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THE AUTHOR

Frontispiece.

AFRICA'S PERIL

The Colour Problem

by

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PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

"THE RISE AND FALL OF KRUGERISM"

TRADE AGENTS

SIMPKIN MARSHALL, LTD.

STATIONERS' HALL COURT

LONDON, E.C.4

Made and Printed in Great Britain by
Hazell, Watson & Viney Ltd., London and Aylesbury

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INTRODUCTION

A FOREWORD is generally an excuse, an appeal to the sympathy of the reader on behalf of the author. In this case no excuse is necessary. The missionaries and the negrophiles have had their innings, and left the man in the street, or on the farm, somewhat bewildered. It is high time, therefore, that Africa's hopes and fears were placed before the public in a simple manner. The discussion is necessarily confined mainly to Africa, more particularly the Union. This does not mean, however, that the subject is interesting only to those of us who live on this continent. World problems are now being threshed out here. As the old Latin tag says, "Something new may always be expected from Africa." This book may perhaps fill a want and find its way into the homes of the people. Many will differ from its conclusions, but this will be all to the good. Eventually the force of hard facts will prevail. The endeavour will be to write clearly, so much so, "That he who runs may read!"

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

WE live in a country of many races. Arabs, Indians, coloured people, and white men form the bulk of the population.

The problem is to develop circumstances whereby they will be allowed to live in amity with one another and in peace with the outside world. The white peoples are in a great minority. They have hitherto maintained their supremacy (let us be frank) by means of *force majeure*.

There has been no other alternative—savage tribes had to be conquered and conciliated, the Arab slave dealers and traders exterminated, and sometimes even the white adventurer punished. Eventually the white man found himself in a hopeless position numerically, able to hold his own because the other inhabitants of the continent were practically unarmed. This policy of arming the whites only is fundamentally sound. The Powers who persist in making their African nationals into soldiers will yet have to pay the piper.

Fortunately, our near neighbours, the Portuguese, have shown very little inclination so far to raise a colonial army in Africa.

It is our business (and this is the heart of the problem) to attain and maintain military supremacy in Africa.

Let us consider what may be expected in the future. If war takes place in Europe, a great crime will have been committed against white civilisation. We can only hope that a way out will be found whereby our future will be saved from the melting-pot.

In regard to Germany, we require her presence in Africa, not as an exploiter, but as a coloniser. Any return of colonies would be fatal unless we could be assured that a large number of Germans were to be settled on the land. This should be borne in mind when any settlement is finally arrived at. Provision must also be made for an Agreement,

based on the one in existence between the United States and Canada. With such a treaty of amity and friendship, we need have no fear of trouble with the Germans. There exists between us a certain blood relationship, and there is not the slightest doubt they would stand shoulder to shoulder with us against any foes we may have to face internally. We shall find co-operation with the colonial German a comparatively simple matter. Their form of government may not be wholly popular at the moment, but with time there will come a change. Hope for the future of democracy is not yet dead, and may be resuscitated if we put our own house in order.

You may ask what relation this has to the problem of white, black, and coloured? The answer is—everything. The loss of our white supremacy will bring about chaos.

Where, then, are we to find a place for Germany whereby she will be enabled to place thousands of her sons on the soil? The most obvious solution lies in Angola, possibly the northern portion of South-west Africa and the uplands of the Congo. France and England, in conjunction with the Belgians and Portuguese, must reshuffle the pack. A portion of the Tanganyika Mandate can by agreement be handed over to Portugal, leaving the country from Daar-es-Salaam to the north as it is; provided the connection with the Lakes is not jeopardised. This is the best method of strengthening the white position in Africa outside our own boundaries. It would be necessary to give Portugal, in addition to the above-mentioned territories, financial compensation. Portugal will, naturally, raise objections, but unless the Powers make concessions, it must be quite evident that the colonial question will become a major factor in German politics. Portugal surely cannot, with a clear conscience, bar the way to world peace.

What of Abyssinia? The Italians will not find it difficult to pacify this country. They will be successful eventually in their efforts, and there is no reason why a treaty on similar lines to that suggested with Germany should not be ultimately made with them. We have been very good friends with Italy. There exist no hard feelings against the Italians. There is no reason why they should cast the die in favour of war, or raise huge native armies. The Chamberlain Agreement with Il Duce is a masterpiece of

statesmanship and augurs well for our future. We have every hope and belief that they will become good neighbours, strengthening the cause of white civilisation in Africa.

Who is the potential enemy of the white man of any nationality on this continent? It will take time, but the East will yet have a reckoning with the West. Let us see what Lieut.-Comdr. Tota Ishimaru, I.J.N., has to say in his book *Japan must fight Britain*. He writes:

“Japan’s population is increasing at the rate of about 700,000 a year. Unless she were made to adopt a compulsory system of birth-control, or be given the colonies and the raw material and capital that she lacks, there will be war and possibly a world war. Compulsory birth-control is easier said than done.”

The colonies Japan requires as a minimum are portions of Australia and New Zealand. The right of settlement in Africa would follow. Once here, the supremacy of the whites would receive its death-blow.

There may also come into being one day an Eastern coalition. However distant and deplorable are these deductions, we must always bear them in mind and base our defence on the possibility of a Power occupying ports on the East Coast. We shall fight and conquer that Power if we are true to our past traditions. With their backs to the wall, it will be hard to beat the South Africans, provided the blacks are not used against us by the foe—we have not forgotten German East! This is a natural contingency which must be constantly kept in mind, for it would make the task more difficult. Ways and means could probably be found of clearing the country of inhabitants near the possible field of operations.

In the present war between China and Japan, the Japanese have had a setback. They have to do with two very determined people in Marshal Chiang Kai-shek and his wife. They are Methodists, who believe firmly in Christianity and the efficacy of prayer. Millions of Chinese respect their name. If they succeed it will be a veritable triumph of mind over matter. China has been fortunate in these leaders; can they stand the strain? Their English doctor thinks they work far too hard in peace; what must their condition be in war? Whichever way things go, the position

is not safe for European influence. The Japanese say that if Hong Kong does not belong to them, it must be the property of China. The cry of the East for the East will naturally spread to Indo-China, the Dutch East Indies, and other white settlements. Great Britain and America may restore their prestige by maintaining a strong fleet in the Pacific. This would ease matters for the time being, nothing else. It will be very difficult for the United States to co-operate.

Japanese policy is to create puppet Republics in China which in an economic and military sense will support their aims. If she has a bad time economically owing to her military policy, it is quite probable that her people may turn to Communism. China would then be the nut between the crackers. An Eastern Communistic bloc with Russia at the head would probably be the worst thing for Europe to face.

India, we are told, by one of her leading statesmen who is now visiting South Africa, will soon be free and independent of Great Britain. It may also be that there will be nothing to loot in India when Great Britain leaves, and hardly a virgin in the South. The results of freedom may be disturbing to the Babus. There is a distinct possibility, as the late Lord Harmsworth thought, that if Britain "withdraws to the ports, the Indians will fight it out between themselves."

In any case, if India is dominated eventually by a military caste and the East is drawn together, Africa becomes an important bulwark for Europe. If events move in our favour and segregation is faithfully carried out in the way advocated here, there will be sufficient time to organise our defences to meet any storm, though Armageddon is clearly indicated elsewhere.

Young South Africa must be well fed, disciplined, and air-minded. Decadence and degeneracy should be stamped out. We can show the world what an ideal aristocratic State can be. It is worth trying for.

To revert to the question of the problem of living amongst the coloured people. The position has been much affected by the interference of people who have tried to apply the teachings of socialism to the native question. The I.C.U., a purely native organisation, obtained the services of an

organiser to enrol the natives along craft-union lines. This experiment failed at the time, but is gaining ground to-day, and will cause considerable trouble, as under existing conditions it is difficult to check. It has been said that the suppression of Unions will throw the workers into the eager arms of Russia. This is incorrect. In the first place, Russia is very cautious to-day in her actions. Stalin has quite enough hay on his fork without interfering in Africa. In any case, we are quite capable of dealing with Communist activities. We are not so well equipped, however, to deal with those people who insist on applying the wrong kind of culture to the natives. We have to thank these people for a great deal of the misunderstanding existing to-day between white and black. This part of the problem will give us trouble.

Further, we must consider the question of how to preserve a purely white race. It is to the credit of our older population that South Africa has preserved a great purity of race. It would have been so easy to degenerate into a Mexico or a Brazil. It was the ideal of segregation in the heart of the old Voortrekker which saved the situation. We would be acting falsely towards these patriots if we did not carefully consider the question of the coloured man who has been created by us, and the position has to be faced. The Indian, too, must receive our closest attention; and we have to bring under consideration the activities of those well-meaning philanthropists and missionaries who inoculate the natives with that love for European life which may well prove their undoing and ours. The Pathfinders, the Wayfarers, the Athletic Leagues, the free Bioscopes—do not these things act as a drug to the native? These are the problems we must probe—the health question, the murderous state of the locations. Why has so little been heard of this side of things? Finally, we must deal with the white population. If they cannot dwell together in peace and amity—if racialism rears its evil head—what then? Is there room for a divided people in view of the dangers and difficulties which beset our path? We must carefully consider the situation and attempt to discover a way out. Taking courage in both hands, let us proceed to consider the position.

THE COLOURED MAN

DESPITE the fact that the Coloured Persons Rights Bill was abandoned, it is necessary, in studying the coloured or Eur-African question, to consider the evidence given before the Select Committee of 1927. The coloured people were represented by Mr. T. Lafleur, Mr. G. R. Oliver, and Mr. J. Fataar. Their Association, the African National Bond, had between 5,000 and 6,000 members. They stated that in the Census and even on the Voters Roll 25 per cent. of the names classed as Europeans are really coloured people. Mr. Lafleur said that in Wynburg alone, when the roll was framed there were in the vicinity fifty families of coloured people who were put down as Europeans.

There are cases where a white man is married to a coloured woman, or a white woman to a coloured man, and when the officer comes round to frame the roll, the coloured part of the family is kept in the background, and they get on to the Voters Roll or Census as Europeans. Some coloured people are near white, and others are again practically natives, and it is hard for a European to distinguish them without the assistance of a coloured man.

Mauritius and St. Helena people are classed as Europeans.

It was not fair that the Northern Provinces gave the coloured people no representation. They were in favour of the principle of being treated as separate from the natives. They had no grievance against these people, but their salvation did not lie in that direction; that would be going backwards. Out of every thousand natives there would be not more than six or ten civilised. The coloured people claimed to be civilised by their mode of living, and their heritage through European blood: they could not associate themselves with the native people.

There is a movement, though, to amalgamate the coloured people with the natives into one horde, with a very serious object—the object being to amalgamate the

non-European people against the whites. This would tend to strikes and sedition.

Mr. Lafleur stated that he knew every native language in the Union and all their customs; it is not safe for the Europeans themselves to force the coloured people into the ranks of the natives.

Lord Selborne had warned the Europeans that, if they decided not to treat the coloured people on separate lines from the natives, the coloured people would set the natives against the white man. That will take place if discrimination is not followed.

It is the salvation of white and coloured that the latter should be treated on separate lines. The coloured people included the Malays. They preferred to call themselves Eur-Africans. They thought the then 30,000 coloured people in the Northern Provinces and Natal should be given fair representation. They were not against separate representation for the coloured people if they could nominate their own Members of Parliament.

They did not expect equality with the Europeans, nor did they want to be put on an equality with the natives.

His (Mr. Lafleur's) experience was that the Bantu had a great pride of race. They did not formerly wish to mix with the coloured people, but now there was a great battle to keep the town native out of the coloured social circle. He thought the question of the franchise was a matter of European safety in South Africa; if the European went under, the coloured would go too. The coloured people resented the native entering their sphere of labour. They were losing their livelihood, and not only were they losing their bread, but their vote as well, through this cheap labour, as they were not able to earn the £50 per annum which is required of a voter. They considered the coloured people included all non-Bantu stock.

They looked on the Indians as a foreign race, and were not prepared to plead for them. There were cases where the coloured people intermixed with the Asiatics.

Mr. O. Ogle and Mr. Fred. Swansby, representing the Natal coloured people, differed in their evidence from the Cape delegates. They objected to any of their rights being taken away, and wished to be placed in the same position as the Cape.

With regard to the Mauritians, Mr. Swansby stated that, as they have their own Legislative Assembly, they cannot be excluded from the franchise on account of not being self-governed. The Mauritian is undoubtedly a coloured person, but he has a vote. With regard to their economic position, they do the same work as the white man, get the same rate of pay, and belong to the same Unions. One or two Unions do not accept them on account of their colour. Otherwise they are in the same position as Europeans; in fact, a Mauritian was Deputy-Mayor of Durban. The Mauritians have their own differences with regard to white and black Mauritians. A white-skinned man has, of course, a better chance of employment than a black-skinned man. Another prominent man of Mauritian extraction was an advocate. A doctor was also a Mauritian. The evidence as abbreviated ends here.

Mr. George Findlay has raised the question of "miscegenation" in his book of that title. He claims that about one-third of the whole white population of the Union is coloured, but his figures are somewhat exaggerated. He assumes that there were only 600,000 coloured people in the Union in 1935, whereas the Census preliminary figures for 1936 place the figure for coloureds at 767,984. This is quite distinct from Asiatics, who are enumerated separately.

Mr. Findlay argues that the small increase of coloureds from 545,548 in 1921 to 600,000 in 1935 shows there is a leakage; he contends that there have been a large number of escapes from the coloured ranks, and these have been included in the European figures, they having become merged with the whites.

Notwithstanding this statistical error, which reduces the number of coloured people who would rank as European, the position is serious enough. Mr. Findlay claims that, on the figures of 1.9 million Europeans, there are at least 733,000 coloured people "passing." Whatever the figures may be, steps must be taken immediately to put an end to this state of affairs.

There are difficulties, but we cannot allow the white strain to be diluted with coloured blood. Things have gone too far already, and a remedy, however drastic, has to be found. We cannot submit to so-called Liberal or any other dictation.

The idea is, of course, to prove that the coloured bar has broken down in the Union, that the coloured people who have crept through are desirable citizens, so let us all become coloured. Mr. Findlay says: "Many of the finest and worthiest people of South Africa bear eloquent testimony to the fact that a delicate infusion of coloured blood is a distinct success." These exceptions do not prove the rule. The experience of the South American Republics, Haiti, Dominica, the West Indies, and the United States show that though on occasions highly gifted and superior coloured people are produced, the general result is very unsatisfactory. The worst examples are those in which negro blood has predominated. The same argument applies to Indian and Chinese crosses with Europeans.

The coloured people naturally strain every nerve to emerge from their ranks to enter those of the whites. In the interest of race purity and with the example of those other countries before us, we must call a halt.

Mr. Findlay makes some uncalled-for aspersions against people in high positions whom he suspects of having coloured blood in their veins. He accuses them of being the principals in the demand for a White South Africa, but this cannot be accepted.

The main advocates of segregation have been British immigrants or Colonial British, whose white pedigree can be traced back step by step. To cite a few names: the Shepstones, Evans, Stevens, Stallard, Tainton, Heaton-Nicholls, Elliot, Matabele-Thompson, his son, Senator Thompson, and countless others. Afrikaners, who have been extremely vocal of late years, have been General Hertzog and Dr. Malan. The other leaders have been singularly backward in supporting a White South Africa.

General Smuts has given us several interesting theories to digest in his Oxford Lectures, but nobody can say that he has been an active Segregationist, or an advocate of putting the native in his place. In any case, these three Dutch Afrikaners can point to a pure white ancestry.

It might be defamatory to mention who are these people in high places with coloured blood in their veins. It would be most interesting to know their names. If there are any, they are singularly lukewarm in their support of those who

are striving to make South Africa a white man's country; they may shout, but they do not act. They have never assisted by subscribing one penny in support of institutions which press the white man's claim for a place in the sun.

This miscegenation is a very delicate question. If we can open the eyes of the politicians wide enough, we shall be able to stop the rot, otherwise it may lead and control South Africa's destinies.

Our policy must be to elevate the coloured people. They can be happy and contented if separated from black and white, provided their economic position is improved, and their needs studied, by the Government. We shall deal with this later on.

According to the preliminary report on the enumeration of all races of the population of the Union of South Africa, there were 767,984 coloured persons resident there in 1936. This shows a considerable increase on the last figures, which is rather surprising, in view of the fact that drink, pneumonia, and tuberculosis undoubtedly play havoc with the lives of these people. Something must be done to see that they get a better type of drink. Wine with a lower alcoholic strength but of good quality would help. Care should be exercised in supplying liquor to women and children. Farmers could do a lot to improve the present state of affairs. Too much "Blits" (the colloquial name for bad brandy) is consumed. This type of Cape smoke can well be dispensed with. Drink should be provided during working hours only, by the employer, and, so to say, imbibed on the premises. Prohibition will not work; but something can be done to enforce moderation. A distinct change is coming over the physique of these people.

A number of marriages are still consummated between white and coloured. The progeny are near white, and rapidly become absorbed in the white population; with native contacts the shade gets darker, until it is very near black.

What are we to do with these people? At present we are driving them back on to the Bantu. This is a fatal error. The first step we have to take is to pass the same laws, with regard to miscegenation and marriage, in respect of natives as apply to the whites. We must put a dam

between the coloured people and their darker friends. Segregate the trouble at its source. There is practically no miscegenation to-day between black and white: the races are being polluted by the union of coloured and black.

We have to remember that the negroes of the United States are led by these people, the light-coloured men. It is far more to our advantage to make friends with them and take them along with us, than to have them as leaders of a black proletariat. It is this class which is beginning to show signs of disputing the supremacy of the white man. We should deal with this problem by giving the coloured people in the Transvaal and Free State some say in the government of the country.

Now that we are providing accommodation for the white man and the native, steps should be taken to look after the coloureds. We must lift them up ever nearer and nearer to our standard. They are excellent fighters, and will stand side by side with us against all comers, as they have done in the past, provided we give them fair treatment. They must tend towards the white, as their greatest competitors are the blacks. Just as the unskilled white man is driven below the bread level by this insane competition, similarly the Cape man and woman feels the draught. Speaking at a meeting some time ago, Mrs. F. H. P. Creswell alluded to the deplorable state of affairs in the labour market at Cape Town, owing to native competition. So much so, that this town was driving the coloured women to prostitution. Quite recently the Social Welfare Officer, Mr. Beatty, alluded to the fact that, owing to the influx of natives, who are subsidised by the Municipality indirectly, five hundred Cape men were out of employment—and this in prosperous times. Naturally under such conditions they are driven back to crime.

Not long ago a large meeting of coloured people was held in Bethal Church, Hanover Street, Cape Town. The meeting was addressed by Dr. Francis H. Gow, a leader who is rapidly coming to the front. After appealing for unity, no matter what the degree of colour, he went on to allude to their low wages, the disease prevalent among them, the hungry children, and as a consequence the height of infantile mortality, owing to the scarcity of money for proper care. He complained of the low standard of education. "There

is vice," he said, "there is lawlessness. Will the Europeans remove the causes?" The meeting asked for the speeding up of the various housing schemes, remedies for unemployment, better educational facilities, and the employment, in predominantly non-European areas, of coloured policemen, post-office assistants, tram and bus conductors, and shop assistants. The tone of the meeting makes it apparent that the parting of the ways has come. The coloured people are on their way to joining up with the natives. We cannot afford to drive three-quarters of a million people into their arms. We have created this potential menace, and we must remedy the position.

There is another school of thought which wishes to treat the coloured man in the same way as the native. There can be only one ending to this—a further increase in the darker type of coloured population, through intermarriage with natives, and a bitterness against the European. As sure as to-morrow comes, the end of this century will see a struggle by the blacks for supremacy, for the dice are being loaded against us. If we lose the struggle, we shall become as the people of Mexico and Brazil—Mestizos—mixed-blooded people.

It is therefore to our advantage to detach this section of the South African population from our potential competitors. We must attach them to us by economic advantages. The first step is to enquire carefully into the question of a minimum wage for unskilled labour in the urban areas. It is probable that the Union Government will do something in the matter shortly.

The undoubtedly large number of illegitimate coloured children is in part a result of this labour question. The second consideration is, therefore, miscegenation. We must remember that, although the marriage statistics between white and coloured are lower, miscegenation on a large scale does take place. Cape Town particularly has a bad name for immorality. This is difficult to check unless we improve the position of these people.

The trouble we have continually to face in Africa is the tendency to make the whites a nation of mixed blood. At all costs we must stop the present state of affairs by prohibiting miscegenation and marriage between whites, coloureds and natives, and Asiatics.

THE ASIATIC

To develop the sugar industry we introduced Asiatics into South Africa without providing for repatriation. Hence these tears. We now have 219,928 of them in the Union.

The political changes of the past few years have altered things considerably. With India on the way to Dominion status, the screw will be applied on Africa to admit her nationals, and to improve the position of those already in our midst. Immigration we should fight to the death, and it should also be stopped in the North.

The Asiatic underlives and undersells us. We cannot assimilate him into our white population. Again, the Asiatic does not like the white man. The Japanese have shown us how they treat those with whom they are at war. What mercy could we expect from them, or any other Eastern combination, for that matter?

Difficulties of administration increase, particularly where there is a large native population. Miscegenation and intermarriage raise further problems. This must be absolutely forbidden as between Asiatic and Bantu. Fortunately, we have been able to place some check on the numbers of the former, by the system of paying bounties to those willing to return to Mother India. If necessary, we must increase the inducement.

This is not a question of colour, it is a matter of self-preservation; and while we wish to remain on friendly terms with the East for purposes of trade, we cannot sacrifice our own nationals. These remarks apply to any class of Asiatic trader, including the Chinese, who have probably more to do with the illicit native liquor trade than others. They are the greatest sellers of yeast and other ingredients of the fiery *skokiaan*, the urban Bantu's favourite drink.

The Chinese have many good points, the chief of which are powers of endurance and ability to toil patiently and

arduously. As fighters on behalf of their country they are admirable. Their heroic efforts will never be forgotten while the world can remember. It is for these qualities we do not want them. Simply, because we wish to preserve our individuality as a white nation, we cannot admit people who would eventually swamp us. The door is barred—as a Dominion we are able to prevent this calamity from happening—but it is wise to remember what has taken place in the past, and history has an uncanny knack of repeating itself.

We must admit the coolie was useful in developing tropical and sub-tropical Africa. An attempt should still be made to divert the attention of those Indians born in this country towards the cultivation of export articles, such as oil seeds, etc. In irrigation there is a field for them. They can find employment with any farmer who has ground under water, for they need very little training. As agricultural employees of high grade they can find work, but as traders they only increase the bad feeling which exists against them. There is very little hope, however, of getting many back to the land. The educated son of the indentured Coolie is not contented with hard work on the land: he becomes a waiter, clerk, storeman, or trader. To see the evolution of the Indian one has to visit Kenya and Uganda. It is difficult to find there a white man in any of the above occupations in Uganda.

It is true the white races have ground available for these people, but it is suitable for future white colonisation, whereas the Indian has most of the tropics as his field—places which are not suited to white settlement. In colonies which have been conquered and occupied by white men, he has no business to acquire the monopoly of trade, such as is taking place in the North to-day.

In Natal and the Cape, legislation has been passed controlling General Dealers' licences, which has had a good effect, to a certain extent, but this legislation does not apply to the Transvaal. It is urgently needed. Something of the same sort is required in other parts of Africa, but has no hope of being introduced unless these dependencies obtain self-government.

One has only to cross the border of the Transvaal into Natal to realise that the latter is largely dominated by the

Indian trader. Fifty years ago the immense native population dealt entirely with white merchants. To-day the latter have vanished, and there is no hope for the white youth of Natal to take up this lucrative and interesting side of commerce. The same applies to the Transvaal. Towns like Nylstroom and Pietersburg are particularly good examples of the position.

Let us put it to our high-caste Indian friends, to whom we have no objection, whose culture and ability we admire. How would they like to see themselves deprived of nearly the entire trade of a province, because their opponents had a lower standard of living than themselves? The Indian and the Arab have ousted, with the assistance of other undesirable traders, the intelligent British and Dutch Afrikaner from the lucrative undertaking of country store-keeping. On the whole, this transition has been received with equanimity by the white population, which is greatly to their credit; the result has been the lowering of the standards of business ethics.

Furthermore, Asiatic assistants are paid very low wages. Where wage determinations exist, something may be done, but such laws are very easily evaded by these people. The only remedy is, control of the General Dealers' licence. There should be insistence on cleanliness and sanitation. Where convictions are obtained, they should entail loss of trading rights.

The old Transvaal Government was more efficient in controlling breaches of the law by the store-keeping community. They maintained a special staff of Indian detectives, who did excellent work in cases of fraudulent bankrupts who failed to keep proper books, etc.

There is no doubt that under present circumstances the Indians are becoming, in proportion to their numbers, the wealthiest class in the country. There are no figures available which will prove this; but every Oriental trader owns a pretentious motor-car, and gives ample evidence of his opulence in many other ways. He can obtain better results with half the turnover of a white man. What hope have we got?

Some of the richer Indians control strings of shops. The Chinese own approximately five hundred shops in the Cape Province. In Johannesburg there are literally thousands of

General Dealers', not to mention Hawkers', licences owned by Asiatics. Large sums of money are remitted monthly to India and taken out of circulation. It is fortunate that we are a rich country, but this constitutes a severe drain on our resources.

At one time the Asiatic question overshadowed all others in the Transvaal, but now a sort of dull apathy prevails. The small trader who was eliminated has lost recognition, and his protests are buried in the grave. The evil still remains—the existence of a trading community that has taken away a great part of our heritage—and the position is aggravated as we travel northwards.

We are not alone in this respect: in certain parts of Africa the native and the coloured man suffers intensely by Asiatic competition. We shall deal with this later in considering the position in Tanganyika, Kenya, and Uganda.

It is our duty to encourage and develop the fine white nation of which we have every reason to be proud, and we must resist all influences which tend to endanger our future. The danger as regards immigration from the East is greater in the North than in the South. This menace will have to be faced. The sooner the British States in the North are united and have self-government, the better for us, provided the interests of their white nationals are properly safeguarded.

South Africa has forgotten the fight, almost culminating in civil war, which was put up by our friends and blood brothers in Kenya. All good South Africans should take off their hats to Lord Delamere, and those who fought, and were to a certain extent successful. Without this, we should have had a position in the North which would be impossible, bad as it is to-day.

The whole trouble arose as a result of friction between Indian political aspirations on the one hand and European demands for restriction of immigration on the other. The Indians were quite contented until firebrands from India took a hand, just as our natives appreciated the comparatively beneficial circumstances they enjoy until the assimilationists began to agitate about the state of semi-slavery which actually only existed in their imagination.

After 1914, there was no stopping the agitation. Great Britain had called upon India for help and India demanded payment for her services. The first step was taken at the

Imperial Conference of 1914 by demanding the removal of restriction on immigration to the Dominions. This effort failed, as nothing could induce the Dominions to barter their standard of living and level of civilisation, for the Imperial ideal of equality, race, colour, and creed, in competition for the highest positions in the Empire. Fortunately, also in 1918 the Imperial Conference went farther by passing the following resolution:

"It is an inherent function of the Government of the several communities of the British Commonwealth, including India, that each should enjoy complete control over the composition of its own population by means of restriction of immigration from any other communities."

Naturally the position of the Dominions to do what they like in this case has been strengthened by the Statute of Westminster. We have been granted a right which we may have to defend one day by force of arms.

South Africa has had frequent interference in its affairs on various pretexts from India, which will recur in the future. In 1920 a Commission, including a member of the Viceroy's Council, was sent from India to investigate Indian grievances.

The Europeans in Kenya began to be alarmed at the agitation for political rights, and when Sir Edward Northey arrived there as Governor in 1919, he was confronted with what was to become a serious situation. The announcement, that Europeans were to elect their own representatives to the Legislative Council, created a demand from the Indians for equal rights.

The Europeans organised a counter-attack, pointing out that the Asiatics' presence deprived the African of all incentive, ambition, and opportunities of advancement. . . . "In every direction the sphere of the Indian is not complementary but competitive with that of the European and the African." The Commission went on:

"Physically the Indian is not a wholesome influence because of his incurable repugnance to sanitation and hygiene. The moral depravity of the Indian is equally damaging to the African, who in his natural state has been innocent of the worst vices of the East. The pre-

sence of the Indian in Africa is quite obviously inimical to the interests of European and native. The error ought gradually to be rectified as far as possible by restricting fresh immigration and by partial repatriation."

The British Government gave the settlers the assurance that there was no question of equal political rights being given to the Indians, and though Indian interests would not be lost sight of, European interests must be held paramount throughout the Protectorate. The Indians thereupon sent deputations to the Viceroy of India and to Lord Milner, then Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The population of Kenya at that time consisted of 9,651 Europeans, 22,822 Indians, and between 2 and 3 million natives. To grant the Indians equal rights with the Europeans, as they demanded, would have resulted in making East Africa an Indian dependency and sufficient reason to drive the whites out of that part of Africa. The settlers felt that their troubles were bad enough, without the addition of a brown wedge between black and white.

They were trustees of the natives, but their position in work and trade would be completely nullified in competing with hordes of Indians. Fortunately, the natives and the leaders of the Church in Kenya adopted this point of view, and stood solidly behind the settlers, while the war was carried on for many years. Lord Milner on the whole was sympathetic, but retired in 1921, and was succeeded by Mr. Winston Churchill. At first it was feared that Mr. Churchill would reverse Lord Milner's policy, as great pressure was brought to bear on him by Indian deputations. At the Imperial Conference of 1921, however, South Africa took a hand by refusing to agree to the principle of granting rights of citizenship to Indians in the Dominions.

In August 1921, a small mission from Kenya sailed to see General Smuts. The Prime Minister of the Union declined to receive them officially, but agreed to meet the members for an exchange of views, and the resulting advice was sound. He said that he looked on Equatorial Africa as the natural hinterland of the South. The backbone of high country running up the continent was the stronghold of Western civilisation in Africa, and he advised caution, but firmness, and constitutional resistance to every attempt to

force, from the white community, concessions to Asiatic claims.

The position for the Europeans in Kenya gradually became worse, and the Convention of Associations decided to send a deputation to England. The British view was that, by the process of handing Kenya to the Indians, it would help to solve the unrest in India—a most fallacious principle. Mr. Churchill was more sympathetic than was anticipated to this deputation, led by Lord Delamere.

In 1922 the storm burst. The settlers' friend and Governor, Sir Edward Northey, was ordered home. The home Government proposed what is known as the Wood-Winteron plan, by which the Indians were to obtain four to seven, or four to eleven, seats in the Legislature. Immigration was to be unrestricted, segregation was to be abolished, and the right of the Indians to enter the white highlands was left an open question. These proposals aroused intense indignation in Kenya. The time for negotiation had passed; there was only one remedy—resort to arms. The Vigilance Committee (we had one in 1904) had for some time been organising an emergency military and political machine. There was a strong and able body of experienced military men in the colony. The colonists were few in number but formidable fighters, trained in the arts of war. Everything was worked out to the last detail. The ex-soldiers, all honour to them, were prepared to lose their pensions, perhaps their farms, in defending their rights. The military command was in the hands of three most experienced commanders. Plans were made to seize the railway, postal, and telegraphic systems, and to kidnap the Governor (he would have come to no harm, of course). It was not a question of physical violence against the Indians: the idea of sending them to Mombassa was being entertained—that was all.

The activities of the settlers began to give intense anxiety to Downing Street. The motto of the settlers was "For King and Kenya," and they were fully cognisant of the fact that very few British soldiers would fight against them, whilst South Africans would come in great numbers to their assistance. The position convinced the Colonial Office that, in the interests of the settler, a final decision must be arrived at.

Further, a deputation of Europeans and another of Indians sailed for England, accompanied by Sir Robert Coryndon, the Governor of Kenya—Lord Delamere leading the Europeans as usual. He took every step on arrival in England to arouse public sympathy, at great personal sacrifice.

Lord Delamere and Mr. Srinivassa Sastri, assisted by the Rev. C. F. Andrews (of whom we have also heard in South Africa), informed the Press of the position. As Mr. Sastri at that time had never been in East Africa, there were naturally wide differences in the statements made to the Press, but the colonists, in spite of all the Indian agitation, steadily gained ground. The settlers were very fortunate in having as their Governor Sir Robert Coryndon, a born South African, pioneer Rhodesian, who had formerly administered Barotseland, N.W. Rhodesia, Swaziland, Basutoland, and Uganda, where he had built up a great prestige and a high reputation. Furthermore, he understood the needs of the African and the whites.

A compromise was thus arrived at—five Indian members were to be elected to the Legislative Council, the European number remained at eleven, there was to be an Arab member, and one member to represent native interests unofficially. Responsible government was considered as out of the question for a long period—the policy of segregation in townships was to be abolished. The reservation of the highlands for Europeans was to be maintained, immigration was to be enquired into.

