areas no black man." It is obvious that we have here nothing of a permanent nature; only what might be as the Conference received it, "a useful subsidiary measure tending to facilitate administration,"¹ only an item in a general policy of differentiation which must be modified and re-shaped indefinitely.

Throughout the country he suggests "we need the Natives' brawn, their patience, their capacity for cheerful labour. They need our civilization, our agricultural science and machinery, our educational methods, our assistance in learning the difficult lesson of self-government, our higher vision of morality, our religion. Not without the finger of Providence have white and black come together in South Africa. We want so to interweave white and black interests as to make our native peoples part of the army of a tolerant civilization . . . moving northwards . . . holding independent white and black units of culture."¹

It remained for one of the native speakers at the Conference to give to this conception of a differentiation of independent units of culture the name of Social Segregation. "Even as oil," he said, "is incapable of admixture or fusion with water, so is social fusion between white and black,

European and Asiatic, civilized and uncivilized, an undesirable and impossible proposition.”¹

And the Conference resolved in favour of the principle of the differential development of the Bantu, “so far as such differentiation is based on Bantu traditions and requirements, and is not used as a means of repression.”¹

II

And this ideal of interweaving the “white” and the “black” contributions to the national life, while maintaining social segregation, is that which, in America, in recent years has inspired the most hopeful developments. Without its South African accompaniment of “possessory segregation,” it is the ideal personified in the life and career of the great Negro leader Booker Washington. It may be defined in some sentences from one of the most famous of his speeches. Addressing a white audience, he said :

“As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past . . . so in the future in our humble way we shall stand by you with a devotion that no foreigner (referring to European immigrants) can approach, ready to lay down our lives if need be in defence of yours, interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil, and religious life with yours in a way that shall make the interests of both races one. In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, and yet be one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress. There is no defence or security for any of us

except in the highest intelligence and development of all. . . . The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly. (Here we must remark that the term 'Social Equality' is commonly used in this discussion, in America, with the meaning of social intermingling leading to intermarriage.) Progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle, rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized. It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours. But it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercise of these privileges. . . . I pledge that in your effort to work out the grand and intricate problem which God has laid at the doors of the South, you shall have at all times the patient, sympathetic help of my race. Only let this be constantly in mind, that while, from the products of the field, of forest, of mine, of factory, letters and art, much good will come, yet far above and beyond material benefits, will be that higher good that, let us pray God, will come, in a blotting out of all sectional differences and racial animosities and suspicions, in a determination to administer absolute justice, in a willing obedience among all classes to the mandates of the law. This, coupled with our material prosperity, will bring into our beloved South a new heaven and a new earth." ²

² Biographies and Literary Works of Booker Washington.

III

Now this fine programme is at once complicated by two facts.

The first is the prejudice possessing the minds of the vast majority of the Europeans of South Africa that in the colour of these people *a taint and stain of racial inferiority is manifested*, that they are deeply *other* than ourselves and separated by some great gulf reaching far down to the roots of things, and are essentially inferior. And possessed with this conviction and this thought, our people, British and Dutch, have settled the country on the implicit understanding that the natives are for ever destined to be for them as hewers of wood and drawers of water, docile and obedient.

And this attitude is hardened by the connection that is made of the supposed superiority of white folk in their inherited qualities, with the "axiom" of racial integrity. The latter is valued as the guarantee of the former. The former is maintained as securing the latter. "Eventually," it is said, "the two races will blend if they be placed on social and political equality." So that to keep the native down in a status of permanent inferiority is held to be the way to safeguard race integrity. And this is the main justification in men's minds for the determination that the old Dutch principle shall not be departed from—"there shall be no equality between black people and white people either in Church or State."

The second fact is that the native Africans will never accept this estimate and this status of in-

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feriority. It is becoming more and more apparent that they are an aggressive people—perhaps as aggressive as ourselves. Realizing that the industry of South Africa is “based on black labour,” they will never be satisfied or cease from “mental fight” and political agitation, till they have free scope to energize freely in every department of the civilization that is built upon it, and till full manhood rights are conceded to them.

IV

A recent important witness against the alleged inferiority of the native people is Mr Peter Nielsen of Rhodesia, in his book, *The Black Man's Place in South Africa*. With every word of his conclusion my own experience leads me to agree. “I have studied these people,” he says, “in and out of court, officially and privately, in their kraals and in the veldt, during many years, and I say that I can find nothing whatever throughout the whole gamut of the Native's conscious life and soul to differentiate him from other human beings in other parts of the world. In his sense of sorrow and of humour, in his moral intuitions, in his percipience of proportion, and in all the subtle elements that go to make up the mental constitution of modern man, I see no difference in him from the European variety which to-day stands at the highest point of human achievement.”³

“It is,” he suggests, “the dead weight of human conservatism” that has held them down. “It may

³ Pp. 81 ff.

well be," he thinks, " that the physical disadvantages of the great dark continent have made difficult if not impossible in the past that meeting and friction of different cultures which seem to be essential to the birth of intellectual life," and to the generation of that " divine discontent which is kindled, we know not how, in the leaders of the world, regardless of time and place, . . . that prompts the captive spirit to break loose from the fetters of the unmoving giant, custom, the greatest of all tyrants, who grows stronger as he grows older." ³

For Mr Nielsen freely confesses " that the African native has so far shown a lack of that will to think analytically and critically which in the civilized man is the result of a continuous discontent with things as they are, a discontent which has urged him up to his present plane of racial supremacy." ³

And to this we may add some sentences from Benjamin Kidd's fine book, *The Science of Power*. " What basis is there," he asks, " for the conception put forward under so many recent forms in the West, which sets up inborn heredity as the determining influence in the evolution of civilization ? The answer must be emphatic. The idea has no permanent basis in knowledge. . . . In the face of the evidence which is to hand on all sides, it is impossible to avoid being convinced that none of the leading races or nationalities which have ruled in the past or which wield power on a large scale over other peoples in the present, have done so or do so now because of any distinctive superior intellectual faculties inborn in the ruling race. The ideas on this subject which prevailed a few genera-

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tions ago will not survive the test of being brought into contact with facts.”⁴

And then “the equipment which separates the mind of modern man from the mind of primitive man is almost entirely an equipment which comes to the former through the cumulative social inheritance that he receives from civilization. This inheritance is not inborn in any of us.” . . . “It is the nature of its social heredity which creates a ruling people. It is what it lacks in its social heredity that relegates a people to the position of an inferior race.” . . . “Since man became a social creature, the winning variations upon which power has rested in his evolution have been to an ever increasing degree neither variations in the structure of his body nor in the size of his brain, but variations in the type of social culture to which he is being submitted. . . . The collective heredity which is transmitted through culture is the master principle of the world.”⁴

v

I maintain that the common-sense view of the inferior position of the African peoples thus far in the earth's family of races is that, as we North Europeans came within the influences of civilization and of true religion after the Jews and Greeks, so the Africans have come after us. Their day has now come. A sun shines upon them which for long they knew not. And under its rays of power all sorts of new movements are springing forth. The

⁴ Pp. 262 ff.

divine discontent is seizing hold of them. They are beginning to throw out leaders. "Fateful personalities" are beginning to arise.

Benjamin Kidd names the peoples of Germany and of Japan as possessing "in a high degree the power of subordinating themselves to the social heredity transmitted through culture."⁴ And any one who knows what is going on in nearly every part of Africa to-day, as well as perhaps still more strikingly in North America, with its twelve millions of negro people, must realize that this power is also a possession of the Bantu Natives and other peoples related to them. Every facility is due to them for their development to the full stature of civilized and Christianized man. We have taken possession of the African land. We must hand over to the Africans those gifts of grace and civilization, the transmission of which is the very purpose of our coming here. *We must maintain touch and connection with the African "units of culture" closely enough to ensure the passage over to them of our whole social heredity, of all that inheritance, belonging not to us but to humanity, which we have received to enjoy.* Failure to do this must cause ourselves to lose it in Africa. "If the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness."

Some people like to emphasize the ways in which these Africans differ from ourselves. For myself I have always been more impressed by and been more pleased to notice points of likeness. And now, after fourteen years, I can add my testimony from experience of these people, many of whom I know as real friends, to the truth of the Christian position,

as stated by a writer in the London *Times* of 5th February 1917: "Christianity says that all men are the children of God. If these words mean anything they mean that all men are *alike* in their nobler faculties (alike in kind if not in degree), and that out of this likeness a fellowship can be attained."

I am overwhelmingly convinced that people in South Africa who know the Native folk and love them are enriched in the whole of their life by that fellowship. And further, I am sure that those who leave the homeland, with all its ties of friendship and family affection, with all its dynamic intellectual movement and satisfaction—who leave it and go where they come into close touch with primitive peoples—I am sure that they do gain much, if they also lose somewhat, by the change. They do learn something of the richness and worth of the *whole mankind* for which the Christ was willing to die, its treasure and its charm, and its essential oneness, which they could not have learned had they remained at home. They do gain the advantage, as of ascending a humble hill, and attaining a new vision of humanity. They do begin to see how diverse nations and races may indeed escape from the friction and war which contact has ever involved, and be to one another, no longer executioners and murderers, but mutual benefactors and ministers of the inexhaustible abundance of life.

VI

To-day in our co-operation with Africans they do the humble tasks. They take the humble part.

They serve. The white man directs their "brawn, their patience, their cheerful labour." It cannot always be so—not so universally at any rate as it is at present. We too must have the spirit to serve. Of course there is in human groups, as in individuals, infinite variety. It may be that the youngest brother in the human family, whom, because he is our brother and fellow citizen, we are infinitely bound to aid, with whom we are to share our whole social inheritance—it may be that he will never attain the directing capacity of his elders. The Bantu have already produced great men like Moshesh, who secured for them Basutoland, and Khama, who kept Bechuanaland. But it may be that they will never produce the like of our Gladstones and Kitcheners. The average African may never possess the initiative of the average Englishman. More literally than we, they may, as a race, have to learn with Christ to serve. In each case the probability is otherwise. But their above-the-average of skill and capacity will certainly include many who are superior to our below-the-average. We too must serve and cheerfully labour in Africa as in Europe.

So far as Africans and Europeans continue to work together, so far must we contemplate the possibility in many cases, and the certainty in some cases, of the black man rising to superior positions, positions of mastership, where the white man, who must stoop if he will still conquer, is servant. To an ethic other than that of the New Testament this might seem impossible. But in our Christian partnership of races we shall see it unperturbed.

So illimitably must the dogma of racial superiority be repudiated.

VII

Our programme then of social segregation and mutual respect requires that the way be left open to the native worker to advance to full economic equality with the European. To-day he suffers the incidence of an unjust colour bar. And there are voices demanding that it be still further strengthened, and that "Kaffir Labour" shall "only be admitted to industry to carry on absolutely unskilled work and no other work."

Take as an instance the great mining industry of the Transvaal. In 1913 Sir Lionel Philips said, "The time is bound to come when they must allow men, regardless of the colour of their skin, to avail themselves of such capabilities as they have, and to rise in any branch of skilled work in which they are engaged."⁵

And in 1920 Sir Evelyn Wallers, again representing wealth and capital, said, "We must not lose sight of the fact that the native will not for ever, nor, indeed, by all signs for very long, be satisfied with his present position in industry. His legitimate aspirations for a higher class of work (which many natives are quite capable of doing) and for correspondingly increased pay, cannot be for ever met with a blank negative in the interests of another section of workers. . . . The maintenance of that barrier (of the colour bar) constitutes an injustice,

⁵ A Johannesburg newspaper, 22nd September 1913.

and public opinion always, sooner or later, discovers and denounces injustice.”⁶

When, in Parliament, shortly after this pronouncement, Mr Merriman moved for the abolishing of this unjust colour bar, Mr Cresswell put forward, as justifying its continuance, the fact that the native workers on the mines are cheaply housed by the thousand in compounds and are fed at wholesale prices, according to standards impossible for Whites.

“The principal effect of the removal of the colour bar in the Transvaal mining regulations under existing conditions would be to enable the owners of industries to supplant, in certain cases, Europeans earning civilized wages, by compound Kaffirs, at wages upon which men cannot maintain civilized standards, and to reduce the opportunities afforded by our industries for men, whether European or coloured, to support themselves decently.”⁷

And I well remember during the great industrial upheaval early in 1922, how the intention of the mine owners to replace free and civilized labour with compounded, and what was called *slave* labour, was explained to me by an apologist for the strikers and revolutionaries as that, essentially, which the men were contending against.

Mr Forrester Brown, some years previously, had pointed to the remedy. In America, he said, the white workers “had discovered that the coloured man was a menace to them because he had not been

⁶ A Johannesburg newspaper, 22nd March 1920.

⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 19th May 1920.

brought up to their level. They realized that they should bring about such conditions as would make the coloured man require the same standard of living as the whites. . . . And from the standpoint of the civilization in this country (South Africa), it would be necessary for the white worker to pay more attention to the coloured man and to compel him to require a higher standard of civilization. . . . The control of the machinery of production would be impossible without the assistance of the subject races. They should approach the question purely from the point of view of having the coloured man an asset to the forces making for civilization, and their first duty was to organize that section of the working class.”⁸

The compound system must therefore be superseded. Temporarily needful, no doubt, and, when under the control of conscientious officials, just tolerable, it ought not to continue. That these hundreds of thousands of full-blooded natives, compounded for many months, even for years, away from their homes and womenfolk, have kept as free as they have from the contaminations of vice is a tremendous testimony to their powers in self-restraint, their capacity for a regulated life. But the system must go. It fits in with the idea that while economically the natives will go on working in the white areas, yet as regards domicile they are to be congregated in separated areas. So much the worse for that idea. These natives, on whose labour our industries are based, must increasingly have their homes at their places of work. And

⁸ A Johannesburg newspaper cutting, 1915.

increasingly we must approach the conditions which they have reached in America—all departments of industry to be open to the black man, and for the same remuneration as the white man receives.