The settlers had won over the white highlands and the equal rights or common roll question, they had lost over segregation, and the immigration question was in doubt. Despite considerable agitation, the compromise was accepted by the whites, but produced violent feeling in India. Mr. Sastri brought South Africa into the picture. Not that our Government had done much except to be sympathetic. He said, *inter alia* :

“The people of India are no longer equal partners in the British Commonwealth, but unredeemed helots in a Boer Empire.”

As a matter of fact, the Union never intervened officially during the negotiations. Then a Labour Government came into power in England, and the promise to make incomers

pass a simple educational test was not carried out for the time being.

Great attention has been paid to the fight for Kenya, as it has a considerable bearing on the Union. The writer has just returned from a visit to Central Africa, where the position is deplorable. Uganda, which should be a nearly perfect example of the segregated State, has practically no European traders. Business is entirely in the hands of the Arabs and Indians, who are, with few exceptions, a sorry lot. The Arabs were the slave dealers and the introducers of many diseases.

At least 90 per cent. of the Bugandas, a really fine native tribe, are suffering from venereal disease. The Indians co-habit with, and help to corrupt, these people. In Tanganyika they retain a master grip, and in Kenya have far too much to say. They have done nothing to merit the privileges they enjoy.

Briton and Boer watered the soil of these territories with their blood, to secure the safety of their successors: the local Indian losses were, one or two wounded and five shot as spies.

As stated before, the high-caste Arab and Indian we can admire; but not most of the class of people we have to put up with in Central Africa and the Union.

The reason we must be on our guard is that there is a strong movement to secure for the South African Indian political rights. Sympathisers are entertained and garlanded. The Government of India sends us her best sons as Agent-Generals. They are at all times presenting a case to which there is very little reply. Quite recently the Agent-General made the extraordinary statement that the Indians were being elbowed out of every industry in South Africa. He is challenged here and now to produce the figures, as to the position of that community as a whole, over the past fifty years. Starting with nothing, they have become one of the wealthiest sections of the population. There is no unemployment amongst them that we wot of. The Agent-General complained that during the last four years there had been a decrease of about 26 per cent. in Indian licences. If this is so, the reduction has been generally due to over-trading, and the remaining Indians have reaped the benefit. Will the Agent-General tell us what percentage of Indians

are traders? He says, the only occupation open to them is trading. This is nonsense: the Indian would speedily find work if the way were not made so easy for him to trade. So long as he controls so large a proportion of our business by under-living and under-paying, there will be a feeling that he is an undesirable guest in our country. When he realises that trading is not his only business, the South African Indian may aspire to some representation in the Senate, but not before. He will have to be content with the fact that he has one of the richest trade fields in the world to exploit. His interference in politics will not be allowed, but his monopoly of trade will be tolerated, subject to the control of an over-generous Government.

South Africans must watch the position closely. The East is waking up, and we must be ready to resist any attempts to get political or municipal rights. We have too many side issues to contend with as it is, and if any more sectional interests are represented in the House of Assembly we shall soon begin the speedy descent which ends in *Avernus*.

At the moment, the Indians in Kenya have started a violent agitation for the white highlands. We must fight side by side with our friends there against them.

Finally, Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, the Minister of Labour, has drawn public attention to the attempt to form a "Non-European Front" between the Bantu, coloureds, and Indians, with the latter the guiding factor. Indians, he said, are toying with the matter. Their cultural and material resources were to be utilised. Notwithstanding Mr. Hofmeyr's advice, and the danger he mentioned that the movement might be used by not entirely disinterested outsiders, there is no doubt that the Indian community will assist, probably secretly, and that large sums of money will be subscribed.

This book has been written because it was well known that such an attempt would be made to destroy white civilisation in Africa. It makes provision for a league of Europeans to resist such an organisation.

(NOTE.—The Non-European Front has, since writing the above, been formed by representatives of 30,000 natives, coloured and Indians, at Cape Town on April 18th, 1938.)

THE WHITE MAN

No examination of the political future of Africa would be complete without dealing with the white population.

We have nothing to be ashamed of as regards many of our sons. In war, in politics, in arts, in football or athletics we can hold our own with the best in the world. We have been accused by the Communists and the extreme Socialists of being a white aristocracy founded on native labour, and in the same breath we are told that 75 per cent. of our population exist below the bread line. Our aim must be to become a white aristocratic State on Platonic lines in which, as regards the towns at any rate, our children will be brought up to do eventually most of the labour—a state in which the white man and his family, though expected to work to the best of their ability, will be assured of a square meal and a square deal politically and socially. There is no other alternative. We must lead the inferior races with whom we are in contact. Leadership implies the weeding out of anything inferior in the body-politic. Day by day, our educationists (and they are a fine body of men and women) strive to create a well-educated public. The under-nourished child is now fed, housing schemes are being proceeded with, and in many ways we are trying to remedy the errors of the past. Not but that we have a long way to go, and much time has been lost.

It is not our intention to delve into history; in our case it is far better only to take what good we can from the past and adapt it to our future. We started on a good foundation. Boer and Briton, Hollander, German, and Scandinavian are closely related by blood, and after all, when it comes to the point, blood is thicker than water. Bilingualism has been a difficulty and still is. Good South Africans will face the question, and strive to know one another's language; they will then see into each other's hearts. So-called racialism hardly exists, political racialism does.

We must so guide our politicians that they do not divide us, considering the terrible dangers we shall have to face in the future, which can only be met and conquered by Unity, "Eendracht maakt mag" (Unity is strength). We must remember the good points of Boer and Briton—they are many; we are learning to work together. Intermarriage has been a great help. One can go so far as to say that there is not one Dutch Afrikaner family in Africa that has not got British connections and relations. This is so much to the good that eventually we shall stand and fight together as one man, if we are only true to ourselves.

Africa is not an easy country. As one rolls along in the Union Limited, seeing the wonderful progress that we have made, there is some ground for congratulation. Here, where the wild beast and the barbarian stood in our way, we have carved out a fair dominion. Yet behind the curtain there are many problems harder to conquer than wild beasts or savage natives. Our greatest fault, if one may say so, is lack of imagination. We do not look ahead far enough. To be really great we must create a United Africa, dominated by a white aristocracy, in so far as those parts of Africa are concerned where a white man can exist in a healthy state. In the tropics we can only exercise a directing policy. We must look forward to an Africa of all white nationalities, eventually becoming one allied dominion, independent in every way of Europe, but willing to accept the friendship and assistance of anyone who wishes us well. In this way we may ultimately save our civilisation and become a Power that will last through the centuries instead of being submerged under the wave of colour.

Originally a purely farming and hunting community, we have entered all fields of industry. In the beginning we did not protect our farmers as we should have done from the invasions of immigrants, whose business acumen was too great for our simple people. Then our law of primogeniture is faulty. We should have applied long ago the New Zealand Home Law which, under certain conditions, prevents anyone from attacking the homestead and farm on which the family resides. It is not too late to remedy some of these defects. To keep the speculator off the land, we must see that one or two of the children get the inheritance, and the

others seek employment elsewhere; that is, where the subdivision would mean ruin to the whole family.

In addition, we have to safeguard very carefully our democratic inheritance. It would be folly not to admit that something is wrong with the democratic machine. The alternative to Democracy is Fascism or Communism. You can take your choice. If we wish for neither of these alternatives, we must put our own house in order. Take our political party nominations in South Africa: they are farcical. Very few people will face an elaborate canvass of the members of a party to obtain a nomination; that is, people with other business to attend to. The ideal would be that persons wishing to obtain a nomination should put their views before each party branch; that the members, after being addressed, should vote, and the result be kept secret till all branches had voted; no canvassing to be permitted; unsuccessful candidates should lose their deposit. The same principle would be followed at elections, with this difference, that voting would be compulsory, whether in person or by post. A small fine would speedily convince the electorate where their interests lay. Canvassing or the use of motor-cars should be a disqualification. Let the candidates fight it out in public at a limited number of meetings, at which no vote should be taken. Questions, naturally, could be asked, and each meeting would elect its own chairman. Something like this is the ideal to aim at if we wish to save democracy in the Union: the time for buying seats has passed; large contributions to party funds must not be the means of pitchforking any sort of a candidate into Parliament; merit must count, and little else, if we wish to save our soul. The alternative to reforming Democracy in this and other ways is Fascism. Let us end the waste of time in Parliament, the fossilised institutions, the red tape; we must find a way of dealing with public business which will give the same results as the Fascist States obtain, without any curtailment of liberty. For freedom, in any case, we shall fight to a finish. Let us without loss of time put our own house in order.

This is a digression, but it is essential in considering the place which the white man has to take in this country.

The eyes of the world are on Africa; not only on gold, but more perhaps on base metals. Thus the nonsensical

talk of internationalising parts of Africa. If this becomes an accomplished fact, we shall see the continent Romanised and mechanised, and lose our identity altogether. Europe is becoming senile and decadent. The young and virile countries must strike out for themselves. Do not let us delude ourselves; we must put our house in order; defence, not defiance, our motto. We are rather late, but money must not be spared to bring the military machine up to date. We must increase our strength in the air; this is still a weak spot, although a very great deal has been done. In another particular we have been remiss—that is, the sea. We should have a small fleet of submarines. The coast defences of ourselves and our neighbours require attention. We cannot always rely on the British Navy in the event of war, as it will have its own hands full. In certain events we may be forced to do without its aid altogether, so we must deal fully with defence. The day of the unerring rifle has not gone: the lesson of the war in Spain shows that Tommy still rules the position.

Mounted infantry will yet have much to do in South Africa. Unfortunately, we are short of the right type of horses, and there is very little time to correct the fault. Steps should be taken to import Arab stallions; crossed with Percherons or Flemish mares, we should get back the old stamp of Cape horse. Failing this, we shall have to make more use of the thoroughbred, of which we have many good sires. Selected animals might receive a Government subsidy, and be available to the countryside.

Every lad should see short service in a Special Service Battalion. The girls too should be disciplined: our greatest weakness is want of discipline. In a mad world we have to organise our State so that we may have a chance of survival. Rifle and revolver shooting must be made national pastimes. The time may come, as in the days of old, when men, women, and children of white Africa will have to defend their country. Let us pray this may not be so, but let us keep our powder dry.

In the meantime, what must we do to improve our internal position? There has been too much exploitation in this country. Immense fortunes have been made, and very little given back. Rhodes and Beit have been the greatest benefactors. Outside of these two very few of the great

millionaires who are dead and gone have done much for the place where they made their wealth.

The system of our taxation requires alteration. This is a country of lock-ups. Millions have been made by holding up mining properties in the shape of Gold Farms for years, then floating them on a rising market. In the interim they paid no taxation. We cannot rely on Henry George's theory of taxation: it will not answer in Africa. In many places we should pay the farmer to remain on the land; not suggest, as some people do, taking all land over: that would mean ruination to the State.

The remedy is the General Property Tax which is in force in one or two States of America. In any case, it is peculiarly suited to Africa. By its use every other form of taxation could be eliminated, or at any rate greatly reduced, with the exception of luxury taxation. In other words, a man would be taxed on his balance-sheet, not on income: on what he owns. This would, of course, prevent lock-ups, which are a curse. The system would prevent the abuse of power by millionaires, who, by dominating the Press of South Africa, have done untold harm. No one or two persons with unlimited means should have the right to control the news of a country.

The capitalist should pay a far greater proportion of the taxes than he does at present, and a General Property Tax, purposely graduated, would do great good. The man or woman who owns nothing but spends a large income would be reached through luxury taxation.

As regards farming, our greatest primary industry, we have been singularly wanting in organisation. To-day farmers are often critics, not organisers. We can do much more to improve matters. The Co-operative Unions, the Farmers' Associations, the Government Agricultural Departments, every branch of farming in whatever centre, and the Land Bank should be in much closer touch with one another, provided that no official of the Government should be connected with a Farmers' Union as an officer thereof. It would be a grand business if in every province their offices were adjacent. Annual provincial meetings, not of Unions alone, but of all interested in agriculture, should be held. Co-operatives should arrange an intensive canvass of all districts, the richer helping the weaker brethren, until

every farmer was linked up through an association or a Co-operative Society. The business farmer must be roped in to run the organising side. Government interference must be deprecated: they should be advisers. Politics must be strictly eliminated.

An agricultural survey is overdue. Before purchasing ground, a man should know its value, that is, what its actual chance of production is. Ground is only worth what it will bring in. Some of the land is almost worthless; settlers placed on such propositions should not pay for their farms, but be assisted to remain on them, if that is thought desirable. Farmers must be helped to mechanise, for labour is getting scarce and inefficient (we shall deal with this later on). It is high time we made our own motor-tractors, if we cannot make motor-cars in South Africa. We must not rest until we have found a substitute for imported fuel.

One of the greatest tasks is to higher the standard of living on the Platteland. We cannot realise our ideal of an aristocratic State until every person on the land is happy, well fed, and well clothed. Service to one another will achieve this; nothing more nor less: not greed of power nor lust for more wealth, but a continual striving to do our duty to our neighbour. We all will cheerfully admit we are far short of this high standard; still, let us aim at it. The prize is the saving of white civilisation—turning this continent into a place fit for men to live in.

Let us examine our industrial and commercial life. In Industry we have gone ahead with startling rapidity. Even so, our rate of production per head is far below the pure white countries. This shows a fault which must be remedied. An evil we have to guard against is the stimulation of artificial industries, in which we cannot use our own material. Attention must be paid to the greater use of base metals. The world looks with jealous eyes on our immense stores of these. Our iron industry is a success, started, after years of travail, by the efforts of men who were not even asked to the opening. It is far too small. The greatest political crime of our time was the delay in starting it. The World War would have made it four times its present size. We were a little too late again. Let us remedy this listlessness or others will take our place. Our surpluses should be used, while they last, to subsidise and assist great natural

industries. Iron factories should be extended; copper, lead, manganese, zinc, iron—can nothing be done to speed up the manufacture from the raw material? Bloemfontein was ready, and would probably still come forward, to start a great national woollen factory, provided some assistance was given. We do not want Government interference, but we want help. They can easily guide finance into the right channels. The great goal we have to aim at is white labour in Industry except mining, which is very suitable to natives, and the exploitation, development, and manufacture of our base metals. Further, the mechanisation of our country. We cannot become great or defend ourselves until we have factories devoted to the manufacture of engines of all kinds.

So much for Industry. Let us turn to Commerce. Here we have a rather sorry tale to tell. On the way to Pretoria as a lad, the writer was struck by the number of stores, "winkels" as they were picturesquely called in the taal, owned by British or Dutch Afrikanders; these stores were the centre of the country life of the community. Some of our best people were born and bred in country stores. Outside the little Free State there are very few of this class left: we have the highest type of commercial morality in that province to-day. The wise Government this model republic had saw to the elimination of undesirable competition. Some readers may have thought the Indians were dealt with hardly in the chapter dealing with them. If he sees the difference between this favoured province and Natal, the Cape, and the Transvaal, he will find the criticism well justified. In 1936 there were only twenty-nine Asiatics in the Free State; a sound example to the rest of South Africa.

In the early days Commerce attracted a fine lot of men from overseas, and the best sons of South Africa went into business. It is not the case to-day. There is a reason for this. Parents feel the dice are loaded against their children. Immense capital is required to compete with low-class traders. Again we insist that the remedy is a tightening up of the Licensing Laws. Our children must have the chance to which they are entitled.

Nothing in these remarks is meant to disparage the very fine class of men still left in Commerce. Unfortunately, it

seems as if each year their numbers are dwindling. The great pillars of the past, the Jaggers, the Hoskens, the Campbells, and many others, seem to have departed, and their places have not been taken.

In the railways we have a great asset connected intimately with our commercial life. In the interests of every man we plead for a modified bilingualism on the railways. So long as a man can pass a *viva voce* examination in the lower grades, we should be satisfied. There are cases of people in the Union who have great difficulty in passing the present examination. We shall lose many brilliant officers, both Dutch and English, if we pursue this examination, fetish too much. Intelligence tests would be far better, with a modified bilingual examination.

The function of the Railway has not departed; we are speeding up, and much remains to be done. We should be thankful for the fine type of Railway Administration we enjoy. There are defects, but they can be remedied. It will be a grand day when we can look forward to producing all our own railway requirements. The great motor-man, Chrysler, began life building railway engines: we can produce many Chryslers!

We have as a country a deal to be thankful for. The discovery of diamonds, followed by the gold mines, saved us from a lingering death as a white influence. Gold and other mining is a great asset so long as it does not interfere too much with politics. Let us be frank. The big houses have far too much to say in the daily Press. They should dispose of their control, and give the public of the country an opportunity of owning their own papers. You cannot have constructive criticism where you have not a free and independent daily Press. Without this the outlook is gloomy, the future most obscure. There is fortunately at the moment more independence in the air, and new papers are being started.

Something different is wanted. The voice of the public must be heard, not the voice of a few interested parties. Money must not talk in this way; it will damn and deaden the independence of our country. The independent dailies in Johannesburg and Pretoria, the Chronicle newspapers, were battered out of existence—a great loss, if we may say so, to Africa. One of her ablest sons was lost to the country.

This must not occur again, or we shall never realise our ideal of a great aristocratic State.

We must not forget the other great sections of our population—the professional classes and the civil service. We congratulate ourselves on having a very fine lot of professional men and women, and a capable civil service—some-what overstaffed, perhaps. It is fatal for anyone to acquire the Government stroke. Some sort of an enquiry should always be proceeding to see that value is being given to the public.

One of our greatest Departments requires overhauling: the Agricultural Department, with exceptions (Plant Industry and Veterinary, for instance, are highly efficient). The Department, to our mind, is not sufficiently in touch with the ordinary farmer. It is the lower levels of agriculture that require attention—black and white. Nobody who sees the vast unoccupied territories of the Union can be satisfied with the present state of affairs. The economic side needs strengthening considerably. With great irrigation schemes nearing completion, men of wide experience should be brought in to advise as to the best crops for the country to cultivate, keeping in view export needs and local consumption. We cannot have periodical gluts and shortages. Remedies must and can be found. We have very bad local markets. We have a Marketing Bill which in theory is near perfection; but we have not got enough men to work it. They are in the country, but probably are not vociferous enough. The Marketing Boards should be divorced as much as possible from Government control. The Chairman of each Board should be a business farmer—difficult birds to catch. They must be induced to do their duty. Patronage and politics must be entirely divorced from any appointment. Not that this is the case to-day; but let us beware, otherwise the Boards will be a failure. Already we are being told not to expect too much. On the contrary, we expect a good deal. There is no reason why town and country should not co-operate to institute an orderly state of marketing, instead of the chaos which exists at the present time. The desirable middle-man is a great asset to the farmer; the Wool Broker and many others of that class invaluable. The undesirable intermediate must be eliminated. If the Marketing Bill fails in that particular it will be worthless.

The greatest work to be done is in better control of Municipal markets. In addition, the country expects that its products should be used internally while men and animals are under-nourished. Some system must be involved by which the poorer farmer gets a higher price than the larger producer, who should by now be in a position to compete in the export markets without artificial stimulants.

There are 2,003,512 Europeans in the Union; the rest of the Europeans in Africa can be put under a pocket handkerchief. Our numbers are far too small, so we must face the question of immigration. Suitable boys and girls might be adopted by those who have the means to do this. They would be trained in our ways and make desirable citizens. Base-metal development should provide employment for thousands of men and women of our own type, provided Native policy is run on sound lines. We bar no country; we must have high-grade material. There will be no question of any of our own nationals suffering, for we have plenty of work for the white man in the highlands of Africa. If we do not fill the country up, the coloured races will do the job for us.

There is a prejudice against immigration in some quarters. We can sympathise with this feeling, but the danger of a small population is too great. Ten million whites from Kenya to the Cape would make our position safe for the time being. Is this too much to aim at in the next twenty years?

In conclusion, we must deal with the matters which have filled the columns of our newspapers and made us a byword in other parts of the world—the Poor White, a name to which the writer very much objects. If they are poor whites, we have made them so in most instances; not wilfully, but through failing to examine the causes of the decline in the poorer section of our population, the majority of whom has as good blood in their veins as the rest of us.

The Carnegie Commission did good work in investigating the question. They travelled over 30,000 miles to get at the truth; they questioned 30,000 children. It was found that in the Cape a number of this poor class bore English names. Owing to the presence of a large native population, these people lost their footing. They could not adjust themselves to the new economic conditions. The serious

factor revealed was that the lower 10 per cent. of the white population was of a feeblar intelligence than the middle class of the native population. This shows that in our economic life the lower 10 per cent. of the white population had to compete with the middle class of the natives.

Owing to our faulty system of inheritance, farms were divided into infinitesimal parts; this has now been remedied to some extent.

Other causes were drought, malnutrition, Kaffir wars, soil deficiencies, etc. In many cases unsuitable places for white development were the cause, such as malarial districts; although malaria was not necessarily a cause of poor mentality.

In addition, the educational qualifications of the children were weak. Of the 10,000 boys who left school annually in the Union, about half went into farming occupations. More than half of these boys who took up agriculture had not passed Standard VI.

Various remedies have been suggested and are being applied. One of the main points made was the great need for vocational guidance in our schools.

This leads us to consider the general question as to how our educational system can be improved. Much is being done, but we must adapt our policy more to the needs of the country. The Matriculation fetish should be checked. A simpler questionnaire, coupled with Intelligence tests, would improve matters. Entrance to Universities might be granted on the Certificate of Head Masters. Means must be found of giving every intelligent child a chance to enter the highest walks of life, and to divert the less nimble-minded into other useful grooves. We cannot keep unsuitable people on the land, for instance. This, our most important and difficult profession, requires a high standard of intelligence. Those of lesser ability must be brought into Industry, and others of higher intelligence diverted from town to country life.

To accomplish this, no time must be lost in establishing a minimum wage for all colours in the urban areas. For domestic service, special adaptations can be made; a fair basis must be arrived at. It would be idle to delve into the matter at length, as this vital question will have to be gone into by the Government at an early date. On it, more

than any other factor, hangs the future of the white races of Africa, as will appear later on.

Looking around, great progress has been, and is being, made. Juvenile Affairs Boards are being established throughout the land; there are many Boys' Clubs. A vast amount of time and labour is being put in by the little band of volunteers who realise that actions speak louder than Words! So much for the white man! We expect a great deal from the ladies; they must speak for themselves, for no mere man is competent to do so.

THE NATIVE

THERE are, according to the latest figures, 6,597,241 natives in the Union of South Africa. The non-European population increased by 3,818,923 between 1921 and 1936. Under the word native we cover all the black races of Africa.

Where did he originate? Some people consider that mankind began with the Pygmy of Central Africa. The evidence is certainly very strong that, somewhere on the western side of Mount Ruwenzori, near the Equator, where the intense cold of the Glacial period was not felt so much, the *genes* and the *enzymes* got their opportunity, and life began. Whatever is the truth of the matter, we have several distinct families or species of human beings in the world to-day. Just as different as the gorilla, the chimpanzee, and the orang-outang are the native, the white man, and the Jap.

If life originated in Central Africa, then the Nile was the great Mother of the Earth. Up her muddy waters sailed or paddled the people who were to populate the world. The totems and customs of many tribes—the Aztecs, the Red Indians, the Polynesians, the Masai—guide us to this conclusion.

Two thousand years ago the white people were not far removed from barbarians. With the exception of the Egyptian, Grecian, and Roman States, which had attained a high degree of culture, civilisation as we know it had not spread very far. The process of shaping the Teutonic people into the mighty force for good and ill which they have become was slowly at work.

Others believe that the Pygmy is merely an undersized man, and that the Bushman is the nearest clue to the missing link. All of this is pure theory. What we do know is that the earliest native inhabitants of Southern Africa were the Hottentot and the Bushman. On the arrival of the first

white explorers they found these native peoples. The majority were Hottentots, and they spread over a great tract of country. They were a pastoral people, owning considerable herds of cattle and flocks of sheep. Nomadic, moving from place to place as circumstances required, they led a happy, carefree existence, preferring the arts of peace to those of war. Their language was noted for the number of "clicks" it contained, caused by striking the tongue in different ways against the palate. It was a good medium for expressing their thoughts.

Amongst them, in scattered units, were the extraordinary little people, the Bushmen. Lighter in colour, but with similar speech to the Pygmy, they may be connected with these people of Central Africa. For countless ages they have roamed through Southern Africa, never advancing very far in the scheme of evolution, without social organisation, living like the animals under rocks or loose bushes raised against the side from which the wind was blowing. As now, they lived on game, insects, or offal, and what they could steal. Their weapons were bows and arrows, and they had a knowledge of poisons. These, with a few flints and stones, constituted all their belongings. Their language is of the most primitive type. At the same time they are great artists, in their way. In rocks and caves throughout the Union, and in the Museums, one can see remarkable examples of their skill. As hunters and trackers they are unexcelled. By the whites they are looked upon as half human, nearer to the ape than mankind. These people, however, could harbour resentment, and were not without gratitude. They have nearly disappeared, and it is pleasing to note that efforts are now being made to preserve the remnants of these interesting little men and women. The Hottentot is also rapidly disappearing. He was totally unsuited to the ways of civilisation, and rapidly absorbed the vices of the white man, and few of his virtues. They were very faithful to the Voortrekkers living on their farms, and at one time were much valued as domestic servants and personal attendants. They appear to be passing through the dim twilight into which so many of the human species have disappeared.

Now we come to an entirely different type of individual, classed collectively as the Bantu, of many different tribes,

but probably one common origin. Lighter in colour than the Negro generally, of fine physique, they show traces of Arab blood. From Zanzibar in the north along the whole of the eastern side of Southern Africa, they are found in rapidly increasing numbers. They are far removed from the West Coast Negro, and can be classed as superior in every way to the Negroid and Nilotic tribes. Their language is full of musical charm, and lends itself to flights of oratory. It is expressive and of perfect construction.

The two great branches of this family are known as the Zulu or Matabele and the Basuto. The Zulus have produced some remarkable soldiers—generals with good tactical knowledge, and organisers of no mean ability. In Dingaan, Chaka, Cetewayo, and Lobengula they had men who were not afraid to challenge the white man, though with vastly different weapons. Bloodthirsty and sometimes treacherous, they have taken considerable toll of the white races of Southern Africa.

The Basuto, on the other hand, though a cunning fighter, as we have found out in Basutoland, is not such a brave type as the Zulu. In the great Basuto chief Moshesh and in Khama of Bechuanaland, they have reached their highest development. Now they are entering on their greatest struggle—the attempt to become as we are, civilised men with equal rights. We must divert them back to whence they came. Under a tribal system, with able chiefs aided by the elders, they were in a far higher state of civilisation than the Britons at the time of the Roman conquest. As architects, as agriculturists, and artisans, they were not to be despised. They made pottery, smelted iron, and generally were a self-sufficient communistic community—a happy family from the chief to the child. The Basuto in his natural surroundings was a satisfied man; nothing hurt him so much as separation from his home and his friends. What a rotten husk he has received in return for this—the wretched, skokiaan-drinking life of the great cities. His land was held communally, his laws and traditions guided by custom were adequate to his needs, and he had a sense of honour. The women did most of the work on the lands and in their native industries. The children attended to the cattle and helped in other ways. They received the right sort of education—a natural one. The lure of

civilisation has changed a great deal of this, for the worse.

This is not a history of the native races of Africa, but a brief description of the black people with whom we are in economic competition. In the West Coast native we are not really interested. The Hausas are a peaceable people—the Jews of the continent; they are mainly Mohammedans. We must not under-estimate the menace of Mohammedanism. It may be used by European nations against us. At the same time, Christianity is more than holding its own and creating a barrier roughly right across Central Africa. About 10 per cent. of the Ashanti are probably Mohammedan.

On the Gold Coast many of the natives are wealthy; drunkenness is apparent everywhere; the young men are becoming Westernised; and education on European lines is demanded. The natives are also very suspicious of the white man; and there is a tendency to revert to heathen customs and secret societies. Workers are becoming scarce. At the same time, the native administration is spoken of highly in some quarters.

It is interesting to note the positions of Missions in Africa. Some years ago there were about 5,000 men and women connected with Protestant Societies, with 2 million adherents. The Roman Catholic priests and monks, nuns and catechists equalled 7,500, with 1,700,000 followers. Few people have any idea of the hold Roman Catholicism has got in Africa.

In the Cameroons you have the Lakka people in the north who formerly gave trouble; the great Fan tribe with branches—these were cannibals. The missionaries in this region have certainly made great sacrifices, and where their efforts have not been devoted to the cultural but the practical side, good results have been obtained. In Nigeria, north and south, we have the Yorubas, and then farther on we come to the Mohammedan stronghold of Kano. Right across to the Sudan the sword and crescent holds sway—a factor to be reckoned with.

The Pagan native, on the other hand, does not like the Mohammedan: the Burum tribe is a case in point, and also the Munchi. These are an interesting people whose origin is lost in the past. Hausa is the language in universal use, just as Swaheli is on the East Coast.

Central Africa is inhabited by many tribes in various states of development, remarkable for the fact that they all speak languages which have apparently no affinity. Many of them are highly intelligent—the Lakka, the Tuburi, and the Bana, nearer to the coast, can supply all their own needs. Why are we always trying to apply the veneer of civilisation to such people? There is no need to force them into the hustle and bustle of Western customs. What are needed principally in these regions are doctors: venereal diseases require greater attention.

In the French Congo we have the Banda and Mandjas. Mohammedanism has a good footing amongst them, being spread by itinerant traders, who are great travellers. The Azande, formerly cannibals, are another great tribe in North Congoland, and towards Lake Albert reside numerous tribes, the finest of whom are the Mangbetu.

Proceeding north up the Nile lies a different class of people—the Nilotic race. Simple and largely uncivilised, they are a happy and contented lot. The missionaries are very much in evidence, but, probably for economic reasons, have not tried to clothe their flock. It is interesting to watch the native market at Rhino Camp, the traders and their clients. All natives wear a cross around their neck and little else; the women, little tufts of grass in front and at the back; the children are nude. The total capital of the Wall Street of North Central Africa is probably £50, if that. A thousand people are busy chaffering for little heaps of maize meal, pea-nuts, native pipes, or a slice of Nile perch, which weigh up to 200 lb., and are delicious eating.

Cotton and tobacco produce considerable crops. Let us hope the acquisition of wealth will not spoil these simple people, who are happy on so little.

Of Uganda and its missions volumes have been written. This is the great centre of African Christianity. But a great shadow hangs over the country of the Buganda—the curse of venereal disease. Ninety per cent. of the natives are said to be infected. Can nothing be done to stop this terrible state of affairs which has been alluded to under the Asiatic section of this book? Next to the Buganda come the Batoror. The best thing that can be said for the missionaries is that they have put a considerable check on Moham-

medanism, which has many supporters amongst the Asiatics, who are effective proselytisers of the natives.

The Masai, the Kikuyu, and the Kivorondo, the principal tribes of Kenya, with many others, are in various stages of development. They are becoming over civilised, particularly the Kikuyu. Native education is on somewhat wrong lines. On the vocational side, they are encouraged to master agriculture, and the allied trades, such as carpentry, blacksmith work, etc. The little model experimental farm at Nairobi is admirable. But the cultural side is unduly stressed. The three R's, and not too much of that, would satisfy all wants. Downing Street has yet a lot to learn about the education of natives. Our cry is, for heaven's sake keep them away from civilisation in their own interests. One has only to note the insanitary conditions under which the natives live in Nairobi and Kampalla to see, that from the North to the South, towns are no place for the native.

South of Ruwenzori, in the Eastern Belgian Congo, there is a vast native population. One of the finest tribes are the Watussi—born aristocrats, every one of them. The men over six feet in height; the women the most beautiful of African natives. They have undoubtedly Arab, Abyssinian, or it might be Phœnician blood in their veins.

On Lake Kivu one can see the origin of navigation. Boats like those of the Viking patrol up and down the waters of this beautiful lake. Near there are the Banjanja, with their taboos, and the huts arranged, one behind the other, in parallel formation. Close to Lubutu, where the tribe resides, Emin Pasha was murdered in 1892 at the instigation of the Arabs, to whom Africa owes very little.

Many of the Congo natives have been cannibals in the past. Singular to say, these native people are looked upon to-day as the best workers and the most intelligent. The Basongi are a case in point. The Batolda and Manyema were also cannibals, good fighters too. Then we have the Kongolo.

On the whole, the native is well looked after to-day in the Belgian Congo. Wages are remarkably low. The lowest class find their own food and get two francs a day—a few pence at the present rate of exchange. On the Government goldfields (all gold is a Government monopoly) the highest rate of pay is 15s. per month. Food is easy to grow, and

in some parts of the country there are two seasons; also the soil is fertile.

Of the natives of Tanganyika, at least 1 million could be put into the fighting lines. They showed in the Great War that they do not care particularly for which side they fight. But they are a dangerous factor. We can deal with the West Coast, as there are many natural difficulties to be overcome, before an invading force could get at the Union. But let any foreign Power occupy Tanganyika, and we shall be compelled to employ native levies. It is in this direction that great care must be taken. If there is any fighting to be done, we must see that these people do not get the chance to be turned against us.

As we go farther South, through Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, we find civilisation rapidly overtaking the natives. A pity. Our whole system—the missions, the native administration—needs overhauling. The principal of trusteeship is all very well; there is no need to make the native a veneered white man. We are not driving him upwards, when we clothe him, teach him to play the piano or gramophone. We are merely filling his breast with false hopes. We must retrace our steps, or we shall never hold our own with the 140 or 150 million semi-savages with whom we have to deal. From the Sudan to the Cape we have to fight this battle of common sense against superstition and assimilation.

Naturally, only a short sketch of the native tribes of Africa has been given. Most attention has been paid to the Bantu, as the principal factor and leader in the events which are going to take place in the future. There are so many travellers' books to-day, that it is unnecessary to go into detail; the main object being to show what the native was, and what he is becoming, under the mistaken guidance of those who look on clothes and culture as the *ultima thule*.

THE ASSIMILATIONISTS

By this somewhat unhandy word is described those well-meaning people both in and out of Africa, who, ignorant of many aspects of the problem and its exceptional difficulties, wish to treat black and white as common citizens, with equal rights in the State, based on educational or property qualifications. Those who differ from them they label repressionists. Naturally the activities of this large body of public opinion has greatly disturbed the natives. It has done and is doing untold harm. A new orientation took place when the Hon. P. C. Grobler was appointed Minister of Native Affairs. The opposition, though not so vocal, is more insidious and dangerous.

One of the best type of these comminglers was the late Mr. Howard Pim. He puts the position very clearly in saying:

“Our basic wants are more land for natives, and an equal Parliamentary Franchise throughout the Union, which shall be irrespective of colour, and shall be based upon both educational and property qualifications high enough to ensure that the holders are civilised and fit to have a voice in local government and in the government of the country. Low as it is, the Cape Franchise has worked well, but no one European or native is wedded to it, and personally I would like to see the colour bar abolished and a general franchise brought into existence based upon higher educational and property qualifications than those demanded by the Cape. Given equality of opportunity, no native would object to this.”

On the face of it this seems a perfectly fair statement, but when examined, it discloses a different state of affairs. Equal opportunity means, that the native would be entitled to the same rights as the white man in the same class of educational and property qualification. For instance, 10 per cent. of the poorer whites were found by the Carnegie

Commission to be of a lower intelligence than the *middle* class of native population, and what about those natives over the middle class? A moment's reflection will show everybody that, to grant equal rights on the basis selected, would mean the gradual out-voting of the European element. Asiatics and coloured would have to be included under such a franchise.

Seventy-five per cent. of the white population are poor—poorer in many respects than many of the natives in the country, when their respective wants are considered. With the increased educational facilities which the natives are getting, it would only be a question of time before they took over the country. There might be something to be said for this, if it would work satisfactorily to all concerned. But where the negro has political power, in countries such as Liberia, Haiti, the Southern States of America, and the United States, the experiment is not a success. In Liberia and Haiti the position is very bad.

The native, generally speaking, has no genius for self-government. He has been used to the tribal system for ages, and in his inmost self prefers it.

Before the Assimilationists with their councils and general agitation began to stir the waters, he took no heed of the matter. He was and is doing very well, with a few exceptions, but, pitied and pampered, begins to see red.

Once you give equal rights, you will affect the social status. The same position would arise as we have in the West Indies. Social equality exists already amongst the Assimilationists and the natives. In *The Bantu World*, our leading native newspaper, you will see that tea parties take place between white and black ladies, whilst at the Bantu Institute there are regular gatherings at which both races commingle to discuss the sins of the so-called repressionists.

The various Scout organisations are assisted greatly by the whites; as also the athletic and other activities. All this, on the face of it, is remarkably innocent, but it leads to equality. And from that, where?

In the case where you have a small white population, such as Africa is to-day, a policy of equality would lead undoubtedly to intermarriage between the races. It has done so in Brazil and in Mexico and other South American States. This is why the Afrikaner has rightly always set his face against social equality in every way, shape, or form.

The Assimilationists have very little good to say for their white brethren. From time to time the papers are filled with letters pointing out that unreasonable sentences have been passed on natives, but seldom are the whites mentioned in this connection. Some years ago, the newspaper *Truth* in England pilloried parallel cases, in which wrong decisions were given in Great Britain.

In every country there occurs slight errors of justice. In the Union it can be said that everybody gets justice from the Courts, for we have the finest types of judges and magistrates to be found in the world.

A vast wave of philanthropy is passing over the towns: butter and milk, crèches, etc., are being provided for native children; but very little is heard of the poor white section in this connection.

For many years the little native children were literally murdered in the town locations. The death-rates were and are abnormal. For some reason or other, the philanthropists shut their eyes to these conditions which damn our civilisation—the crowding of natives into town locations to pander to the laziness of the whites.

We are further continually told there must be vastly improved education. As a matter of fact, there are many critics of the education provided for the whites. Of the native it may be said, that the sole idea is to make him a veneered white man.

Here the State has been very lax. As the Native Affairs Commission recently pointed out, native education remains largely in the hands of the missions. The position is set out so clearly that we quote it in its entirety. In dealing with the question of native education, the Commission states:

It is a singular fact that where so much is at stake for the future of South Africa, the State itself has shown such amazing indifference to native education. European education is probably as highly organised and as centrally directed in South Africa as in any country in the world; private enterprise applies to comparatively few schools, and these, even in their instruction, must follow the lines laid down by the State matriculation standard. But in native education the utmost licence prevails.

Native education still remains in the hands of the

missions. Though they are subsidised by the Central Government and controlled by the provincial councils, the control is limited to an inspection of curricula, which has little or no relation to the native policy of the country. The missions represent many nationalities and almost all the sects of modern Christendom, many of them in competition with each other.

The missionaries are themselves the product of many and various systems of education, having in common only the clerical conception of education which has come down to us from the Middle Ages, when it was designed by priests for the training of clerks to fill privileged positions.

To many of the unacclimatised teachers of the natives, South Africa still presents itself as the land of evangelical adventure which made its stirring appeal to the Christian conscience of Europe in the early years of last century and coloured all our history. That South Africa has developed into a complex whole among the nations of the world and is set about shaping its own destiny to desired ends is least apprehended by some of the teachers in our native schools.

One of the results of this competitive freedom is the rise of a multitude of native churches, with attendant schools, all seeking for recognition by the Government. To-day the separate native churches which have actually applied for recognition are 185. There are probably many more of which there is no official record. They continue to grow and, with them, the somewhat pitiful attempts among their supporters to found schools for their children wherein they can be taught by their own kind and in which the teachers are scarcely wiser than the pupils.

Added to this, many chiefs attempt to establish their own tribal schools, to which they can appoint their own teachers, in an effort to retain the tribal allegiance of the children as they grow up—an illustration of the inherent struggle for racial self-expression. These facts appear to point to a very deep-seated dissatisfaction with the existing mission institutions amongst many natives who have passed through them. Their secession, in most cases, is probably due to personal and selfish reasons on the part of the leaders; but that they should carry with them so many others appears to indicate a reaction to the prevailing system which should not be ignored.

The inference which the commission draws from these facts and others of similar character is that the attempt at the Europeanisation of the native people, which began in the native schools, is following a very natural course. There is emerging the same revolt against clericalism as is to be seen in other parts of the world; and though the Marxian dictum that "religion is the opium of the people" has not got beyond the nursery beds of Communism, the native people are showing a decided tendency to seek religious consolation amongst themselves, and, with it, a course of primary education which will not be too alien to their character and needs.

Since these native institutions are quite independent of missionary control and are unsubsidised by the State, the number of native children under their influence is unknown. It may not be very large; but with all the organised forces of the Churches and the State co-operating to prevent these secessions, the very existence of these separate schools gives point to the natives' desire for self-expression. The logic is on their side.

The commission is therefore of the opinion that the time has arrived to adopt a policy of Bantuisation of the native educational service which could be gradually accomplished without hardships to anybody, since the qualified European teachers could be readily absorbed in their respective grades in the European educational system, and, *pari passu*, the policy of transferring native schools from mission control to State control should be consistently pursued.

Now we come to the class of education which the native requires to make the best of him. He needs vocational guidance. His destiny, if we so-called repressionists have our way, is to become a miner, an agriculturist, a builder of roads, an industrialist perhaps, in his own reserves. He must learn more about building and blacksmith's work than Aristotle. A limited application of the three R's—Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic—will do him more good than tons of culture.

How to till the land—the use of manure, implements, animals, crop rotation. Farm schools are what the natives of Africa need. To-day most of them get small wages on

the farms, owing to their incompetency. They have few wants, and lead happy, lazy lives. They can increase their wages by giving better value.

To understand the native problem one must have owned and worked a farm for one's living. The incompetence of Jim Fish is proverbial. There are exceptions, but generally speaking the most incompetent farm labourer in the world is the native. Only by working him in spans, as is done by the Italian, Slav, and Portuguese gardeners, can results be obtained. Left to himself, he will never do a hard day's work. This is largely due to the education he gets and the want of the education he requires.

The Assimilationists have done very little, if anything, to put education on right lines. A few of the missions, it must be admitted, work on a good system, interspersed with rather too much culture. Even knowledge of writing may turn out to be a curse, as it is often used to write out forged passes, which are very difficult to detect.

The main argument of our friends the opposition (let us call them this), is that the native is entitled to live and compete with the white man, wherever and whenever he likes; notwithstanding that no white man is allowed to do so in any of the big native Reserves.

There is no such thing really as a colour bar: it is a segregation bar, lifted partially in certain occupations, such as mining, to give the native an opportunity of employment and add to the profits of the mines. But if another Witwatersrand were found, in any native Reserve, the natives would be quite justified in excluding the white man altogether—working the mines themselves or not opening them up. This is the case in Basutoland to-day, where rich diamond and other mines are known to exist, but are not allowed to be worked.

There is no limit to the amount of money a native may make in his own Reserve. He can found native industries, produce cotton and oil crops, start manufactures.

We have not yet heard of the wealthy Assimilationists promoting a Native Cotton-growing and Ginning Company, although Asiatics have done so in Uganda. There is money in this—something practical.

In 1923, the writer conducted an enquiry into the matter,

and the following resolution was passed unanimously by the Pretoria Chamber of Commerce:

“ That the then depression was largely due to the failure to properly study the economic side of the native question, and to evolve a national policy on this subject.”

At that time Professor Lehfelt and Mr. Aitken estimated the total earnings of our native population at from £27 millions to £30 millions per annum, averaging roughly £5 per head as against £71 7s. for the white population. Here was a field of enquiry to improve the wealth production of the natives. Surely this was the line to proceed on—not social or political equality. After all, these things do not fill empty stomachs. The lowest producer of wealth in America, at that time, was the cotton-growing native of Georgia, whose family averaged £60 per year. This position could, of course, only be arrived at if our natives went through an apprenticeship in agriculture, preferably with practical farmers. The great obstacle to progress is the proverbial laziness of the bulk of our natives. Dagga, drink, and venereal disease add to the problem. Their cattle are bred for lobola purposes. When the crops are good, drunken orgies take place. All day long the drums beat in the bush, and from far and near the idle natives come. It is not the case that land is unprocurable, that the Reserves are far too small. In parts of the Transvaal, the companies are only too pleased to get native tenants, who invariably abuse their position.

Let them grow export crops. Place them under effective supervision, and you will soon stop the tree cutting and soil erosion which is fast turning the native Reserves and the company farms into desert.

In Uganda and Tanganyika the Government has tackled the problem of native agriculture in the right way. They go in for profitable export crops; generally, the policy is not to compete with the European in the home market.

The reason why we are paying a great deal of attention to this question of native wealth production is that the Assimilationists are continually telling the world that our natives are a hungry, semi-starved community; that they must seek work in the towns to pay their taxes; that the colour bar is a damnable thing, aimed at driving the black

man down; that he has no opening except as a preacher, a teacher, or a mine clerk, when, as a matter of fact—as has been shown above—it is his own fault or the fault of his friends, if he does not develop in the same way as the native of Tanganyika and Uganda is doing. Professor MacMillan, in one of his numerous books, makes the following absurd statement. He says:

“One wonders indeed, whether on farms and in great industries, as in most households, the alleged native inefficiency is not in large measure due to the shouting (and swearing) they are subjected to, since their masters neither attempt to learn the native languages nor teach their own.”

Under present circumstances, if anything of this sort takes place, the native gives notice; not only does he do this, but that master or mistress is given a bad name by him throughout the neighbourhood, and has great difficulty in getting servants. Professor MacMillan must try again, not that anything will stop him and others from villifying the South Africans. He is not alone. Lord Oliver is another writer who dips his pen in gall. He describes Sir Robert Coryndon as a filibustering Rhodesian.

Then we have our own professional enquiry. Investigations proceed by day and night. The newspapers splash such headlines as “Miscegenation need not be a danger, Professors say”! One professor tells us:

“To-day it would not be so difficult to obtain more exact knowledge of the effects of race crossing. This possibility affords one of the strongest arguments in favour of a policy of encouraging rather than discouraging interbreeding, say between black and white races.”

We are not setting up any stud farms of this character in South Africa. We know quite enough about the evils of black and white unions here. Let the professor turn his attention to Brazil, where he can get all the information he wants by studying Portuguese, Indian, Negro, and Jap mixtures, and a sorry lot they are.

Other professors talked about intelligence tests; but they had to admit that, so far, the non-European has been found inferior to the European group.

All the evidence shows that the native, up to the age of puberty, is unusually precocious, but after that begins to fall away. He is definitely not fitted for self-government. The British and Dutch races have developed the art of government to a high standard, and it would be folly to expect the Bantu to reach this level in fifty years' time.

Then we are told South Africa is a "happy hunting-ground for racial prejudices," because we cannot extend the principles of "liberty, fraternity, and equality" to the brown and coloured people.

Prejudice as such does not exist, the relations between master and servant are more friendly perhaps than anywhere else. The position has been so often stated, but once more we reiterate: for our own preservation and in the interests of good government, we decline to be commingled or submerged. As social intimacy would loosen the defensive barriers we have set up, we segregate ourselves, as far as possible, from those races. These people may, in the eyes of some professors, be much better than we are. The natives are certainly beginning to think so, owing to the fulsome way in which their cause is being taken up. It is our duty to hit back.

There is propaganda from certain Socialists and Communists: they attack the old Voolksraad of 1841, the first Segregationists. They say the Bantu is being goaded to his death! Such people should be placed in solitary confinement! Why do they not turn their attention to the countries where the peasantry are dying lingering deaths from semi-starvation and internecine strife, and leave our easy-going natives alone? The poison which they are injecting into the body-politic is already working, and they will be the first to suffer. A barbarian running amuck does not stop to think whether his victim is a nice fat Socialist lady or not.

One must not assume that all discussions, by professional people in the towns, are devoid of interest and utility. Notwithstanding the fact that the comminglers seem to have a stranglehold on Rotary and Goodwill clubs and institutions of this nature, and that the Press also is at their service, there is one who deserves to be reported verbatim. Dr. Hannette Robinson, speaking on the bad state of certain Reef Locations, made the following remarks:

"Generally speaking, one out of ten of the women in the Locations took in washing from the white population in the district," and the speaker added, "I would like you to see the conditions under which the washing is often done. There may be sickness or disease in a house, but the washing has to be done and delivered, and you can imagine the result."

Yes, we have already a serious outbreak of small-pox. People must realise that the presence of the Bantu in our cities is also a menace to the health of the community.

An appeal was made some time ago to the National Council of Women to see that the correct state of affairs was represented to the public. One well-informed lady stated that the native in South Africa received more care for his well being than the poor people and the unemployed in other countries. Again she stated:

"We leave negropholists undisturbed to force upon us in South Africa opinions on purely theoretical grounds, which from a practical point of view would have the most disastrous effect on women and children."

Unfortunately, the writer does not remember the National Council of Women inviting a single Segregationist to speak since these views were put forward by Mrs. J. S. Smit. Notwithstanding that, the great majority of the women of South Africa endorse what she said.

Where does all the money come from for this research work, which, so far as it has gone, is tending to embitter the natives against the whites? In 1932 we were informed that the Rockefeller Institute had given a substantial grant, the South African Institute of Race Relations acted as Secretariat.

There is plenty of money available. To be fair, this book should receive a grant from the Institute of Race Relations.

Naturally the enquiries conducted are farcical, as they only put forward one side of the question.

Some years ago a tremendous agitation was begun against a Bill introduced by Mr. Pirow—the Riotous Assemblies Amendment Bill. The line taken up was that it interfered with the liberty of the subject; Magna Charta and the Habeas Corpus Acts were invoked. The native Press

worked itself up into a state of frenzy; its articles and cartoons were frankly seditious. Notwithstanding all the trouble, very little has been heard of the Act since then. It served a useful purpose as a warning to the Communists. The Government has been very long-suffering, and though equipped with the necessary weapons to curb sedition, does not act in a hurry. The evils of the controversy were the effects it had on native opinion.

The Pass Laws are continually being attacked. The Pass Laws no more interfere with the personal freedom of the natives than does the passport for the white man to proceed to another country. It should not, however, be necessary to commit natives to prison on a first conviction under the Pass Laws. They could be allotted so much work on the roads, or some other form of Government employment until their fines were paid. This would be far more economic. As it is, the native looks on prison life as a pleasant rest; it is very little punishment to him, in any case.

Why are passes necessary? Because natives are exceedingly difficult to identify. There would be nothing but chaos if there were not some simple method of identification.

There is need for simplification and amendment. In this connection, it is interesting to read the report of the Inter-departmental Committee on the Native Pass Laws of 1920. The trend of the evidence was towards the removal of restrictions on the personal liberty of natives, and their replacement by a universal system of identification with efficient machinery for recording and tracing natives when away from their homes. Europeans, it was pointed out, are registered at birth, through taxation records, directories and kindred complications, Parliamentary and Municipal voters' rolls, and under the Defence Act. Most Europeans would rather have a simple passport than go through the numerous forms of registration that have been mentioned.

There is not the slightest doubt that the Pass Laws will be amended, not because they are wrong in principle, but to simplify them. The Commission in 1920 recommended that all existing Pass Laws be repealed and a Union measure substituted; that each male native be registered in his district and domicile at the age of eighteen years, and further, that each native be furnished with a lifelong document. It might be useful for him also to have a disk so that he could

leave the document at home and produce it only when called upon to do so. It was recommended that the monthly pass system be abolished and natives of good character be exempted. It is well known that in the Cape, passes are only required when natives leave a district; but there is much to be said for having one Pass Law for the Union, and perhaps more for the German system introduced by them into South-West Africa; we refer to this later on.

Another law which was the subject of attack was the Native Administration Act of 1929. There was very little opposition to the passage of this Bill through the Houses. The comminglers have attacked it for many years.

The Native Administration Act creates the Governor-General as the Supreme Chief of all native population of these provinces. In all cases the Government was guided by the Native Affairs Commission; if not so guided, the Government had to immediately report to Parliament.

Native legislation by proclamation has been in practice for sixty years.

By the proclamation system, of course, is meant that the Governor-General has the right to do certain things under the Act, whenever the occasion arises, such as to remove tribes or individuals from time to time. This power was objected to by the friends of the natives outside the House. There the Bill was almost universally approved of. All members agreed that the Governor-General must have power to make regulations, because it was necessary to protect several millions of natives who were not capable of attending to their own needs. They required a guide, and found him in the Governor-General, whom the natives look up to as their Great Chief; they are accustomed to this style of Government.

We were told, with reference to Mr. Pirow's Bill, that unless the Government gave better consideration to representations by natives or on their behalf, we should not be surprised at the tendency to follow firebrands, who advocate force. As a matter of fact, the Bill stamped out the serious Communist feeling which existed.

The whites were accused of differential treatment to the native; because they (the natives) cannot own land, or have land banks, cannot strike or use the Industrial Conciliation

Act, pay special taxes, etc. Whereas the native prefers a communal system, and could have formed his own banks with the aid of the Assimilationists, if he had wished to do so. As for the Industrial Conciliation Acts, they will be used by agitators, against the interests of the natives, to cause trouble.

A truce has more or less been called, but the battle will be resumed in the new Native Council, the House, and the Senate. We have placed some deadly weapons in the hands of the agitators, owing to the compromises which were adopted by Parliament.

One of our most prominent parliamentarians said only a few months ago, "I am in despair."

We, the ordinary people, cannot haul our flag down, as he has done; the fight for segregation must go on to the bitter end.

THE SEGREGATIONISTS

SEGREGATION is a policy which has for its objective the separation of the races *as far as possible*—to minimise the points of contact, and to work without ceasing in this direction.

The Volksraad of 1841 were the first Segregationists. They passed the very useful resolution that all surplus natives should be removed either north of the Tugela or south of the Umzimvubu in Natal. After the Annexation of Natal by the British Government, the Volksraad, which still continued to function for two years, passed a fuller resolution, which amounted to Possessory Segregation. The natives were to be confined to their own territory, and the whites to theirs. Sir Theophilus Shepstone, the great Native Administrator (Somtseu as he was affectionately called by the Zulus), was in favour of the Volksraad scheme. This was amended by the location system, by which permanent locations were to be established, and in selecting the sites, sufficient space was to be left between each of them to allow for white settlements. This naturally assisted in solving the question of getting labour.

The object of the Republicans was, while securing an adequate labour supply, to segregate the natives outside this scheme, in their own territory, and to govern those residing amongst the farms on fair and just lines; but in a subordinate, religious, political, economic, and social position.

In 1841, Natal was formally annexed to the British Empire, and most of the Dutch Afrikaner population left the country. Large numbers of natives poured in from all sides. Sir Theophilus Shepstone was appointed at the head of native affairs. He got to the heart of the natives, speaking their language as one of themselves. Under his administration the era of Tshaka and Dingaan vanished. Shepstone's policy was to restore the tribal system, in which he succeeded; an adequate quantity of land was allocated to the natives.

The second great British Segregationist was Sir Harry Smith; he dictated terms to the defeated Cape Colony natives, and in 1847 formed the State of British Kaffraria.

To revert to Shepstone. For over thirty years he ruled the Zulus with the greatest wisdom. He did not elevate them; he did not try to civilise or educate them; he left them in a natural state, and who can say this was not all to the good? Shepstone insisted on Native Law prevailing, subject to his control as the representative of the Paramount Chief. A few alterations and amendments were made in the code. Shepstone was fortunately supported in his work by Earl Grey, who confirmed his action in 1851.

In 1864, the Natal Native Trust was formed, which controls the land held by the natives there. Some attempt was made to give the native who could read and write exemption from tribal rule, and the franchise; very little use was made by the natives, fortunately, of this plan to force civilisation upon them. There is no reason to believe that Shepstone approved of it. Shepstone definitely laid down the principle that there was a fundamental difference between a white man and a native, and that there was no object in diverting him into a civilised state of life. Shepstone's policy is an absolute condemnation of the system of detribalisation, on which we have recklessly embarked. The early missionaries rooted everything appertaining to native custom and law out of the ground. The Segregationists will strive with all their power to restore and bolster up the valuable and moral tenets of the tribal system.

It is true that we cannot apply territorial segregation fully. In the Rhodesias, with their vast tracts of country, one may say that territorial segregation exists. We must apply the separation principle in the social and political spheres. Economically we can gradually attain to a complete segregation, otherwise serious conflict will take place between the races. Segregation of occupations. Naturally, if we disregard the teachings of history, and continue the policy, which is being pursued in our cities, of veneering the African, making an imitation white man of him, he will eventually, by force of numbers and education, demand full political, social, and economic rights. This will then mean the end of white civilisation in Africa.

It is not our purpose to deal with the Zulu War and the various mistakes which were made in attempting to settle the native policy of Zululand. Eventually the country became part of Natal, and the system of administration now is practically identical with that laid down by Shepstone.

Another great Segregationist was Mr. John Shepstone, C.M.G. The Shepstones, with their profound knowledge of the Natal natives, have given a lead which we cannot disregard; they believed thoroughly in whites and blacks having their own areas, each to work out his own salvation with as little interference or commingling with the other as possible.* With their great knowledge and experience before us, we should indeed be foolish to listen to those people who see in a liberal form of assimilation the solution of our difficulties.

True, close contact makes life easier in some respects for the white races, but it is a most dangerous ease. Our very dependence on the native, in every form of industrial life, makes the position all the worse. Our real interests lie in gradually diminishing that contact.

It is the fashion to say, nowadays, that the kind of segregation we demand is impossible. There are no Utopian schemes in the plan placed before the readers of this book. The basis is that we must live, as far as possible, apart from the natives. There is no idea of repression. The sympathetic feudal system of the majority of our farmers is the base on which we build, coupled with the extension and strengthening of the tribal system, in the natives' own Reserves.

Among the men who have taken an active part in advocating segregation during the past thirty years, we must place in the forefront Mr. C. F. Tainton, who was associated for many years with the *Chronicle* newspapers in Pretoria and Johannesburg.

In order to stimulate interest in segregation, Mr. C. F. Tainton instituted a competition between natives some thirty years ago. The prize-winners supported the principle of segregation.

In a letter addressed to the *Christian Express*, Mr. C. F. Tainton made some pointed, and one may say prophetic, remarks. An extract is published which reads as follows:

"My summary of the opinion expressed is, first, that natives are opposed to the intermingling of the races, especially socially. Illicit intercourse is strongly condemned. Let white men consider this statement made by one writer: 'A woman who has had a white man's child is like an accursed thing among her native people, and her child is an insult to the eye and a disgrace to the nation.' The voting is against any independent commercial development. The native asserts that he can do nothing in business except by 'joining hands with the white man.'

"While nearly all want greater political freedom and protest against present disabilities, the majority desire the white man's rule. The solid Basuto vote already referred to is supported by many others who declare that war and other evils would follow on separation from the white community. Fear of the despotic power of the native chiefs is often expressed. On this point the question put is generally misunderstood, and is taken to mean the complete withdrawal of all civilised influences and control.

"This last remark applies to the comments on territorial segregation. On this point the assumption is general that the present native areas will be maintained. Territorial separation, as it obtains at present, is approved. None of the writers deals with the conditions which are likely to arise when all the natives possess individual title. The more educated men vote for territorial segregation.

"I might fitly stop here. But before doing so, I would like to indicate very briefly one or two of my reasons for suggesting that South African natives should study this question. It is often thought that the advocates of a policy of segregation are hostile to the natives. The fact that my family has been closely associated with native administration for nearly a century, and that I was educated at Lovedale, will, I hope, absolve me, when I say that I am a Segregationist, from any charge of hostility.

"One of these native essayists says, 'My contention is that there is urgent need of an honest, just, and constructive native policy, and that it can only be founded on the root principle of segregation.' Many friends of the

natives will endorse this declaration. My relative, Mr. John Shepstone, C.M.G., was perhaps the first to preach publicly the policy of separation, after many years spent in close association with the Zulus in Natal. Against him, and I hope against me also, the accusation of hostility must fall.

"Quite recently the simple issue of British supremacy in South Africa led to a long, ruinous war. Now the infinitely more complex racial and social issues involved in the white man's supremacy over the native races cannot be solved by war. The American people sacrificed a million lives to destroy an unhealthy development of their native problem; to-day, fifty years afterwards, that problem is still unsolved. Twice this week revolting lynchings of negroes are reported from America; in one case the man was tortured and then burnt alive amid white men's cheers! There are racial relationships which are worse than war.

" 'But,' it is said, 'South Africans will never do these things.' This is a fallacy. When competition begins, what will happen then? This incident may suggest some possibilities. Three years ago a large number of white miners here struck work. Some continued working, and feeling between the two sections was bitter. In one case the miners exploded dynamite against some rooms occupied by non-strikers, killing one or two persons; that is to say, that these particular white men, who, like the rest of us, had 2,000 years of Christianity and civilisation behind them, deliberately, and with malice, set themselves to the work of blasting their fellows to a sudden and bloody death. Why? Because—natives should ponder the answer—*their means of living was attacked*. Note that this was not colour prejudice.

"There is a time coming when the natives of this country will press upon the means of subsistence of white South Africans. This pressure will be due to our policy of native exploitation. Looking over history—running back if you will to the dawn of it—you will find only one native policy. It was put tersely once: 'Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be to his brethren.' My conclusions from some study of history is that if South Africans allow, as Americans have allowed, one

section of the community to employ these hewers of wood and drawers of water in continued and daily competition against white workers struggling for the means of life, then it will be that the real problem arising from the presence of the natives of this country will appear.

"There is another native policy which has never been tried, though its essential principle was also set forth in the dim days of the Hebrew prophets. 'Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me!' Amicable separation—that is the principle of segregation. We say in effect to the natives: the struggle for life in our old and complex civilisation will destroy you. You must create and develop your own civilisation. What you need is opportunity and time. We will give you both, and protect you until you stand alone."

The Native Economic Commission of 1930-1932 took upon themselves to give an interpretation of the views of the Segregationists. They started off by explaining that territorial segregation meant that the parties would not be allowed to work for each other. Very few Segregationists, if any, have advocated this. Basutoland is a segregated area, yet the Basutos have worked outside the territory from its beginning.

They went on to beg the question by saying that others did not want the natives to work on farms except by permit, and no homes were to be made by them on European farms—this also to apply to the towns; and that those natives who had made their homes in urban areas should gradually be transferred to the native areas. As the one solitary witness, whom the Commission refused to hear, may the writer state for their information what form of segregation is asked for in the Union to-day:

1. Territorial, in so far as the Reserves and Locations are concerned, with permits to leave for work and return, but not to the urban areas.
2. The farm tenant system, by which natives can make temporary homes, as far as possible away from the homesteads. This tenancy to be terminated when required.
3. The gradual cessation of squatting.
4. Entry into urban areas to be restricted, and the natives in the urban areas to be gradually repatriated to

whence they came, to outside branches of work: roads, mining, and agriculture. The criminal and lazy classes to be sent to labour colonies.

The beauty of this system is its elasticity. It might mean only partial segregation or full territorial segregation eventually. For instance, if the farms employed more white labour, the tenant natives could return to their locations. And if the urban areas dispensed with their natives, which they must do if the white man is to survive, those natives would also, over a long period, be absorbed in the Reserves. It is not the area of ground per head, but the class of industry which is carried on in a reserved area which will count. Under a proper system of segregation, great native towns may arise, centres of native commerce and industry, as Kampalla would be for the Buganda to-day, if Downing Street had not brought in and fostered the Indian and Arab trader. In Africa, the natives have towns of this description.

The Commission in its wisdom turned down this form of segregation. The Minister, Mr. Jansen, did not nominate a representative of the Transvaal Agricultural Union, and the suggestion to put Advocate Stallard on the Commission was turned down. These people had advocated the above system of segregation. Needless to say, the Segregationists had not one representative.

The scheme of the Commission was to crystallise all classes of rural and urban labour, to improve the Reserves so as to keep the residents therein. Outside the privileged classes in the urban areas, other natives were to be only used as casual labour. In the towns, in other words, the native was to be improved up to the white man's level. On the farms he would have to improve, because his brother in the Reserve was getting more competent, and those who did not like the heaven they were getting in the Reserves could be used in the mines, or as surplus labour on the farms.

We shall see how this policy is working later on. It means simply booting the white man out of Africa.

The improvement of the Reserves, so as to diminish the number of natives looking for work, for that is what it comes to, affects the mining industry. It diminishes automatically their supply of labour.

Whilst the mines exist, there is no great hurry to search

for other forms of employment—the primary industries are what the native and the white man exist on to-day. Why not go slowly with the Reserves? They have been unsuccessful in other countries. The Indian reserves in the U.S.A. are an example.

The reader may ask, why do Segregationists not object to natives working in the mines, and, in the country, alongside the whites? There are many reasons. Take mining. Low-grade mines can be worked more profitably, it is claimed, by cheap, unskilled labour. This is an occupation which, up to possibly higher levels than at present, is particularly suitable to natives. Mining means death ultimately to the miner, and is not a healthy white occupation. *It gives the native the cash which he so ardently desires.*

The mines require 100,000 natives in the near future. There is no opportunity in this class of work for the native to become a competitor of the white, or to destroy his civilisation. Rather, he is tending to build it up. The native is compounded, and returned from whence he came, when his contract is ended, generally twelve months. This makes mining a healthy occupation for those natives who come and go. They escape the ravages of miner's phthisis; they are well fed; their health receives the best attention; their amusements are catered for from within the compounds.

Where the mining companies have made a great mistake is in encouraging or allowing too many amusements for natives in the towns. There they imbibe bad liquor, which is the main cause of tribal fights in the Locations.

As a tenant farmer and squatter, the native is segregated on the farm. Kraals are usually together, and as far as possible from the homestead. He can also return to the Reserves when he likes. He is therefore not a detriment, but a help to white civilisation, under certain conditions.

Wherever unskilled labour is wanted and the white man is not available, there is room for the native. On road work, for instance, there is plenty for him to do.