And here a factor, as important as it is encouraging, must be noticed. The African, unlike the Asiatic, is never going to challenge the white man's standard of living as unnecessarily high. This is abundantly evident to an observer of the Negroes in America. To those who know the Native it is equally clear in South Africa. He has the capacity for our civilization. He rapidly learns to appreciate the conditions and the amenities of civilized life. And he is willing to work for them.

VIII

But it is when we consider the farm natives that the futility and mischievousness of "possessory" or domiciliary segregation as thus far carried out is most conspicuous. The Natives Land Act of 1913 provided for "the segregation of the ownership and leasehold occupation of land by Natives and other persons respectively."

Even in the "white" areas the native farming folk are in large majority over the white proprietors. I have talked with many farmers in the Transvaal, both Dutch and English. Unanimously they assert that the agricultural industry can never dispense with native labour, that its place can never be taken by white labour. The *Johannesburg Star*, commenting on the work of the Land Commission appointed under the 1913 Act, said that it "elicited

time and again the information that the only productive energy directed on farm after farm in the Union was that of the Kaffir squatter."

And agricultural service requires and must ever tend towards a greater stability of home conditions than town industries. The farm labourer, where conditions are humanly healthy, becomes attached to the soil. His home is the centre of his hopes. His wife and children, his bit of ground, his few animals, are the motives of his toil.

Even in the case of the natives whom industry attracts to the town, its streets are destructive of his tribalism. The town becomes his only home.

Still more does the countryside grip the homing instincts of the native farm worker and become the scene of his and his children's rising patriotism and of their aspirations after freedom. It can be seen all over the Union, especially perhaps in the Free State and the Southern Transvaal. There we have, strongly attached to their homes, tens of thousands of native people, quite detribalized, and for the most part Christian, born and bred in these "white areas," where every river, hill, and plain has its native name handed down from times long prior to the European invasion.

The rough interference of the 1913 Act with the old share system under which these people were making substantial progress in agricultural efficiency, freely using their own instruments and skill on ground assigned to them by the white owners; the sharp intimation that, in this land where they had been reared, they must never expect to make permanent homes except as reduced to the per-

manent status of farm labourers, nor ever buy or hire ground, or be tenants under any sort of agreement which would give them independence—this has been a literal oppression of these people. The whole of this law's burdensomeness was put upon them. It gravely restricts their liberties. It soils the reputation of every politician whose name is connected with it.

A residuum of merit may, however, be found in it. It may be wise that the *buying of land* on the part of the native farmer be under Government control, for his protection from the perils of debt and mortgage to which he is so prone, as well as for the settlement of native farming communities in convenient parts of the country according to a plan, instead of individual native holdings being at random, interspersed with those of Europeans. This may point the way of retreat from the false position that has been taken. *Meanwhile the bar against leasehold tenancy of land by Natives should be removed wherever they are admitted as labourers.* And, as in America, the native small farmer should be encouraged to settle down in security, to improve his ways of life and work, and to make his full contribution to the wealth and prosperity and civilization of the country.

IX

A little while ago in Washington I talked with an American about the colour problem. I was visiting in America some of the notable educational institutions for Negroes—notable specially for the thorough

industrial training they offer alongside of book learning. He approved their methods, but did not see any approach indicated by them towards a solution of the race problem. He rather grudged the money spent on them which might have been spent on white youth, and he remarked that all this expenditure of labour, skill and money seemed to him like the care a lady might give to a poodle dog—throwing doubt on the worth-while-ness of the whole work.

Depressed by the conversation I went out to the fine memorial recently erected to Abraham Lincoln. And there I read and was heartened by the great President's words of exhortation to a nation "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."

And it is in faithfulness to that same proposition that the positive worth in the ideal of race integrity may most surely be attained—the worth-while-ness of having in Southern Africa, permanently resident, a colony of Europeans, receiving and enjoying at first hand all the highest values of European civilization,—this alongside of, and for the passing on of these values to, the Bantu peoples reaching up to the Equator, who, in turn, freely receiving them, will build them into the increasingly worth-while edifice of their national life.

We must, then, entirely destroy the notion that the race integrity of the white people of South Africa is to be maintained by a permanent status of inferiority enforced upon the natives. If that were the means of safeguarding this ideal, then the ideal itself would have to be repudiated.

But it is not so. To think so is a fallacy. For both in South Africa and in America race blending made far greater progress when slavery was in vogue than since it was abolished. And the inference would seem to be that the more they are held as inferior, and the more nearly approaching slavery their status is, the more do coloured women become the mothers of white men's children.

And many years ago the American writer George Cable,⁹ urging his countrymen to work for "nationalization without confusion" and for "a national unity wider than the greatest divergence of the human race, yet without hybridity"—a thing which "the world has never seen," yet which "we have to do"—acknowledged the futility of the measures taken to this end in the past.

"Is it not wonderful?" he asks. "A hundred years we have been fearing to do entirely right, fearing to give the black man an equal chance with us in the race for life. Yet while we were holding ourselves rigidly separate from the lower race, in obedience to a natal instinct which excommunicated them socially and civilly, just in proportion to the rigour, fierceness, and injustice with which this excommunication has fallen on the darker race, the amalgamation has taken place."

And it has not been otherwise in South Africa.

It is certain that when Booker Washington assured the American people that the advancement of the Negro and his full co-operation in the economic and political development of the country

⁹ Quoted by Maurice Evans in *Black and White in the Southern States*, pp. 75, 193.

—one as the hand—that this was compatible with and helpful towards the maintenance by each race of its integrity and social distinctness—separate as the fingers—he played one of his strongest cards in winning the tolerance and support of white people in the South.

We say each race. But things have not worked out thus equally in America, where the negro race has received and continually receives admixture of European blood. The negro is thus required to have solicitude for the ideal of race integrity on behalf of the white race, and yet to suffer, in the loss of his own racial integrity, all the results of the breach of the ideal, for which his people have far the smaller share of responsibility. I do not state this as a grievance. For my sense of it as such is balanced by a realization of how strangely and wonderfully it has been overruled for purposes of hope. But I state it as a fact.

“Negro mothers,” says Miss Rosa Cooley of South Carolina, “try to protect their girls, but even so a negro girl has a hard time. The poorest type of white man feels at liberty to accost her and follow her and force her.”¹⁰

An increase of respect is the remedy. And to this end as to other ends the time has now come when the question of equality and of the franchise becomes insistent. The way should be open for the advancing and civilized Negro to go just as far as he can, without anything of exclusion or repression, to equal citizenship, and to his due share in the control of America, as also here of South Africa.

¹⁰ *South African Outlook*, 1st March 1924.

And apart from territorial segregation, which would appear to be now quite out of the question in America, but not, we think, in South Africa, it is clear that such equality and frank accordance of just claims will be the most potent means of preserving not only the true peace of the country, but also, if it be by any means possible, the racial integrity which is desired. There is no room in the world for a sub-humanity of which colour is the mark. It does not exist in fact. It must cease to exist in the minds of men. On the one hand, it is through increasing respect for the honour of coloured and native women on the part of white men that the illegitimate unions which have been thus far the main instrument of miscegenation can be made to cease—which respect can only be compelled as their race is accorded full equality before the law. On the other hand, it is through increasing self-respect and full content with their own raciality that the negro people may be expected to be more vigilant for its preservation. Whereas if their colour is accounted as a stigma of inferiority, there will always be a motive, washing it out in unions with partners of lighter hue, to escape from it.

And here we will anticipate the subject of our next chapter and state our conviction that respect for the coloured races requires that we abandon the condemnation of intermarriage as a thing monstrous or degrading in itself, and that we accept the possibility of honourable unions between white and black.

“It appears to me,” says Bishop Gore, “that anthropology and the science of religion work on

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the basis of the assumption that humanity of all periods and in all countries is one race, and continually tend to justify the assumption.”¹¹

And it does seem to follow from this that a due and unreserved respect felt by each race for every other would accept occasional cases of intermarriage as seals and sacraments of their equal worth and of their essential unity.

It is very probable that the lack of respect for the honour of coloured women on the part of white men can only be made good through the allowance and sanction of Christian marriage as between the races. And if the pressure of law and public opinion on a man cohabiting with a coloured or a native woman required him either to separate from her or to marry her and accept responsibility for the offspring, it is probable that, at the present stage at any rate, the process of race blending would be retarded rather than otherwise.

X

In the course of withstanding the influences that make for racial blending, Americans have maintained a very rigid social colour bar. This is in distinction from the absence in their country of an economic colour bar, wherein, as we have indicated, they show the way to us in South Africa. But as regards social intermingling, the smallest intermixture of negro blood, if it is known, excludes a person from white society. There has been in the past, whatever may be in the future, far less leakage of persons

¹¹ *Belief in Christ*, p. 276.

of colour into the ranks of white Americans than of white South Africans.

Now from this condition, as from their own loyalty to one another and freedom from prejudice, the American coloured people as a whole have gained an admirable unity and solidarity. And this, as it gives zeal and power to bear the burden and undertake the labour of self-improvement, so also is most important in the development of self-respect and in the commanding of respect from others.

We proceed to discuss it here therefore as a condition of the highest success of a policy of social segregation in South Africa, equal in importance with a righteous attitude on the part of Europeans. It is necessary that these should accord respect and economic equality to the natives and coloured people. It is equally necessary that the latter should be able to command it, and this by the force of their unity as well as by their merits.

The splendid solidarity of all the coloured people, of all shades and without tribal divisions, with one language, one aspiration, one fellowship, is one of the most impressive facts to be noted in a study of race relationships in America. In contrast with our South African multiplicity of tongues and dialects, these people have only the English language. From tribalism and the whole body of heathen custom the sharp experience of the "middle passage" long ago separated them for ever. Here there is no cleavage on shade-of-colour lines. All would appear to accept the Negro's lot and the negro name, and to be earnestly desirous of helping one another onward.

They do not, and surely it is for their highest advantage, follow suit on the white man's policy, and exclude from their ranks those in whom there is a blend of the latter's blood. Everywhere one finds very light coloured people in the van of negro progress. They are clearly not inferior to the pure negroes. Booker Washington was himself of this mixed lineage. Are they perhaps of superior capacity? I frequently made this inquiry of heads of schools, employers, students of the race problem, and everywhere the answer was, No. Their leading position comes of the fact that to them in the past the larger opportunities have come. Yet the impression may persist that in various ways, elusive and difficult to describe, they have derived certain positive gains from sharing in the physical as well as in the social heredity of the European colonists of America.

There is no likelihood in America, as there is immediate and very great danger in South Africa, of the Government endeavouring to cause a permanent rift in the ranks of the non-whites through a definite policy of discrimination and granting of privileges in favour of those who are of lighter hue, and as against the Natives. For the latter, according to this policy, are to be retained in the economic system and their labour is to be exploited, without their being allowed to reap its just fruits or to be paid its just wages. Not so can there be peace. Once, passing through a native location, I saw two boys engaged in bitter fight, and heard from the midst of the scuffle this passionate sentence, "*Ik is nie so swart als jy nie*"

(I'm not so black as you are). If that is to be the spirit of our solving the racial problem, unhappy must the future of our poor country be.

One earnest member of the Interracial Commission in Georgia remarked, on this phase of the subject, that it had been the dissidence and hatred engendered through the cleavage between the "Coloured" and the pure Negro in Hayti that had been the main cause of the turbulent history of that sad island. He was certain that it would be a fatal mistake if to produce such a cleavage were made a part of our policy in South Africa.

The American position strongly indicates as an important condition of hopeful progress on the part of the whole mass of the non-whites of this country that they hold together, bringing their most depressed sections forward with their line of advance, to that moral and mental and industrial fitness, which will win for them, if slowly, yet surely and serenely, their due place in our civilization. So, too, will they contribute most to its safety and permanence as against all the divisive and disruptive forces of racial friction.

It is to the policies associated with the name of General Hertzog that I refer as making for a permanent cleavage between the natives and the coloured people of mixed descent. As to the former, he has declared for a policy of "territorial segregation which will lead finally to industrial segregation,"¹² to the withdrawal, we take it, of native labour into the native territories, and to the prohibition of its use in the industries of white South

¹² *Rand Daily Mail*, 14th October 1923 (?).

Africa. "There should occur," he has said, "an industrial severance. If that is not done there never will be peace in South Africa."¹² But, this secured, the coloured people who "feel that they are one with the white people"¹² are to be treated in the same way as the latter. Political rights are to be conceded to them. They will be given the franchise. Justice shall be done to them. In all the provinces they will be put on an equality with the Whites. They shall receive equal wages for equally skilled work. Only social equality will be withheld. "They must not try for social equality, for even among the Europeans there are class distinctions which will always exist. Let them realize their place in the world and be satisfied within the confines of that position."¹³

As a matter of fact the policy thus outlined is included in our fourth chapter as a part of the solution of South Africa's problem, only the policy is carried one step further—to the absorption of the coloured people remaining in the European state into the unified nation, where there would be no longer any race separations.

But what rouses our suspicions is this. General Hertzog knows perfectly well that the territorial and industrial segregation thus postulated is pronounced by most South Africans to be impossible. Not only his political opponents count his ideas on this subject to be "thoroughly unsound and dangerous," but even some of his supporters scout the proposal as hypocritical. So that there is a

¹² See note on p. 67.

¹³ *Johannesburg Star*, 9th April 1924.

dangerous probability that his proposals may in the event be found to contain two features only that will command the assent of his followers, and be seized upon as useful in the electioneering campaigns of his party.

The process of the enfranchisement of the Natives that has been begun in the Cape Province will be stopped. Their right to the vote will be for ever abolished. And a rigid colour bar will be enacted restricting the Natives to unskilled and low-paid classes of labour.

The coloured people of mixed race on the other hand, already exempt from the burdensome pass laws and from the unfair restrictions of the Land Act of 1913, will be untouched by either of these hostile measures. And they will be persuaded by the promise of great advantage to themselves to cease working with the Natives for common objects, but contrariwise to join in the conspiracy to "keep them down." Thus the Natives and the coloured people are to be kept perpetually at loggerheads. Non-Europeans are not to be allowed to unite.

And my present contention is that in all the areas and industries where these belong to one economic system and organization, whether such areas be as wide as South Africa itself or greatly restricted through segregation policies, it will be disastrous if they be separated or allow themselves to be separated either socially or politically, in Church or in State.