In prosperous times it is essential to set aside development funds, so that no white men or native may be without work when times are bad. The Segregationist policy is that no native must be repatriated from a native area unless other provision is made for him.

The Commission could not give any support to these views. They fell upon the old reply which has been used against segregation from the beginning: it is impracticable; it is unfair to shift a permanent town dweller; in other words, the white man's Reserve was no longer his own, to do with what he liked, but the native's as well. Though all our civilisation perish eventually, no natives were to be repatriated from an urban area.

They devoted two short pages to this interesting topic: their report consists of 345 pages. Unfortunately, years have been lost, and much damage has been done. If the members of the old Stallard Commission had been appointed (this Commission reported in favour of urban segregation), with representatives of the farming community, years might have been saved, and white civilisation promoted.

We have now allied the term Segregation to trusteeship. There is much dispute about this guiding principle. Suffice it to say, it is largely a smoke screen at present, a device to make the public think something has been done at last. We are told, with the policy of segregation, South Africa has accepted the policy of trusteeship of the native races. This is as a sort of soothing syrup, to be administered as required to the Assimilationists.

To say that the majority of South Africans have accepted segregation is a fact; to say that it is being carried out is a fallacy. So long as the Bantu commingles and competes with the white unskilled and coloured man, there is no segregation, but a normal trusteeship, which will end in bloodshed.

The new Native Commission, which we have created, is a great improvement on its predecessors. General Smuts signs the latest report, which it would have been better if he had signed twenty years ago. It is a harbinger of better times. The Commission is open to conviction. They have been attacked and cartooned because their views are unacceptable to the comminglers, who have an influential press behind them. The Commission has rather too much to do at the moment, as many of them are Members of Parliament.

Many people think that no Member of Parliament should be a member of a paid Commission. In practice the Chairman only should be a Member of Parliament. It is very

necessary for the chairman to be able to justify the policy of the Board before the House. The main reason why the other members should be wholtime men is that Native Affairs are the great things in Africa. The country requires full and unremitting service, and the best brains it can get. On the whole, the Commission, though open to criticism, has done its preliminary work with credit to itself and profit to the country; they have incurred the displeasure of a powerful coterie, who will use every weapon to discredit them.

One may criticise their report for 1936 by saying that it takes too much for granted. It expresses the opinion that the expansion and development of the Reserves will not result in the shortage of native labour. They argue that the increase in native wants will force them into the labour market. Time alone will show if this contention is correct or not.

In some ways it would be better to go in for an intensive system of agriculture, to increase the national wealth. With native farms properly developed, the production of export crops would increase. The silk industry for the women and the children has a future.

The industrialisation of the Reserves may come. At the rate we are proceeding, this will probably take a century. On the other hand, it is doubtful, given sufficient land, if the native will come to work, except in times of drought.

Where the Commission fails is in assuming that the detribalising native is to be a permanent resident in the towns. They cannot pose as Segregationists holding those views. Let us hope they will change them.

The force of events is already making many people reconsider the position. As a recent German professional visitor to our towns has said, "Anyone who studies the urban conditions must be extremely afraid of the future."

What are our prospects? Take the opinion of Mr. W. Elliot, President of the Natal Agricultural Union, a great student of the native question. Before the Select Committee in 1927, he said, examined by Mr. Payn: "Your evidence then went on to the effect that there must be a war of 'extermination between black and white!'"

Mr. Elliot: "With regard to the views I have

expressed, I may say that, after studying such books as *The Rising Tide of Colour* and *Christianity and the Race Problem*, and looking at the question from every angle, and using all the information available, I regret I cannot moderate my opinion that the European will have to take a strong side if he is to maintain civilisation in this country. A sentence written by Maddison Grant impressed me; it says, that *for the white man to trust his ideals to the red, yellow, brown, or black man was a suicidal policy, and that the white man would be the first to feel it.*"

What are the facts we must face? That in our urban areas the natives are rising rapidly to a form of veneered civilisation. For every one that rises under our present system a European must sink. To-day the unskilled ranks are menaced, to-morrow the skilled. With control of the towns will come demands for political and municipal rights, for Asiatics, coloured, and natives. The Assimilationists, aided by the Communists, will support these demands without a doubt. The end will be war.

Our only hope lies in the policy of segregation, as laid down in this book. One of our professors has said, this remedy is only a palliative, which would postpone black domination for a century. Even if this was so, which we deny, it would be a century gained for white civilisation.

As we speed by in our luxurious motor-cars, do we realise that we are gazing on something which has, under present circumstances, a comparatively short life? The beautiful houses, the lovely towns, one with its jacarandas in full bloom, a sight for the gods—is it not worth straining every nerve to preserve what the Voortrekkers fought so hard for? Is it not worth while sacrificing some of our ease and pleasure, cultivating a more Spartan type of existence to save Africa for white civilisation? The way has been shown for many years, but few have followed it. The Segregationists have been abused and maligned, labelled as slave drivers, and worse; ridiculed and denied access to the Press in some instances; at the best accorded a lukewarm support.

The time has come for the final effort. Wake up, Africa!

In leaving this side of the question for the time being, let us sound a note of warning to Northern Africa. As we go

farther up we see the white man ousted by the Indian everywhere. In the Civil Service, on the railways, and the boats. The administration, on the score of cheapness possibly, has practically boycotted white labour. On the Nile river steamer, there is only one white man—the captain.

We recognise the right of the native to employment in the semi-segregated states of the tropics. But elsewhere, a great deal more must be done to encourage immigration and increase the number of white employees in the Government service.

A word to the wise should be sufficient. The North must follow our native policy or perish; even so, segregation will not help them unless they increase their white population. There is much leeway to make up.

NATIVE POLICY

NOTWITHSTANDING the number of Commissions, and the wrangle of the schools, it may be truthfully said that we have had no defined native policy for the past thirty years. At one time we inclined to the Liberal or Assimilationist side, then towards segregation.

Its evolution has been a slow and, up to 1937, a dangerous growth. Let us consider the grounds on which our present policy has been built up.

We started off fairly well under the influence of the Shepstones. Sir Theophilus was a great diplomat. His position in the African Valhalla will be a foremost one. Of his successors amongst the British, Matabele Thompson probably was the man who knew most about natives. Both these men had been brought up in a hard school, spoke native languages, and knew their job.

President Kruger may also be included as a man who understood the question thoroughly; he was imbued with the Voortrekker ideal of dealing justly, but firmly, with the native population, giving to white and black what was their due.

For many years Natal pursued a policy of *laissez-faire*, leaving well alone. For this there was much to be said. On the other hand, the Native Department had lost personal touch with the natives. To this undoubtedly the Rebellion of 1906 was due. The Zulus have not lost the love of battle, and discipline can only be maintained amongst them by close official contact and an occasional display of force.

The following is the Shepstone system of administration which is the basis of Natal's native policy, and has been adopted in the Northern Provinces, the one above being responsible for the other below:

1. The head of a family.
2. The head of a kraal or kraals—a collection of families.

3. The headman or induna of a territorial division or district.

4. The principal headman or induna.

5. The chief of a tribe.

6. The Magistrate of the Division in his capacity as Native Officer.

7. The Secretary for Native Affairs.

8. The Supreme Chief, being the Governor for the time being.

We now come to consider Cape policy.

This has been totally different from that in the Northern Provinces and Natal.

It was based roughly on Cecil Rhodes's dictum, "Equal rights for every civilised man south of the Zambesi." A limited franchise had been granted on those lines to the natives in the Cape, which has been the subject of acrimonious discussion for many years. It was known as the "blanket vote," because at one time a blanket was supposed to be the price of a vote, in certain constituencies. The procedure has been varied by the new Act, the "Representation of Natives Bill" of 1936.

The great difference between the system in Natal and that in the Cape was that the Cape aimed at breaking down tribal customs.

Sir George Grey gradually annexed all the native territories up to Natal, and then proceeded to break down the power of the Chiefs, replacing them by the Magistrates. An ingenious method of pacifying them was arranged by paying a salary from month to month.

As the native wars had been many, troublesome, and expensive, the object was doubtless to gain as much control as possible. There was trouble again in 1857, but for two or three years there was peace, so that the Colonial Office ultimately took over the British Kaffraria as a Crown Colony. In 1866 it became part of the Cape Colony.

In 1872, the Cape obtained Responsible Government.

The native policy as above explained led to the breaking down of the tribal system, and the advancement of civilisation amongst the natives. In administration there was to be no difference between white and black.

Nevertheless, the Cape showed they were novices in handling native affairs by their foolish actions in Basutoland,

during the period 1871-1884. The Basutos ultimately defied the Cape Government, and succeeded in holding their own, a large number of the white forces deserting in front of the foe. This is probably the most disgraceful episode in the history of South Africa, due to our notorious dislike of discipline.

Finally, the Cape completed their infamous conduct in dealing with Basutoland by handing it back to the Crown in 1883.

Meantime, the Transkei native received the so-called benefits of the new policy.

Then in 1894 came the Glen Grey Act, with its provisions for local self-government and industrial education.

In his speech on the Glen Grey Act, Mr. Cecil Rhodes used these words referring to the natives: "We have given them no share in the Government—I think rightly too—and no interest in the local development of their country." He then went on to advocate, interesting the natives in their own local development, and taking steps to lessen the drink evil. On these lines Mr. Rhodes was on much safer grounds than those contained in his famous dictum, "equal rights for all civilised men." The Glen Grey Act combined the holding of land subject to quit rent with partial self-government. It was a civilising Act.

Councils were formed for administrative purposes which were succeeded by the General Council of 1894. The Councils under the Glen Grey system have been the most successful part of the Act. They have formed the basis of the present Native Representative Council.

The air has resounded with praise for the Transkei system. It is claimed that it has brought peace and happiness to the native community, that its people are the most prosperous, *excepting* the Natal tribal natives. That is just the point. We have hurried the steps of civilisation quite unnecessarily. The uncivilised Natal tribal native is better off. Mr. J. Orpen and others were perfectly right when they accused the then Government of fostering detribalisation, our most serious native disease, as we know only too well in the urban areas to-day.

The principle of a Joint Council is a most dangerous one. It is all very well to say this opposition is a policy of fear. It is nothing of the kind, it is a policy of common sense.

Divide and rule has been the only way in which to deal successfully with races such as those who have a cruel streak of Arab blood in their make-up.

The Shepstone system, which provided for the safety of the whites and the well-being of the blacks, worked much better, and the evidence is there, that the Natal Zulu within his tribe is just as well off.

A word must be said, however, for the very able type of white Administrators which the Cape Native policy produced. The system owes everything to their efforts. The personal touch has never been lost. This is all to the good.

Necessarily, in dealing with the various aspects of native administration, we can only take a bird's-eye view. The man in the street has not the inclination to digest all the fine and intricate points of native policy.

We proceed to consider the part the Transvaal played.

One of the first acts, after the Annexation of the Transvaal in 1877, was the introduction of Natal policy as regards native affairs into the colony. A Department of Native Affairs was set up in 1877 under Mr. H. C. Shepstone, C.M.G., son of Sir Theophilus. This was probably the greatest service which the British Government has rendered to the Transvaal. The Shepstone view as set out then, and advocated to-day, contended that it was necessary for the native to be governed under his own laws and customs, as far as possible. Mr. Shepstone also introduced the policy of holding land in trust for the native, instead of making him the owner direct, thereby preserving the principle of communal interest, and Government control.

In 1881 a Location Commission was set up. In 1882 it sat and did some useful work. This fact is mentioned because the Chairman was President S. J. P. Kruger, who was assisted by the British Resident, Mr. George Hudson and Mr. H. J. Schoeman.

Several Locations were beacons off; the work, unfortunately, was never completed. Under the new Land Act the omissions will be rectified.

The Transvaal Republicans naturally took a great interest in native affairs. Their policy was based on Act No. 4 of 1885. It recognised native laws and customs where they are not repugnant to the general principles of humanity. The President was the Paramount Chief. H

powers were to be exercised in conjunction with the Executive Council; but were subject to revision by the Courts. The Superintendent of Natives served under the President. Under him were the Commissioners, and Landdrosts in sparsely populated districts. There were wise provisions against black-bird farming, as it was called, squatting. The policy can be called one of practical segregation; for instance, the natives were allowed to carry on business exclusively amongst their own people, but not amongst the whites.

In 1905 the Lagden Commission was set up with a great flourish of trumpets; its members were an able body of men. Results were practically nil, the reason being that the Cape point of view predominated, which was unacceptable to the Transvaal or Natal. Some of the resolutions passed, however, were interesting.

Union, of course, retrenched the native voter in the Cape under the South African Act. This procedure was altered last year by the new Native Representation Bill. Four Senators were to be appointed by reason of their knowledge of native affairs. South Africa cannot say it has received much help from this representation.

Unfortunately, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, and Basutoland were not transferred to the Government of the Union, although provision was made for their transfer later on.

The British Government cannot maintain this *imperium in imperio*. To do so would be a clear breach of the implications underlying the Statute of Westminster. It has been urged that they should be mandated States, similar to South-West Africa. This will not suit us. The Assimilationists, however, have gained the ear of the natives in these protectorates, by representing the intentions of the Segregationists as repressive. It is therefore folly to think for one moment that the natives themselves will assent to coming under the Union, unless very strong economic pressure is applied.

From 1913 to 1923, legislation mainly dealt with Native Land Purchase. The Act of 1913 has been attacked, but was a sound control measure. The 1923 Act could not carry out its objects to define native areas.

The Native Affairs Commission was then constituted in 1920, and the public were told at the same time that segregation was the law of the land.

Act 23, of 1920, provided for the summoning of a Native Conference which has since evolved into the Native Representative Council of the Union.

The Native Affairs Commission was a failure. It had to adopt a policy of marking time. The whole native administration from 1920 to 1935 was swung from side to side, by the Cape, Natal, and Transvaal view. Until Fusion became an accomplished fact, South Africa had no real native policy.

Even now this fusion policy, which will be discussed under another heading, is breaking down, owing to the question of the urban areas. It is not segregation by any means.

One wonders, considering the immense sums that have been spent on educating the native throughout Africa, why there is so little to show for the money. There is something radically wrong with our educational formula, and it is high time a thorough enquiry was instituted into its defects. The Southern Rhodesian system has been praised in some quarters; but the farmers there complain that native education in agriculture will drive them off the land. This should be quite unnecessary. The whole aim of native education, agriculture or otherwise, should be advance on parallel non-competitive lines with the white population. This is not so impossible as it may look. The whites are not suited on the whole to certain pursuits which are natural to the natives. In all tropical and sub-tropical countries, there is a type of labour which white men cannot undertake owing to the conditions. Herein lies a great field for the native. There are many purely native industries which should be encouraged. Anything which can be produced and exported, provided it is not subsidised, adds to the wealth of the country, and is non-competitive. Native labour need not in any way compete with white.

To argue that, because the whites have universities, go in for matriculation examination, etc., the native should do the same, loses count of the fundamentals. The question arises, "Is a civilised life preferable to a simple one?" To force the natives along, what may be called the road of cocktail civilisation, is a sin. If he insists on founding his own institutions on our lines, we cannot stop him, if he pays for them. But there is no reason why we should assist him

in this. A sound native policy will always contend for a "back to the land" programme. The reverse merely means the destruction of both races.

Various unimportant measures were passed in the years 1920-1927. The Urban Areas Act of 1923 was a measure which may be described as an Act to attract natives to the towns—a wicked piece of legislation!

Then the Immorality Act of 1926, which is practically valueless, as has been shown in the chapter dealing with the Coloured People.

Administration, taxation, and so-called development complete a sorry programme devoid of any constructive policy, whilst the flood of colour swept along.

THE NATIVE BILLS

IN 1925 the Prime Minister, General Hertzog, laid on the table of the House four Draft Bills—the first attempt, for about fifty years, to legislate on sound lines for the future government of the native and coloured races. These Bills were called the Representation of Natives, the Union Native Council, the Native Land Act 1913 Amendment, and the Coloured Persons Rights Bill. The first three Bills were embodied in the Representation of Natives Act and the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936. The Coloured Persons Bill was dropped.

In 1926 the Bills were published, in 1927 they were referred to a Select Committee. The work of this Committee and the evidence given were of a very high standard. The Blue Book dealing with the subject has had a very small circulation, but will well repay close study. No student of native affairs can say he knows much of native policy unless he has carefully read the evidence contained therein.

The original members of the Committee were: the Prime Minister, Mr. Barlow, Col.-Comdt. Collins, Messrs. J. Conradie, A. I. E. de Villiers, Duncan, Krige, Marwick, Moffat, the Rev. Mr. Mullineux, Messrs. Nicholls, Payn, Pearce, General Smuts, Dr. Stals, Messrs. Steytler, van Niekerk, and Wessels. The Committee met with various vicissitudes, and was reappointed from time to time.

An intense underground warfare raged at one period as to whether the members of one of the parties should attend or not; but finally, after Fusion, the Committee was reconstructed to include the Ministers of Justice, Finance, Native Affairs, and Interior; the Senators Malan, Smit, and Thompson, Col. Collins, Messrs. P. C. de Villiers, du Plessis, Marwick, Tom Naude, Nicholls, Payn, W. H. Rood, Col. Stallard, Mr. Strydom, Maj. van Zyl, Mr. Wessels.

Despite the fact that everyone in South Africa professes to have some knowledge of the native question, the number

of witnesses that came forward were comparatively few—sixty or seventy in all. They may be divided roughly into sections representing the Church, the land owners as distinct from farmers, the professors, the Assimilationists, officials, Segregationists, represented mainly by the farmers, and native and coloured representatives.

They embraced well-known names, some of whom are unfortunately not with us to-day. Of the better known were Professor J. du Plessis, W. Elliot, L. D. Gilson, M.L.A., Professor D. D. T. Jabavu, Dr. C. T. Loram, Professor W. M. MacMillan, H. Pim, ex-Senator Roberts, Dr. W. H. Rubasana, Sir H. Sloley, Senator F. C. M. Thompson, J. Venter, P. Marais, J. H. Wessels, P. Greathead, and J. C. Gilfillan.

It is necessary to review the evidence given in order to grasp the processes which have ended in the present position.

Land matters were dealt with first; Major Herbst, the then Secretary for Native Affairs, explained the position with regard to the acquisition of land by natives. This evidence was followed by that of the Native Affairs Commission, which then consisted of Senator Roberts, Dr. Loram, and Mr. P. W. le Roux van Nickerk, M.L.A.

Senator Roberts and Dr. Loram argued that the amount of land available under the scheduled and released areas, in other words, the total areas proposed to be set aside for native use was too small. The exact figures were 4·3 morgen per unit in the Cape, 2·6 in Natal, 3·7 in the Transvaal, and 0·3 in the Free State. The Stubbs Committee in the Eastern Transvaal had considered that a family of five needed 18½ morgen. These figures applied to the then population.

If all the natives were resident throughout the year in the Reserves, there might be something in the argument; even then, very few peoples in the world have had such a liberal allowance of ground made to them as the African native.

It is the question how he uses the land, and whether he combines industries with agriculture, which counts. It was suggested that the kind of farming would have to be changed to a system of tenant farming in European areas. It was brought out that the Stubbs report provided

4 morgen of arable land and $14\frac{1}{2}$ morgen of pasture. The latter figure seems excessive. Dr. Loram cited the Crofter system in Scotland, by which a system of small tenant farmers had been built up.

The obvious remedy, naturally, is the one to which we are tending: tenant labourers on European farms as opposed to squatters.

Interesting figures were given, showing the proposed native areas to consist of 16,973,400 morgen. Comparisons were made with the total areas owned by the whites. This cuts no ice, so many factors have to be considered, fertility and the class of ground being the principal things that matter. It was brought out that the average proposed for the entire native population would be 4.3 morgen per head, nearly 10 acres, whereas in China it is $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres and India 2.9. As stated before, comparisons in this case are odious. But any fair-minded person will agree that, taking all the opportunities the native has for wage-earning, he has had very liberal treatment as regards the land he can occupy; unfortunately he has no idea of dealing with it to the best advantage, overstocking being the main cause of his failure.

Senator Roberts mentioned the large number of natives who objected to being civilised, to their wants being increased, which he found a matter of regret. He advocated throwing overboard the Glen Grey policy and bringing the native in the Ciskei together. How are the mighty fallen!

Senator Roberts expressed the opinion that in 1927 there were 200,000 detribalised natives who would never return to their homes.

He went on to say that most of the natives were more concerned with getting land than anything else. He strongly advocated increasing the released areas. He said he would rather face European feeling than native feeling. The European gets angry and then settles down, *but the native gets angry and remains so.*

Under the proposals to only allow a certain number of natives, under licence, to each farm proportionate to its needs, it was alleged that of the 600,000 natives working on farms, from one-third to one-half would be affected, and

have to change their residence. As a matter of fact, 1,600,000 of the native population in 1927 resided on farms; this includes women and children, and when to these are added the natives resident in the urban areas, it will be seen that the area available for natives in the Reserves has been nearly doubled.

It was admitted that, if there were no whites in South Africa, there would be scarcely enough land for the natives, owing to their wasteful methods of farming. It thus becomes apparent that the native has a great advantage in being allowed to work in various occupations, such as mining, and for the farmers.

Senator Roberts stated that, whenever a boy comes to town, he seems to go down; he had never seen that town life had a beneficial effect upon the native. One wonders therefore why he did not do more to oppose natives taking up their residence in the urban areas, knowing that it meant their downfall. He said that the native must be for another hundred years a worker for the European, but it was far better for the native to remain in his own areas. He strongly advocated a means tax on cattle, as against the Poll Tax. For this, there is a good deal to be said, particularly if it would assist in keeping natives out of the towns.

The Native Commission evidence was followed by the representatives of the Transkeian Native General Council. They put up a great fight for the retention of the Cape system. They were not against one big Council for the whole Union with Provincial Councils also. Experience had shown them at conferences that some of the natives from the other provinces had not kept pace with the Cape in development, and differ in their psychology and policy with that of the Cape.

It was the desire of the great majority of natives that, whatever native policy is laid down, it must be towards the *consolidation of the Native races in the Union*, and must be in such manner as will promote the advancement of the native peoples as a whole. The Union Native Council is something in that direction. The deputation asked the Government to take cognisance of the strong race consciousness that exists amongst the native people of the Union.

With regard to the Union Native Council, they said one of the advantages to be derived from it will be the *constant*

touch with the different types of natives in the Union, and once there is an understanding between the different types of natives in the Union, co-operation will be better in the common interests of the natives.

Another good point, from the native side, was that the Government has to consult the Council on any native matter which it wishes to bring before Parliament. The Transkeian Council did not want any representation in the Senate as at present existing. They wanted all the native peoples of the Union to be united, no matter to what tribe they belonged, and to develop on native lines as a people.

The Native Affairs Commission were re-examined after this. The main argument was concerned with the question of additional land for the natives. The figure arrived at by Dr. Loram was an average of 4.1 morgen per rural black. In view of the latest census figures, it would appear that practically half the native population lives in the rural and urban areas, which would naturally make the areas larger for natives in the Reserves.

Dr. Loram came to the conclusion that it was impossible to put all the native people into the Reserves. He was not in favour of industrialising the reserves. He admitted that natives in the urban areas would unfortunately enter into economic competition with the whites and coloureds. His policy was to keep the native on the land as much as possible. He suggested that we should be compelled to allow the leasing of land in European areas to natives. Leasing, he contended, would build up a good class of agriculturist, would tend to supplying better farm labour, and would tend to divert natives from the towns. It would be quite possible to release certain European areas in the country for native leasehold purposes.

The only justification for a policy of leasing would be, if the native could not obtain work on the farms or in the mines, or elsewhere, outside the urban areas.

It may be worth considering, at some future date, whether it would not be better to adopt this system, instead of developing industries unduly in the Reserves. If industries are created in the Reserves, Trade Unionism

is bound to follow. The policy we are enunciating is to keep the native in a simple natural state. On his own land, or the white man's, is the best place to do this. The native is not by nature an industrialist, but a pastoralist and agriculturist.

Dr. Loram went on to dwell on the evils of squatting, misuse of the soil, erosion; he might have added tree chopping; and that the same position obtains on the Crown lands, where leasing is so to say in vogue, but without supervision. Supervision is the only remedy for this state of affairs and stopping squatting. This will take time.

The Natal Agricultural Union then gave evidence. Mr. Elliot, to whom we have already alluded, gave a considered opinion that there was quite sufficient land for the natives in the scheduled areas, if it was developed on modern lines. They were in favour of doing away with small blocks of land occupied by natives; this was done in the interests of economy and efficient administration, and also as a protective measure. "If the time ever comes, when we have trouble with the natives of this country, it would be better to have it concentrated, than spread over a number of small areas." The Union were opposed to mission stations, in Natal, making revenue in Natal out of squatters. Mission stations should be brought under the same rules as farmers. Mr. Elliot then went on to deal with the franchise question. He said: "Time will prove the impossibility of satisfying the native with limited representation in the European Parliament. I am speaking with some inside knowledge of what is taking place in one of the Churches in this country (the Wesleyan Methodist Church) which has already made the experiment. That Church has admitted natives into its government with Europeans. In the Conference of the Church the natives and Europeans sit together. After a few years' experience it was found that the natives were pressing so hard for representation that they had to pass a law in the government of their Church that no additional native representation should be granted unless there is a counterbalancing additional representation of Europeans. Many of the ministers feel that the position has become intolerable."

Mr. Elliot then discussed the franchise further, and expressed the view that "after a few years the natives would ask for the same basis as the European, and the result may be that the natives will make it impossible and intolerable for the Europeans to live in this country."

Mr. Elliot then went on to elaborate the views of the Union that the natives should have no part in the white man's Government; that they should be trained in citizenship, first of all, in their local location council within their own areas, or a system of village boards carried on to district councils. Within these areas the natives to be given every right, every responsibility, and every privilege that Europeans enjoy in their areas. Thus eventually separate areas entirely white and black may develop in time. On the other hand, it was extremely dangerous to European civilisation to build on a black base and then to admit them to representation in our supreme governing body.

There would probably be economic competition, but this need not mean insuperable difficulties. The white man and the black man would not remain absolutely independent of one another in internal government; in the last resort, the white man must always remain master. The educated native who has left his tribal conditions should have no say in the European Parliament.

Mr. Elliot's personal opinion was that, despite this, we should have to fight for our position in the country. It is a matter of race preservation; abstract justice has nothing to do with it. With regard to the Cape its view was, that instead of taking the vote from the native already on the roll, it would be better if no more natives were allowed to go on the roll, and so the natives would gradually drop off the European roll. They did not consider the Natal natives were ripe for Parliamentary rights in any case. They do not bother about it, they do not understand it. If they have political rights it will merely lead to agitation. He said, "I am afraid whatever we may do there will eventually come a clash between black and white." Give them all the rights and privileges that we can in their own areas, but always under our control.

The deputation then went on to discuss the land question, and referring to Natal held the view that the Locations there were disgraceful and better organisation would lead to greater economic use and more carrying capacity of the land.

Mr. Elliot thought it was quite possible that in time agriculture could be carried on in Natal without black labour and that a white man would be able to get a job in the lower strata without becoming a poor white and mixing with the natives. It would all depend on circumstances, and how the country legislated. The draft bills were putting the white man's feet upon one path, and the black man's on another.

If there had to be representation, then the "Senate was the proper body to represent the natives."

The only way they could prevent a war of extermination was to keep firm political and administrative control of the native. They would naturally like to avoid war, if possible.

We must proceed to develop political institutions in the native areas, so that, when the time comes, it will be much easier to abolish this representation in our Parliament than allow it to go on indefinitely.

This concluded the most interesting evidence given before the Commission, for which the country must be grateful to the Natal Agricultural Union and particularly to Mr. W. Elliot.

The Transvaal Landowners' Association, represented by Mr. Percy Greathead and others, then gave evidence, which was mainly of a technical character.

They were of opinion that, seeing it was the settled policy of the Government to segregate the native, ten million pounds was really nothing to pay for it, and it would be very beneficial. They admitted buying the land for speculative purposes, and that renting it to natives did not pay them, if one took into account the damage done by the natives to the land. They (the natives) could not pay the squatters' licences proposed in addition to their rents.

They were succeeded by Mr. Howard Pim, Professor MacMillan, and Mr. Thema, representing the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and natives. This was

the spearhead of the Assimilation attack. The Pretoria Joint Council and the Pietersburg Joint Council were generally in agreement with the evidence proposed to be led. It may be mentioned that the native members of these Joint Councils which have been organised by the Institute of Race Relations, as far as can be ascertained, were mainly members of the Teachers' and Ministers' Associations. It would be interesting to know how the money was found to finance this large organisation, whose activities increase from day to day.

On the land question the witnesses believed that some form of regulated leasehold was the real remedy, that leases be approved and registered by the land board to be constituted, that a definite period be fixed, that proper cultivation be required, and control of the number of leases on any farm, that leases be on a rent-paying basis, with adequate protection for the lessee. There must be an attractive alternative to squatting. They objected to the clause in the proposed Bill which roped the family into the native tenancy, and they saw no advantage in increasing the 90 days' labour to 180. They insisted on adequate land being supplied to the natives, sufficient to satisfy their reasonable demands. So much land should be set aside as would be required at any given time, so that the natives felt they had no particular grievance. They wished to have a Native Land Board, similar to the Land Settlement Board for the whites. The Government should be able to buy ground for the natives outside the released areas. More money was wanted for development. Professor MacMillan suggested a grant on the pound for pound principle. In the Transkei, the natives have not as much help from the central Government as they should have.

Mr. Thema thought there would be a scramble for land under the proposed scheme and that large numbers of natives would be driven from European areas. The leasehold system, they contended, was the only way to prevent an upheaval. Natives would be inclined to leave the farms as wages in the towns get higher. The mere existence of the colour bar on the statute book was doing a lot of damage.

Mr. Thema went on to say that the farming carried on by natives was unsatisfactory. The natives wished to purchase land anywhere.

Professor MacMillan went on to argue in favour of native Reserves in the high veldt. He again urged the necessity of "native leasing," saying the country did not realise how extremely poor the natives were, and therefore negligible as consumers. His estimate was that the spending power of the native in Herschel and other districts is about £1 per family per month. Improvement can be brought about by leasing and generous help in development.

Mr. Pim went on to plead again for the Native Land Board, which would be able to regulate expansion. The Council of Europeans was opposed to the idea of once and for all limiting the areas; they wanted elasticity. Parliament could decide upon a limit, but not at the present time. There must be two classes of natives, that is, the essential labourer who lives on the Reserves and goes out to work and the native who would live on leasehold tenure. He did not think it would be difficult to collect rent from natives, notwithstanding that the Transvaal Land Owners experience difficulty in collecting rentals of £2 per year. He did not want the detribalised natives to be forced to leave the conditions they had become accustomed to. If that happens, it will only be by pressure. The real solution of the high veld labour difficulty would be to have a native Reserve there. Leasing would be some compensation for abolishing squatting.

Professor MacMillan expressed the opinion that squatting could only be eliminated by offering natives satisfactory conditions of wage-paid labour.

Mr. Thema stated that he came from the Pietersburg area; and said the people there preferred communal tenure. He said they went away to work because there was not enough land.

Mr. Pim was not in favour of a rigid minimum wage for natives in the country; different minima would suit different districts.

Mr. Thema and Professor MacMillan, examined by Mr. Wessels, said they had no practical knowledge as farmers. The latter considered the Law of 1913 had

driven the natives into the towns. There was a scarcity of labour on the farms. The reason was that the farmers did not pay wages. A native might be poorer when he returned home from a town owing to the high cost of living in towns. He blamed the white labour policy for native unemployment in towns. He admitted that the natives in Basutoland possessed in 1911 2 million sheep, 1 million goats, 150,000 horses, and 500,000 head of cattle.

Mr. Pim then went on to deal with the Native Council Bill. The Pretoria branch of the Council of Europeans and Natives considered that the Native Council would be more real than any grant of political rights, and would ensure real status, both economic and political. The Council objected to unchecked voting by Chiefs, and felt that any voting exercised by them should be after discussion with their own unofficial councils; the local council could only vote for the tribal natives in its area. It was felt that, in the then state of native feelings, only absolutely *necessary* restrictions should be introduced. The Council was of opinion that direct Parliamentary representation was preferable to the machinery proposed. The electoral provisions of the Bill were too complicated. Tribal natives, so far as they were aware, had not asked for such a Council. No individual voters are provided for, the discussions would thus probably be repudiated. No individual would feel himself responsible for them. Professor MacMillan pointed out that it was quite impracticable to institute local councils in which the great mass of farm natives (who are nearly half the total) will be able to take any real part, or from which they would derive any real benefit.

Mr. Thema felt that the proposed Native Council was a second Parliament. *They felt that they could not have two Parliaments in this country.* All that was wanted was a consultative body of native opinion.

The Joint Councils naturally supported the Cape franchise. They admitted that the world knows far too little of the forms of government under which it is possible for peoples on different levels of culture and civilisation to live together harmoniously as portions of one community; but they wished the Cape experiment to

continue. They trembled at the responsibility of anyone who disturbed this master experiment. If South Africa was to advance, its people must be one people. They did not favour separate representation in Parliament. Undoubtedly, it will create a separate native party in Parliament, and they could not close their eyes to the evil of an incongruous element like that coming into Parliament. A third party in a Parliament always causes difficulties, and if the divisions in the parties were based on race, it is safe to assume that serious consequences would follow, and that the efficiency of such a Parliament would be grossly prejudiced. If the avenues of advance are blocked, the native will resent the limits fixed for him. They stated that, amongst the advocates of their policy and members of their Council, were Saul Solomon, Oliver Schriener, and W. H. Ramsbottom.

Professor MacMillan considered that the natives were very discontented at the way things were going. Trouble had started with the 1913 Land Act. The war, drought, bad seasons, had also had an effect. Protection had not improved the position. They objected to the civilised labour policy. It was essential to get native opinion into a better frame of mind. The first remedy was a really generous Land Bill. He advocated leaving the Cape franchise as it was, and extending native franchise rights to the Northern Provinces.

Mr. Thema said the white people would have to reckon with the educated native and not with the people who are in the kraal. When he spoke of native opinion on the matter of the franchise, he meant intelligent native opinion; he said, "This class is growing and will be the majority of to-morrow. If you give us white men to represent us in Parliament, we shall see to it that they have got to do what we want, and at once a native party will be established, which I think will be more *dangerous* to the peace and prosperity of this country than when the native votes together with the white man. We have got to see that we vote for men who will absolutely speak for us, and naturally they will become a stumbling-block in Parliament. Development along the lines which our ancestors developed produced eight wars in the Cape and seven in other provinces, and if we must develop

along these lines to-day, there must be a clash in the end." It was because the Cape people had been represented in Parliament that they had better facilities for education than in the North. Mr. Thema admitted that the full rights enjoyed by the negroes of the Southern States of America were not much use to them; he thought equal rights had worked satisfactorily in the North. He admitted that, despite the vote, the natives in the Cape were economically worse off than those in the Free State and Transvaal. He saw no connection between political rights and economic conditions. He admitted that, extending the vote to the civilised natives and not to the Chiefs would break down the latter's control. No matter what was done, he contended, the power of the Chief must be eventually broken down by civilisation. The proposals to elect representatives through the Chiefs was not feasible at present.

He explained that the attitude of the native peoples to segregation was control of their own affairs and sufficient land. An independent government. They are against any form of segregation that does not provide for a separate native state.

With regard to Indians, he would, in principle, be in favour of extending the franchise to them on the same grounds as to natives.

In the past the Chiefs' Council called the whole tribe to a pitso, and they made the laws. There was no system of election.

Professor MacMillan suggested that it would be better to go on quietly on elastic lines, letting things develop and dealing with difficulties as they arose. The increasing demand for labour would no doubt solve many of the problems about natives. As the demand increases, it will tend to narrow the gap between the native and the European, and improve the position of the natives.

This concluded the evidence of the Joint Council, which occupied 58 pages of close printing, not to mention annexures. An attempt has been made to summarise the essential points. It must be admitted that some valuable suggestions were made, which may be useful at a future date. The fallacies will be controverted by other evidence, and also,

by the experience gained in the intervening years since the Committee sat. Ten years has made a vast difference to the problem, which is now more economic than political, and confirms Mr. Thema's conclusions. On the whole, this educated native, who hails from the Pietersburg District, gave the most practical evidence.

The next evidence was given by the Transvaal Agricultural Union under the leadership of the late, much esteemed, J. C. Gilfillan. The evidence was confined exclusively to the Land Bill, to which the Union and its members had given unremitting attention. Owing to a misapprehension, no evidence was led on the political side. This was a great pity, as the members of this Union were well qualified to deal with the question. It had been thought that the South African Agricultural Union would lead this evidence, but as explained above, owing to some misunderstanding the Cape and Natal Unions acted independently, so the central body did not function.

The Transvaal Union was in favour of a definite area of land being fixed. Shifting of areas from time to time would be fatal to the principles of segregation. They considered that ground depreciated when surrounded by natives, and should be expropriated if the owner wished, a point subsequently embodied in the Act.

It may be mentioned that the most contentious part of the Land Bill dealt with the question of native labour on the farms. Squatting was generally condemned (it may be explained this is the practice by which natives were given a piece of ground against rental or labour for so many months of the year). The thing was to find a suitable alternative.

One of the suggestions was that the regulations should be statutory, and that licences should be issued for farm labourers, strictly in accordance with the amount of labour required. There was to be a schedule showing the state of development, or production, or output of the holding. The Commission to deal with the matter to consist of the Magistrate and two members of the public, one nominated by the Union and the other by the local Farmers' Associa-

tion. There was a good deal to be said for this arrangement.

It was mentioned that the Voortrekkers had tried to limit the number of natives on each farm, so as to avoid farmers and others having big surpluses of labour.

Squatters' licences were provided for starting at £2 for the first year, and rising by £1 for each subsequent year.

The Union felt that any scheme which precluded the waste of labour and idleness would be to the good. The native under present conditions was not pulling his weight. The pressure that had to be applied to him was economic. The white man had to starve, if he refused to work or could not get a job.

The deputation, who knew the Released Areas well, gave the opinion that, on the average, they were quite equal in quality to the ground occupied by the whites. The Union did not consider that natives should be favoured as regards the purchase of ground, but that the procedure should be by means of the Land Bank, on the same lines as the white man.

In other words, there should be no differentiation between black and white. The policy, for instance, of giving the native a monopoly of unskilled work was a cruel injustice to the poorer white community; this was *differentiation*.

The deputation also pleaded for consideration to the man who lived on the boundary of the Released Areas, which of course would be occupied by natives exclusively.

They wanted a labour bureau to be established, so that natives who wished to, or had to, move from farms could be informed as to where labour was required. Under present circumstances, there was a surplus of labour in one part of the Union and a scarcity in another.

Natives should be employed where possible throughout the year; it increased their efficiency and knowledge of agriculture. If one could reproduce the efficiency of the native in the gold industry, in the remainder of the native population, the white population would be doubled in a short period.

The only inducement the farmer would have to pay the native higher wages would be, if he increased in

efficiency. A trained employee would make good money: he would be worth it.

This evidence concluded, with the expression of opinion, that the farmer only wanted a fair deal from the natives, and that any law which applied to European child labour should also apply to natives.

THE NATIVE BILLS (*continued*)

THE Free State, represented by the well-known farmers, Messrs. J. Wessels, G. Schoeman, and the veteran G. A. Kolbe, then gave their views.

They thought that each farmer should be entitled to five squatters, in certain cases he might be allowed five more, without paying licence fees. With regard to the funds for the purchase of ground and development, they objected to the native being put in a more favourable position than the white man. They felt that the white man had to do everything for the native, and their own race must be also considered.

The labour tenant and the squatter were economically bad for the farmer, but the system would have to be broken down gradually. The hired labourer suited better and was better off. His youngsters work for pay for the farmer. He gets grazing for a few head of stock. Owing to the Free State farmers being unable to get labour from Basutoland, which goes to the mines, they have been driven to the squatting system.

Turning to the political question. The people of the Free State were unanimously opposed to the representation of natives in Parliament. If the native gets the vote and is represented in Parliament, he will, after a few years, say that his representation is ridiculous in proportion to his numbers, and then he will become dissatisfied. The native will be satisfied if he is allowed to develop in his own areas, where he can have his own representatives. It would be better for the Government to buy up the ground, that is, set it aside for native purposes; because the value of the land is always going up, and it will cost the Government more afterwards. (*Note.*—This is the policy which has been adopted.) Mr. Kolbe expressed the view with regard to the Cape franchise that it should

not be extended. The natives could be given wider powers in their own Councils with a connecting link to the Government—the same system as prevailed in the Transkei and in Basutoland. The Free State natives generally were getting better off.

The delegation again expressed their opposition to the extension of the franchise to natives. They had always been afraid of the thin edge of the wedge being driven in. The proposal, to give a limited number of Members of Parliament, would only lead to a big agitation for an increase in the numbers. This concluded the Free State evidence.

The Cape Agricultural Union, represented by Senator F. C. Thompson, Jr., J. Venter, and P. Marais, then gave evidence. The news of this Union on the political side was most interesting. They rightly attached far more importance to it than the land question.

Senator Thompson, who led the evidence, first drew attention to the danger of creating a Central Native Council. He said it would break down tribal barriers, tend to produce a bond of interest among the black *vis à vis* the white, and thirdly, weaken the power of the native Chiefs.

He did not consider that the idea of the released areas solved the problem of segregation, which the country is expecting, as it does not, at the same time, make provision for segregating the vote too and making it applicable to the areas in which the native lives.

Senator Thompson referred to the Royal Commission's Report of 1903. In Paragraph 441 of the Report, they said: "The Commission arrived at the conclusion that the possession of the franchise by the natives under the system existing in the Cape Colony, which permits it being used in a spirit of rivalry with and antagonism to the European electorate, which makes the organised native vote the arbiter in any acute electoral struggle between political parties, and which as the native voters increase numerically will enable them to out-vote the Europeans in certain parts of the country, is sure to create an intolerable situation and is an unwise and dangerous thing."

This Royal Commission consisted of such men as Sir Godfrey Lagden, Sir Walter Stanford, Mr. Samuelson, and Mr. Marshall Campbell, men who were well known to be sympathetic to the native; they could by no means be said to come from the back veld, although the back veld had probably a better knowledge of the subject than the townspeople.

Then in paragraph 442 of the Report the Commission says: "On the other hand, the Commission recognised that it was unnecessary and impracticable to take away the franchise from the natives where they already had it; all that is needed is to change the manner in which it should be exercised. It also felt that in those parts where the natives have not in the past had any vote or any form of elected representation in the legislature, it is likely to be advantageous to the State and conducive to their contentment to give them the same privileges as elsewhere in South Africa, provided that this can be done without conferring on them political power in any aggressive sense, or weakening in any way the unchallenged supremacy of the ruling race which is responsible for the country and bears the burden of its government."

Senator Thompson saw danger in the clause in the Native Council Bill which permitted the Council to go direct to Parliament. He thought they would tend to go by their representatives in Parliament, and thus drag the resolutions passed by the Native Council into the arena of party politics.

There would be considerable danger where two parties in Parliament were evenly balanced.

He went on to stress the danger of a combined council. In the Central Board there would be a gathering of natives coming from all parts of the country, who, to-day, do not understand one another's language, and they will have to speak through the medium of one common language, which will probably be English, and in that way they would break down tribal barriers and forward the political development of the native by a *hundred years*, by putting those who have not heard of Pretoria in touch with men of a different state of development. The result will be that these men will do all the talking, and the other element will gradually become educated, quite

apart from breaking down these tribal barriers. It is only a question of time, when there will be a concentrated native opinion, which will be articulate and a danger to the white races. It was also felt the Council would weaken the power of the Chiefs. The Chiefs were the persons we got to quell trouble with their people. It was in our interest to support them, and let them be the mouthpiece through which we speak to the natives. The same position obtained in India, when danger has taken place; there the native princes have been the chief bulwark against the cross-currents of pandemonium and revolution.

Mr. Venter then gave evidence. He first disclaimed any idea of party politics. He had been living for forty years in the Dordrecht district, near Herschel, and the Transkeian territories, and for twenty years had been in close touch with the natives. He had held conferences with them, and had a fair knowledge of the native question. He said there was a feeling throughout the country that there was too much protection for the natives and Asiatics and coloureds. He felt it was essential that there should be complete segregation under which the natives have their own land. He considered that a definite line would have to be drawn, and no native allowed to buy on the one side of the line, and similarly that no white man can buy on the other. Mr. Venter was in favour of giving them every facility, but in their own territory. Let them have their councils there. They may become professors, doctors, or anything else. If a native wants to come to the white man's country, he must go there under permit and vice versa.

Let the native have the vote in his land and white man similarly. It will naturally be asked, if this is the case, what representation does the native have, seeing that the Union Parliament will have the right to veto any decisions come to by the natives in their own country? The answer to this is, that a body could be constituted which would act as a link between the native councils and the Union Government or Parliament, one nominated by the Governor-General in person, and one by the native councils, so that there would be a non-party council, which could exercise the vote.

Mr. Venter went on to discuss why a limited number of Members in Parliament would give rise to agitation amongst the native races. In the first instance they will point out the disparity in the numbers of people represented by the whites and themselves. They will then demand more representation. They will also press for natives to represent them. For this reason he was in favour of segregation.

As regards the land question, most of the trouble arose owing to the inefficiency of the native with regard to agriculture. The native districts, with which he was acquainted, could accommodate masses of natives provided they were efficient; larger numbers would be able to live on the land without cause of complaint. Their inefficiency is the cause why so many have to go out and work.

Mr. Marais followed. He considered that in the Cape the native had quite enough ground. He thought 1 morgen of ground in the Transkei quite sufficient for each native, provided he worked it efficiently. The native had to be taught that to labour is not a shame.

There should be no delay in carrying out a segregation policy, as the longer it was delayed, the more difficult the problem became. Mr. Marais thought in any case there must be some link between the natives and the Government. There should either be representation in the Senate, or a real live Native Affairs Commission. In the past, the Native Affairs Commission had not had the powers and authority to be able to say what they really wanted.

The proposed Native Council would break down tribal jealousy and would hurry on the development of the natives by a hundred or more years. The late Sir George Leuchars had said that one thing one has to remember is not to interfere with natives more than was absolutely necessary.

Mr. Venter, examined by Col.-Comdt. Collins, thought it was not too much to ask the Government to buy up all the land that will be possessed by natives in European areas, after the segregation line had been drawn, and to sell that land to the white people. He did not think the State would lose by this. Asked whether he thought

£10 millions would cover the costs of expropriation, he stated that the sum would be large, but the problem was so great that it was worth going to that expenditure to get it solved.

The solving of this native problem had been delayed too long, and the longer it is delayed the worse the position will become. The broad principles of the Bills are in the right direction.

He was not in favour of the present franchise enjoyed by the natives at the Cape being continued. Those who have the vote should be allowed to keep it, and then no more than those, who are voters at present, be permitted to get on to the voters' roll. On the big principle of segregation he was not in favour of the franchise of the Cape natives being continued. On the whole it would be better to leave the position as it was. If you wish to alter the native vote, you should only do it in such a way that it will not affect those who at present have the vote, but only those who would eventually become entitled to it.

Asked by Mr. Steytler whether he would favour giving the 14,000 native voters in the Cape three separate Members in Parliament? He could not agree to this; you would form a new party by an election of three special native members, which may later get the balance of power in its hands and prove very dangerous.

The evidence of the representatives of the Cape Agricultural Union then terminated. Naturally, only the salient points can be selected, but the views given were an intelligent appreciation of events to come. The line taken by the delegates was sound and instructive.

They were followed by Professor Jabavu, Dr. Rabusana, the Rev. Mtiskulu, and Mr. Pelew representing most of the native bodies in the Union, and including the Wesleyan Methodist Conference of South Africa.

Professor Jabavu traversed the ground with which most people are familiar, in pleading for the retention of the Cape native franchise. He attacked the northern members of the Union Convention hip and thigh. It was only under the inexorable pressure which they exercised that the Colour Bar Clause and the Clause, which only

required two-thirds majority of both Houses to vary the franchise, was passed. He stigmatised this action as being illiberal, un-Christian and subversive, resulting in considerable unrest amongst the people thus stigmatised.

He referred to the speeches in London on the Act of Union, as a case of independent external examiners criticising the patent failure, on the part of South African politicians, to observe the universal laws common to all humanity.

Professor Jabavu continued in this strain to abuse the representatives of the white community of the Union, and then went on to criticise the Native Representation Bill, for which naturally he had nothing good to say.

He considered that in the exercise of the franchise the native voters had *never* committed any mistakes; theory and experience were entirely on the side of the Cape native vote. He derided the idea that the native vote would ever swamp the whites. Furthermore, when the native voters of five centuries hereafter are numerous enough to swamp the whites, they will, *ipso facto*, be civilised enough to run the country on civilised lines, and with the intelligence and dignity associated with civilised races elsewhere in the world.

He stated that they required political equality in order to get their share of the land. The natives would only get justice when they got political equality; this, he said, had nothing to do with social intercourse.

He was against tribal rule by the Chiefs; he submitted that African tribal rule had undergone such disintegration that it could never be re-established amongst detribalised natives. The tribal system was being gradually dislodged by the European democratic system, and would ultimately be eliminated, as education spreads.

He admitted that all political affairs were, in the last analysis, governed by economic interests. White and black must have a common identity in economic matters. The only alternative left for those who deny this identity of interest was effective absolute territorial segregation, placing the blacks on some virgin ground where they shall conduct their own separate administration under the Imperial Government.

He denied that racial feeling had been aroused in the Cape; he explained how the different parties had wooed the native vote. Onze Jan Hofmeyr, in league with John Tenga Jabavu, with a big following of native voters, and Dr. Jameson courting the Rev. Walter Benson Rabusana, with an equally large share of the native voters behind him. Professor Jabavu thought this was a highly desirable state of affairs—*honest* differences of opinion.

The South African Party and the Unionists, up to 1909, each claimed a substantial following of native voters.

He thought the Pass Laws in the North were a curse. The Cape native had been saved by the grace of the franchise from the operation of the 1913 Land Act. There seems to be no likelihood, he said, of keeping the black man back from his march towards ultimate liberty in education, economic life, and political privileges, any more than it was possible for King Canute to block the ocean tide by an act of volition.

Mr. Pelew followed by saying that the white man had completely dispossessed the native of his country, and firmly established on a white basis a government for himself and his children, leaving the native to stew in his own grease. He proceeded to address the Committee, alluding, *inter alia*, to "crocodile tears," "the old snake of hatred," "the irreconcilable parties with foul and detestable conspiracies."

He took quite a different line to Professor Jabavu, appealed to the British Government for protection, and generally attacked the white man of the Union and his Government. After this little two-fisted encounter, he proceeded to criticise the native Bills.

He said he only spoke for himself, but had to admit that native opinion was much divided; he was forced to the conclusion that the Bills were good in parts. He would plead for the withdrawal of the opposition to the Cape franchise, and the adoption of the resolutions of the Churches as voiced by the Conference, which had been called together at Cape Town by the Federal Council of the Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa. If this was done, great satisfaction would be given to

the natives and the Government thanked for the first instalment towards the solution of a delicate and difficult problem.

He made some sensible remarks with reference to the Union Native Council; he hoped the Bunga system would be extended to the various Provinces of the Union in the first instance.

He thought the hereditary chieftainship should be maintained, and that the sons of recognised native Chiefs, who naturally possess intimate acquaintance with the history, language, customs, and manners of their respective people, should be given such education and training as might be deemed necessary to qualify them for employment in different offices, especially constituted for the administration of the government of the native races.

Dr. Rabusana followed. He underlined the arguments of his fellow delegates. He feared that if these Native Bills were passed, the country would be in a state of ferment. He had no doubt they would create hatred between the black and white people in the country. He therefore begged Parliament to drop the Bills.

The Rev. Mtiskulu, who followed, thought it unfair that the native should be put on the same footing as the European, in the matter of acquiring land. He stated that the native could not earn so much money as the European, and could not compete with him. He hoped some provision would be made for the detribalised natives in the towns. The standard of living of these people was as good as that of the coloured man or some of the poor Europeans.

He was against the native labour tenant and licensing system, and said it would drive the young natives to the towns. This would break down the native custom of parental control, and lead to unemployment in the towns. The young men in the towns are carried away by temptation, and soon fall into a life of crime.

Mr. Pelew said his Union was in favour of separate representation. It was impossible for a man to serve two masters. If the native territories have to carry a larger population than they do at present, the stock of the natives will have to be curtailed considerably.

Professor Jabavu, examined by Mr. Steytler, said the natives looked forward to the day when they could have a man of their own colour in the House of Assembly. He thought by the time the natives can demand a majority, which may be two centuries hence, the spirit of the country would be such that there would be no danger to Europeans. In answer to Mr. Heaton Nicholls, he said the Europeans had been trying to get them out of their traditions altogether; he admitted there were differences as to what form of government was most suitable. They embraced democracy for various reasons. They wished to maintain their political rights, so as to protect their interests in regard to the land question and education.

He withdrew his objection to the Chiefs to the extent that tribal rule is good for a certain stage of development, but he had outgrown and renounced that condition; he was a civilised man.

Professor Jabavu said the native would not get value for his direct and indirect taxation, until a black man was able to stand in Parliament and put their view forward. He would not admit that the State pays more out in the way of police, hospitals, and the like than it gets in taxation.

There was no problem in the franchise if the natives were civilised. The Assembly would regard the Hon. Srinivassa Sastri as a civilised man and not a black man. He said that representation should be confined to civilised natives; because the uncivilised native preferred the present method of being governed by the Chiefs.

Referring to the Transkei, he said the Bunga had been working for several years for compulsory education; despite this, 80 or 90 per cent. of the "red" natives were against it. They wanted their children to herd stock.

They were against Pretoria being the headquarters of the Union Native Council. They preferred Cape Town.

He thought there were strong probabilities of the natives becoming industrialists, if the Released Areas became pure native areas.

He did not think that their representation by natives alone would always be sufficient for the protection of the native. He said we desire much more than the present system. We would naturally like to have the door opened for natives to represent natives in the Assembly.

It is correct to say that a member who had native voters in his constituency would play up to the native vote as much as possible.

With regard to communal ownership of land, this would be a matter of evolution from communism to individualism. Leasing farm lands to natives was a useful proposal.

Referring to the franchise, if a member represented natives only he would vote for native interests, even though they clashed with those of the Europeans.

Dealing with reference to the alleged harsh treatment of natives in the Free State, Professor Jabavu had to admit that he was not aware that natives in the Free State were, as a whole, better off than in any part of the Union.

Speaking generally, he concluded that natives do not buy land and they do not invest their money in land. But they liked the Cape system, where they could buy land freely if they wished to do so.

These witnesses were followed by Chief Kumalo, the Rev. Z. H. Mahabane, and Mr. J. D. Ngoso, representing the Native Congress.

Dealing with the Land Bill, Chief Kumalo was against the paying of any licence fee for a labour tenant. They did not want boys of eighteen to make labour contracts; according to native custom they should be under the control of the parents till of age, which is when they get married. When wages were too low on a farm, the tendency was for the children to run away from their parents to get other work.

They were in favour of Provincial Councils, then the Union Council.

The Rev. Mahabane urged, on behalf of the Chiefs' Convention under the auspices of the African Native Congress, that African interests should be represented in Parliament by members of the African race, and that members of the non-European population should be received into full citizen rights.

They were opposed to the separation of members of the African race into two opposite camps by means of the introduction of the Coloured Persons Rights Bill (since withdrawn); they thought that measure was calculated

to create a spirit of antagonism amongst those concerned. They considered the principle of Released Areas was a fair one, but they objected to the size of the land.

Chief Kumalo, in answer to Mr. Marwick, said that twenty-two Chiefs attended the Convention, though he was not there himself.

From the nature of his replies it was evident that the Convention was not fully representative.

The Rev. Mahabane did not wish the coloured people divided from the natives. If the natives had less rights than the coloured they would resent it. They thought their interests were identical with the coloured, although their civilisation was not the same.

The cause of the exodus of natives to the towns was the difficulty in getting land; some natives preferred the rural areas, but the great majority would like to live on their own farms and to rear their own stock.

The Rev. Mahabane, examined by Mr. Nicholls, stated that one of the objects of the African Native Congress was the consolidation of the native tribes into a national and political union, with legislative pretensions. The membership was upwards of 100,000; but there had been no paying members for two years.

Basutoland, Swaziland, and Bechuanaland are outside the Union; but with the area set aside for natives in the Union, they would constitute 45 per cent. of the whole. This fact had not been thought of, when considering the land question.

As regards the liquor question, so long as one section of the people is allowed to drink, it is impossible to place restrictions on the other section. It may not be advisable to take away restrictions, but the fact remains.

Mr. Mdolombo would like to see irrigation schemes started for natives. He came from a district where there was plenty of water, and if the district could be developed by means of irrigation, it would carry a bigger native population than it does to-day.

The development of the land was more important than the political question. Generally, the natives were not so rich as they were twenty or twenty-five years ago, the reason being that they had not been taught agriculture.

The Rev. Mahabane thanked the Prime Minister for the courage and determination with which he was trying to find a solution of the problem. They rather feared the establishment of a Union Native Council; they thought the whites would say, "You have your Council, it is a veritable Parliament; you need not trouble about having representation in Parliament."

Chief Kumalo concluded the evidence by some observations on the opinions of the Chiefs. The thought that the raw Chief could not accept the ruling of opinion of a well-constituted council was wrong. No sane Chief would fail to take, for instance, Professor Jabavu as leader of the natives to-day.

Sir Herbert Sloley, the Rev. H. Booth Coventry, and Mr. R. M. Soboto, representing the Cape Native Welfare Society, were then examined.

They were of opinion that to limit the obtaining of additional land in the released areas to certain tribes only was unacceptable. They were against the licensing system. They were against squatting, but provision must first be made for absorbing the squatters elsewhere. They hoped that the natives would not be faced with European competition in the released areas. They thought that ninety days was quite sufficient service for a labour tenant: six months was too much. The danger was that licences and squatters' taxes would drive the natives to the towns. The policy should be to encourage them more and more to the land.

The Rev. Coventry, in giving evidence, said they were sincerely thankful for the evident intention of the Government to deal with the then unsatisfactory position by considered legislation. At the same time, they were against differentialism between white and black. His experience, as tutor for five years in Post-Matriculation subjects at the Fort Hare South African Native College, made him assert that there was no mental inferiority between white and black. He guided the first four students to gain the B.A.; after the primary difficulties of terminology were mastered, he found no reason to deny these students intelligence equal to that of the average European student.

The Rev. Coventry pursued this well-known line of argument.

He was of opinion that the white men's standard of living will never be secure while it is built up on the degraded mass of cheap native labour. As the natives became more intelligent, their birth-rate would decrease. In the Southern States of America since 1870-1880, the percentage of negro increase has fallen from 34.9 per cent. to 6.5 per cent. A wise policy of white immigration was the best way to adjust the difference in numbers between white and black.

Whatever may be the native's natural mental capacity, no one will deny that they are, and for many generations must be, greatly deficient in social and intellectual background. This fact is extremely important, and in view of it they suggested that there could be no reasonable opposition to the establishing of a higher qualification for the native franchise, especially in respect to education. They believed that the real danger lies in the possible abuse of the vote through ignorance, selfishness, and racial hatred. They urged the extension of the franchise to all parts of the Union on higher qualifications, increased training and educational facilities, and legislation for higher wages of native workers, rural and urban, so that their standard of living may be gradually raised.

They thought the Native Council would serve a useful purpose as a channel for the expression of native grievances, thoughts, and ideals, but it must not be regarded as a substitute for the rights of full citizenship.

As regards squatters, Sir Herbert Sloley said it had been stated there were 700,000 of these people at that time, and any alteration should be carried out slowly. He had been informed that, generally speaking, there was a scarcity of labour on the farms. When he was living near the Free State his impression was that very few farmers would part with their natives. They, and the natives they have got there, are satisfied. The Bill put it in the power of their neighbours to object to them having so many natives.

The Rev. Coventry alluded to the lack of mental and moral background in relation to the complexity of our

own civilisation. He had never been able to see why we should not go so far as to give the native full social equality with us. There would be a swamping of the higher race only, when the higher race had begun to degenerate by basing itself upon a cheap degraded class of native labour.

The point of the higher qualification would be that it would keep back the growing danger of being overwhelmed by the native in South Africa. In the present complicated state of civilisation, there necessarily will arise political considerations which necessitate for full judgment something more than surface education. Once you get beyond that education, and have to fall back upon ordinary tradition and heritage, the native will be found lacking and so you must safeguard your civilisation by the higher qualification in the meantime.

Sir Herbert Sloley thought that Basutoland was becoming poorer by being worked out and by erosion. The country was self-supporting. It was essential that the natives there should be given help in the way of wise guidance for years to come.

Segregation would not be possible unless there was a large measure of guidance from outside. Up to the time he left Basutoland, the natives there were certainly not becoming detribalised as a nation. Of course, there is a class of young educated native arising who call themselves progressive, and do not think tribally; they think in terms of European newspaper politics.

The Rev. Mr. Coventry was questioned as to whether one could call any big political question essentially native, or essentially European. He put a test question, which has not worked out quite as he anticipated. It was this: "Suppose the Government for some reason was to decide upon the debasing of the currency of the country. The average person would say, 'Here is a question which can hardly be called a native question.' What would the result be? With the coinage debased, prices would rise, and the lower classes would be the ultimate ones to suffer, and especially the natives, so there is no political question which does not ultimately touch native life." Devaluation has not so far worked out in the Union, as Mr. Coventry anticipated.

In concluding the evidence, Sir H. Sloley said he could not agree with all the views suggested by the Rev. Coventry with reference to the differential treatment of natives in regard to political rights. He considered the recommendation of the Native Affairs Commission quite sound, namely, separate voting by native electors only for a fixed number of members to represent them in the legislature of the country, with the same status as other members, the number and qualifications of such members to be settled by the legislature; the number not to be more than sufficient to provide an adequate medium for the expression of native views and the ventilation of their grievances, if any, and not to be regulated by the numerical strength of the native vote; no native to vote at the election of any candidate or member who was to represent Europeans.

Mr. L. D. Gilson, M.L.A., gave evidence principally on the land question. Some of his remarks are far-sighted and useful.

He thought the day would come when there would be no natives outside the Released Areas, except farm servants and labour tenants.

It was all to the good of the country if we could build up a settled class of farm workers.

There seemed to be very little difference between squatting and leasing. It meant that, instead of leasing the land from year to year, as they do now, they would have it for four or five years. They would be in precisely the same position as the squatter, with a longer lease; he did not favour this.

He thought it better to keep the European and native land-holders as far apart as possible.

The country cannot keep on giving more land, but there must be sufficient for the present wants of the natives.

Personally, he thought it would be better for the Government to purchase the whole of the land required.

In reply to the Rev. Mr. Mullineux, who said that ultimately we may have to consider the question of leasing land to natives outside, because he considered we had not got enough land for them in the released areas, Mr. Gilson thought that involved the question of better methods of

farming. The native areas could carry an enormously bigger population if less wasteful methods are adopted.

The country cannot go on indefinitely letting more and more land to the natives; they must feel the economic pressure just as we feel it, and make better use of the land.

Mr. Gilson objected to native farming in white areas. He took the case of sheep farming, and alluded to the terrible curse of native dogs. He had known of seventy sheep belonging to white farmers being killed in a night.

Natives were continually going through fences to take the shortest cut; trespass is everlastingly going on.

He thought a native family should have at least three acres of arable land for its actual requirements. It was possible to get more than twice as much out of the land.

Taking the Cape Province as a whole, the land held by the natives was more valuable than that held by the Europeans per unit. The Transkei comprises a large amount of the best farm land in the Province.

Instead of a Central Council, he would rather have a Provincial Council in each Province; he preferred the idea of an advisory board of natives for the whole Union.

He did not like the system of giving to the Cape two or three members elected by the natives themselves under the existing franchise, and then allowing the other natives to elect Senators. If we interfere, we should have a system which will embrace the whole of the Union.

The representatives of the European-Bantu Conference of 1927, Professor J. du Plessis, Archbishop Carter, the Rev. W. H. Richards, the Rev. W. Eveleigh, the Rev. Dr. D. Wark, and the Rev. P. G. J. Meiring, were examined. These people represented the opinions of the Conference called together at Cape Town by the Federal Council of the Dutch Reformed Church, being members of Christian Churches and leaders of native opinion. The Land question was dealt with on similar lines to the evidence given previously, favouring native claims.

On the subject of the franchise no resolution had been arrived at by the Conference.

Professor du Plessis agreed with the findings of the Commission of 1903-1905, which have already been quoted. He thought more strenuous educational qualifications

were necessary, owing to the danger of the natives reverting to barbarism. He gave as an instance of this the story of a Transkeian missionary. Having occasion to travel through an unknown portion of Kaffraria, he stopped at a native kraal, called a native woman who was clothed in the familiar red blanket, and speaking in Kaffir asked her his route. To his astonishment she replied in excellent English. The missionary enquired: "But who are you?" Her answer was, "Don't you know me? I am Emma Sandili." This daughter of the well-known chief, though thoroughly educated, had discarded European dress and lapsed into barbarism.

Professor du Plessis suggested a proportion of one native constituency to thirteen European.

He considered the Land Bill more important than the franchise.

Archbishop Carter differed from Professor du Plessis; he would give natives equal privileges with the white man throughout South Africa.

Professor du Plessis explained that the Dutch Reformed Church appointed these Committees, because they felt that in the past matters were discussed far too much on European lines.