Human nature cannot bear the strain of all these differentiations. An economic and political alliance of the European and the "coloured" peoples would be certain to lead to their racial amalgamation. And

this, when accepted through fear and for the avowed purpose of maintaining questionable privileges in an industrial war to the knife against the natives—this cannot fail to embitter the whole of our future by raising the violence of mutual contempt to the maximum.

Why begin on the basis of fear? Why not make our alignment in accord with honourable motives and with a generous outlook for all parties? Let the white races keep as pure as they may, not despising others. The pure Bantu will be found in certain compact territories. But elsewhere let the people of colour be as one, aiding one another, amalgamating racially, able more and more to demand what at the same time is freely conceded to them, as they qualify for the "equal rights" that are due to all "civilized men from the Cape to the Zambezi."

In America we see the kind of solidarity among the negro and "coloured" peoples that we desiderate as between our natives and all other non-Europeans. There is seen a unity of spirit, a wide comradeship, with power to throw out leaders, on a scale unapproached in any other African group. There it would seem is the marching vanguard of the African army, whose destiny cannot but powerfully affect the continent from which it set out in such bedraggled fashion three hundred years ago.

There is no insuperable obstacle to such a solidarity here. In many native Christian congregations that I know intimately, coloured people of mixed race take their place happily and without anything of racial antagonism. And it is a very

natural thing for congregations largely "coloured," even Cape coloured, to accept the services of a native minister of religion.

I remember in the Anglican Hostel at Fort Hare College, with its native and coloured and Indian students, all living and happily working together, being greatly moved to desire the extension of such fellowship through ever widening spheres of our South African life. And I remember a young Indian student who shared the aspiration with me. The white people would seem to do their utmost to make the Indians feel that they are not wanted, that there is no welcome for them in South Africa, even though they may have been born here. If the Native can give the touch of kindness and the gesture of hospitality that they miss in other quarters, it will, I am convinced, be mutually beneficial in a high degree.

The "coloured" people have privileges and exemptions which are denied to the Natives. They are received where the latter are repulsed. And there will be, it is pretty certain, more of such discrimination in the future. "Do not," I would say to our native people, "grudge them their better fortune. The thick end of the wedge does not grudge to the thin end its advanced position. It is content in the solidity of the one whole piece. And where the thin end has entered it will in due time follow." In the native Bantu race a strong mother heart is resident, capable of growth in unselfishness and in tenderness, and in capacity to receive into one home and fellowship all the multiplex variety of peoples whose lot may be cast in the one land with it.

And, on the other hand, one can record from the confusions of the election of 1924, which brought General Hertzog into power, the following declaration from a political meeting of the coloured people of the Cape Province:—"Dr Abdurahman asked his audience whether there was one single coloured man in the Cape who would be found to have sunk so low as to try to obtain some imaginary advantage for himself by selling the Native or deserting him in his great struggle." (Loud cries of "Not one, not one.")¹⁴

XI

During the forty years since Booker Washington commenced his career and his advocacy of co-operation, mutual respect and social segregation, very great material progress has been made by the Negro people in America, and improvement in their standard of living. Statistics of their advance have been often quoted. But "more encouraging than such statistics," says Dr Anson Phelps-Stokes, "is the fact that during this difficult period of readjustment (after slavery), the Negro has maintained his religious faith, increased his thrift, improved his capacity as a skilled workman, developed self-respecting Christian homes, and, where educational opportunities have been suitable and adequate, strengthened his character and his capacity for wise leadership of his people."¹⁵

A visitor to the United States cannot fail to be

¹⁴ *Johannesburg Star*, 5th June 1924.

¹⁵ Quoted in *Education in Africa*, Phelps-Stokes Commission's First Report.

impressed with the determined and painstaking manner in which Americans are endeavouring to improve educational methods; how manifestly the Negroes are a people worth helping; how generous a share they are getting in all this enthusiasm for education.

On several occasions I have addressed large bodies of these students. Each time I did so and looked into their faces lighted with hope, my mind seemed to expand and to see in a wide view the great section of the human family to which they belong, of which I knew somewhat in Africa, whose history and whose destiny is such a fascinating study. It is a fine people, a chosen race. Nothing less than a high and special purpose can explain what has come to pass. Through long ages in ways known to the Supreme Wisdom, in many migrations, in multiplication of tribes, alternately gathering and scattering, in increase of peoples, through oppressions and internecine wars and slave raids and long famines—in Africa; through centuries of deportations and slavery in America, where, notwithstanding, they have become a great people, twelve millions strong, and full of hopeful ambition; through all this is it not manifestly God who has led them on, so that they too may “praise the Lord for His goodness and declare the wonders that He doeth for the children of men?” I saw no sign of their being a cowed people, though there has been so much that might have made them so. And hearing five hundred of their young men sing this song with a splendid resonance, I felt and still feel in it the unmistakable accents of reality :

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Lift every voice and sing
Till earth and heaven ring,
Ring with the harmonies of liberty ;
Let our rejoicing rise
High as the list'ning skies,
Let it resound loud as the rolling sea.
Sing a song full of the faith that the dark past has taught us.
Sing a song full of the hope that has brought us ;
Facing the rising sun of our new day begun,
Let us march on till victory is won.

Stony the road we trod,
Bitter the chastening rod
Felt in the days when hope unborn had died ;
Yet with a steady beat, have not our weary feet
Come to the place for which our fathers sighed ?
We have come over a way that with tears has been watered.
We have come, treading our path thro' the blood of the slaughtered,
Out from the gloomy past, till now we stand at last
Where the white gleam of our bright star is cast.

XII

Of our native leaders and teachers, who hear of what their cousins in America have accomplished with rising interest and aspiration, immense labour and patience are required, supernatural gifts, in heart and mind, if we in South Africa are to go with this movement.

Of Moses it is recorded that he was very meek. The people tried him so much by their slowness of obedience, by their quickness in backsliding and fault-finding. So our native people and all the "human nature" in them will test their leaders. And only in great meekness and patience will it be possible to lead them on.

From the deadweight of heathen custom and

magic, it was a redeeming feature of their enslavement across the sea, an overruling of the rough experience through which they passed, to set the American Negroes free. This was the strong man armed, keeping Africa as his palace, and the African races as his goods, in the "peace" of darkness and unprogressiveness for millenniums. This strong man being cast out by the finger of God, with an outstretched arm and a mighty hand, they are now devoting themselves laboriously and hopefully to furnishing their house with the things of the new kingdom which has come upon them.

Here we are still at grips with heathenism. And the native Chieftainship is deeply rooted in it. Polygamy is still widely practised. Magic still weaves her spell over wide areas, binding the intellects of the people. A certain violence of zeal is required, once and for all, to strangle the tyrant and throw him out.

The native Chieftainship must be reformed. Speaking of it in the unreformed state, vitiated by its entanglement in heathen custom, one of the Moffats wrote: "I have learned that the native Chieftainship is bad, bad in every way, even with such a good man as Khama, and I am not sorry for anything which breaks it up. I have long held this view, vaguely and mildly, and the last twelve months have burned it into me."¹⁶ And another says, "Instead of leading the people forward these royal kraals are the backbone of reaction."¹⁷

On the other hand, an experienced Central

¹⁶ *South African Express*, 1st November 1921.

¹⁷ Archdeacon Watts, *Dawn in Swaziland*.

African missionary writes (and I know his words would be endorsed by another equally experienced in the Transkei): "I believe that Missions should effectively co-operate with the Governments in maintaining as intact as possible, and for as long as may be possible, the African tribal system. Whatever defects we may find in it, that system provides the framework best adapted to the Natives' needs in their present stage of development. At the same time we should do all we can to put a new soul into it."¹⁸

As, then, the tribal chiefs have, and no doubt ought to have, great opportunities for good, if they are alert and forward moving in the unselfish love of their people, so, when they are otherwise, they can make progress and contentment all but impossible. Their power needs limiting. The tribal organization needs revising, not through rough interference or rude aggression and unjust dispossession carried out by European Governments, but by the patient and courageous determination of the best spirits of the native people themselves.

The Territories and Reserves are still the main sources of native life in South Africa. As water cannot rise above its level, so the rise of the Native throughout our country is necessarily to a great extent conditioned by the state of things where the chiefs rule. Booker Washington, born in Virginia and trained at Hampton, went down to the "black belt" in Alabama to found his great institution at Tuskegee. Our young native leaders will find it harder to live and labour for the uplifting of the

¹⁸ Rev. Edwin W. Smith in *East and West*, April 1924.

people in the Transkei, in Basutoland, or Zululand or Bechuanaland or Swaziland, even than under the "pass office" régime of the Rand or the "trek pass" absolutism of our British and Dutch farmers. But it has got to be done. The determined and intensive development of these home lands, and to make them capable of carrying their increasing populations—this is the challenging opportunity of to-day.

Finally they must have great patience with the white people. Though these be so very emphatic in the assertion of their racial separateness, yet the native people will do well and wisely to receive them within the embrace of the same generosity and magnanimity that they have ever shown, long-suffering and forgiving.

After all, the settlement of millions of Europeans in the African continent, as well as the removal of millions of Africans to America, cannot but be in line with the true destiny of each country and for great purposes. Into these purposes we can see somewhat. And I do believe that there is in the British and Dutch peoples a certain sense of justice and right dealing which will not fail, so long at least as they still profess the Christian faith.

To the Natives then I would say: You do need our help—all the help, from whatsoever quarter, you can get. Often it seems that help is denied, or only very grudgingly given. And there are exasperating injustices to be endured. Yet every aspect of the progress made by the American Negroes illustrates the great good resulting from their co-operation with Americans of European descent.

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The oneness of the hand in educational, industrial, and more deeply in religious endeavour, is after all of greater worth than the social separateness which is laid down in the articles of partnership.

So, too, it has been here. And so increasingly it will be, if only we can be sound and healthy in the faith and charity and patient hopefulness of which is compacted the resistless spirit of Christian civilization.

CHAPTER III

INTERMARRIAGE

THERE are three issues, possible for a Christian man to contemplate, of the colour problem as we know it in South Africa and in America. And my thesis is that not one only, not two, but all three will be requisitioned by history before the river of our South African problem—so desperately pent up—finds the sea of destiny. The second and third, *Intermarriage* and *Territorial Segregation*, are the subjects of this and the next chapter respectively.

The first is that which we have been following out agreeably to the policy and in the spirit of Booker Washington under the heading of *Race Integrity and Equality of Opportunity*. The Native and the Negro are to advance and to be aided in advancing just as far as they can go, to equal citizenship, to a fully equal share in the control of our respective countries, and yet are to remain in complete social separation from their white fellow citizens, both parties equally maintaining from henceforth, in mutually respecting social castes, entire racial integrity and purity. At the same time, the idea that colour is a stain or taint and a mark of inferiority is to be completely abandoned.

“There will be complete uniformity in ideals, absolute equality in the paths of knowledge and

culture, equal opportunities for those who strive, equal admiration for those who achieve ; in matters social and racial a separate path, each pursuing his own inherited traditions, preserving his own race purity and race pride ; equality in things spiritual ; agreed divergence in the physical and material.”¹

But it were folly to hide from ourselves the great improbability of things developing thus. “It might be so,” said once to me a life-long friend and fellow-worker of Booker Washington, “but human nature would have to change a mighty lot.” He thought it certain that when the white people brought over four millions (now grown to twelve millions) of negroes to America, “they just lost their chance of racial integrity.” There can be, he thought, no final settlement of the colour problem apart from racial amalgamation. The educated American coloured man cannot see the possibility, ultimately, of two nations, in mutual honour, occupying one country. Let any man of good will, earnestly desiring it, yet with open mind ask himself the question, “Can I conceive it as possible ?” and the answer must be, that while he need not give up the hope of it, and may look to this as to a guiding star amidst many perplexities, he must yet be prepared for other possibilities.

Thus General Smuts, who follows this star, confesses the great darkness of the night in which we find ourselves. “Whites and Blacks,” he tells us, “have lived side by side in South Africa for many years . . . and yet the Whites have been able to

¹ Sir F. D. Lugard, quoted in Mr Nielsen's *Black Man's Place*, p. 136.

keep their race intact. This has only been possible through the pride of race and blood and the noble ideal of preserving their self-respect which has characterized our forefathers.”² Yet standing where we now stand and looking forward, “our future is not assured.”³

“Formerly the Native question was regarded as a military one, soluble by force, and some still believe that to be the solution. But in my view the position has completely changed and the question is now nothing else but an economic one.”²

I

The economic position was described in 1914 by the *Rand Daily Mail*⁴ in the following terms: “The Kaffir does the manual work and thrives at it. . . . The Indian and Malay usurp the lighter jobs and the lower trading at profits which the white man cannot live on. What remains for the white man? The supervision and direction of affairs; the scientific part of mining, farming and trading (finance); also the work in which character and a sense of duty are indispensable. Let him cultivate his mind and try to remain the brains of the body politic. Let the coloured class and the Kaffirs be the inner organs and the limbs, and though there will be a continuous ascent and descent of cells from one to the other, in the main that will be the future of the South African peoples. This is no country for poor or mean whites.

² *Rand Daily Mail*, 9th December 1921.

³ Cf. Chapter I.

⁴ 11th April 1914.

Whoever of the white population gets slack in mental or bodily efficiency or in moral character will in himself or his offspring slide down and be absorbed in the coloured class. The future of the Whites rests with themselves. And the conditions of their existence will be—a brain ready to receive and apply the latest discoveries in the natural sciences, a body fit and trained in exercise, nerves unshaken by excesses or poisons of any kind, a character of which the main components must be truth, courage, simplicity, despising all shams, fads, and weakly self-indulgences.”