There was an objection, however, that the European land-owners were not sufficiently represented at the Conference, and that must be granted.

They differed with regard to the franchise.

They did not invite any prominent European land-owner for the purpose of representing the views of the European farmers.

He thought that the drift to the towns was caused by the increase in the native population, which doubled itself practically every thirty years.

As regards the proposed Coloured Persons Rights Bill, in so far as it aims at ultimately merging the coloured into the European population for electoral purposes, he did not favour it.

This concluded the Dutch Reformed Church Conference's representations.

We shall conclude our summary of the evidence on the native question with the views of two important native

Chiefs. It will not be necessary to quote further authorities, the general drift of the evidence on both sides has been fairly presented, in a very abbreviated form, so that the reader can easily grasp the position up to the date when the evidence was given.

Finally, Chief Swayimana, of New Hanover District, Natal; and Chief Kula, of Msinga District, were examined through an interpreter.

Chief Kula spoke on the subject of the Union Native Council. He thought the results of the old (Pretoria) Council were most unsatisfactory. There were too many people there, too many matters were brought forward, and much confusion arose, each member being anxious to air his own point of view. There were as many voices as members present.

As Chiefs they could always come to some finality in regard to matters relating to their own affairs; but the Pretoria Conference was a mere babel of voices. The cause is, that the educated detribalised natives take the lead there, to the disadvantage of the tribal natives.

Chief Swayimana alluded to the long experience he had in Natal. He was for many years Induna to the Secretary of Native Affairs in the days of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, and also of his son Henrique Shepstone. His father was one of the chief political officials of Shepstone. He had as great a knowledge as it was possible for a man to have in regard to the whole tribal system in Natal and Zululand, as it had been handed down from time immemorial.

He did not wish a native Council set up in Pretoria, as regards his area.

Chief Kula preferred the old type of government. The whole principle of the tribal system rests upon representation of a kind. Any intense dissatisfaction against the management of any particular man would soon come to light, in view of the Chief's constantly meeting his people. In regard to their personal views, the natives under the tribal system are not badly off. They are not a people that are stifled in any way, but can express their views through their representatives. It would be a pity to see this system swept away, for the purpose of appointing

a lot of people to deal with their affairs, merely because they happened to be educated.

Chief Swayimana could not understand the purpose behind the Union Native Council. Notwithstanding the evidence from the educated natives, he denied that they spoke for the natives of the Union. The resolutions adopted at their Congress do not represent the views of the Natal natives. The impression given was that these men were self-seekers, looking after their own interests. As to the Convention of Chiefs called by the Rev. Mahabane at Bloemfontein, it was news to hear twenty-two represented Natal. People must be chosen first before they can represent anybody. The natives in Natal, generally speaking, are satisfied with tribal rule.

Speaking personally, the Chief did not like the new proposed elective system.

They would prefer to have a council for Natal only.

There is a certain element amongst the younger natives who are breaking away from the rule of the Chiefs; they are described amongst us by a word which means, "Their heads are turned." They are irresponsible and disrespectful, and recognise no authority at all; the best thing would be to punish them; it would be a bad thing if they got an influx of these detribalised individualistic natives into the Reserves. The Chief was an old man and was not prepared to listen to these young men, who think, because they had book learning, they knew much more than he did. He had long experience and knew how to govern his people.

Chief Kula agreed; he thought better methods of farming would keep the natives on the land; it is better for them to be there than in the towns.

There is usually a babel of voices at the Pretoria Conference, the tribal native is bewildered, and when he was told by the detribalised natives to vote, and when the people where he was sitting put up their hands, he did so; he was totally ignorant of the reason why they were putting up their hands.

Chief Kula could not see what advantage it was to the Cape native to have a vote, but of course he could not speak for them, they must speak for themselves.

He emphasised again their preference for a Provincial

Council to one for the Union. They did not feel the need to keep in touch with natives from other provinces.

From his point of view he was quite satisfied with the existing conditions; they did not feel the need to agitate for wider political powers. There were no members of his tribe, in his location, who were agitating for political power.

The reader can now consider the position. He must weigh up the views of the Assimilationists, the educated natives, the administrators, and that of the farmers, "the practical Segregationists," and the Chiefs whose evidence has just been cited. There has been great abbreviation and some explanation of the 388 pages of evidence. The subject has been devilled so that he who runs may absorb it. In the succeeding pages we shall see the results arrived at by the Government.

POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS

WE now proceed to deal with the work of Parliament. On February 12th, 1929, both Houses of Parliament were called together. Under the South African Act, 1909, it was necessary to have a joint sitting, as a two-thirds majority of both Houses was required to deal with any alteration of the native or coloured franchise. The Bills to be considered were the Native Parliamentary Representation Bill and the Coloured Persons Rights Bill.

After a little preliminary sparring, the Prime Minister, General J. B. M. Hertzog, moved for leave to introduce the Bill dealing with native representation. It must have been a proud moment for him and those who had for so many years fought for political segregation.

General Smuts arose immediately to protest against the Bills being proceeded with, on the eve of a General Election.

They were dealing with a matter which could afford to take time. They went into Union at the time they did because the people were ready for it and the atmosphere was favourable. Now they were dealing with a subject which, in its essence, is more difficult than the Union of the colonies, and tackling it when public opinion was unripe and unprepared.

And so the issue was joined. It soon became apparent that no solution would be arrived at by the Joint Sitting.

It is necessary to delve into past history to see what grounds there were for postponing the consideration of these important matters, one for seven or eight years, and the other, the Coloured Persons Rights Bill, perhaps for ever.

Mr. Alexander, one of the oldest members of the House, who has consistently taken up the side of the educated native, opposed the Bills.

He said, *inter alia*, that to force segregation was a mistake,

because it cannot be carried out; legislation was not going to solve this question. All the talk was trying to ignore the fact that there are millions of natives in this country, and to try to deal with them by legislative Acts seems to be futile. Legislation is not going to alter the numerical proportions between natives and Europeans. They and the coloured people are there, and we have to solve a very difficult problem. Mr. Alexander then went on to contend that the Cape system was the best to adopt, and that civilisation and education were the best ways and methods to use in dealing with the problem.

Mr. Barlow expressed the view that emotional nonsense had been talked by the Hon. Member for Hanover Street. If they carried out the policy that Member stood for, the country would be swamped in a black ocean. In the Free State, the native without the vote was better off economically than the Cape native with the vote. The poor black, the black who starved, was in the Cape Colony. He was at an election the other day at Kimberley, a provincial election, and black men were on the same footing as white men for an hour or two. It was destroying them morally. He was convinced that the Prime Minister was doing his best. They were accused of oppressing the native in the North; that was not true. The natives in Durban and Bloemfontein were happier, better treated, and healthier than in the Cape. He spoke for the English-speaking people of the Free State. They were going to support the Prime Minister, and the people of the Transvaal were going to do so, and he believed a large number of English-speaking people in the Cape would also support him.

The Minister for Defence, the Hon. F. H. P. Creswell, who has done more than his share in striving for white civilisation in the Union, laid down the policy of the Labour Party.

He greatly deprecated the notion that one of the most important national questions must never be discussed as a party question in the House or on public platforms. As a matter of fact, there was no solution of any political question, far less of a great question like the native problem, in the way that you can have a solution of a

problem in algebra or geometry. In 1910, in the first manifesto issued by the Labour Party, they advocated separate representation for the natives in advisory councils apart, and no further extension of the franchise to them. They had always held that the mixing of the natives and Europeans in the same electoral system was not good for either Europeans or natives. They did not believe that the native was adequately represented in Parliament by merely holding a sort of balancing vote in a number of constituencies, and is not so well represented as he would be if he himself chose his representatives apart from Europeans. They believed that the present system has made the native far more a pawn in the politics of the white man than is good for the natives or the whites.

He went on to argue that there was no need for delay. The whole world knew the Prime Minister had made this subject his special study. For three years he had been doing his best to try to get a maximum agreement on this matter between the parties represented in the House. It could not possibly be denied that every avenue had been explored in order to try to attain an agreement with the different parties. (Mr. Nicholls interjected, "I deny that absolutely!") The Minister said this interjection reminded him of the man who boasted that his wife and he always settled things by compromise, and when asked what sort of compromise was reached, admitted that the compromise was the one desired by his wife.

He regretted extremely that agreement had not been reached in the matter. He instanced the tremendous passions raised by the Home Rule Bill in Great Britain, when introduced by Mr. Gladstone forty years ago (nearly fifty now). There are very few men to-day who do not wish that a more reasonable attitude had been adopted. The hon. gentleman went on to say that they were doing no wrong after three years in Select Committee and Commission in saying that they were not straining the constitution in bringing this matter to a Joint Sitting, which is the only assembly in which it can be discussed. Rather than agree to the proposal of the other party that it should be left over till they chose to agree, it was preferable to discuss the matter in the House and on public platforms and submit it to the popular vote.

Mr. Jagger and other Members put the opposite view, that they wanted time, and every effort should be made to come to an agreement. One member expressed the view that it was even worth waiting a generation for unity.

There was considerable discussion as to whether enough time had been given for deliberation and consideration of the evidence brought before the Select Committee. Mr. Heaton Nicholls thought the native question was a matter of administration, not of legislation.

The Prime Minister replied, in the most conciliatory way, to the objections which had been made. It is quite evident, from the tone of his remarks, that he was prepared to go a long way to meet the opposition. He made a special appeal to the Hon. Member for Yeoville, now His Excellency Sir Patrick Duncan, who had said he was not wedded to the Cape principle, and was prepared to accept another.

If the hon. member, he said, was not wedded to the Cape principle, why does he not come over, and help us to put the Bill through? Let him make his proposals, and let us see what can be done. They could not run away from the matter, they must look it in the face. Nothing can ever be done in life by running away from a thing. And least of all could that be done in Parliament.

The Prime Minister was on very safe grounds in this reply, but when he attacked the Member for Standerton, General Smuts, by alluding to a statement he had made, advocating co-operation and development between South Africa and the British Colonies lying to the North, and insinuated that this meant a Black Empire, he was going a little too far. It is true that General Smuts had pleaded for a move northwards; he wanted the words "South Africa" to drop out, and a great federation to come about. Such a federation would make it very much easier to settle the great problems, he said. Nobody doubts that in this connection General Smuts meant the Union to be the predominant partner.

To-day public opinion, North and South, has changed considerably on this question, and it would be almost impossible to secure unification. The most that could be hoped for would be a loose kind of federation, dealing with

defence, transport, trade, and possibly the native and Asiatic questions and an improved Customs Union.

Leave to introduce the Bill was given. The vote was on strictly party lines, and it was apparent that there was very little good in pursuing the matter.

Owing to the different position which now obtains, it is only necessary to select certain salient points in the proceedings of Parliament, and abbreviations have to be made. It is necessary to refer to the great labour, energy, and ability with which the Prime Minister stuck to his task. One of the most important statements made by him was on the subject of those who were persistently bringing forward the claims of the natives. This condition prevails more to-day than when he spoke eight years ago. He said, *inter alia*:

“Europeans in South Africa were fully determined to govern the country, and with every respect for those who, for sentimental reasons, come and say that it is not right for the native not to have the same privileges and rights as the Europeans, I cannot but state that this is the greatest nonsense in the world; in the interests of the Europeans and of the natives, this can never be thought of. When I say ‘Never,’ I want again to make it clear that we can only speak for our time. We cannot think for any future Parliament, still less can we prescribe what the sentiment of the Europeans in South Africa will be in about a hundred years or more. None of us can do that, and therefore when I say ‘Never,’ I am only speaking for myself, and so far as I, with my vision, can see for a reasonable distance ahead.”

Continuing on this subject of equality of the race, he said:

“It will not be thought of during my generation, the following generation, and with very little doubt, I say, in further generations thereafter, that the Europeans will lose the control of matters in South Africa and the natives will be given it.

“Just because I feel this so deeply, I come to this Assembly and say that we must give the native in the North what is reasonable and fair, and that we must see that his interests are reasonably and fairly respected in

Parliament. Let me say again that I am not bound to my proposals, that I am at any time prepared, if the Assembly can find more reasonable and better proposals which will indemnify the Europeans in future, to accept them. It cannot be denied that very strong pressure is being exercised to-day. The joint councils recently held a conference here in Cape Town. I say straight out that I had not time to read the deliberations, but I know quite well what the joint councils always urge, and will continue to urge. I also know well that many of their demands cannot be complied with, but I fear that I have to do here actually with a body which can do much good, but also a tremendous lot of harm if they are not on their guard, and I am afraid they will do much if we are unreasonable. Already to-day, Europeans in joint councils—and let me say that the best of men are amongst them, people with good common sense, who want to do the best thing for South Africa—urge that the native interests in the North shall be represented in Parliament. If we go farther, we find that synods of the Church are held, and we know that individual missionaries and ministers of the English Church, and of the Dutch Churches and of other Churches, advocate it from time to time, and the most significant thing in connection with the matter seems to me to be the way in which these men feel, that it has already become a matter of conscience with them, that representation in this Parliament ought to be given to the natives of the Northern Provinces. We have not only the individuals, but also the Church synods. We all know what they urge. Let me say again that I do not agree with them, but I must partly justify the grounds on which they think that something must be done for the natives.

“We can do what we like; unless we comply with the cry for fairness towards the native in the northern provinces, these Churches and those churchmen will regard it as their duty to take matters into their own hands.”

The above extract of the Prime Minister's remarks is given to show the difficulties which had to be contended with, in pacifying this particular section of public opinion.

Dealing with education, he said:

"Let me draw the Assembly's attention to the fact that there are more native children at school in the Cape Province than white children. Thousands and thousands of pounds more are spent on education of the natives here than in the Free State, the Transvaal, Natal, and also other territories.

"Where there are 6 million natives, and 2 million Europeans, can we expect anything else than that eventually there will be about three educated natives to every European, let it be in twenty, thirty, fifty, or one hundred years? If education increases and the wages become higher, will not then the number of educated and well-to-do natives be in the proportion of about three to one to the Europeans? The aim amongst the natives is equality, absolute equality, sometimes equality of the kind that he should alone exist in South Africa, and the European go out of it."

The Prime Minister also mentioned, in the course of his remarks, that there were hundreds of coloured people on the voters' roll in Johannesburg, some were just as dark as natives.

It may be mentioned at this stage that the original Bill provided for seven members of Parliament; of these, two were from the Cape, two from Natal, two from the Transvaal, and one from the Free State. The provinces were to be divided into special electoral areas, as there were members to be elected.

The Bill introduced in 1929 differed materially from this. First the Cape was to have three members. The natives in the North were to be represented in the Senate. The proposal was abandoned that the natives who were already on the voters' roll should be taken off and put on a new voters' roll, etc.

It is necessary to explain this, as the Opposition complained there was nothing definite before them.

General Smuts said, *inter alia*:

The broad impression that had been made on his mind was: "the Prime Minister lays before us an experiment; he is not convinced of its correctness, or that it is desirable, or that it is a solution of a problem with

which he has been struggling. He puts it before us and calls on us to suggest improvements. When are we going to have something definite before us? The Bill before us to-day is entirely different, and is an entirely different scheme from the Bill before the House in 1926. If we wanted to have a settlement, it will have to be largely by agreement, and every effort ought to be made to carry these people most affected with us."

Replying to the interjection of a Member, "We ask you to help us in passing this Bill," General Smuts said, "Let me tell my hon. friend that we shall never lend our hands to this thing."

He took the South African Act to mean that no change of the Cape franchise can be put through Parliament in this country without agreement. He did not think that any reasonable man can anticipate that we shall have a party so strong in this country that it will have two-thirds of the Members of Parliament voting on its side. It cannot be put through as a party question. He pleaded for a comprehensive survey of the whole question, and a very much wider enquiry into the political and economic aspects of the question. The really urgent questions were those on the economic side, the relations between white and black, the pressure which is brought to bear on whites and coloured owing to the great influx of natives from the territories to large centres of population, and the overcrowding of town location. The Prime Minister knew as well as he did that he had made criticisms regarding the work of the Churches, which had deeply shocked them.

It is only possible to give extracts from the many speeches made by famous parliamentarians, so as to give the trend of the argument and the constructive efforts made to build up our native policy as it exists.

Reverting again to the debate, Mr. P. C. de Villiers put it this way, *inter alia*:

The Hon. Member for Standerton wanted them to wait another ten years. The Hon. Member for Yeoville says we must wait another twenty-five years, and Professor Jabavu wants us to wait another hundred years.

Dr. van der Merwe said that Lord Selborne, speaking in the House of Lords, stated that "if we want to have the real opinion of the natives, they can only be adequately protected if we give them a different franchise."

Senator F. S. Malan, a consistent upholder of the equal rights policy, mentioned *inter alia* that the late Mr. J. H. Hofmeyer never spoke of a white South Africa, but of a just South Africa.

He said, if it is made possible for a man to represent natives alone, the moderate man who looks to the general interests of the country would not have the least chance of being elected by the natives. The House would then have a class of ultra negropholists who will want to get as much as possible for the native.

The late Senator Langehoven, in replying to the Member for Hanover Street, Mr. Alexander, reminded him that, in the history of the world, the Jewish races were the greatest contradiction of the principle of equal rights. In commerce, in industry, in finance and politics, everywhere they have acquired dominant and dominating positions.

The tradition of equality was not a South African tradition. It was forced upon us from outside. This doctrine of equality was one of the causes of the great trek. The Voortrekkers left because the old Cape tradition was forced upon them. They were not responsible for it. The Voortrekkers did not exterminate the native as had been the case with many of the aborigines in America and Australia, but they protected him until by force of mere numbers he had become a menace. The Voortrekkers did not inter-breed, they kept the blood of the white man pure, and the honour of the white man clean. There is a great contrast between the results of the policy in the northern territories and the results brought about by the application of the policy of equality for all human beings in the South. If this policy of political, social, and economic equality of the natives is carried out, we shall have the whole country run either directly by natives, or otherwise run by renegade white men who act as jackals of the natives.

The late Senator Langehoven made a fine peroration in

concluding, which will stir the heart of every true South African. It is worth quoting verbatim:

"There is no place to which we can go. Our fathers found this place a howling wilderness. They made it a land of order and law, where every man could live his life. They have left us the sweet South Africa we have now. With it they have left us this one duty. It is a hard thing to evolve a civilised nation. The white man's civilisation has taken æons of time to evolve. The only race throughout all history that has succeeded in evolving it is the white European race. One thing we may find, that it is a harder thing to maintain that civilisation than it was to evolve it. That is the duty that rests upon us."

Senator Stuart, who was a great believer in the old Cape system, followed.

He referred to the fact that the vast majority of the native population of the Union who are still living under tribal rule are not clamouring for any particular representation. Their interests are sufficiently served by the present system. Their case was largely a matter of administration, not legislation.

The trouble, in connection with this question, arises in regard to the very considerable minority of natives who have attained a certain amount of civilisation, and who are every day getting more and more civilised.

He said, *inter alia*, he thought he had a right to say that the evidence brought before the Select Committee had been far in advance of the evidence brought before the Commission of 1903, and they had a right, to a large extent, to attach greater value to this evidence; because it represented a tremendous amount of later study and thought on the question. Some of the ablest brains in the Union have given us of their best in this evidence. The Senator supported the standpoint set out by the Rev. Coventry before the Select Committee.

Mr. Payn alluded to the fact that the European public are apt to be misled into associating the actions of detribalised natives, with the great mass of decent native citizens in the Reserves; some provision should be made to meet this. If there is any trouble with these detribalised natives, it reacts against the Transkeian native.

Mr. S. P. le Roux instanced the view of the eminent scientist, Professor Gregory, a very learned man, who had made a study of race relationship and social interaction. After thorough study of the world's racial problems, he came to the conclusion that, in so far as our question in South Africa is concerned, the greatest progress is to be expected if the two races exist separately with an opportunity for individual communication and co-operation.

In a lecture before the British Association, he develops this point of view, and as a scientist comes to the conclusion that the races in South Africa must be kept apart.

Professor Dawson of Oxford takes the same view. On page 428 of his book on South Africa, he says that the development in South Africa in all departments is based on the hegemony of the Europeans, and that all who talk of economic, social, spiritual, and other equality have no proper conception of the interests of the country; that those who are trying to talk up the equality of the blacks and whites, and the survival of the fittest, expect a crooked thing to come straight.

The policy of the authority of the Europeans was strongly preached by General Louis Botha.

He referred to Professor Dr. Dawson again on the native question. The Professor took the view that the Europeans would be wise to discuss and adjust their differences, so to say, out of the native hearing, while their Press and literature were largely a sealed book to him. That will not be the case always, and to allow the native population to be drawn into the domestic quarrels of those whom it has been accustomed so long to regard as its masters would be a fatal blunder.

Professor Dawson asked Sir Thomas Graham, one of our most outstanding judges, what was the country's policy?

The answer was in the form of a parable:

If you go down to Kowie Beach and see a lot of children with sand castles, you will realise our native policy; little barriers to keep the sea out; and when the sea advances, down comes the barriers, and you retreat a few yards inland and erect further barriers. That is our native policy.

The only radical solution that has been put forward is Segregation.

Before the amendment by General Smuts was put, the Prime Minister referred in scathing terms to the inconsistencies of the Opposition.

Whether they thought in 1913 (Note: The Land Act) of consulting the natives? Whether General Smuts thought of attaining agreement with the natives? Whether he thought of summoning a convention? Now we heard that the natives must be consulted, that we must have an agreement, and that a convention was necessary.

The amendment reads:

“ The joint sitting of both Houses of Parliament is of opinion that the question of the representation of the natives ought to be considered as a subsidiary part of a general enquiry into the economic and other relations between European, coloured, and native populations of the Union, by a national commission or convention, on which the views of the various sections of the people must be represented, and that, therefore, this Bill must not be further proceeded with.”

The amendment was defeated, the vote being on strictly party lines.

It may be mentioned at this stage that in 1930 the Native Economic Commission was appointed, and sat till 1932. It covered the economic points made in General Smuts' amendment.

In the course of the debate on Clause 1, the Prime Minister alluded to a very important principle which the Select Committee had considered, and were generally in favour of; namely, that no representation of the natives in the North should be given in the Assembly, but only in the Senate.

Col.-Comm. Collins expressed the view that the natives in the North would not be satisfied with their representation in the Senate. They would ask why they should be differently represented from their brothers in the South. And the same thing would apply to the Provincial Council representation, which the natives in

the South were to enjoy. Senator Roberts concurred with this view.

The late Senator Munnik intervened with the following anecdote. When the Committee on Native Affairs was sitting at Pretoria, he was in Polley's Hotel and had a conversation with Col.-Commndt. Collins. The Committee proceedings had ended; that evening I said to him, "Have you finished?" and he said, "No, we have not finished, but we have arrived at a conclusion on three crucial points." He went on and asked, "Did you take a resolution?" He said, "No, because General Smuts is leaving for the Bloemfontein congress (of the South African Party) to-night, and he asked us not to take a resolution." (Laughter.)

This is mentioned here in order to show how difficult it was to pin members down as to what actually happened in the Select Committee, which would have been obviated had the discussions been published. The public are entitled to know the views expressed. We should be able to see definitely who was to blame for the long delay which ensued.

The Rev. Mr. Mullineux brought out that Mr. Nicholls, the Member for Zululand, repeatedly returned to the point at issue of native representation through the Senate, not only for the North, but, if he had his way, right throughout the Union. He was backed up by the Hon. Member for Illovo, Mr. Marwick.

The rev. gentleman thought that the Prime Minister was perfectly right in trying to meet the views of various members of the Select Committee, by giving the natives outside the Cape representation in the Senate.

From the general tone of the debate, it is quite evident that, with the exception of Col.-Commndt. Collins, the members of the Select Committee were generally in favour of the Prime Minister's suggestion; they differed in regard to the alteration in the Cape franchise proposed in the draft Bill.

The corpse may as well be buried here. The two-thirds majority could not be obtained, and it took fusion to bring about a change. The reader can judge from this brief summary the forces which were at play. A General

Election was in the offing, and efforts were being made to catch votes. The native question was before the country again. The South African Party represented the bulk of the native and coloured voters in the Cape, although the Nationalists had a good following among the coloured voters, particularly in Stellenbosch.

It is our duty now to consider the other Bill which was brought forward: the Coloured Persons Rights Bill.

As explained before, this Act could not get the two-thirds majority, and all attempts have been abandoned at the moment to deal with this question. In view of the fact that the numbers of the coloured population are rapidly increasing, it will very soon become one of our major problems. We must therefore, in our next chapter, consider the various arguments which were brought forward in favour of altering the system of registration of voters, and placing the coloured voters in the North on a similar position to those in the Cape. It will be quite evident, at first glance, that, having given representation to the natives through the Senate, the coloured man has been placed in a position of inferiority to the native, and that this is bound to become a source of trouble in the future.

DEVILLED POLITICS

THE Coloured Persons Rights Bill provided for the election of an additional member of the House of Assembly to represent coloured persons, in the Union, outside the Cape Province; their enrolment for Parliamentary and Provincial elections, and for the registration of coloured persons in the Cape and Natal similarly.

It may be mentioned that the qualifications were, that the voter was able to read and write, and possessed the property, occupational qualifications, wages, or income, prescribed by Law. That such coloured person followed, in his ordinary or daily mode of life, the habits of a coloured person or European; associated generally with coloured persons or Europeans, and had a standard of life conformable to that of European civilisation.

It will be seen at once that the alterations in the law provided for further representation in the Northern provinces, and a new system of registration of voters.

We shall now consider the arguments brought forward. We cannot give the full text; the summary of the leaders' speeches will be sufficient for our purpose.

The Prime Minister, General Hertzog, in opening the debate on the second reading, explained the difference between a coloured man and a native. According to various members of the Opposition, the coloured man and the native ought not to be separated. The coloured person, except that he was brown, had practically nothing in common with the native. The native was naturally a farmer, the coloured man generally a townsman. While the native has his territory, the coloured man has nothing but his residence in the neighbourhood of the European. The native has his own language. The coloured person has the European language as his mother tongue; he stands practically on the same basis, surrounded by the

same circumstances, and practically breathes the same civilisation and all that goes with it, as the white man. To take this man and identify him politically with the native was completely in conflict with the interests of the coloured people.

The coloured people equally with the European were regarded as enemies by those natives who want to drive the white man out of the country. This was an historical fact. At Haiti and other places where they got the upper hand for a time, they treated the coloured people just like the Europeans, and murdered them and pushed them out.

From a racial point of view the coloured man was intended to make his living under the European. It must be perfectly clear that the legislation for the native with his rural life and ownership of land cannot be applied to the coloured person. It would be one of the most foolish attitudes the whites could adopt, to drive the coloured people to the enemies of the Europeans, and that will happen if we repel them, allowing them to come to rest eventually in the arms of the native. The Prime Minister went on to point out the claims of the educated coloured man in the North, some of whom led a life which was healthier, better, and more civilised than thousands of the whites. The concession proposed would be a further inducement to the coloured people of South Africa to raise themselves.

They had to be very careful in framing the roll to see that the man who represented himself to be a coloured man was so, to prevent natives getting on the roll.

The proposed Board would see to that.

After ten years, it might be possible to shift the coloureds in the North on to the common roll, but in that case they would be expected to have much higher qualifications, educational and otherwise. The coloured people in the North wished themselves that the qualifications for the franchise should be fairly high. This would be a protection for the white man, as it was undoubtedly a fact that in the Cape Province there were thousands of coloured people who had not the least idea of the value of the vote. Coloured people have said themselves that they wished the Cape qualifications were higher, that would be an

encouragement to them to improve their standard of life and go ahead.

Should there be a change in ten years' time in the North, the qualifications would have to be considerably higher. The coloured people there realised that there was still a considerable feeling against them, and they did not wish to give offence; they were satisfied if they could only meantime send a man to Parliament. It would be possible, after ten or fifteen years, to see whether the Cape system was suitable or not.

General Smuts opposed the Bill.

He characterised it as a partial, tentative scheme, something which had never been thought out, something which was in the air. It was a raw, uncouth, immature scheme. It was to be left to the temper of Parliament, in ten years' time, whether anything substantial is done. If he were a coloured man in the North, he would far rather wait and see, than get himself tied up in advance in the way proposed. The Prime Minister was very clear that, if Parliament does take the step proposed, a differential system shall be instituted, and a test shall be applied to the coloured man in the North which will not be applied to the white man. General Smuts said the scheme was ridiculous—a scheme which would be rejected with scorn. They should have left the position of the coloured people at the Cape unaffected; he objected to the way in which the vote had to be applied for, under the regulations proposed. He thought it required a metaphysician to explain the definition of a coloured person under the Bill. The Prime Minister had interfered with the rights of the Cape coloureds, and that was the price that must be paid for the extension of their rights to the North. He went on to say, *inter alia*, that it was a badly constructed, badly thought out scheme. The Government had not had the time to think it out. Let them place this Bill, together with the other Bills, before an impartial tribunal, which would be able to give far more careful consideration to the question than the Government had done.

The Minister of Defence, Colonel F. H. P. Creswell, in the course of his remarks said:

They recognised the extent of the prejudice which existed outside the Cape against any representation for the coloured man, and the Prime Minister would be remembered for his courageous attempt to remedy matters. General Smuts called it a leap in the dark, but when he is asked whether he proposes to give the coloured man in the North the same privileges as those in the Cape, the Sphinx remains silent. Little by little, it was becoming quite clear that, when the Opposition and their Press talk with bated breath about this being a most serious problem, in which there must be agreement and co-operation, they mean nothing of the sort, because they are not going to give any assistance. On the contrary, they tell the Government to stew in its own juice. "Well," he said, "we will stew in our own juice, but they will find that this is a very poor kind of diet to console them at election time." All their talk about co-operation is mere eye-wash.

Mr. Krige strongly attacked the Bill. The coloured people, he said, knew quite well that if the Bill passed they would be put in the hands of boards, magistrates, and ministers, and they will be worse off than ever.

Mr. de Waal said Mr. Krige complained that the Government made a difference between the wages paid to white and coloured men. He complained of alterations to the constitution, and then objects to only one member for the coloureds in the North. If the natives can get representation, it was unfair to overlook the coloured people, who are surely a higher race than the natives; at any rate, more civilised. They speak our language, belong to our Church, live among us, and there has never yet been a feud between the white man and the native, but that the coloured man has stood by the whites. When so many of the families of the Voortrekkers were annihilated by Dingaan's hordes in Natal, hundreds of coloured people were victims as well.

Some objections were raised by Natal members to any interference with the existing system as regards the Natal coloured people, many of whom were of a very high standard. Mr. Dean stated that there were coloured men earning as much as 37s. a day, and others holding the

position as foremen of large furniture works, with Europeans working under them.

The Minister of the Interior, the Hon. Dr. D. F. Malan, made a weighty contribution to the debate.

He said:

They must not lose sight of the actual object of the Bill, to give the section of coloured people who lived in the Northern Provinces representation in the House. The Opposition did not wish to do anything in this particular. General Smuts definitely did not want to know anything of a barrier, between coloured people on the one hand and natives on the other. Dr. Malan said that, if there was one thing he had learned, it was that the coloured people did not want to unite with the native. If there is one thing they welcome, it is the attempt to regard themselves as a separate class apart from the natives, and a clear line should be drawn between the two. When General Smuts spoke a few years ago at the congress of the A.P.O., he told the coloured people of the Cape Province definitely that he thought that they were getting too little; that they ought to have more, and he said the only right principle to follow was that laid down by Rhodes, namely, that equal rights must exist for all civilised men in South Africa. The coloured people, at that congress, could come to no other conclusion than that he was in favour of their getting the same rights in the three northern provinces as in the Cape Province. What did he say, however, in the Transvaal, in his Ermelo speech? The Provincial Councillor for Ermelo asked him what his speech at the A.P.O. Congress meant, and whether he wanted to extend the coloured people's rights in the Cape to the Transvaal? He then said, that he meant extension in the Cape Province and nothing more. Why was it necessary in the Cape? There, surely, they have it as extended as possible. Why, then, must the ideal be announced which is already realised?

He could understand the policy of the members for Cape Town and Caledon, they were of opinion it was only an attempt on the part of the Government to divide and rule. One of the members argued that the interests

of the natives and coloured people were identical, and that therefore they should stand together as one political camp. In other words, the same political policy from beginning to end, as Dr. Abdurahman's. This practically means a racial policy, but opposition on those lines can be understood. Such a policy was certainly not the segregation policy of the North—of having the European on one side and the non-European on the other. The coloured people are grouped together there.

They proposed to draw a distinction, with the natives on one side and the coloured on the other, so that they shall share entirely in the Cape, and to a great extent in the Northern Provinces, the same political rights as the Europeans.

The hon. gentleman then went on to discuss the question of the regulations providing for admission to the Roll, the colour qualification, the functions of the proposed Board.