Many would thus hold out the hope that the free competition of the native and coloured man will stimulate the Whites to such an output of their superior abilities that they will still, by their higher efficiency, hold the dominant position in industry which they now occupy. But General Smuts sees the native labourer “offering strong competition” with the white labourer. He sees the danger of the white man sinking as the black man rises. He sees that there are wide departments of labour in which the former might be driven to compete with the latter, but without hope of doing so successfully. “The idea that the white labourer was so much better than the Native, and that the white man should supersede the Native on grounds of higher efficiency, is not justified.”²

A student of the problem in America told me that race friction does not, as is commonly supposed, reach its highest pitch, or at any rate its most dangerous extensions, over cases of sexual assault, but rather

² See note on p. 81.

where the Whites are moved to jealousy in times of economic stringency. Seeing Negroes in good work is unbearable to the unemployed white man in distress.

This is of very sinister import. Hard times come to every land, when men are like shipwrecked voyagers on a raft in the open sea—under the necessity of rationing out the food and the drinking water. If there is the least cleavage among them, of faction, of class, especially of race, if such divisions among them be hardened and embittered by difference of colour, and be not in some manner nullified and transcended—will they not soon be contending, like animals for survival? Will it not take the whole force of a common humanity, realized in common nationhood, nationhood founded on kinship, to enable them to sublimate their instincts, and, in setting their thoughts on the survival of each, to feel the intoxication of zeal for the survival of all.

An American writer, of the Southern States, replying evidently to Northern "abolitionist" criticisms, is quoted by Mr Maurice Evans⁵ as saying: "Does any sane man believe that when the Negro ceases to work under the direction of the Southern white man, this 'arrogant,' 'rapacious' and 'intolerant' race will allow the Negro to master his industrial position, take the bread from his mouth, crowd him to the wall and take a mortgage over his house? Competition is war, the most fierce and brutal of all its forms. Could fatuity reach a sublimer height than (to suppose) that the white man will stand by and see this performance? What will he do when put to the

⁵ *Black and White in the Southern States*, pp. 69-70.

test? He will do exactly what his white neighbour in the North does when the Negro threatens his bread—kill him.” There is the animal passion, the self-preserving herd instinct, prepared for murder.

Is there any instance in human history of a nation composed of two separate races occupying one country, in a strong partnership of equal consideration the one for the other? And if not, is it reasonable in the framing of our policies to expect it very confidently in the case under discussion, or with any assurance to count upon it as being within the scope of the development of human relationships?

A leading supporter of General Smuts, also a leading layman of the English Church, has recently expressed very pessimistic views of the possibility of doing justice to the Natives of this country, or of restraining white people from cruel assaults upon them, until we get a more thoroughgoing form of segregation than the “parallel institutions” now in vogue.

General Hertzog is reported as saying that “the history of South Africa in the past as regards Natives was one of restraining as much as possible their development on account of the danger to white people. The development of the Native means the ruin of the white man.”⁶ More recently he declared that “the white people should safeguard their position against the Native and maintain their field of labour. The native franchise in the Cape should be taken away, otherwise the white man’s position will be lost within 200 or 300 years. Within fifty years in the Cape the Native with the franchise will have a majority, and

⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 14th October 1923 (?).

the result will be that Natives will be represented in Parliament by their own people. . . . This will not be in the interests of South Africa. Therefore take away the franchise of the Native and give him proper councils in his areas under supervision of the white man. We cannot go on as we have been doing, because it will not remain a white man's country, and I foresee a bloody revolution." ⁷

And yet again he has said: "The Nationalist members of Parliament were agreed that the alternative, apart from segregation, was either to give the Natives the vote or else to destroy them wholesale." ⁶

Now I am convinced that such rather fevered threats and anticipations have their source in a certain idolatry of race prejudice, which is allowed to overrule the calm dictates and reassurances of religion and sobriety.

By all means let General Hertzog, now South Africa's Prime Minister, labour to bring to birth a more consistent scheme of segregation than has yet been evolved. But let us face our future calmly. And let us avoid the suggestion of ignoble fear, of murderous strife, and of impossible wickedness.

There are large numbers of people in South Africa who do not want the Kingdom of God. They want a White Man's Country. And rather than that it should be a black man's country or a coloured man's country, they would consign it to an unquenchable fire of racial hatred. But we look to our responsible leaders for strong and steady guidance, out of and away from the inferno into

⁶ See note on page 84.

⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 2nd June 1924.

which the unregenerate animal passions of men have ever led.

II

Face then with Sir Robert Kotse the real alternatives. "If we go on as we are doing, in 500 years we shall be a mixed race. . . . The issue before the white people is whether they wish to survive as a whole race or not. As we are going on, the expressed opinion of our policy is that we don't wish to survive as a white race. . . . In 500 years' time there will be no white race. Those remaining will be no longer white. . . . So far as I am concerned I would rather see the white people survive. . . . If the people consult their own convenience rather than the survival of the race they are making up their minds as a race to perish. . . . Not only does the history of the human race prove it, but it is common sense. If you shake up wine and water in a bottle you get a mixture of wine and water. That is what we are doing. We are shaking ourselves up with the black races in South Africa. And what is the remedy? It is to keep separate from the blacks and not to mix up. . . . Naturally, in a policy like this, you want to try to do as little harm as possible. It is obvious that if the people make up their minds to a policy like this something has to be sacrificed. Material prosperity must be sacrificed at the present time for the survival of the race. The question is whether the people are prepared for this."⁸

Here we feel is language of truth and soberness. Race fusion on the one hand, and on the other

⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 30th October 1920.

segregation with sacrifice of material prosperity for an ideal—these are the elements of our choice.

But if one thing is clearer than another in this whole situation, it is that the policy of segregation will never be applied on so thoroughgoing a scale as to be in itself the solution of our problem in the whole of South Africa.

The white race could only hope to hold and exploit the resources of a limited portion of the sub-continent. And from that portion the coloured people and considerable numbers of the native people could not be withdrawn.

And it is certain on the other hand that large numbers of white folk will break the bounds of segregation and continue the present system of "mixing up" with the Natives, which is now so clearly seen to be leading to racial fusion.

Already it has proceeded far. Already we have in South Africa more than half a million of coloured folk of mixed race. And in North and South America, with the West Indies, there are perhaps twenty times as many.

It is almost superfluous at this time of day to emphasize the fact of the very hopeful character of these people, so diverse and devoid of unity, so unfairly circumstanced though they be. These are they whom General Hertzog is prepared to admit to equal economic and political rights in his commonwealth. All recent writers have abandoned the suggestion of their inferiority to the pure Negroes or Bantu, of their degeneracy as compared with their European progenitors. Mr Maurice Evans, an influential writer and a strong opponent of the

idea of miscegenation, disavows the common slander that they partake of the vices of both their parent stocks, but not of the virtues of either. The Natal coloured people, a blend of European and Bantu, he describes sympathetically and with considerable appreciation of their good qualities. And his policy for the "coloured people" of South Africa generally would appear to be identical with what is now proposed by General Hertzog. The Natives being segregated, they should be admitted to a full share of the opportunities and responsibilities of our South African civilization.

Archdeacon Watts of Swaziland has written of them as follows:—"In all up country districts a colonial or half-caste population is bound to spring up. The fathers of these are not necessarily very immoral or wicked men. In fact, they are often those who have most sympathy with the native races. But it is not natural for a man to live alone. And he adopts some native companion. Lawful marriage is impossible. The half-caste, writes a well-known author, is one who hates his father and loathes his mother. Is this true? After three years' experience, the writer (Archdeacon Watts) would brand it as a lie. The half-caste becomes immoral, perhaps, in immoral surroundings, but, in good surroundings, he brings out the virtues of both races as well as their vices—the energy and ability of the European with the lack of greed, the natural obedience and the love of order of the Native. . . . These half-castes should be the natural leaders of the Native in the years to come." ⁹

⁹ *In the Mission Field*, January 1917.

So, with such famous men as Booker Washington and Samuel Coleridge-Taylor at their head; with such records behind them as that of the Cape Corps in the Great War, and the commendation of them by their Brigadier-General for their great gallantry and endurance "of the highest order and beyond praise," so that "the whole army was astounded at the splendid performance they put up during the operations in Egypt and Palestine," where "no regiment has a finer or more deserved reputation;"¹⁰ with their great economic and educational progress and the important services they are rendering both in America and in South Africa, the people of mixed race cannot be ignored or despised, they justify their existence and vindicate the inscrutable decree of their Creator.

And the time has come for forward looking Christian men to accept race fusion as between white and black, over large areas, as inevitable. However regretfully, yet submissively, they will have to turn to it and see the good that is in it, with the determined policy of ensuring that the process shall be more clean and wholesome and honourable in the future than it has been in the past, and more in accordance with those great laws of righteousness through obeying which nations are born to greatness, are preserved and are exalted.

III

Dr Hewetson of Southern Rhodesia, in his *Environmental Influences affecting Blondes in*

¹⁰ *Johannesburg Star*, 23rd November 1918.

Rhodesia, would imply that the lack of dark pigmentation places the white man at a disadvantage in tropical and sub-tropical climates. And in his *The Black Man's Place in South Africa*, Mr Nielsen suggests that a strain of African blood may be an advantage to the Whites in this country. "So far from being deterrent to mental growth, it would seem that an infusion of African blood in the European serves rather to increase mental capacity. At any rate those who know South Africa well will not deny that an unmistakable tincture of African blood in a white family is often associated with marked intellectual ability."¹¹

And at any rate it is not easy to believe that the negro races, during the long ages of their existence on Africa's hot tablelands, have not through evolution and selection developed certain useful adaptations of physical constitution, of which colour is one, which have survival value. These, doubtless, are of less importance under civilized conditions than under the preceding age-long savagery. Yet it may well be that Nature will see to it that as the Whites dominate in the cold climates, so will the darker peoples, the browns and the blacks, in imperceptible gradations, increase and multiply and dominate as the earth swells out to the tropics.

The sciences of anthropology and ethnology and biology do not seem to speak, so far as my own slight acquaintance with them has led me to suppose, with any great assurance either in favour of or adversely to race fusion as between white and black. But Professor Marrett, in his *Anthropology*, has such

¹¹ P. 128.

sentences as these : "The old ideas about race as something hard and fast, for all time, are distinctly on the decline. . . . Plasticity, or in other words, the power of adaptation to environment, has to be admitted to a greater share in the moulding of mind, and even of body, than ever before. . . . Race prejudice that is so largely founded on sheer considerations of colour is bound to decay, if and when the races of darker colour succeed in displaying, on the average, such qualities of mind as will enable them to compete with the Whites on equal terms, in a world which is coming more and more to include all climates. . . . That the half-breed is an unsatisfactory person may be true. And yet until the conditions of his upbringing are somewhat discounted the race problem remains exactly where it was." ¹²

"Anthropologists are encouraged to press forward with their study of race ; and in the meantime to do nothing rash."

But the stream of history, though unhurrying, waits not for the conclusion of these studies.

Mr Maurice Evans thought that it was possible, even probable, that besides the "easily understood elements" in our prejudice against race blending, "there is a deeper instinctive and protective one, akin to that which preserves species in the lower animals, which is of value to the races and prevents race admixture and possible degeneration." Only on this assumption could he "account for all the facts." ¹³

¹² Pp. 92-94.

¹³ *Black and White in the Southern States*, p. 25.

But if there is any real ground for such an assumption, the African ought to be more and not less racially prejudiced than the European. For he, presumably, being further down in the scale of civilization, and less ruled by reason, should be more under the sway of the supposed deep protective instinct against race fusion. Yet it was admitted by Mr Evans, and indeed it must be admitted by any one who is at all closely acquainted with the native and coloured people whether in America or South Africa, that "the passion for race integrity does not burn with that fierce glow in the breasts of black, as it does in white bosoms." And he quotes Edgar Gardner Murphy, an American authority, as saying that "the possibility of race fusion is not now repugnant to the instinct of the average Negro as it is to the instinct of the average white man."¹⁴

From time to time statements to an opposite effect are made by Natives and Negroes. Sometimes these must be discounted by allowing for the desire to agree with and to please us. But where such statements are spontaneous, let the matter be pressed, let the truth be elicited, let the Native be assured that his white interrogator will not be shocked, and it will always be found that he is concerned to affirm, positively, a pride in his own race and colour, rather than, negatively, any deep feeling of unsuitability in unions of his people with our people—provided they be honourably and Christianly contracted.

A lady, eminent in the coloured community of America, told me that while her people have no

¹⁴ *Black and White in the Southern States*, p. 185.

desire that such unions be encouraged, yet in the last resort it cannot be right to thwart true love, which she certainly held to be conceivable as between individuals of the two races.

An art teacher in a school I once visited in America spoke of a pure olive as the ultimate, the norm, the ideal for southern lands. The music director of another said that all negroes in their hearts agree with Du Bois in his programme of full manhood rights for, and estimation of the negro, and the putting down of all rigid social bars.

The supposedly "healthy race repugnance" has to be awakened in the African after the example of his brother on the other side of the colour line. Even in the latter it does not persist as a thing given by nature and implanted in his physical constitution. It is easily overridden by the instinct of sex. And we have to be urged to work for its artificial establishment by the legal and conventional forces of our sophisticated society.

IV

A very suggestive article appeared in the September (1923) number of one of the leading American magazines,¹⁵ written by a Southerner, of an old slave-holding family, who had in infancy "sucked the breast of a negro woman." He is now a judge of the Superior Court of North Carolina, and he claimed to write as a friend of the Negroes.

He gives it as an inexorable race law that "no two homogeneous races will long continue to exist

¹⁵ *Current History*.

side by side in the same country on terms of perfect equality without race blending. . . . We must conclude therefore that eventually the two races in America will blend if they be placed on social and political equality. . . . Ethnologists generally declare that such blending between Whites and Blacks will take place, and that the Southern States will eventually become mulatto."

He quotes Sir Sidney Olivier (now Lord Olivier) as taking the ground that "we must make our account for a legitimate and honourable inter-blending between Whites and Blacks, and we must look upon it not as an evil but as an advantage."

"But," he says, "if it were possible at the present time thus to blend the races, Southern people (in the United States) would have more than 30 per cent. of coloured blood in their veins; whereas their Northern fellow citizens would have only 3 per cent. of the same."

So then it comes that the South makes its fight against the "universal law of race blending." "Men of the South place race integrity above politics, property, religion, or life itself."