The Prime Minister, who followed Dr. Malan, brought out the point, i.e.

that the Government was going to fight the franchise equality in the Cape to such an extent that the natives in the North will have to abandon all hope of representation before they will get the equality of the Cape. That was the position now into which the Opposition were forcing them, regarding the coloured people in the North. They knew perfectly well that, with that equality basis, the coloured person will not get his rights.

In reply to a coloured man's question at Riversdale asking whether he was in favour of the Colour Bar Act, meaning thereby that the coloured people were excluded from Parliament, he replied that he was in favour of their continued exclusion, because if they were allowed in, it would be to the detriment of the coloured people, and do them a lot of harm. He had told them on the platform, and privately at all times, that they would only get their rights gradually. He told them that he did not doubt that, as regards the future, they would be included amongst the Europeans industrially, economically, and politically. But they could not expect the Europeans of South Africa to give them all rights to-day. The principle we support is one whereby the coloured people will be

incorporated with us. This Bill was the first step, and as Dr. Malan had pointed out, it is in every way adequate as a first step.

General Smuts dealt with the question of registration, to which he strongly objected. There was a vast change made in the position of the coloured man. Under the present state of affairs the coloured voter in the Cape was not subject to an inquisition, the question of colour also was to be gone into under the new proposal. The existing coloured voter at the Cape would be subject to this board and the inquisition in the same way as any other coloured applicant in the future.

The Prime Minister replied, offering to consider any reasonable amendments or suggestions; his overtures were rejected, and finally the die was cast. The Bill did not get the two-thirds majority, and the question of the coloured man's political rights disappeared for the time being.

Well, fusion took place; everybody in the Union knows that, owing to the efforts of the late Mr. Tielmann Roos, and the alternative of his becoming Prime Minister, fusion became an accomplished fact. His great self-sacrifice secured devaluation, but it produced results which he could not have foreseen. The greatest of these was the attempt to settle the native question on segregative lines, through the amalgamation of the two major parties.

We have seen how futile were the efforts of the old Nationalists to do anything. No alteration of the South African Act was possible except by agreement. No two-thirds majority of a Joint Sitting was obtainable, while the two great parties made a political issue of the matter.

One may say that nothing but an upheaval in the towns, which would have come, and may even now occur, would have forced the political parties to call a truce.

The arguments for and against the abolition of the Cape system, the limitation of the native vote there, will be familiar to the readers of this book. They have been fully dealt with.

The curtain now falls on another scene. The section of the Nationalist Party which seceded, the purified Nationalists as they are called, became the severest critics of the compromises, which in every combination of political

parties are necessary to hold the members together. It was not a question only as to whether a two-thirds majority could or could not have been obtained for Bill No. 1; but as to how all classes of thought, which had been most antagonistic in the past, could be held together in the party.

As we have seen, there were numerous proposed Bills, one, providing for native representation throughout the Union, was dropped. Then the Bill we have just considered, the 1929 Bill, came to the front. The Select Committee had other views, of which the principal authors were Colonel Stallard and Mr. Marwick—it may be mentioned that Colonel Stallard, who at one time was a strong Segregationist, had been elected in the meantime for Roodepoort.

Finally, we had Bill No. 1, the dropping of which caused days of angry debate, and in the end the present Act was passed. This made provision for the representation of natives in Parliament, in the Senate, and in the provincial council of the Cape, amending the law referring to registration there, to establish a Native Representative Council, etc.

We shall proceed to discuss the general tenor of the debate, giving guiding extracts, whilst we try to bring readers to an unbiased decision as to whether the results were good or bad.

The Prime Minister first introduced Bill No. 1; this limited the native vote in the Cape to those natives who were on the roll. Provision was made for four electoral units in the Union—Natal, the Transvaal and Free State, the Transkeian Territories, and the Cape without the Transkei. The native vote, which was to be for one Senator for each area, was exercised by means of electoral colleges. The voting units were the Chiefs, local councils, native Advisory Boards in Natal, and the same, with the addition of reserve boards of management, in the Transvaal and Free State; in the Transkei, the members of the Council other than magistrates, officiated. Provision was made for the election of two provincial councillors in addition to those already selected, by the electoral areas of the Cape and the Transkei. A Native Representative Council was also provided for. The great point to remember is that, under this Bill No. 1, Parliamentary representation as regards the House of Assembly would have ceased as the voters dis-

appeared; and representation would have been given through the Native Council and the Senate. The Bill was described as an Act to prohibit the registration of natives as voters for Parliament or a Provincial Council who are not already so registered.

The Prime Minister introduced Bill No. 1 as described above. This time, after all the years of waiting, he was to partially succeed. But the Bill which passed was not the one which he preferred. He was to act on the principle "half a loaf is better than no bread," which is sometimes fatal to political reputations, where nothing is to be gained by running away from things.

In the meantime, there had been a split in the South African Party on the question of Dominion status, and a new party headed by Colonel Stallard had arisen. They became the most virulent critics of the Native Bills. When we come later on to consider the policy of their leader, Colonel Stallard, and Mr. Marwick who, up to a point, gave us the best lead on segregation, one can see how strong the Cape influence is.

In any case, the House was treated to a wonderful display of forensic eloquence by Mr. Coulter, one of the Cape members of the Dominion Party; he covered all the ground alluded to in the 1929 debates. The whole world was ransacked for parallels. The case of India was referred to, the self-government she was to have, justice, equal rights. Well, whatever India gets, the lower castes will wait a century before they get anything, and it is very probable that India itself may revert to its original status if the fierce Northern tribes ever get the upper hand, or Japan intervenes.

The first amendment was the usual one, for postponement, until the proposed legislation had been adequately made known to the people of the Union and submitted to the Union natives. Considering that the educated native had been fully acquainted with all that was going on, and, as we have seen by the evidence given before the Select Committee, was cognisant of every move, with societies busy to protect them and eminent South Africans championing their cause, and the Churches and missionaries also at work, this amendment seems a little out of place. The native question is always before South Africa, black and

white. Not a day passes without some phase of it coming before the public.

Mr. Heaton Nicholls alluded to the part played by Mr. Marwick and his leader, Colonel Stallard, in moving to abolish the Cape franchise; he was astonished at the change in Mr. Marwick's attitude and that of his leader, Colonel Stallard.

As will be shown later on, these gentlemen rendered great services by the constructive work they did in the Select Committee; but now appear to have surrendered their convictions to the views of Mr. Coulter, the Member for Capetown Gardens, probably the strongest Assimilationist in the country.

It was pointed out that native opinion was divided. The Rev. J. Dube, in his paper, *Ilanga laze Natal*, had condemned the action of the Bloemfontein Native Convention in many respects.

The Cape had frequently altered its franchise; in 1887 the Registration Bill struck 30,000 natives off the roll. In 1892, another Bill raised the qualification from £25 to £50. Sir Gordon Sprigg introduced the first and Cecil Rhodes the other. Sir James Rose Innes supported this Bill, he said, *inter alia*, "The Bill contained no mention of colour, but they who supported the Bill trusted that it would neutralise the native vote."

During the debate on the introduction of Bill No. 1, the first inkling was given by the Hon. Mr. Stuttaford, that certain negotiations were going on with regard to a compromise.

Leave to introduce the Bill was given.

After the adjournment, the Joint Sitting did not assemble for a few days. The Prime Minister then moved to introduce an amended Bill. This Bill eliminated the prohibition of the further registration of natives as voters for Parliamentary and Provincial elections, which naturally weakened the policy of political segregation, which had been enunciated in Bill No. 1.

The Hon. Dr. Malan moved an amendment to the preamble to include the separate representation of

coloured people as well as natives; he made a considered speech, pointing out how successful New Zealand had been with the Maori problem, through giving them separate representation. The United States, on the other hand, had the Cape system, as it may be called. The evidence is, that the friction between the races there had become much more serious; and there were areas in the southern states where the negro or the coloured person dare not exercise his vote.

Dr. N. J. van der Merwe, in seconding, alluded to the change which had taken place in the four days which had elapsed. It would be extremely sad, if it was true, as publicity stated, that this amendment has now been made in consequence of pressure. He deplored very deeply that the Prime Minister did not even make an attempt to test the feeling of the House before he introduced the new motion. But before the test is made, he runs away from the Bill which was drafted after nine years' deliberation.

The debate continued on very uninteresting lines; questions of what took place at Congresses, opinions expressed by members in the past from which they differed to-day. Inconsistency appears to be a virtue with many politicians.

Mr. Madeley stated that the Labour Party were definitely against putting the coloured man on a separate register; the coloured man being the progeny of at least one white parent somewhere in the past, has as much right to regard himself as a European as anyone else.

Mr. Erasmus, in pleading for separate coloured representation, pointed out that there were fifteen constituencies which threw more than 500 votes on the scales. In six constituencies more than 1,000 coloured voters are registered, and in two there are over 1,500. It would be better to remove the coloured problem from the political morass. It will be better in their own interests; if this is done, they will be better represented.

Mr. W. B. de Villiers, the veteran member for Stellenbosch, was twitted as to being carried into the Houses of Parliament by coloured men when on one occasion he was elected.

He replied that he saw nothing wrong in what took place. The people who did so were coloured men of the very best type and better educated than the hon. member who made the interruption. They did this to give expression to their joy. If it was a mistake to be carried by them, what about the Prime Minister who at Kimberley accepted an invitation issued by coloured people to a social gathering in his honour? That is social equality. At that gathering the Prime Minister partook of tea and coffee together with coloured men and women, and what is more, the Minister of Justice, General Smuts, a few years ago at Maitland told his followers not to vote for the white candidate but for the coloured man Regan. Mr. de Villiers certainly said what he thought about the turning of political somersaults, and definitely scored with regard to the joy of his coloured supporters. Considering that the photograph of this particular occasion has been used more for political purposes than any other illustration or cartoon in our history, he distinctly has a grievance.

Senator F. S. Malan, who has been very sincere in advocating the Cape point of view, put his case in a nutshell in replying to the argument about differential treatment of the coloured people.

He said, *inter alia*, do not let us divide this country by dividing the people up into different sections and giving them separate representation. The main principle of democratic government was laid down by no less a South African than Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr as far back as 1887, when he laid down the broad principles of what is generally known as the Hofmeyr Act. That is, have one principle for your vote, make the test as high as you like, but when a man comes up to that test, do not differentiate; let him be treated as a full citizen of the country. This was the principle for which he stood, and which he believed the future generation of the Union of South Africa will find to be the only true one.

Mr. Douglass, alluding to the new Bill, said that if the twelve members from the Eastern Province were responsible for bringing about the compromise, they must be the proudest members in the House, because they have saved the native vote in the Cape Province.

The Prime Minister, in replying, denied that it was the policy of the Nationalist Party since 1932 to have separate representation for coloured persons. At most, it was the policy of the Free State section of the party, which was formed on a federal basis.

The Prime Minister explained why he had changed over to the Bill now being discussed. It was their highest duty to see that the European population is as unanimous in this matter as possible, and in addition, we should see to it that we get the natives to accept what we are doing with as much friendship as possible, even if it is forced upon them.

He had always thought they would have to come back to the Bill of 1829, because it became more and more plain that we would not get the majority for the Bill without native representation in this Parliament, or would very barely get it if we did.

When men in the House, who represent thousands of natives, gave him the assurance that they would have to vote against the original Bill, and that not only they but their followers would be in our favour if we introduced the new Bill, he regarded it as his duty to do what was in the interests of the country, and to accept the proposal.

Dr. Malan's amendment was rejected on a strictly party vote, and the Bill was read a first time.

THE REPRESENTATION OF NATIVES BILL, 1936

THE debate on the Bill dragged on. It was one in which very few fresh facts were elicited. On the Opposition side, the attack was continually made, that South Africa had been betrayed by the abandonment of Bill No. 1, whilst the Government and its friends defended the position on the lines already recorded—that the greatest amount of unanimity must be obtained in the interests of the country.

The Assimilationists, who were now reduced to a matter of ten or eleven members, were unusually vociferous.

Colonel Stallard referred to his very interesting scheme of complete political segregation.

This scheme, of which far too little has been heard, could, with some little alteration, have been made the basis of a really first-class solution of the problem.

It aimed at the abolition of the Cape franchise, and encouraging the native to develop his own form of government within his own territories, improving his self-control and his economic condition through his own media.

The Bill he put forward was based on concentration of native representation in the Senate. The powers of the Senate were to be amended. A Grand Committee of the Senate was to be created, and very considerable changes were to be made in the constitutional powers of the Senate, so that the natives, within the Senate, and through the instrumentality of this Grand Committee, would have a very large measure of self-government and determination of their own affairs.

The Prime Minister himself moved that the proposal in connection with the Grand Committee should be accepted. The report was unanimously agreed to. It may be mentioned, however, that a great many members of the Com-

mittee absented themselves (on whose instructions?). With the exception of General Smuts, and others of the South African Party, the report was unanimous, the Minister of Mines dissenting.

Now, until 1935 this proposal held the floor.

What happened in 1935? We had fusion, and at the very next meeting of the Joint Committee the Prime Minister and General Smuts put their heads together, and proposed that the Bill be dropped, and that a new amended Bill of their own be brought forward. From that time to this, the proposal of the Joint Committee which had held the floor from 1930 to 1935, which had been reported on unanimously in the circumstances which have been indicated, was scrapped and dropped, and it has never been put before the House for consideration. These proposals had every chance of commending themselves to Bantu and European.

Colonel Stallard said that now "his feelings were one almost of despair." He despaired, humanly speaking, of ever obtaining a dispassionate consideration of the problem, as it was possible then.

The activities of the Committee had been useless, and the possibility ended of their effort being discussed and perhaps accepted by the country. He would not be a party to abolition of the Cape franchise, unless he was satisfied on the two points mentioned—the satisfactory character of the constitution, and the economic field which was offered by the measure proposed by the Select Committee. This had been destroyed. Colonel Stallard considered that the present Bill was ill-conceived, and it was better to stand still.

On these grounds his opposition to the present legislation can be understood, but not endorsed.

Surely this was the ideal Bill. As a matter of fact, the public knew very little, if anything, about it.

Why was this measure not thoroughly discussed throughout the Union? Why did certain members of the South African Party absent themselves at a very critical time in the discussions? Rumour has it that, for political reasons, they were ordered not to attend, and that Colonel Stallard and the Natal members disobeyed the injunction.

It is very possible, if the present system proves unworkable—which may very easily be the case—the country will have to reconsider its position, and adopt a similar proposition.

It is a great pity that Colonel Stallard did not stump the country when his views were abandoned; he would have got many people behind him, and become the leader of the Segregationists.

Here was a great field, instead of flogging a dead horse in the Statutes of Westminster.

The irrepressible Mr. Madeley, one of the oldest members of the House, a deadly master of repartee, moved a full segregation resolution. He wanted a provision of sufficient ground, suitable, and apart, and distinct from, European areas.

Well, when all the Protectorates are incorporated, one may say that is possible.

The encouragement of native, cultural, agricultural, and educational development within their own territory, by means of expert and financial assistance where necessary.

The institution of a council of natives under European direction, for the administration of their own affairs, autonomous, subject only to Parliament, and the establishment in European territories of a standard minimum wage sufficient to ensure a standard of living consistent with European requirements.

This was not a bad programme; its fault was that this idealism cannot be fully realised to-day. Fifty years ago the Labour Party's scheme could have been carried out—before the gold-fields were so highly developed. Now a crop of vested interests bar the way to full segregation.

The way may be long and painful, but eventually, if white South Africa is to survive, we shall arrive at Mr. Madeley's Garden of Eden.

Just a sample of Mr. Madeley's wit and repartee which is a tonic to a House somewhat devoid of humour.

A member interjected the remark, "An ideal solution." Mr. Madeley, *inter alia*, "It is a solution." The member, "Shall I be in that solution?" Quick as lightning

came the retort: "If my friend were in the right solution, he would be in a bottle of methylated spirits." Tableau!

Another speech which showed deep thought and study was that of Mr. Sauer, a worthy chip of the old block.

He dealt specially with the evils of civilisation, and clashes of culture, to which we shall allude later on. The tenor of his argument was, that where uncivilised people came into contact with civilised persons, they were given something which they did not understand, and to which they could not accommodate themselves. In many parts of the world they took over only one part—disease. That was about all. They also took over liquor. In the South Sea Islands this was particularly so.

We did not try to introduce what was natural in our civilisation; we tried to take away what was peculiar to their conditions. We did that in connection with ethical views, e.g. in South Africa. *The native within his own territory* is one of the most peace-loving classes of the population that you can find in almost any part of the world. Now, take the case of the urban areas; in almost every case they pass from peace-loving individuals to potential, and in many cases actual, criminals. We are taking them from their tribal discipline which they understood.

It is interesting to note what Mr. Sauer says about the criminal and the detribalised bad native who returns home, because this rebuts the argument that you cannot send these natives back to the Reserves.

He says, what happens when such a native gets back into the Transkei? His career of crime stops, almost without exception, because he has once more come under his own traditions, conventions, and tribal discipline; he is no longer a criminal, but becomes a useful citizen in his own community.

He mentioned still further examples.

Why had the missionaries such a lack of success? The cause was the same thing; they tried to break off the

native's own tradition and give a religion to him that he does not understand. If you take away from the native that which he understands, and give him what he cannot understand, what chance have you of success in the ethical, religious, or political sphere? The native is accustomed to a geographically restricted autocracy, accustomed to stand under a Chief or Headman. He knows that system, but nothing of our democracy. You see in many countries the failure of democracy; how can you expect the native to develop this system, such as it is, successfully? The native must develop in a direction to which he is accustomed.

Mr. Sauer thought it impossible for 10,000 natives on the voters' roll to represent 6 millions in all the provinces. If the native was taken out of our political arena, and given the kind of government to which he is accustomed, then you would avoid to a great extent the danger of having a large Communistic native proletariat in South Africa in the future. This sort of propaganda is very prevalent in Capetown, in the Locations, and elsewhere; there is a great danger of Communistic propaganda in the future.

Senator F. S. Malan, replying to this very able speech, thought it was impossible to carry out a policy of segregation. It must be admitted that full segregation is difficult. But it is an ideal for which white South Africa must continually strive. We were taught as children that there is no such word as "can't." Stranger things than full segregation can happen in this world.

Mr. W. H. Rood, who has a vast knowledge of the native question, and whose presence in the House will be missed, gave this definition of civilisation:

"To continue developing the mind and the accompanying refinement of the morals, improvement, refinement, and ennoblement."

Under this definition was not the tribal native more moral and noble in his character than the native that was detribalised? The Bill before the House had the good point, in that it eliminated the common native and white vote from the rolls.

General Smuts, the Minister of Justice, in replying to Colonel Stallard, criticised what he called the Commission Bill—"The Commission Bill of 1932." That is, a Bill which would give no representation to the Cape natives in the Assembly, but would give them representation in the Senate, and which would not contain the provision for a native representative council. Colonel Stallard was wedded to this proposal of which he was the father. The Grand Committee was to be a committee of the Senate, consisting of thirteen Senators, and Colonel Stallard thought that would be sufficient representation for the natives besides the Senatorial representation they would have under that Bill. General Smuts considered the Grand Committee scheme entirely unsatisfactory. It was a committee of Senators, in which the natives had no say whatever in their own affairs. There were some Senators who had to be elected by them and who could speak for them. The point he wished to make, *inter alia*, was that all the groups of the opposition had been agreed on one point, that the Cape natives should not have any form of representation in the Assembly of this country.

General Smuts went on to explain how important the powers of the Native Representative Council were. It was not merely a sporadic council for the natives. It becomes, in a very important sense, part of our machinery of Parliament dealing specially with native affairs, or with the interests of natives or their financial matters. In all these respects, we shall first obtain the opinion of that council, and lay it before Parliament, then Parliament will deal with legislation of that kind. It has no legislative power. Such a step would have been premature. It may take place later on, if the council turns out to be a success.

The suggestions for the compromise, which was the basis of the new Bill, came, not from the hon. members of the Eastern Province, but from the native gentlemen who interviewed them.

General Smuts accepted the position of his own free will as a fair and proper settlement of the question.

There were some native leaders in the country who would rather lose everything than accept the compromise; because they want good ground for a larger

basis of agitation. They want a good reason for launching a movement against the white man from one end of South Africa to the other.

He thought indirect rule was a temporary phase; the elective council system was taking the place of the Chief. He saw, in the establishment of separate native councils elected by themselves and dealing with their local concerns, the proper line towards the solution of the native question for the future. The Transkeian General Council and its subsidiary district councils are to-day, after a forty years' trial, a model for the rest of South Africa of what native government should be in its essential aspects. The Chiefs look upon the councils as an alternative system which undermines their authority and which they must oppose. But even so, we have already, under the new law of 1920, established eight district councils, together with a general council, for the whole of the Ciskei area. We have also established seven councils in the Transvaal and one in Natal. The system is gradually permeating the whole body of natives throughout South Africa. We are linking up our final central council with the Parliamentary system. It may be that the time will come when we can separate the white Parliament from the native legislature, which will have its constituent bodies in the councils below. The council was one of the most important steps yet taken in native self-government.

Large financial provision would have to be made for land and other aspects of native advancement.

The Rev. C. W. M. du Toit stressed the point that the majority of the natives did not want the vote. It was impossible to immediately transfer to them our system of self-government and democracy. This did not apply to the educated or some of the detribalised natives. Millions of natives have no insight into the system of State control, and why should it be forced upon them? He was in favour of separate councils, but not one central council. The Nationalist Party viewed everything in the light of segregation. Why should the native as a group have separate representation? No other section is represented by a group. Do the farmers, legal, or commercial representatives combine in groups?—whereas the natives

have separate and special representation in the Senate, the Assembly, and the Provincial Council.

Mrs. Reitz made a very thoughtful speech, in which she stressed the danger which a minority faced as regards maintaining its supremacy against a large majority.

It was through sea power that the great Nordic peoples arrived at the position which they hold to-day.

She did not believe that the question could be settled by a mere matter of the franchise alone; we must bring to bear some other motive force. It seemed to her that it was almost impossible to see where any given line of policy would take us.

There were three ways in which white supremacy can be assailed. Firstly, by force. If any attack comes, it will be from the East or the North. There are 100 million negroid people in Africa. An attack will come, backed up by the fighting force of Islam. In such a case, it will be of the utmost importance to have our own subject peoples loyal to us, and to our institutions. Secondly, our supremacy might be endangered by infiltration of blood. In the third place, economic competition might drive our people out, or force them to sink to a lower level than our white civilisation can stand.

White supremacy can only be maintained by the white people of the world keeping themselves together. If the white races cut one another's throats, the East will break down the position of the white races.

It was necessary to balance the black population with the white population, in a few generations; this was possible. More people could be brought into the country by developing their base metals; they could easily feed a much larger population. Without an influx of population, we could not keep ourselves in the position of an aristocratic ruling class in this country. She feared most the lowering of the economic level; this would mean the infiltration of colour into our blood, which would in the end destroy white civilisation. It was of immense importance that we should let no selfish motive whatever, whether of race or economic origin, stand in the way of lifting our white population up, and of encouraging a proper, healthy generation of children, born

in the best of circumstances, to help us in the future. She pleaded for a policy of justice to the native and against racialism and division amongst the whites.

Mrs. Reitz can be congratulated on having made a very useful contribution to the debate.

Senator Hartog asked whether the absence of distinction between races in a mixed community led to a satisfactory equality? Has it led to anything but to undesirable contacts and to miscegenation?

The United States gave the answer. He referred to a book by Dr. C. S. Johnson on *The Negro in American Civilisation*, which recapitulated the methods used to prevent the negroes exercising the franchise. There were tax tests, property tests, and education tests. In Mississippi the total number qualified was 290,000, but only 850 were registered, notwithstanding equal rights. That is the condition of humbug, hypocrisy, and dishonesty which comes about when two races with differences in civilisation are thrown together.

Five million out of our six million natives prefer voluntary segregation. A large number of the urban natives, even despite their residence in the towns, had retained their tribal links.

Mr. Huxley says, that the most telling argument against the Bantu people is their own history; in spite of contact with great races and civilisation in the North, whence they came, notwithstanding all that, there is no written language, there is no knowledge of the use of the plough, and no art of building in stone. If Zimbabwe is an argument to the contrary, it was due, says Mr. Huxley, to Arab stimulus. The art has died out, without leaving any trace, because of the absence of the *stimuli*. The only hope is the training or trusteeship of these people in parallel communities where parallel and proper opportunities are given to them. The failure of the method of contact, of mixing, is a fact in the United States, where there has never been any danger of swamping.

Mr. R. A. T. van der Merwe attacked the missionaries, particularly Dr. Phillip, of whom Theal says, "He laid down a theory that the coloured were in all respects, except education, mentally equal to the European colonial,

and that they were wrongfully and cruelly oppressed by the white people and the Government." That doctrine, he said, which arose out of a philanthropic idea and which is still taught to-day at theological schools was continued and exploited for political purposes.

Mr. Kentridge mentioned that the new compromise had given great satisfaction to Mr. P. Kai Seme, the President-General of the African Congress, who said, "The compromise opens new avenues for co-operation, which the Government should develop since it must help to create confidence in the native Africans of the country."

Mr. Nicholls, who is exceedingly well versed in native affairs, followed with a well-considered speech, in which he explained the doctrine of trusteeship, as defined in the mandates of the League of Nations, and which has been adopted by the British Government for the protectorates and colonies throughout Africa.

This was a sacred trust to see to the development and well-being of people not able to stand by themselves; stimulating their progress and civilisation in accordance with their own institutions, customs, and ideals of civilisation. General Smuts had laid this principle down in his Oxford Lectures during 1929, and he had been in some measure responsible for the mandate system, and its formulation in Article 29 of the Covenant during 1918.

He went on to say, *inter alia*, that it was impossible to confine the native problem to the Union. We are 2 million Europeans against 120 millions of the native peoples of Africa.

We have a new phenomenon, the influx of native women to the urban areas; native cities were growing adjacent to the European. There was a new class arising there—the native pauper. With the removal of the old restraints, a native criminal class arose. There were hundreds of children, who had no fathers or mothers, who became juvenile delinquents. We have been creating a native proletariat without any roots in the Reserves, without any security for the future, regarding the European as their natural enemy, and an easy prey to all revolutionary propaganda.

He alluded to the factor of time and delay. For eighty

years we had been dealing with these matters, but had never been able to handle them properly, owing to certain political considerations.

The position is, whether South Africa is prepared to allow these dangerous symptoms to develop, until the whole body politic is diseased, or to get on to a sounder and more honest basis than we have had. There is a choice of two roads—the one leads to a black proletariat, and the other to a Bantu nation.

They did not dare to discuss any question of discipline of the natives in the House without fear of the so-called liberal ideas of the Cape, and everywhere the natives have tended to get out of hand. We had to enact the Riotous Assemblies Bill to deal with the evils that we have been busy creating year by year.

He regretted exceedingly the withdrawal of the first Bill. He mourned with Colonel Stallard the burial of the Senatorial Grand Committee. If young South Africa was really prepared to pay the price, he was willing to face the possible dangers which are inherent in the maintenance of the communal franchise for natives, in the House of Assembly, in the Cape.

There is no final solution except such as may grow up in good faith between men. He believed the step they were taking will ultimately redound to the benefit of South Africa.

Senator Visser was absolutely opposed to an eventual native Parliament.

He suggested the following scheme, which has some merit. The representation of natives would be achieved in the following way: a native Commissioner should be appointed for each Province. His immediate chief would be the Minister for Native Affairs. This Commissioner would be the mouthpiece of the native race. To enable the native to exercise his franchise, each province should be divided into a definite number of electoral areas, and each area should return a native member. These members, who should not exceed ten, would repair annually to the capital. They would form a Council with the Native Commissioner as their President. They would deliberate on questions affecting natives only. The

resolutions would be forwarded to the Minister for Native Affairs, who would embody such resolutions in draft laws for the consideration of the Legislature. Every head of a family who had paid his taxes would be entitled to vote. This system of franchise and representation would keep the native and European on absolutely distinct planes.

Mr. W. B. de Villiers quoted two voices from the past. Mr. F. W. Bell writes: "The late Mr. W. P. Schreiner once remarked, the sooner we recognise that class legislation is necessary the better, for if ever there was a country where it is clear that all men are not equal, it is this country." Mr. Shepstone also wrote to Mr. Bell in 1911: "To me it appears very strange, I may say unaccountable, that people object so decidedly to the segregation proposal. What can they object to in it, and if carried out, it would be of advantage and benefit to both races. I have thought out the position for years and, living as we are, indiscriminately mixed together, can only lead to trouble—treat them as a people who desire to live apart and let them manage their own affairs." In addition, Mr. Shepstone also expressed the view that they ought to live apart under the protecting paramountcy of the white man, as in Basutoland and the Transkei.

Mr. Strydom said if the purified Nationalists came into power they were going to alter what is now the Bill by an ordinary majority of both Houses of Parliament, and to apply segregation in an unadulterated form, so far as representation is concerned, so as to completely separate the representation of the white people and the natives.

Senator Boydell thought the election of three members to the House was a most pernicious policy—political assimilation. It was going to make the House of Assembly the cock-pit of South African political conflict between the black and white peoples.

The Bill, on examination, does not give effect to the principle of trusteeship. The essence of the Bill gives effect to the very thing that we are trying to depart from, and that is, common citizenship.

Were the natives of the Cape Province going to be satisfied indefinitely with three Europeans representing them in the House? And what type of European are you going to get to represent them? Eventually, the

natives will turn to a type of man as their member who is without a sense of responsibility. You will then set up a conflict in the House of Assembly between black and white politics in South Africa.

Senator Boydell asked why they should not have two distinct citizenships—one for the whites and another for the natives, the coloured coming in with the European section?

He would start at first with the Chief, going to the tribal council, from the tribal council to the local council, thence to the district council, or Bungo, and from your general council to your native provincial councils and then from that you can have a national Native Assembly. Each of these would enjoy a measure of local government or national government. And above all, your European Parliament would have the supreme power. These native public bodies would be given powers to deal with native affairs, limited at the first, but gradually extended as they shows signs of statesmanship and political development. He could see no political destiny for the native people in South Africa so long as the native mixed up with European political affairs in the European body politic. This scheme would provide for the detribalised natives, it would provide for that section—the native professors, medical men, and lawyers. Your educated man would then be able to find a political home with dignity, of which they could be proud. The natives would have to be guided and controlled. It would be a process of gradual development. By the time this machine was in full swing, you would have no difficulty at all in co-ordinating the interests of the native population with the interests of the European population, no more difficulty than the English and the Dutch section have had in co-ordinating their interests, after many years of fighting. It is the two-stream policy which we want in this country for our native population. It was more ethical and more moral for natives of Professor Jabavu's type to confine their attention to the service of their own people, through their own public bodies, than that they should be mixed up as they are with our particular affairs. In the Christian Churches the natives sit apart from the whites. If we have this in religion, why not in politics? The native

problem would not be solved by increasing their population by immigration, if they continued with a policy of assimilation. In America, where the whites outnumber the blacks by ten to one, this policy was a failure.

Senator Boydell said the Cape franchise had been a source of irritation to the European. At one election a native told him he was voting for Queen Victoria. He replied, "Queen Victoria is dead." The native answered, "No, baas; my baas told me that if I vote for Mr. So-and-so, the Unionist candidate, that is the same as giving my vote to Queen Victoria." And nothing would get this out of his head. He was not decrying the best intellects amongst the natives, but we must not go by the individual, we must go by the group.

Senator Boydell concluded an interesting speech by saying he thought that by separating them, and giving them a native citizenship, so that they can work it up and be proud of it without loss of dignity or prestige, we shall do justice to the natives and also do justice to the Europeans, this by providing something that in his opinion would be of lasting benefit to South Africa; but not on the lines of assimilation we are now going on. In that way he did not think we should ever succeed.

We will now take the Socialist view as presented by Mr. Burnside. He said, *inter alia*, that if there be such a thing as a native question, it is an economic one. There is not a great deal of difference between the native question and the European. We have, he believed, 500,000 Europeans in this country who are repressed; they are living under the bread line in many instances, and large numbers of these 500,000 Europeans are living under worse conditions than the natives, and if that is so, then the question, which we have to solve, is a question of poverty.

He went on to say that it appeared to him that almost every member was trying to square his conscience. That was particularly evident in the rather halting speech put forward by the Minister of Justice, General Smuts. We had, in the first instance, the Prime Minister more or less telling us that he had been reluctantly compelled to accept the second Bill, because he was satisfied that the first Bill would not get the necessary majority. Then we

had the Minister of Justice getting up and blandly telling us that a position of crisis, so far as he was concerned, had arisen, and that he was satisfied that the first Bill would get the necessary majority, but he was prepared to accept the second Bill. And to Mr. Burnside it appeared that the Bill they had before them represented one of the most shameful pieces of political trickery that we have ever had.

He was personally prepared to discount 99 per cent. almost of the highfalutin phraseology which had been poured across the floor of the House. Much of this phraseology means no more than the mere vapourings of members, who are more concerned with their political party than the future of the natives of this country.