"Sexual relations once existed in the South between white men and mulatto women—a condition which persisted until some time after the Civil War. . . . Up to 1876 it was not uncommon for white men to keep negro women and to rear children. After about 1876 sexual intercourse between the races gradually decreased, and to-day has practically stopped. . . . But bloody revolutions, much legislation, innumerable race riots, lynching and burning, together with the white womanhood

of the South—all these were required to separate the races.”

It is contended by others that the sexual intercourse referred to has by no means practically stopped, and that so far as it has been reduced, this has been due not to the intimidations as alleged, but to the uplifting of a depressed people long degraded by slavery.

But to allow the writer to proceed.

“ In the far South to-day, in order to maintain the present servile condition of the Negro, it is necessary to put him underfoot. Is a man free who cannot vote, hold office, or serve on the jury ? Is a race free that has been battered into submission by whippings and lynchings, and which has no part in Government affairs ? ”

He then goes on to his solution, which is the migration of the Negro from the South. A return to Africa is mentioned, but obviously as an impossible “ counsel of perfection.” The Negro is migrating in large numbers to the Northern and the Western states. Spread over the whole country, with its one hundred millions of people, the Negroes, numbering only twelve millions, would be racially absorbed, with a resultant population not of mulattoes, but of Whites. He quotes certain letters of President Roosevelt, which made a lasting impression on the South. These letters described the process of race blending and showed how “ the crossing of white and mulatto produced a quadroon. The crossing of a quadroon with a white person produced an octoroon. The crossing of an octoroon with a white person produced a person called

passing-for-white. And the crossing of passing-for-white with pure white produced fixed white. And after fixed white there was no further reversion to black colour."

"The way out, therefore, is," he says, "to change our mental attitude on this subject and vitalize (*i.e.*, instead of discouraging it as loss of labour supply) every legitimate movement for Negro migration, North, East, and West. . . . As Abraham said unto Lot, Let there be no strife I pray thee between me and thee; separate thyself I pray thee from me; even so to-day God is moving the black man to separate himself from the Southern white man, and by thousands the negroes are leaving the South. Let those states welcoming the Negroes to equal rights make known the fact, and Negroes will continue to leave the South, as they are doing in great numbers, thus relieving race friction. . . . With sympathetic and intelligent direction this migration will be greatly accelerated, and then, but not till then, the "Solid South" with all its embarrassing consequences will cease to be."

And he had previously quoted from a book by one Schultz a declaration that "if conditions that now exist continue, nothing need be done with the Negro. The problem will solve itself. The immigration of Southern mongrels is ingrafting more and more negro blood in our veins."

And to the same effect was another quotation: "The process is now rapidly going on and the black race will be absorbed—a condition which, though unpopular, is not unwelcome to many thinkers."

The social exclusion of the slightly coloured is

evidently breaking down in the states far distant from the Southern home of the American Negro.

The South African student is instinctively moved to remark upon this that it may be very well for North America, where the white man is nine or ten times as numerous as the Negro; but that in South Africa, where the proportion is five or six to one in favour of the Native, it cannot be contemplated.

Whereupon the American might reply that Europe has more than four hundred millions of white people, and that the whole of South Africa has less than ten millions of Natives; that, what with the easy communications by sea and land, what with the rapid rate of economic development, the present century will see a penetration of Africa by Europe, and that immigration will continue indefinitely; that, to quote from a recent writer,¹⁶ "Africa is an extraordinarily rich continent and produces a wealth of raw material of which Europe and America stand increasingly in need;" that, "with all civilization crying out for these things, it is impossible that the Natives should be for ever left in undisturbed possession of wealth which they know not how to use;" that, moreover, "great portions of the continent are either wholly or partially unpopulated, and that inhabitants from crowded areas are sure to flock in;"¹⁶ that, even if the whole of Africa is taken into account, the population of Europe is four or five times as great; and that the temperate regions south of the Zambezi are certain to get more than their proportion of this immigration.

¹⁶ Edwin W. Smith in *The East and the West*, April 1924.

98 RACE PROBLEM IN SOUTH AFRICA

Thus Mr Franklin, of Bloemfontein, says that "our ultimate aim should be, within two hundred to five hundred years, the assimilation by the white of the black, else we shall have the absorption of the white by the black. . . . Miscegenation is inevitable. Our immediate aim should be to reverse the present proportion so as to have at least five, and if possible ten whites, to every one black, guaranteeing at any rate a future predominantly white race."¹⁷

V

It may be hoped that the prospect of intermarriages as between white and coloured and black people now looms with sufficient cogency and substance upon the horizon of our minds.

I am not competent to describe or pronounce upon the attitude towards it of the various sociological sciences that are concerned. I have already indicated the sort of *dicta* that have, according to my knowledge, come from these quarters.

What of the Christian Church, of which I am a minister, that great catholic society which has for nearly two thousand years watched over the marriages and intermarriages of the races of Europe, for their purity and fruitful issue, and upbuilding in nationhood?

The Church knows nothing of the "axiom" that white people must not intermarry with the peoples of colour, that Europe may never marry Africa. Rather she witnesses to the fundamental truth, which increasing investigation increasingly makes

¹⁷ In *A Glimpse into the Future of South Africa*.

clear, that "God has made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth." She proclaims that "in Christ" there is a breaking down of barriers and walls of partition that have for howsoever many ages separated the peoples of the world from one another. She remonstrates that all are to be of one family, all equally loved, all equally valued citizens of the City of God. And this leads on to our supposition that in every land a unified Christian nation will come to birth, and after the example of Israel of old will increase and undergo the discipline of time's successiveness, periods of peace and prosperity alternating with periods of tragic pain. While its diverse tribes and races might by Providential ordering be kept from physical union, this would be a circumstance somewhat perplexing to a mind steeped in the teachings of the New Testament. And in every other social regard, as in all the great activities of worship and work and Christian Government, we could not doubt but that they should be unreservedly one.

Hence when, as our study has shown, the forces of physical repulsion break down as between ever so widely different races occupying one country, the instinct of the Church must be to welcome the fact. And working from that point the Church will labour, not that the physical unions between individuals of the diverse races may be rapidly multiplied, but that, as events in the course of nature, they may be sanctified by the sacred rite of Marriage. And, far outstripping the pace of such physical amalgamation, she will desire that there

should go forward an unrestrained reciprocity of all the things of mind and spirit, a growth of mutual understanding and mutual appreciation, and a generous sharing, on the part of the senior and richer members of the new national partnership, with the junior and apparently poorer, of the whole endowment of their intellectual and social and spiritual inheritance.

So then the project of encouraging a "healthy race repugnance" as between different races can never be a part of the Church's programme. Rather in the case under consideration she will tend to hope and to expect that as time passes, and in character and achievement, mental outlook and spiritual qualities, the Negro and the Native become less and less like what slavery and ancestral heathenism made them in our eyes, the consciousness of our racial "otherness" and the prejudice against racial blending may be expected to weaken and, eventually, quite to pass away.

VI

Nevertheless, for the time being, the Christian Church is not unsympathetic with the ideal of racial integrity. Only she must maintain the superior necessity of justice and moral purity. In the state of Georgia "the marriage of white persons with persons of African descent is for ever prohibited and pronounced to be null and void." For officiating at such a marriage, a minister of religion is liable to a fine, with six months' imprisonment and "work in a chain gang." Yet in the same state the white

man who illegitimately becomes father to a coloured woman's child, is liable to no punishment whatever. Mr Maurice Evans has told us that although attempts have been made to pass legislation making concubinage and casual connexion penal offences, they have not been successful. . . . The only tribunal is public opinion . . . and public opinion has little of the true ring. And he compares the public opinion of America with that of South Africa, where, he says, "a single case of marriage between white and black by Christian rites will fill the newspapers with columns of indignant protest, but illicit intercourse, even permanent concubinage, will pass unnoticed."¹⁸

Perhaps it may not be out of place to cite here a recent writer in the *New Statesman*¹⁹ on the subject of the irregular unions between young people which are now so common in Europe. "One cause of liaisons between young men and girls of an inferior social class is our detestable snobbery. So long as young men are brought up to think, as they are at any rate in France and Germany, that they must never, in any circumstances, marry a girl not of their own class, such liaisons will continue."

The Church cannot always be silent on this matter and refrain from putting forward marriage as the remedy against this sin. It is very probable, as we have already contended, that the lack of respect for the honour of coloured women on the part of white men can only be made good through the allowance of Christian marriage as between the races.

¹⁸ *Black and White in the Southern States*, pp. 20, 187-8.

¹⁹ 20th December 1924.

Among the resolutions sent to the Union Government in 1924 by an influential group of Transvaal religious leaders was one which "earnestly recommended to the Government that legislation should be introduced prohibiting the illicit intercourse of white men with black women, and treating such as a serious criminal offence, in view of the increasing number of white men, settlers and others, who have been guilty of this practice."

And a ruler of the Church in the Orange Free State declared that "even to-day the bastards of native and coloured women by white fathers are a standing disgrace to the whole community."

We cannot but regret the limitations of the resolution. We cannot but deprecate the somewhat thoughtless indelicacy, not calculated but nevertheless certain to hurt, of the declaration. For these children will presently be in the Church's Confirmation classes. They are souls for whom Christ died, not lightly to be offended and blasted by the tongue of scorn. And these fornicators, whom we are urged to account as felons, are not allowed by law, in the two provinces named, to right the wrong they are doing by marriage and by taking upon themselves the fatherhood of their children.

It is not the part of understanding Christian charity to denounce a sin without announcing the remedy. Dr T. C. Visser, a leading Nationalist politician, some years ago in a like denunciation of the illicit cohabitation of black and white which, he said, "should be made a criminal offence, irrespective of the race of the male," added the corollary that "the law should allow a white man to

marry a native woman. But by doing so the white man should be relegated to the native class.”²⁰

The authors of the resolution referred to might well have followed Dr Visser’s recommendation in the interests of sound morality. They might even have improved upon it by including some touch or hint, however slight, of the quality of mercy.

Our religious leaders, as bold and faithful witnesses to the truth, must confront the people of South Africa with the fact that during four hundred years Europeans *as a race*, the Nordic elements as unquestionably as the Alpine and Mediterranean, have continuously lacked, and confessedly do still lack, the gift of continence in their relations with the coloured peoples whom they have brought under their sway.

Consequently the prohibition of marriage is very gravely to be reprobated. The remedy for this sin must be made available. We may be reluctant to see it widely resorted to. We may labour at the just defences of race integrity. We may urge on the people a willingness to make the material sacrifice that alone can make practicable the policy of territorial segregation and provide an escape from this temptation. But in spite of us there will be marriages. And of some of them it will plainly appear that they were made in heaven.

It was Christ’s wont to expose the wrong principles upon which evils were based. And then He left us, freed from false axioms, to work out the details of right action. Thus men were delivered from the legalism of Old Testament ceremonial,

²⁰ Johannesburg newspaper cutting.

the narrow and conscience binding character of its pharisaical interpretation. Thus St Paul came to champion the free admission of Gentiles, remaining in their respective nationalities, into the Church. Thus later on the mediæval "axiom" of the unlimited subjection of the individual mind and conscience to Church authority was overthrown.

And thus in South Africa and in America to-day the Church will discover and boldly denounce as false, and as a repression accounting for many perversions of social relationships, the axiom that intermarriage of white people with negro or coloured people is abhorred by nature and displeasing to God.

The white man who, however honourably, marries a coloured woman has been widely accounted as a traitor to his race. The Church will demand a revision and withdrawal of this condemnation. If, having counted the cost, a man takes this step, the Church can commend his act and, looking beyond the present, account it good.

No one would advise such a marriage, save as a means of escape from sin, or in exceptional circumstances. As things are, and they cannot quickly be changed, such a man must forfeit much that will oftentimes cause him painful regrets. Marriage should normally be the mating of equals, of persons like one another in both physical and mental inheritance and characteristics. But there are pioneers of the future whom destiny calls to go out alone and be the fathers of new national types in the one human family.

Not such as these are traitors. The real treachery to our race is theirs who, in its home lands and at

the sources of its emigrations and extensions, in Great Britain and the Colonies, in Europe and America, would teach people to hinder by detestable means the bringing forth of children.

So far as segregation is impracticable or limited in its possibility of extension: so far again as the economic impinging of the masses of the two races upon one another is dangerous and productive of friction, so far race fusion is good. And we may with confidence expect it to be, when effected honourably, of saving efficacy for deliverance from the hectic prejudices and cruel obsessions that so widely characterize our interracial relationships, and for softening the hardness of heart that so often settles upon white men of the South in their dealings with the children of the sun. It is my experience that an increasing number of thinking men with whom I converse are accepting this as one of the solutions of our problem, and that these are the happiest and the calmest people in meeting the requirements, great and small, of the present daily round, as well as in contemplating the future of South Africa.

A Dutch lady of education and culture, belonging to a well-known Orange Free State family, and a Nationalist in politics, recently told me that intermarriage with respectable coloured people would be the solution of the problem of the poor whites.

VII

Perhaps it would be a mistake to pass over the relation of European women to the process of race

blending. It might be sufficient to point out that they have been kept, have kept themselves, apart from it. They have thus far contributed to an almost negligible extent to it. Men have here as elsewhere been the pioneers.

In South Africa there has been right up to the present time a plurality of European men over their womenfolk, whereas, on the other hand, there has been a plurality of native and coloured women over the men.

And often white men have gone out beyond the borders, where it has been felt to be impracticable to ask their wives or sweethearts to accompany them, or where the latter have been unwilling to go.

Again, there is the recognized and regrettable inequality as between men and women in regard to the demands of conventional morality. A higher standard, whether of virginity or of faithfulness, has ever been expected of women than of men.

But there may be some more fundamental cause for the very remarkable contrast between the two sexes of our race in this regard.

Mr Nielsen is very candid in stating that there is no repugnance towards men of a different kind naturally inherent in women any more than there is in white men towards African women. It has, he tells us, been stated by competent and independent witnesses that the black troops in Europe during and after the Great War had a very marked attraction for a large number of European women. He says: "It is not safe to deny the possibility that with advancing industrialism in congested areas there will be some white women ready to marry

or cohabit with native men who are either in positions of relative superiority, or in possession of more money than their white fellow workmen or neighbours, making it possible for them to outbid these in the providing of comparative ease and luxury, which things have always appealed strongly to the women of all races.”²¹

The fact, he thinks, that white women in South Africa and in the Southern States of America never associate with black men is attributable not to any instinctive sexual aversion, but to their being “thoroughly amenable to the rule of social conventions imposed upon them by their jealous masters.”²¹

Women also are swayed, he says, by this elemental jealousy of rivals belonging to another and disparate race. But “Nature having cast upon the male the duty of winning and holding the females of his species, it is easy to see why the racial feelings of jealousy and ill-will are more positive and more active in the man than in the woman. And this explains, so far as these things can be explained, why white men will allow themselves to cohabit freely with black women to whom they feel naturally attracted, but will ‘see red’ and commit murder as soon as they find a black man attempting to gain the favour of a woman of their own colour.”

And again “the thinking man who would fain be just to every one is perplexed by two conflicting emotions. He feels that the clean living, law abiding, and educated native is a man not inferior to himself, whom he therefore ought to recognize as

²¹ *Black Man's Place in South Africa*, p. 114 ff.

a fellow citizen. But whenever he sees this fellow citizen aspiring or laying claim to the social recognition that involves contact with white women, he is filled instantly with wrath which he cannot justify to himself and yet cannot suppress. . . . Under such conditions we must expect not parallel progress but strife and enmity, not peace but a sword.”²¹

And it is this condition of things, which he considers will be an abiding one, that causes Mr Nielsen to have hope only in the voluntary territorial separation of white and black wherever this is possible. It is this that makes him turn away from race fusion as one of the solutions of our problem, notwithstanding his confutation of most of the arguments advanced against it.

Now I think that Mr Nielsen greatly overstates the amenability and subservience of the women of our race to the “social conventions imposed upon them by their jealous masters.” Women themselves, their own wise choice and discretion, have had, I think, the most to do with their more strict observance of the social barriers against intermarriage. Physically the male is the dominant sex. And the measure of equality that has been attained for women, the curb that has been put upon the superior “brute force” of man, the reverence that womanhood compels amongst us—all this is part of the social heritage which has, through hundreds of years, been handed on to us, which it is our duty to hand on to the African peoples, but which they have as yet by no means assimilated.

²¹ P. 115.

The white settler who marries a native woman—she to cook his food and bear him children and be happy in his kindness—with his lands and his gun and his cattle, can content himself. Often he may be lonely and sad with memories of a world he has left behind. But as the master in his house, his instincts harking far back, he may find a certain gratification in the due subjection of his mate, whom he has possessed.

With his sister it could never be so. Not only would she, married to an African, feel far more than he the cutting off from the society of her own kindred and all the protective contrivances of her home conditions; not only would she be companioned, in most cases, by one below herself in culture; but whatever the man's merits, and in spite of the status of superiority belonging to her race, she would be confronted with his very deeply rooted conviction of the essential inferiority of her sex. Indeed, as between the white man and the white woman who oversteps the racial bar, the lot of the latter must be, to any reflecting mind, incomparably the more full of dangers.

And I think it has been the prudential considerations thus suggested that have strengthened the resolution of the women of our race against the course of action in which men have followed so freely.

So I conclude that this side of the problem may be left to women to solve. In the past the few racial intermarriages made by women have been with Africans of culture and education. Thus Samuel Coleridge-Taylor was the son of an English-

woman and a native physician of Sierra Leone. The ideal race blending would take place "at the top" in the persons of the virtuous, the highest of each race, and not the lowest. Perhaps it may be the part of white women to say when refinement and chivalry have so far possessed the African that old social inhibitions may be dispensed. In any case the decision must always lie with themselves.

VIII

Race fusion is used in many books as a bogey to frighten people to accept the necessity of segregation. I do not, by any means, feel dispensed by what I have written from the duty of seeking in segregation a means of easing the strain and lessening the dangers of the future as thus far visualized.

But for me race fusion is no bogey. My avocation is that of a missionary to the native people. I am fond of them, as has perhaps already appeared. And my love for the people of my own race has never lessened during the years of my sojourn in South Africa. But I must confess a very special drawing of delighted affection towards children who show in their faces not only their African origin, but also the clear evidences of their derivation from people of my own kin. Where I know it I grieve for the sin that was in their begetting—that they are fatherless, that they lack a Christian home. But I cannot think that, save through sin, they never would have been. I would fain believe that, but for the hard prejudices of men, they might have been born in wedlock—that our whole

race must bear the responsibility for what of life's fairest advantage has been denied to them. As I behold their bright brown faces, they are ever to me as welcome as the flowers in spring. I cannot look upon them coldly, wishing them away.

Here, too, is scope for idealism. "The Most High rules," says a native writer, "and in His appointed time South Africa will bring forth a half-caste like Booker Washington who shall exert his energies towards the solution of the native problem in this land. I am convinced that he who is to be instrumental in solving this so far insoluble problem must be the product of both the white and black. Being such he will be better fitted . . . to enter into the spirit of the representatives of both lines of his descent, to act as mediator when they are at variance, and to draw them more closely when they are kindly disposed towards each other." ²²

And may it not be that the people who are to inherit this splendid continent in times to come will be spiritually enriched, and take the distinctive quality of their humanity from a living contact of heredity with all the forgotten peoples of Africa, back through the primitive ages when only God loved it, and when, unknown to man, He was moulding its soul. So they may be proud to remember the great half-castes of this time such as the two famous men we have mentioned—Booker Washington and Samuel Coleridge-Taylor—who first leapt forward to gain the homage of a world which still despised their birth. So may they experience again that of

²² Johannesburg, *Abantu-Batho*, 16th December 1915.

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which these first were conscious—the soul of Africa, dumb for countless years, through them finding expression.

[Here are the last three verses of a poem on Samuel Coleridge-Taylor by Alfred Noyes in the *Daily Mail* and reprinted in the Johannesburg native newspaper, *Abantu-Batho*, April 1915.]

Nations unborn shall hear his forests moan,
Ages unscanned shall hear his winds lament,
Hear the strange grief that deepened through his own
The vast cry of a buried continent.

Through him his race a moment lifted up
Forests of hands to Beauty as in prayer ;
Touched through his lips the sacramental cup,
And then sank back benumbed in own bleak air.

Through him, through him, a lost world hailed the light,
The tragedy of that triumph none can tell
So great, so brief, so quickly snatched from sight,
And yet, O hail, great comrade, not farewell.

CHAPTER IV

TERRITORIAL SEGREGATION

A good deal of what has been written in the preceding chapters, whether the views expressed have carried conviction or not, may have the effect of turning the mind of the reader to the subject of Segregation, complete territorial segregation, as well as social and industrial severance, with some degree of expectation. To some it may appear as an only hope of national salvation.

I

With the prospect of one homogeneous nation from the Cape to the Zambezi, coming to its unity and homogeneity through fusion of races, the writer can rest content. Prudence alone demurs. For the prejudices and herd instincts of men, especially when given rein by the deliberation of self-justification, are so harsh and so rebellious against every dictate of reason or religion, that it is hardly possible to avoid anticipating not one but a series of bloody revolutions as included in the process towards such a consummation.

Why should it not be so? one might ask. Through just such convulsions, Europe during two thousand years has come to her present state, in spite too of the great power of the mediæval Church, and in spite of the religious earnestness that has been working since the Reformation. This is the way of humankind. Man is a fighting beast. Let nature, it must be so.

take her way—nature, “red in tooth and claw with ravine,” nature, “so careful of the type, so careless of the single life.” Africa, in its attainment of civilization, cannot expect to better the experience of the elder Christendom. England, no more than Rome, can expect to avert the barbaric confusions in the midst of which new nations come to birth.

Prepare we then, who count ourselves the messengers of a salvation already revealed, for a continuing tragedy of oncoming generations—Come again, ye children of men. Prepare for a “righteous government and peace” kept barely from destruction. Prepare for a course of alternating oppressions and revolutions; some men battling out their days in bitterness of heart for justice and freedom and equality; some men proud and successful in exploiting the poor of the land, going down into the pit of fire when their miserable souls are required of them; some men time-serving and destitute of the spirit of clear-sighted resolution, fearing the world rather than God. Prepare for this and labour to save, as many as we may, individual “brands plucked from the burning.” Our home and *patria* is not here. “The world lieth in the evil one.”

Those who, in the Union of South Africa, have been close to such experiences as the Zululand rebellion of 1906, the strike revolts on the Rand in 1913 and 1922, the Native strike of 1919 in the same area, the riots at Port Elizabeth or the slaughter at Bulhoek, will agree that this is not ranting. There *is* something of which to be apprehensively afraid.

Or, again, it may be said of the subject of this chapter that to pursue the plan of laying down in South Africa a patchwork pattern of black man’s countries, coloured

man's countries and white man's countries—a patchwork of nations such as there is in Europe, but with the additional dissidence-producing factor of colour distinctions ; this can hold no promise of peace.

But prudence will persist in its wistful hope that such a turbulent future may be avoided and the raging passions of racialism, by some stroke of wisdom and Christian statecraft, be “sent empty away.” So must we try out this proposal that the white and black races segregate themselves from one another and separate in peace. If we find it hopeful, for the reducing of racial friction, we shall abolish from our vocabulary such words as “impossible” and “impracticable.” If it be rejected by the instinct or deliberation of South Africa, we shall fall back on the policies accepted and outlined in our preceding two chapters, working for the best.

II

We speak of the segregation of the Natives. But the real question of course is, whether the whites can be segregated, and kept to the southern extremity of this continent, with a country large enough for the growth of a soul satisfying European nationhood, and yet not large enough to challenge, in the manner of a spreading empire, the possession of Africa by the essential Africans.

“The Land Question,” wrote Mr Oswin Bull in the *South African Outlook* of March 1924, “is a vital one for the African and has got to be dealt with. What has to be recognized is not so much that there should be a clear definition of area and ownership on both sides, as that the white man must make up his mind that there are no more big areas for white settlement

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outside those which are already held by him or are in process of immediate occupation. He must accept a stringent self-denying ordinance in this respect so that it will come to be accepted that Africa is no longer one of the colonizing outlets for the white races. Nothing less than this will suffice to prevent interminable unrest. So, for the continent as a whole, we can look ahead and agree generously and reasonably that it is to be the black man's continent, diverting our larger streams of emigration to the spacious and more suitable areas which are open to us elsewhere."

The conference already referred to, representing nearly all of the Christians in South Africa and convened by the Dutch Reformed Church, agreed that "Segregation in its limited geographical sense is neither possible nor desirable."

Yet in view of more recent political events, and in view of the course our argument has taken, it cannot thus be merely dismissed. And it behoves us to endeavour to visualize for acceptance or rejection such a policy of real segregation as might be substantially helpful to the peace of South Africa.

It is clearly not yet impracticable here in the same degree as it is in America. South-West Africa has recently been practically incorporated into the Union. Vast areas of unoccupied or but feebly cultivated land are still at our disposal. Rhodesia has hardly begun to be settled. The great Portuguese dominions to the East and North-West are not occupied in any real sense by white people. There are the fine and wide native territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and the Transkei, with Pondoland, held for native reserves with comparative security, while the fate of the Northern

Transvaal, Swaziland, and especially of Zululand now hangs in the balance.

On the question of the incorporation of Southern Rhodesia into the Union, negatived in the referendum of 1923 by the colonists of that great territory, a Transvaal newspaper thus commented :

“ It is a matter for the Rhodesians and the Rhodesians alone to decide. All we hope is that nothing will be said or done on either side which may cloud the happy relations between the two South African territories. In the event of Rhodesia preferring to go its own way for a time, we want the door to union to be left wide open, so that if there is a change of opinion, the bringing together of the two peoples may be readily achieved. For that it is their destiny to be united in the end we are convinced. Ultimately the bulk of the people will decide in favour of the big thing—one great country with potentialities such as will command the capital necessary for development on an adequate scale. A great and strong White South Africa stretching from the Cape to the Zambezi, and possibly beyond, is the ideal which we must keep always at the back of our minds. There must be no attempt to rush such a union. More haste in the past has always meant less speed. But let the ideal be there and let its ultimate realization not be forgotten when the policies of both territories are framed.”¹

And in a speech of 1924 the most eminent of Dutch South Africans spoke of the European civilization which he hoped would be everlasting on this continent, and of “ a century hence when a Prime Minister of a much greater Africa—for it would not

¹ *Johannesburg Sunday Times*, 9th April 1922. •

be only South Africa then"—should come to congratulate with the people on the upgrowth of the nation from the "roots which have now been struck by a strong and virile race."²

Real segregation means that such anticipations, shared by General Smuts with the great British South African Cecil Rhodes, would have to be disclaimed as the pardonable megalomania of an immature nationhood in favour of something smaller and more secure.

What needs to be emphasized then is that Segregation, to be anything more than a temporary adjustment, or a name for the repression of the Natives, which latter can only bring bitterness without in the slightest degree making for racial integrity, must involve a real sacrifice on the part of White South Africa—sacrifice of wide lands at present open for European settlement, sacrifice of supplies of cheap labour that are at present available.

The dream of a single great dominion, extending from the Cape to the Zambezi, would have to be abandoned. A restraint upon the European colonization of South Africa, a setting of definite bounds to the sphere of a European nation in Africa, a marking of the limits of this European state, is what would have to be determined.

III

In the so circumscribed South African European state it would be the main principle of policy to eliminate the native, Bantu, elements. This would be accomplished by encouraging their emigration beyond its borders to the areas and reserves surrounding

² *Johannesburg Star*.

it ; and, where that is impossible, by their absorption into the mixed coloured population that would necessarily remain.

And it would be expected as the strong probability that this coloured population in turn would eventually have to be absorbed by the white race into one unified nationality.

To this end continuous white immigration would, of course, be encouraged, so that these coloured elements would be outnumbered to the utmost, and the visible traces, though not the valuable qualities, of their racial contribution eventually disappear.

The nation then would be practically European, with yet a tie of strength-imparting kinship to the peoples and the soil of Africa.

It would constantly be kept in mind that every inch the boundary of the European state is extended northward or eastward, the more precarious becomes the hope of the nation continuing as predominantly white and European. For the wider the boundaries and the larger the numbers of the native people who would have to be absorbed, the stronger would be the admixture of African wine into European water, according to the rough logic of the American writer above quoted.

IV

It would be recognized that the native populations of the surrounding territories and dependencies must on no account be drawn upon for cheap and unskilled labour. When politicians adumbrate their plans to this end, holding out to white workers a monopoly of the well-paid services on condition that plenty of cheap unskilled labour is available, they commonly forget the facts of the case.

The imported labourers always tend to make themselves indispensable to industry. The terms of their service tend to become longer. The system of compounding them is rightly doomed. Children will be born to them who, being natives of the white man's land, cannot be transferred back to the tribal areas from which their fathers came, where the vacant places will have been quickly filled. And these children growing up cannot be forcibly kept down as a sub-proletariat to unskilled and low paid tasks, without a policy of criminal oppression which neither our own conscience, nor the Empire, nor the League of Nations, nor the public opinion of the world would tolerate.

I have already stated my conviction of how dangerously delusive is the idea that the home life of the native people can be relegated to separated areas, while economically our industries may continue to make full use of their labour. It means that on a large scale we accept the position once described to me by an old native farm labourer. "The white people want our hands, but they don't want us." And Aristotle is quoted as saying, "The essence of slavery is that the servant is not treated as an end in himself, but solely as a means to the ends of his master."

I am not here concerned to appeal for humanity and sympathy, but only to point out that upon this basis no strong edifice of national security and prosperity can possibly be built.

Industry then in the European state would have to make the best of the "coloured" people, of the Natives permanently remaining, and of the poorer whites. It must no longer be based on black labour in the way it is to-day. There must be a real change

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such as is indicated in the following examination in 1920 by an Unemployment Commission of Sir Robert Kotse.

Question. Do you think that this country can only be developed on cheap labour ?

Answer. No. If there were no Natives here, this country would still go on, like Australia. The present policy is that we do our skilled work with whites and the unskilled with Natives. And that will go on for many years until the community makes up its mind to change.

Q. Would you give a picture of this country as it would be if there were no Natives ?

A. The white population would be larger. We should be more like Australia. There would be more room for whites.

Q. How would they support themselves ?

A. By agriculture and mining.

Q. You would have a white working-class who would be actual workers and work harder than they do to-day ?

A. Yes.

Q. And they would not be so well off in the way of wages ?

A. The average wages of the whites would be lower.

Q. If we had a white labour policy the whites would have to work harder and for a lower rate of pay ?

A. Yes : if we wished to have the mines working as they are to-day. There would be some rich mines which could afford to work on a white basis and to pay higher wages.

Q. But generally they would have to work for a lower standard of life ?

A. Yes : as that standard costs to-day.³

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 30th October 1920.

v

I think that something much more immediate than Sir Robert appeared to contemplate is the only hope of his ideas ever being carried into effect. Indeed, I am convinced that the practicability of segregation will recede into the region of irredeemable might-have-beens if no decisive step is taken by the Hertzog Government in the present Parliament. The longer European farmers are left on lands that might be added to native areas the more impossible becomes the proposal to shift them. The longer the vested interests of our farms and industries depend upon native labour, the more impracticable becomes the policy of dispensing with it. The more we repeat the phrase that territorial segregation is not possible to-day, the greater becomes its power of inhibiting the resolution of the electorate.

The proposal of segregation carried on over a long term of years is entirely delusive. A bold stroke of statesmanship, a high call to sacrifice for an intelligible and not ignoble end, this only has hope of success. Without this the whole idea must crumble under the cold analysis of Sir William Beaumont, the chairman of the Government Commission appointed to delimit native areas under the Segregating Act of 1913. It was supposed that a decisive step was then being taken. But not so do these words make it appear. And every sentence has had its import heightened by the experience of the years that have elapsed since 1913, during which, as we have said, the Act has not led to any movement whatever of native population away from areas of European settlement, but only to a general

restlessness and sense of injury, and to an increased migration to urban areas.

“The Commission would have liked to frame its recommendations on broad lines. The advantages of large, compact native areas are so apparent that they need not be enlarged upon. But it was found impossible to follow consistently this principle on account of the objections which were raised to the inclusion of European occupied farms within proposed native areas. The nature and extent therefore of the proposed native areas have been largely determined by this objection. It is in fact too late in the day to define large compact native areas or to draw bold lines of demarcation. For reserves, mission lands, native farms and other lands solely occupied by Natives are, with the exception of the Transkeian territories, scattered in all directions and hopelessly intermixed with the lands owned and occupied by Europeans, whose vested interests have to be considered. And any attempt to deal with this matter in a drastic fashion, involving wholesale removals, would not only entail an enormous expenditure, but would create widespread dissatisfaction. . . .

“A very general impression prevails that the Act contemplates a segregation, complete or partial, of the Native races throughout the Union. The impracticability of such an idea makes it difficult to understand how it has come to be entertained. It probably owes its origin to the free use of the term segregation without any definite idea what is meant by that term.”⁴

⁴ Sir Wm. Beaumont's "Minute," South African Land Commission (1913) Report.

I was lately reading, for the first time since childhood, that great book, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. And I was interested to note that seventy years ago, in the circles of those who were contending for the abolition of slavery in the United States, it was hoped that Liberia, in Africa, would provide scope for the unimpeded advancement of the freed Negroes, and that therefore they would emigrate thither. To-day there are some twelve thousand of the American group of Negroes in Liberia, that is, one single individual for each thousand of those who remain in America, which is now their home, their native land, from which no man of common sense dreams that they can or ever will be removed.

And so it must be with the Bantu and South Africa, from the Zambezi to the Cape, no smallest parcel of ground excepted, unless now at this time the man who has for fifteen years or more proclaimed the policy of segregation, having come to power, can persuade his people not only to understand what segregation should mean, but also to make the great sacrifice that it is found to entail.

VI

They must take their eyes off Zululand. In 1922 Colonel Reitz, then Minister of Lands under General Smuts, declared that "by opening up Zululand he looked forward to providing homes for tens of thousands of settlers."⁵ And he described this territory as comprising "some of the most fertile land in the Union."⁵

Now for our European state to hold Natal in the manner above described would require that the Zulus

⁵ *East London Despatch*, 6th July 1922.

of that province, who so vastly outnumber the whites, be encouraged by all just means to emigrate. And where should they emigrate but across the Tugela into their own Zululand? But if the vacant spaces of that rich country are occupied by white settlers, then what? An end to the policy of segregation on the east coast. General Hertzog on attaining power ought at once to have repudiated the declared intention of his predecessors. Instead of that the first notable announcement that we heard after June 1924 was that Zululand was to be opened up to the immigration of poor whites. Not so can General Hertzog fulfil his promises. Natal, south-west of the Tugela, as a broad corridor from the interior to the ocean, is probably indispensable to the European state. But if Natal is to be held for an increasingly white population, the whole of Zululand is imperatively necessary for the future increase of the native people. Its area must be extended as much as possible. Additional white settlement should by no means be permitted.

Then the whole of the Transvaal Low Veldt, east of the Drakensberg and north of the railway to Delagoa Bay, the whole of the Northern Transvaal, Waterberg and Zoutspansberg Districts, with parts of Lydenburg, Middelburg and Rustenburg, should be the subject of anxious consideration. Perhaps it would be too much to suggest that this splendid territory should be at once proclaimed a native area. But there dwell in it a million of native people. They are too numerous either to be removed from the midst of the Europeans or to be absorbed by them. It should be counted as outside the boundaries of the European state proper. All that is immediately required might be the repealing

in respect to it of the Natives Land Act of 1913, so that a native peasantry, with free access to the secure tenancy of land, might root itself, and so that the native people might be assured against either removal from or oppression in this part of what is doubtless the finest country in South Africa. It need mean no interference with the essential prosperity of the territory, where European settlers, merchants, and professional men might still be free to pursue their way. But it would mean a heavy sacrifice of cherished though mistaken expectations on the part of the descendants of the pioneers who participated in the Great Trek of ninety years ago.

The absolute integrity, as native territories, of Bechuanaland, of Basutoland, and of at least a solid remainder of Swaziland, must be guaranteed.

The first and second had far better remain, according to the unanimous desire of their native inhabitants, under the control of the Imperial British Government. So remaining they will never be a menace to the European Union of South Africa. So remaining the European state will best be guarded against the temptation that will ever beset it, through the land hunger of its farmers—the temptation to forfeit its racial purity, as white and European, by absorbing into the national melting-pot more and more native peoples with their labour and their lands.

The chief motive in the present agitation for Bechuanaland's incorporation into the Union is undoubtedly the prospect of more stock farms for landless whites.

Basutoland, as a part of the Union, would sorely tempt the cupidity of the Orange Free State men to cross the Caledon and "eat it up."

The Transkeian territories are already under the Union Government. There the latter's native policy is seen at its sincerest and its best. There progress is being made towards giving the Natives a permanent hold on the land. But there many thousands of white people have already made their homes. And it is very necessary that it be more solidly secured as to be for ever a "black man's country."

A gentleman of some distinction strongly sympathizing with the Nationalist party once gave me what he considered the most substantial reason for the Republican ideal which it holds. The time would come, he said, when it would be necessary to resume the colonization of South Africa in respect of the Transkei—with Tembuland and Pondoland—as well as of other native areas in every way suitable and desirable for European settlement. There is a strong probability that the British Government would be found to stand in the way, through its traditional and sentimental advocacy of the rights of African peoples. And hence comes the wish to be quit of it. General Hertzog and those who think with him need to forestall and repudiate such *canards* by acts as well as by words.

Counting out these adjoining territories, we may imagine ourselves beating the bounds of a compact territory, yet a magnificent domain—the old colony from Capetown to Mafeking and from Grahamstown to Walvis Bay; the whole of the Orange Free State; the southern and, for Europeans, the more healthful portion of the Transvaal; with an uninterrupted coastline from Damaraland to the Kei river; and then, to the north-east, Natal, as a principal corridor,

and the Delagoa Bay railway belt as a subsidiary corridor from the interior to the sea—a country finer and grander than any in Europe save those of the greater powers—an earthly *patria* that would be, for any but the greatest of the other European nations, beyond the dreams of avarice.

VII

Around this state, to east and north, would be a ring of *Dependencies*. Of these, the Transkei, Zululand (and probably also Swaziland), Ovamboland and Damaraland, as well as the Northern Transvaal, would be ruled and developed under the ægis of the Union Government. Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Southern Rhodesia would enjoy self-government, in varying degrees, under the Imperial Colonial Office. And Portuguese East Africa, south of the Zambezi, would be strongly influenced by the development of civilization in these territories.

They would vary very much as to their size and importance, their form of government, their allowing or otherwise of Europeans as settlers and planters (as in India), and as to the growth in them of commercial and governmental centres such as Umtata, Vryheid, Lourenzo Marques, or Bulawayo and Salisbury, where European communities could be domiciled.

But in one thing these dependencies would be identical—that in them all the native people, being predominant, should have free scope and an open way of progress; that to their growing capacities an increasing share of political control should be conceded; and that not for any interests of European residents should their opportunities be restricted.

Every effort would be put forth to encourage their intensive development for the accommodation of their increasing populations, for if this is not done, these will inevitably break the bounds of their habitations and flow over into the European state, where the desire of employers for cheap imported labour would always be present and only with difficulty denied by its rulers. And thus segregation would be nullified and all its hoped-for benefits be lost.

These would be the main principles guiding the various Governments. And to secure them it would be necessary that the Imperial British Government should not relax but rather increase the efficiency of its control over the territories for which it was responsible. It would be necessary that the public opinion of the mother countries should be increasingly informed so as to render sympathetic assistance to European colonies of officials and settlers in maintaining their highest ideals and in rendering full justice to the African peoples among whom they were domiciled.

"It will be necessary," says Mr Benjamin Kidd in his *Control of the Tropics*, "to keep those who administer the government which represents our civilization in direct and intimate contact with the standards of that civilization at its best; and to keep the acts of the government itself within the closest range of that influence, often irksome, sometimes even misleading, but always absolutely vital—the continued scrutiny of the public mind at home." ⁶

And we would add to these words that one of the most important home bases from which such colonies are to be sent out would, of course, be the

South African European state itself. It would have the same sort of home responsibility for its dependencies as the people and the Colonial Office of Great Britain have for the Kenya Colony and those others farther south which we have named.

VIII

Where the European colony in an African dependency becomes in any degree a permanent caste, even though it be not, as Mr Kidd feared it might be, divorced from the moral influences of its home civilization, one important fact will have to be faced.

The colony exists for the purposes of government and of helpful leadership and supervision, assisting the African peoples to attain a stable and honourable civilization. But there will be a certain number of individuals—a group which no colony can fail to produce—who are not capable of sharing in the work of government, who have not the gifts of leadership, and who have not the ability to supervise. They are suited for tasks, whether skilled or unskilled, *under the direction of others*.

Now the white man of pure race cannot, it seems certain, perform hard manual work in tropical and sub-tropical Africa, that is, roughly, in the regions to the north of the European state we have described. And it seems just as certain that he will never be willing to share and compete on equal terms with the native Africans in the ranks of industry.

It would not be fair that the lighter, more skilled and more desirable tasks, for which Africans are well able to qualify themselves, be reserved for

Europeans. No artificial arrangements and contrivances can be expected to secure for them a privileged position except to a very limited extent. There can be no thought of a colour bar in these African lands.

Therefore it will be necessary that, for the people we are thinking of, a free way be kept open to the home bases and to those parts of the white man's wide empire where they can find work, and comrades in work, suitable for them.

Where this is impossible or unacceptable, and where the economic conditions as well as the very existence of the colony led to intermarriages between the white colonists and the African people, these would not be regarded as evil, but would be deliberately accepted as departures from the normal not without hope of happy issue. Conversely to what would be happening in the European state at Africa's southern extremity, and also in America, there would be here a gradual absorption of immigrating white peoples by the native populations, a grafting of European racial characteristics on to the African stocks. And thus a kinship would be established helping to bind all Africa into one, forging a link with Europe and with the great western continents of North and South America, and operating in the coming generations towards the enduring peace of the world.

IX

Such a broad scheme of segregation is, I believe, still possible. It would secure racial integrity for the European nation of South Africa almost as com-

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pletely as it will be secured in the United States of America.

Under the guidance and protection of this state and of the older European nations, in their respective African dependencies, acting as trustees for the future, guaranteeing peace to the whole continent, providing markets for its raw products, supplying it for many decades with the manufactured articles of commerce, and, above all, freely giving of their highest and best religious, social and intellectual inheritance, such a scheme would yet secure to the Bantu peoples, reaching right up to and beyond the Equator, a development of civilization essentially their own, and giving scope to their own racial genius.

X

It may be, of course, that all barriers to the spread of the white races must go down before the pressure of their populations on the available food sources of the world. Professor Edward M. East is quoted as declaring, in *Mankind at the Cross Roads*,⁷ that the maximum population which the world could support is 5200 millions, and that at the present rate of progress this limit will be reached within a century.

He gives the present (1916) population of the world as comprising 710 millions of white, 510 millions of yellow, 420 millions of brown, and only 110 millions of black people. If his calculations are correct, the white races, if they hold their present advantages for more rapid increase, will by the middle of the present century, that is,

⁷ Pp. 69, 111-115.

within a period of which our statesmen are already taking account, "actually outnumber all other races combined." Professor East's estimate is of course very different from that of Dr Lothrop Stoddard and other scaremongers of "the rising tide of colour."⁸

It may then be that the white races will be seen, within the lifetime of men of this generation, migrating by hundreds of thousands, and later on by millions, into the central spaces of Africa, which of all the great unoccupied areas of the world's surface may be the most attractive, because of their enormous capacity for food production, and because of their pleasant and healthful climate, where high upland plateaux counteract the effects of tropical latitudes.

It may be that they will outnumber and absorb by intermarriage the African races with their African survival qualities of physical constitution, and that they will become thereby more completely efficient for life and labour in the African tropics.

But even so the effort is worth while, to secure that certain areas may be for all time inhabited by indigenous African races kept comparatively pure; so that as we will always have Wales in Great Britain preserving its identity and its own racial distinction and quality, we may likewise always have in Africa compact territories like Basutoland and Uganda, where the special merits and gifts of the negro and Bantu tribes may show what is their continuing contribution to the riches of human life.

⁸ See Oldham, *Christianity and the Race Problem*, pp. 204-6.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

I HAVE been endeavouring to persuade my readers to accept two things.

The first is, that so far as we have been afraid to do entirely right and to be unstintingly just towards the African peoples we should put that fear away. I am confident that their free advance, helped and encouraged to the very limit of our power, will in no wise endanger our civilization in Africa, but, on the contrary, will be the main condition of its enduring. I earnestly desire that we should cease to be swayed by the unworthy alarm of racial self-preservation and that we should entrust ourselves, in the stormiest looking seas, to the raft of a Christian humanism. Not the rising tide of colour is the terror of this age, but rather the rising tide of racial passion whipped up by windy writers. If we fall to fighting on our raft, all of us will be engulfed. And centuries darker than those that are past, oppressions more agonizing because the subjects of them become ever more sensitive, lie before Africa.

I

If there are coloured races of whom there is cause to be afraid, they are not those of Africa. Stagger-

ing blows may one day be aiming at America, at Europe, from the tough-natured peoples of the rising sun.

But the Africans are at our mercy. Their economic, as well as their military, potentialities are in our control. Under Providence they lie in our power. And so they long will continue, except our power perchance be broken in conflict with those possible Eastern antagonists, in quarrels where ourselves may be blameable. Africa might with some reason await with apprehensiveness what policies concerning her people gain the upper hand in the counsels of the British Empire. She well knows that it is deeds that count, not words, and how often our actions have belied our fine professions. For centuries we enslaved and ill-used her children. Then came the nineteenth century, and triumphs of idealism, abolition of slavery and proclamations of a trusteeship, for freedom and justice and Christian civilization, in this continent.

Are we now going to revert to the old, hard, cruel ways? Are we abandoning the ethics of the New Testament for the Nordic race gospel, which is no gospel, but which is now preached with such overweening confidence. Shall we be deceived by the idea that the hope of the world lies in keeping that race dominant? And shall we proclaim that only as its underlings, their interests only to be consulted when they manifestly do not conflict with those of their masters, may Africans be suffered to live?

I want us to dissipate such truly disturbing misgivings. Fearing we beget fear. Let us be bold and carry forward the work of the last century.

Let us restore to the African tribes the confidence they had in us when the Queen reigned.

It is sometimes said, and not without a measure of truth, that the Natives are not grateful for benefits received from us. But are we too not bound to gratitude towards them? Have they not worked hard for us? In times of war and disturbance, have they not been faithful? And if we are grateful, how is our gratitude being shown? If all the goods we have had from them were written down the account would be large. Have we paid it? Do we not owe them very much? If we showed more appreciation to them they might be expected to do the same towards us.

The dependence of Africa upon Europe and the gratitude due from us to the native people, as well as other points touched on in this essay, are well illustrated in the following passage from a speech of General Smuts, delivered a few months before that with which my Introduction began. Speaking in March 1917 of the approaching conclusion of the East African campaign, he said :

“ All the South African white troops have with few exceptions left the country and the campaign will be brought to an end by the native battalions I have trained. I soon saw that white troops could not long stand the climate. The native troops, who make splendid infantry, have proved very good fighters, and have done magnificent work, and when the campaign is over will be available elsewhere. In May they can move and the thing will be finished.”¹

¹ *London Times*, 13th March 1917.

"The country is enormously valuable, and probably the best part of tropical Africa, with magnificent soil and unlimited scope for all tropical products. The Germans looked upon it as a most valuable asset and sank millions of money on its plantations. Nothing has given greater pleasure than Mr Long's statement that no German colony can go back to Germany. The mere suggestion that any part should be returned is, of course, preposterous. I shudder to think what would happen to the native population if any part were returned. These people have stood by us magnificently and our prestige in East Africa would severely suffer. The whole of South Africa, East Africa, South-West Africa, and Rhodesia would stand aghast at such an idea."¹

What, then, is the case for the British Empire that it should hold the African domain? "The primary function of this empire is to establish ordered relations between the different families of mankind"² included in it. It is to encourage and promote a great "widening of human sympathies."² When oceans became highways for the nations, instead of separating gulfs, when lands far distant were brought near, when continents were narrowed by railways, when old barriers to human intercourse were broken down and age-long strangers began to jostle one another in the roads and markets of the world, then came the need of a state which

¹ See note on p. 136.

² *Round Table*, 1914: *A Practical Enquiry into the Nature of Citizenship in the British Commonwealth*.

could include different races and peoples, on different levels of civilization, a state which would secure the weaker peoples against the oppression and exploitation of the strong, a state under whose flag the ideal of universal brotherhood might be worked out and extended everywhere.

For this then the British Empire rules in Africa. For this "the dominant race" holds sway. For this the Africans are subject to our rule—subject in a sense that does not apply to us only because they are not yet capable of taking a full share in government. But that is only a temporary condition. The end of our policy must be that now, being juniors in the partnership of the commonwealth, they shall be counted as of fully equal value with the seniors, and be accorded an open way of advance towards an equal share in its management.

Meanwhile they are to enjoy the equal protection of our laws and the benefits of an equal solicitude for their well-being in every respect. The duty of the British Empire "to the coloured people in distant parts of the world" under its sway "is just as binding upon it as its duty to the people of the United Kingdom."² It is a bond "of infinite obligation."² The King's servants are bound to seek their highest good. The King's soldiers are ready to maintain it with their lives. The covenant which unites us with these strange far-away peoples differs "in no essential respect"² from that which unites the peoples of England, Scotland and Ireland.

This is high doctrine. And to hold it without any inner accusation of hypocrisy requires that we

² See note on p. 137.

hope against hope in the upright intentions of our countrymen, and that in every possible way we strengthen our determination never for any racial prejudice to deviate from the path of honour in our dealings with our African fellow citizens.

And as this is the great problem for the Empire, so also is it for the Church. A social problem threatened to split the Christian society at its very beginning—the problem of Jew and Gentile. And now, in the beginning of the twentieth century, when the whole of Christendom looks forward to missionary activity unprecedented in extent, again a social problem, that of the white and the dark skin, confronts us and demands that we face it and begin to solve it, if we would not have all our missionary effort waste itself in the shallows and misery of futility.

II

We should do everything that prudence requires to reduce the causes of interracial friction in Africa. And so I have honestly endeavoured to suggest the lines of a righteous segregation. Fear most readily strikes in upon European colonists when it seems that their own raciality is in danger to be lost through a national blending with larger numbers of a dissimilar people. Thus the American writer I have quoted was chiefly concerned with the large percentage of Negroes to Whites in the Southern States. If the two blend into one the resulting population will be definitely coloured and not white. But spread the Negroes over the whole of the United States so that they will be in the pro-

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portion of one to nine or ten, and he is not afraid of the result. Mr Oldham, whose fine book, *Christianity and the Race Problem*, all should read, remarks that, "Nothing is more striking, whether we take the attitude of students in a college towards the admission of students of another race, or study the immigration problem in different parts of the world, than the fact that the strength of racial feeling varies in almost every instance with the percentage of the aliens. . . ." ³

The measure of segregation that I have put forward would secure that in the South African European state coloured people would not be present in numbers sufficient to challenge the predominance of European raciality, while in the African dependencies, most of them at any rate, Europeans would never be numerous enough to destroy the race integrity of the Bantu peoples.

III

Let us not be afraid to do entirely right. Political arrangements I regard as, at the present time, of secondary importance. They will follow in due course on the settlement of the populations of Africa's wide territories, and on the respective economic and cultural contributions of Europeans and the Bantu to its extending civilization.

The important thing for the native people is that they be enabled to spread and grow as a stout peasantry in the country; that they be free to acquire skill in all the trades, by which, as by the

³ P. 35.

unskilled labourer's toil, civilization is maintained ; that leaders be raised up to them of wide and liberal education, and of high character ; that they may learn the lessons of history and gain the inspirations of all the wide experience of mankind ; that they may behold in us a magnanimity of temper and a wide charity towards them which may induce them to imitation of the same as towards us ; and that, above all, they may be lifted out of the bondage to what is seen and temporal to the apprehension of things that are, and the Supreme Being who is, invisible and eternal.

IV

The important thing again is that their family life be clean and wholesome. To this end it is essential that pure and honourable relations be established between the two races. They have seen the white people scorning to marry them, but frequently and persistently descending to sin with them. Oh, it has been a very evil lesson, a great cause of offence, exceedingly contrary to our honour.

And that brings me to the second thing I would persuade my readers to accept. No conviction has taken a deeper hold on my mind and heart than that only through legal and social sanction being given to the marriage of white with coloured persons, of Europeans with Africans, can the past be retrieved or the future be secured for morality and honour and respect in our relations.

I would not urge it on any individual, any group, or any class to the very smallest extent. But I recognize great forces in human nature and in the

onward movement of South African nationalism that imperatively require it. I see no other way to the full recognition of the fact that "these also are men of like passions" and human beings of equal value with ourselves, having an equal claim upon life and all its infinite promise. And I can see no hope of any solution of our South African Problem being found so long as a false view is taken of one of the most important factors in it.

Mr Oldham details the objections to intermarriage and would discourage it to the utmost. But he brings his able discussion of the matter to a conclusion in the following sentences :⁴

"These, it will be admitted, are powerful reasons for regarding intermarriage as in general undesirable, and for dissuading those who would thoughtlessly and rashly enter upon it. But if, with their eyes open to the consequences, individuals decide to make the adventure, there seems to be no reason why they should not exercise their choice. . . . The basal constitution of the human mind is the same in all races. Race does not in itself constitute an insuperable barrier to the most intimate mutual understanding. Marriage between those who belong to different races, but are in mind and temperament suited to one another, may prove to be far happier than many ill-assorted unions between members of the same race. Liberty and originality have a high social value, and experiments and adventures may prove advantageous in this field as in others. Only in this way can the actual results of interracial crossing become known. Such

⁴ In *Christianity and the Race Problem*.

marriages may also contribute something to that deeper mutual understanding between different races which is indispensable if the peoples of the world are to live together in harmony."

Before such a judgment the negative "axiom" laid down by General Smuts falls. And there can only be substituted for it the general proposition that it is good for each race to preserve its integrity. And this is to be asserted in full submission to the positive axiom, the moral axiom, that in all our dealings with the natives of Africa we must build on the bed-rock of the Christian moral code.

I have no doubt gone beyond this irreducible minimum of concession to the oneness of humanity. I have stressed the positive good, for honour and justice and purity, that belongs to the breaking down of the racial walls of partition, as well as to their maintenance where the things that are lovely and praiseworthy may so be best preserved. But the war must be carried into the racialists' country. Abstract reasoning makes its careful and judicial pronouncements. But feeling also must have its expression and form its judgments.

v

I have not written for my own pleasure or profit, but from the urgent sense of duty, from the conviction that those who feel they have anything of truth to say concerning the South African Problem are under obligation to do all that in them lies to make it known. I have taken pains in giving quotations correctly and in otherwise preparing my

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manuscript for the press as well as was within my power. I have laboured as much as has been possible in self-criticism. I have from time to time submitted my conclusions to the criticism of friends. And I have endeavoured to take the wider and more inclusive views that make for magnanimous and fair judgments. I have not consciously kept back anything that I would say in private from all that I am saying in public, for fear of incurring odium.

And so I would commit my small book to the consciences, ever open to increase of enlightenment, of all those, and they are many, who earnestly desire that against evil the good shall constantly prevail. If in any respect I have exceeded the bounds of moderation or given cause of offence to any, I should wish to be corrected and to be shown ways of making amends.