Mr. Burnside did not believe in segregation. We had taken the native into our industrial system, and it is our industrial system which counts. When you try to separate the political system from the industrial, you are bound to fail, because it is this economic and industrial system *which makes our political system*.

He asked, what is the use of education when we do not feed the native? We refuse to give them a wage which will sustain them on a standard approaching a civilised standard of living. The native wants more money. The native was an asset, and can be made a greater asset. It was not votes that counted, it was the all-round economic position of the people of the country that counts.

They have achieved party unity. The Prime Minister has achieved his life-long ambition, for he is going to solve the native question, and then he can retire from politics and hand over to the people who follow him, a problem which will be 100 per cent. more intense and more difficult to solve in the future than it is to-day. He believed that, properly handled from the economic point of view, the native problem is capable, perhaps not of ultimate solution, but of a certain amount of adaptation. There are many things which can be done to make the impact of the native upon the European, and the European upon the native, and incidentally of the Indian upon both, less severe. It was the low standard of living of the natives which had pulled our poor whites down to their present standard. The fear is of being swamped

economically by the natives. The Government supporters are not prepared to admit that; because it logically followed that to rectify the position they must pay higher wages. They want cheap labour for their factories, their mines, and their farms.

Mr. Burnside did not think much of the Bunga of the Transkei. It had become a fetish held up to the public eye, to make the public believe that the native representative council will be a wonderful affair. He concluded by attacking the Senate as a body, which, he claimed, never exercised any power.

The Prime Minister wound up the debate on the second reading, and made an interesting statement on the Land question in concluding his speech.

It will be our duty, he said, to see that proper provision is made, that the fund shall be used in a way that will be advantageous to the native. With regard to the further development of the native, he agreed with those who held the view that the natives must go ahead, provided it happens in a way compatible with that great interest of the white man, that he shall remain the ruler in South Africa. If this happens, that progress can only serve for the advancement of the whites as well.

The Bill dragged drearily on its way. Each clause was fought from line to line: delimitation, methods of election, and other small items which do not affect the question of policy very much. During the passage of this Bill, it was mainly in the hands of the Minister of Defence, Mr. O. Pirow, a new-comer to the House, who displayed great ability in steering it along under the circumstances. He must have the patience of Job!

In dealing with the question of the election of the Senate, Mr. Payn brought out a point of interest.

He said that he was opposing Mr. Coulter's amendment, that the representatives of the natives shall have equal rights in the Cape Province in the election of Senators for the following reason: there would be three members of the Assembly sitting in the House in the future, not only three members in this Assembly, but two Provincial Councillors as well; it means that in the Cape Province,

where they have fifty members of the Provincial Council, and 150 in this House, you will have five members who will have practically the casting vote in connection with the election of eight Senators to represent the Cape Province. The election on one occasion had hinged around one man.

Mr. Payn also alluded to the new right to liquor which was proposed. He referred to the fact that the Hofmeyr Act, which has been so greatly praised by the Assimilationists, formerly carried with it the right of the native to obtain liquor. He said, "I have never experienced such regret at the operations of an Act as I did when, addressing meetings, time after time I found many of the natives present were drunk."

Dr. N. J. van der Merwe referred also to the danger arising when there was a vote of confidence of the whole State. In a Joint Sitting the natives would have seven votes, three members and four Senators. And the danger is, that the natives will be able to act as a kind of arbiter, in a dispute, with regard to European interests.

A very important matter discussed was the question of the Grand Council, the General Council of natives to which reference has been made repeatedly.

Senator F. S. Malan moved an amendment, to substitute the Senators elected to represent native interests in place of the Government officials on the Council, as stands in the Bill to-day. He objected to the Secretary for Native Affairs and the five native commissioners being members of it. They were officers of both Houses of Parliament, which have to be consulted by Parliament. They have to act as quasi Members of Parliament.

Mr. Strydom thought we were establishing an extremely dangerous thing, which in future may have very disastrous results for the white people. If the native representative council were only to have Europeans as members, as was the original idea in the Grand Committee, before it was altered, he would not have had much objection to it. As it stands, it will be an extremely dangerous institution. Under the Bill which contained the appointment of the Grand Committee, the natives would not have had representation in the House of Assembly. Why should

they have extra representation through this native representative council when they now proposed to give them representation in the House of Assembly and the Senate?

Mr. Nicholls explained that they were not giving the council any legislative powers. It was a very tentative experiment. It was an experiment which many of the members of the Select Committee feared might be going much too far. The representatives of the natives are going to gain the necessary knowledge and experience slowly in this council. The council will not range over the field of Union politics. It will deal with domestic matters affecting the natives principally in native areas, and who could assist them better than the chief native commissioners, who are generally in the closest contact with their domestic and economic life? Senator F. S. Malan wishes now to come forward and destroy the very basis of the experiment as an advisory council. He would get rid of the advice and assistance of those most experienced and competent to give it. There was no comparison between this council and the general native conference established under the 1920 Act, to which such objection had been raised by certain Zulu Chiefs, in the Select Committee's proceedings.

They were creating a representative council which will have the statutory power to forward resolutions, through the Minister for Native Affairs, which will be put on the table of the House, and brought before the House and the Senate for consideration. They will be dealing with the practical affairs of their everyday life, and introduce into that body a number of Senators (we do not know what they would stand for or under what conditions they would be elected); to introduce a political body into the council such as this would be to defeat the object they had in view.

The Hon. Dr. Malan pointed out that the institution of the Native Representation Council may involve something which we have never had in this country, and which we have systematically tried to avoid. By it, we are going to create a native or a kaffir nation. There has never hitherto been one kaffir nation in this country, but there have been kaffir nations. Each of these nations

had its own language, peculiarities, and tribal system. We were now going to have what has never existed before—a kaffir nation which, with the passage of time, will be more and more united. He thought the right solution was, that local boards should be instituted as much as possible in the different areas. This Native Representative council will draw the attention of the natives away from the development of their local bodies. It will create, not only a united kaffir nation; but weaken the thing which would prevent the formation of the strong kaffir nation.

Further, the natives, when they have this representative council, will get no responsibility there, because it has no effective say, and they bear no responsibility for what they ask. Accordingly, they will ask for more and more, because it costs them nothing to ask. The Native Representative council will not so much be a body to represent the natives as it will be an instrument in the hands of the natives for agitation in the council as well as outside of it in the country. The Bill therefore is not only going to encourage the natives along these lines, but it is going to give them the means of increasing their power, so that it will no longer be an advisory body, but a real legislative body, because it will exercise power over the three members of the House of Assembly, and the four members in the Senate.

Senator P. W. Le R. van Nickerk said he used to think that such a council would be useful for letting natives blow off a little steam, but experience had made him see that it would be an incubator for agitators. You will find they will make a tremendous fuss about the administration of justice and the so-called oppression of natives. The Government did not convene these conferences of late years. The policy of the Native Affairs Department was not to collect these people into one body. This Native Representation Council will create many difficulties for us in the future. Bodies, which deal with local interest such as the Bunga, and the Provincial Councils, on the whole did excellent work. This was different.

The Minister of Defence, Mr. Pirow, in discussing certain amendments dealing with the increase of Senators representing native interests by two after seven years,

said, "In each of the clauses concerned there lies hidden a certain amount of danger, because there is nothing that you can give to the natives, without creating a certain amount of danger. On theoretical grounds you can see any great danger by your imagination, but in reality the things that are now being given to the natives are not nearly so dangerous as the existing state of affairs. There are two points of view in the Joint Sitting. One section of the House thinks we are giving too little, and the other section says we are giving the natives too much. He wanted to emphasise this, that, if any clause of the Bill is abused, it is in the power of Parliament and the public to intervene. The possibilities of abuse may be very great in the imagination, but in reality they are very small. They are much smaller than the existing state of affairs which can be extended to the North."

Members had virtually exhausted themselves by the time the third reading was reached.

The Minister of Mines, H. E. Sir Patrick Duncan, expressed the opinion that complete segregation in this country was quite impossible. We are a mixed community; already the native is in our towns, on our farms, and in our industries. The idea that we can send him away to his own districts is chimerical. It is absurd. And therefore, he said, complete segregation is impossible.

Mr. van der Berg of the Labour Party, in dealing with this statement, said, in spite of what the Minister contends, that the principle they were advocating was impracticable, and that the native, having become part of our industrial life and economic structure, could not be taken out of it, and sent back to his own country. They maintained that that is the only solution of the native question. He thought that the Minister had never been so unconvincing in a speech as in the one he had just delivered. It was impossible to develop a white civilisation in South Africa unless we completely segregate the natives from the white people, and allow them to live in their own country. The capitalists did not wish for segregation because they wanted cheap labour.

Senator F. S. Malan referred to a letter from Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr, or, as he is generally known, "Oom

Jan"; he wrote, *inter alia*: "I cannot do otherwise than feel that, whatever my own prejudices in regard to colour and race may be, the political and social safety of white South Africa will in no way be worse off by keeping the good will of the 5 million coloured and native inhabitants, amongst whom we are spread out, and by satisfying them with our political institutions. It would be better to have these people as friends in case of difficulties from without, than to have a snake in our bosom which may bite at any time."

Senator Malan wished that we could only give the franchise to civilised persons. He stood for the principle of Cecil Rhodes.

The Minister of the Interior, Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, made a courageous speech in view of his position as a member of the Government, in which he attacked the Bill from all sides.

He said, *inter alia*, it was a Bill which replaces a vested right by a qualified and inferior citizenship, and which creates a system of communal representation. He opposed it, because for that act of deprivation no adequate justification has been advanced. He opposed it, because in that system of communal representation there are the seeds of hostility and strife. He expressed the belief that the tide of reaction would turn, and he based it on what was going on in the minds of some, at least of the younger people of South Africa, especially in the Universities. He believed that there was also a rising tide of Liberalism in South Africa. It was mostly the younger people who were in the forefront of that tide. It is they who are the custodians of the future. By them the ultimate issues will have to be decided.

Colonel Creswell said, *inter alia*, that he failed to understand the attitude of Colonel Stallard, whom he had looked on for years as a very consistent and steadfast advocate of the principle of segregation, in his political and other views. His first remembrance of him was in the Transvaal election of 1907, when he was a member of the Forward Party, and they initiated principles of this kind. Right through until recently he had always understood that he adhered to these principles. He gathered, from the proceedings of the Select Committee,

that he was prepared to jettison the Cape native franchise.

He thought that the Bill, the issue of years of labour, was making an immense step forward in securing the probability and the possibility of really conscientious government in regard to the great native population.

We will wind up the debate with some very trenchant extracts from the speech of Mr. Heaton Nicholls, who replied most effectively to the remarks of the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Hofmeyr. He said, *inter alia*:

The Minister of the Interior moved in the Select Committee an amendment to Senator Malan's Resolution, that there should be a franchise for non-European voters, but no separate voters' roll or constituencies, which should be monogamous, standard of living, educational qualifications, and one of either property or income, or salary or wage qualifications. Mr. Hofmeyr's amendment was that Senator F. S. Malan's proposals should be adopted in so far as they apply to natives in the Cape only; with the provision that the franchise qualifications for natives should be subject to periodic adjustment, so that the number of natives admitted to the voters' roll shall not exceed 10 per cent. of the total voters' roll of the Cape Province.

Could they imagine, said Mr. Nicholls, anything more likely to create a running sore than a proposition of that nature?

It was a policy of repression—a policy of civil war if it had been carried out.

The Minister claimed that the communal franchise had been a failure everywhere. They were referred to Ceylon. There it was not a question of a higher or a lower race; it was the question of the different elements of an equal community, and the communal franchise was found not to work well. They had to have a communal franchise in India, for the reason that people have different ideas, different religions, and live different lives.

Where do you find the educated natives spending their time? In the Reserves trying to lead their people towards a higher civilisation? No, they spend their time in trying to imitate the Europeans in the towns.

If this legislation is based on fear, then he contended we are doing the best thing possible to get rid of that fear.

The policy of a common citizenship must spell stagnation to native Reserves, since the existence of such Reserves is the negation of an equal citizenship.

When they went into the Select Committee of 1930, they put a bar of silence upon themselves. But during that time, while there was a truce in the political field, we have had in the Universities and in the various towns of the Union a political organisation known as the Joint Councils, which have taken the political stage in attacking the measures before the committee. They have been carrying on an intensive propaganda during these years, their voice was expressed in this debate by the Hon. the Minister of the Interior. These Joint Councils were introduced into this country from America in 1931. They came from a country where the conditions were totally dissimilar to our own. They naturally influenced all the generous-minded people who wished to do something to alleviate the deplorable conditions which exist in many of our towns among the native people. They were animated by the best of intentions, but they have been exploited by people who have made a political matter of native questions. There has been a constant campaign of misrepresentation and vilification of the people of this country. White South Africa was not credited with a single generous intention.

It was this Joint Council which organised the Bloemfontein Conference of natives. They organised the agitation throughout the whole country. In travelling through the Transkei and Ciskei, he learnt that the natives were all misinformed about our intentions, and what was promised under these Bills. He believed, that had the natives of this country appreciated the intentions of the House, they would not have had a Bloemfontein Conference at all.

If we are marching towards a common citizenship, then we must abolish the Native Affairs Department, and get rid of all restrictions, all pass laws, and all special trusts in native land and all be happy together. You cannot water it down. If there is to be a common citizenship, it must be equal, the same for black as for white.

South Africa rejects the common citizenship theory.

Black and white belong to different races. We belong to the higher race, which has achieved its standard of culture and education by 1,000 years of trial and error. We shall not bring the natives to any stage at all by making them imitations of ourselves. They must strike their roots into their own soil, and in proportion as we fertilise that soil and raise them up to flourish as a people, so we shall give them so much of our culture, of our education, and so much of our ability, as they are able to absorb, and let them to some extent govern themselves in their own area. Paramountcy of native interests in native areas is the policy of all Africa. In time, as our policy develops, we will step into line with all other countries of Africa, which have not adopted assimilation. He believed that everyone who cast their vote in favour of the Bill would never regret it.

The Bill was triumphantly carried by 168 votes to 11, the minority including the Hon. J. H. Hofmeyr and Colonel Stallard.

THE NATIVE LAND ACT OF 1936

WE must now revert to the land policy, as dealt with by Parliament.

To carry out our limited form of segregation, it was essential to increase the area of land to be held by the natives.

The reader will remember the volume of evidence on the land question in the chapter dealing with the Select Committee's investigations.

The Native Land Act of 1913 had put a stop to the indiscriminate buying of land by Europeans and natives. It established the right of the native to all the land then known as the Reserves. This area amounted to 10,422,935 morgen. (A morgen is a little over two acres.)

It having been established that further land would be necessary, the Beaumont Commission was set up, and scheduled additional land to the extent of 8,365,744 morgen. The Government in 1917 tried to make this effective by introducing the Native Administration Affairs Bill of 1917. Great opposition took place, owing mainly to Europeans objecting to their farms being in the scheduled areas. This caused a regrettable delay. Local Committees were set up. A deadlock was reached.

The Cape native voters had hotly contested the Land Act of 1913, on the ground that the holding of land was a qualification of their franchise. Owing to the restrictive clauses of the Act of Union, the Act could not apply to the Cape. Thus territorial segregation was impossible in the Cape, and the question became a party matter—South versus North.

As time progressed, it was seen that the 1917 Native Administration Act would not function, as it merely provided for natives to be preferential buyers in the areas covered by the Bill. The tribes or individual natives had not the funds to purchase any large parcels of land. The

European landowner in a native area did not see why he should be called on to pay for territorial segregation. The proclamation of any land as a native area depreciated its value.

It thus became apparent that it was necessary for the Government to purchase all the ground required and reserved for the natives. This was the basis on which the native Trust and Land Act of 1936 was drawn up. It created a Central Trust fund to carry out its objects; all the other trusts were merged in it. It has several small revenues, but the bulk of its funds are voted by Parliament. Without large sums of money, it would be naturally impossible to purchase the new scheduled area of about 7 million morgen. It was considered that £10 millions payable over five years would be sufficient; if necessary, further funds were to be made available. This was an obligation incurred in connection with the Representation of Natives Act, with which we have dealt.

The Native Affairs Commission have been very active since the Act was passed. The legislation appears to have given satisfaction to the rural native population.

They have every reason to be pleased. The greater part of the land lies in the areas which have the most rainfall. The Eastern and Northern rainfall areas are predominantly native. It is not a question of acreage; unfair comparisons are often made between the quantity of ground owned by Europeans and that allotted to the Union natives. As a matter of fact, a few morgen on the East may be worth more than a thousand on the West. The western side of the Union appears definitely to be drying up.

The natives have been given a great opportunity to develop agriculturally. Whether they will take advantage of it depends on a much better system of administration. The neglect of the native locations in the past has been nothing less than shocking. The Native Affairs Commission and the Native Affairs Department will have to pull up their socks and not dawdle along. The time has come for action. Soil erosion must be checked, tree cutting limited, and tree planting insisted on. Native stock must be reduced and improved. Venereal and other diseases, particularly malaria, should be treated on the spot.

Taxes must be paid. The present non-payment, by

many of the natives in the Reserves, is nothing less than a public scandal. With the country crying out for labour, there is no excuse for such conduct. Natives should be given the option of doing Government road work in lieu of paying cash. Each district should be scheduled, and regular statements furnished to the Press showing the amount still outstanding, in the respective districts. Here is a company in which we are all shareholders, and we must know the exact position of this class of debtor, whose disinclination to pay, or work, is forcing us to import thousands of natives from outside our border. The Indunas, or Chiefs, must be responsible in this particular. New appointments might be made where necessary. The heads of the native peoples should be assisted in keeping statistics as to the number of natives who absolutely refuse to work under any conditions; of these there are large numbers. Nothing, naturally, in the shape of forced labour is suggested, but a tax on idleness can be thought out. The new native Senators would doubtless be most happy to oblige in making valuable suggestions under this heading. The economic welfare of the whole population of the Union is what really matters.

There was a great deal of opposition to this Native Trust and Land Act. Most of it centred round about what had actually taken place in the Select Committee. The records of the discussion should not be destroyed. They will be wanted some day. Politics, they say, is a dirty game; but this country will want to know exactly what has happened behind closed doors.

The main points of the opposition were, firstly, that it had never been agreed upon to purchase the new areas of $7\frac{1}{4}$ million morgen—it was merely to be set aside for native requirements; and a small amount of money was to be utilised to provide land for squatters who had been repatriated. The further argument, a much stronger one, was that if so much money was being put on one side to finance the native, the poorer class of European should be assisted to an equal extent.

There is a lot to be said for this. Granted that the Government has made available vast sums of money, and that the new irrigation schemes are designed primarily for the white man, the fact remains that there is a great land

hunger amongst a portion of our population. If a white man is good enough to fight for his country, he is surely entitled to the same treatment, if not better, with regard to land purchase as the native.

It may be asked, where is this land to come from? Singular to say, there is still a fair amount of ground available in the Union for white people at reasonable prices.

Farming has not been a very profitable occupation, one of the reasons being that the farms are too big. The Government is the only large buyer, and can get ground at its own price, except where special conditions obtain. A case has therefore been made out for extended operations in this direction.

A further objection was that the purchase of such a large quantity of ground would tend to force up prices. The system of selection by the Native Affairs Commission and valuation of the ground by the Lands Department to some extent discounts this criticism. In this uncertain world the seller would be very foolish not to take the bird in the hand. With things as they are, and only one buyer in the field, business men would never hold for a rise. This Government might fall, another take its place, and alter the policy. Five years pass like a breath of wind, and those who have not sold by then will be looking for trouble. Under the circumstances the Government holds the whip-hand, if they wish to exercise it.

It is not necessary to debate this part of the question any further. With a vast territory of roughly 35 million acres, supplemented as it eventually will be by the Protectorates, the natives of Southern Africa will own about 45 per cent. of the land; and a heavy responsibility rests on the Government and the Departments to see that this asset is not frittered away.

Inspection, inspection, inspection, by qualified extension officers, for which posts a great number of the best of our detribalised natives could be trained, and more efficient administration, are the keys to a solution. The country, in any case, will never stand for the present disgraceful and shocking state of affairs, where deserts are made of great tracts of land, on which the starving beasts try to graze, many of them doomed to death before the winter ends.

Mention has been made of the health position. Tuberculosis is gaining ground in the towns, and naturally spreads to the countryside. It is pleasing to see the Rockefeller Institute's representatives moving at last. Life and death are more important questions than Race-relations!

The farmer, who is cursed every day of his life by the intolerant educated native, and attacked by the negro-pholists from every soap box in the country, has done more to help the sick and ailing coloured population than anyone else.

Black Opinion, published at 150 Struben Street, Pretoria, rewards these kind-hearted people, on the whole the most hospitable class in Africa, and the best masters in the world, by describing them thus:

"The white farmer is the most savage, most barbarous slave-driver whose place would well be in the jungle. A worse barbarian has never set foot on God's earth."

While *The Bantu World*, in great black headlines, alludes to "The Brutal Treatment of Africans," referring to the evidence of the Pietersburg natives before the Labour Commission; a great number of the natives in this district are the worst type in the Union, many are dagga smokers, which destroys them physically and morally.

The only medical attention the natives in this district got has been largely obtained through the intervention of the white farmer, whom their leaders, instigated by educated natives and others, abuse in this manner. The Pietersburg District badly wants cleaning up by the Native Affairs Department; from two points of view, health principally, and then payment of arrear taxes.

Major Herbst, the chairman of the Labour Commission, said:

"This was the worst district encountered for contradictory evidence. He thought the system of employment was wrong."

Surely Major Herbst, who was so long connected with native affairs, must know that from the earliest days many of these natives would sooner beg and loaf than work under any conditions, the principal reason being that they have never been compelled to pay their taxes regularly. Natives

do not pay taxes for years in this locality, and when caught get off light; but if a white man is in arrear, he will have to pay the full amount.

Reverting to the land question, it is to be hoped that certain portions of the Reserves will be specially earmarked for the repatriation of detribalised natives. Efforts should be made to keep them apart, as they will have at first to be dealt with on different lines to the tribal kaffirs. Notwithstanding the fact that in the Transkei, which is the best of the Cape administered native States, because the communal native system has been largely maintained, there are detribalised natives, and in the Ciskei, where equality reigned, there are plenty of them; it will be better to deal with the town natives, whom we hope to get back to the land on different lines.

The Native Affairs Commission and others are inclined to stress the policy of education, civilisation, and development on European lines in the Reserves. This is a mistake.

The first work is to stop the process of disintegration which is setting in. Health, soil erosion, tree planting; provision of water by means of small dams; forest preservation, limitation of native big stock, crop rotation, payment of debt—these are the lines requiring first attention. No attempt should be made to civilise the native; he must be brought back to the blanket stage, the simple life, the life we all envy in our inmost spirit.

Protected by the white man against outside enemies and internecine strife, from the evil agitators of his own blood, and their white friends in the cities, he will prosper. Over-civilise him, and as sure as the sun sets, there will be a bloody ending.

THE URBAN AREAS ACTS, 1923, 1930, 1937

THIS legislation was passed to deal with the question of the conditions of native residence in the urban areas of the country. The first Act was subject to very severe criticism; it had been designed to make conditions more attractive for the natives by providing suitable accommodation for them. As a result of its effects and subsequent amendments, the great problem of the detribalised natives has been aggravated intensely. It will be seen, from the discussion of the subject, that all questions fall into the background when this economic one is considered. Owing to the higher wages paid than in the country, the attractions of town life, the bioscopes, the easy morals, the civilising influences of the comminglers, the towns act as a lodestone to the natives, young and old. Something like one-quarter of the native population is now employed, on and off, in the urban areas, and there can be no talk of trusteeship, or even a limited amount of segregation, while this condition continues. All sorts of problems arise from day to day, as can easily be imagined even by those who are not on the spot.

The politicians, it must be said, have made a bad job of the urban segregation question. Twenty years ago it would have been easy to check the drift to the towns, but every year the difficulty increases. This was not for want of warning. The Stallard Commission, in 1921, in the first place, drew attention to the distressing state of affairs then existing, and which continues. The report was unanimous in recommending reform.

No notice of this report was taken till 1936. In the meantime, the unskilled labour problem had been intensified; thousands of natives and their children perished; and the youth of the country became demoralised by the easy and cheap supply of labour. The Assimilationist policy was to retain the Bantu in the towns at all costs. There the great experiment they are engaged on, of turning the native into

a veneered white man, could be pursued at leisure, while the country perished. Crimes of violence increased from year to year.

All Governments have consistently turned a deaf ear to the policy of a gradual repatriation of the natives back to the land, as advocated by many influential bodies.

The first serious discussion of the position took place in Parliament in 1930, when certain amendments to the Act of 1923 were adopted. The Minister in charge was the Hon. E. G. Jansen.

These amendments have had practically no effect. The Minister tried to justify the position by alluding to the comparatively large amounts spent on Locations by the municipalities. These have proved just a drop in the ocean. Naturally, with the increase in the native population of thousands annually, the municipalities will be always busy creating additions to their numerous Locations. Native towns which are beginning to overshadow those of the white man are a menace and a source of constant friction between the different municipalities, as they encroach on their boundaries, and the white residential areas. Native advisory boards have been set up, Location managers and advisers appointed, but the position remains. The towns are busy strangling themselves. As a consequence of insanitary and unhealthy life, tuberculosis and other diseases are increasing; whilst venereal complaints have not only rotted the urban native, but have spread from them throughout the country, despite the efforts of Mr. Colin Bains-Marais and others.

The natives are allowed to pass on to work indiscriminately; irrespective of the fact as to whether they are tropical or sub-tropical boys, unsuited to live in winter at high altitudes. Their mortality is abnormal. The slaughter of the innocents in the Locations is surely unparalleled in the history of the world. Infantile death-rates range up to 55 per cent.

This has not been due to the Segregationists, who have fought tooth and nail against these terrible conditions. It is due to the Assimilationists and their friends here and across the sea, who, in the sacred name of liberty, fraternity, and equality for white and black, have created this terrible state of affairs.

This introduction brings us to the work of Parliament in 1930. A large number of patchwork remedies were discussed, but the speech of Colonel Stallard stands out as a classic on the subject. His silence in 1937 can be forgiven him for the lead he gave the country in 1930. We print the greater part of his remarks hereunder:

Colonel Stallard said:

The real principle was that they recognised that the presence of the native in the urban area was to be permitted just so long as, and no longer than, the interests of the white populations required, and that the steps which were taken for the removal of undesirable natives therefrom were the quintessence and spirit of the Act. If this were once realised, the relationships between whites and blacks might be profoundly affected.

He pointed out that the provision for good housing and good conditions which the Act brought into being had rendered towns more desirable resorts for the natives than they were before. *The better the housing they could give the natives in urban areas, the more attractive they would become.* The natives would then make a demand for such wages as would enable them to live up to these conditions. If they accepted the facts, that the principle underlying the Act was that natives should only enter an urban area when it was desirable in the interests of the white people, then the facts he had given brought them up against a very stiff proposition. He pointed out that the Act had failed in bringing about the desired condition that the natives should be in the urban area for the purpose of administering to the wants of the white folk.

He admitted that the Bill as drafted was a considerable step, but it still failed to give them effective means by which the removal of redundant natives could be carried out. The present evil was twofold, he pointed out. Not only were the natives coming out into these areas in increasing quantities, but there was largely resident in the urban areas a seriously excessive native population. The result was that there had been a great competition between whites and blacks. We are faced with unemployment. It has been said that the more natives you get in, the more unemployment for whites. But unem-

ployment figures go to show that the question of unemployment has not been settled and disposed of, despite the claims made by more than one Minister on that point. The fact is, that we are faced with an alarming amount of unemployment, and statistics show that the only method in which it is being tackled at all is by the unemployed being mainly absorbed in one or another of the public services, municipal, provincial, or national.

One of the prime causes of that unemployment is the present redundant black population in our urban areas (Nationalist cheers), and if you are going to confine your attention merely to bringing a further influx of natives into the urban areas, you are only trifling with the problem; you are leaving it more than half done.

The natural increase of natives in the towns is itself of no little significance. The original Act left that phase of the matter untouched, and I regret to say that the proposed amendments also leave it untouched. The removal of the disorderly native is no mitigation of the position.

I am told, on credible police authority, that there is a floating criminal population on the Rand of close upon 2,000 largely living by means of roguery. The police have not been able to cope with them, as the measures at present in force are insufficient to weed them out. Where do they belong to? Many of them have been born in the towns and among the population on which they prey.

What satisfaction is it if a native in Boksburg is found guilty of being a disorderly or criminal person, and he is sent to the place where he belongs—and that place is found to be Benoni? What better off is the Rand population?

The Bill fails to deal with this aspect of the matter. You are losing an opportunity of dealing with this problem in a radical way. Remedial measures on the lines of education are not meeting the difficulty. You are simply creating an increased amount of distaste on the part of the white population for the humbler occupations, and you are increasing the demand for a larger black population to minister in the humbler walks of life to the wants of the whites.

What is the result? You are having a large number

of whites who cannot find the higher jobs to which they aspire, and who will not accept the humbler jobs for which Nature has designed them. No community can consist only of captains of industry, or high-grade clerks, or men with university degrees. It is necessary that, if the white population is to survive and minister to its own wants, it should be capable of ministering to those wants in small as well as in great matters.

Your Colour Bar Bill, a different type of legislation altogether, is now virtually a dead letter. What else are you doing? You have introduced a third class of legislation, exemplified by the Wage Act, and what is the result? The result has not been to displace the blacks, but to raise the wages which they had. Now we are faced with an attempt by three different trades for concerted action among the non-European population to secure a minimum wage based on a living allowance of £9 3s. 6d. per month. This is going to be backed up by all the well-known machinery of trade unionism and combination and so on.

It brings us to this—Is the problem before South Africa whether or not the black population is going to be the proletariat? Are you willing to accept the position that you are looking forward to a white aristocracy above, a black proletariat underneath? If you do, I say that, without a shadow of doubt, as sure as the sun will rise to-morrow, your political institutions will be profoundly affected and involved.

If, on the other hand, you say that we are not going to tolerate that, but that we wish to give the white population an opportunity of expressing in terms of work the faith that is in them, even although they may not have university degrees or get as far as the far-famed matric., then you will have to take effective measures to combat the intense competition, especially in the lower walks of life, that is being focused in our urban areas, and which is the cause of the deplorable slums and conditions against which this Bill is aimed.

Colonel Creswell : What do you suggest?

Colonel Stallard replied that the measure he suggested was to make it impossible to have unlimited competition in urban areas by accepting the proposition that within

an urban area the local authority should have the power to say what native labour is required, and then to say, "No more." That would render unlimited competition between white and black impossible.

Colonel Creswell : That depends very much on the local authorities' views.

Colonel Stallard replied that the view of the average municipality might be taken as a fair reflection of feeling in South Africa. A similar policy could be extended to districts outside urban areas.

Answering a question by an hon. member as to what was to be done with the surplus, he said if the statements made in the House by the Prime Minister were correct, and he was prepared to accept them as such, then the problem became a small one indeed; the surplus natives could go to the place to which they belonged, which was the native Reserve, in which there was ample scope in Zululand, the Transkei, and other places.

He had been to the Transkei, and, using his powers of observation, he came to the conclusion that it would carry a very much denser population than it carried to-day. The real trouble there was the deplorably low standard of agriculture, the poor character of the stock, and the native's incapacity for sustained effort. The problem of the surplus was, therefore, perfectly simple of solution. There was a great demand for native labour upon the mines and lands.

An Hon. Member : Where does the white man come in?

Colonel Stallard : By agreement you will be able to fix a quota which will not only satisfy the Minister of Mines, but the whole population and the mining industry.

There was not the slightest reason why the white man should not work on the farms. The more native labour he got there, the greater will be the spur to the owner to try to extract a very precarious living from a very reluctant soil. There will be, I think, no difficulty in either absorbing into other walks of industry the natives weeded out of the urban areas, or replanting them in the Reserves.

If those Reserves were proved to be too small, the Prime Minister was willing and ready at all times to find the cash for the necessary enlargements.

He then paid a tribute to municipal government as exemplified in the towns of South Africa. He said it had justified its existence, and the trust which had been placed in the Councils had been responded to in an altogether worthy manner. He believed, therefore, that if power were given to municipalities, it would be wisely used.

His main complaint against the Bill was that the means of removing the redundant black populations from towns for all practical purposes was non-existent. It was confined to dissolute and disorderly natives, and he appealed to the Minister to consider very carefully whether the time had not come when he might not take a bold step in the direction of granting the local authority, not only power to prevent the further ingress of natives to an urban area, *but power to reduce the number already there.*

If this were not done, he felt that they were leaving the whole question of the relations between white and black in urban areas only partially dealt with.

That power would be capable of application with enormous results in the direction of *reducing the number of blacks in the densely populated towns of Africa and replacing them with whites now unemployed.*

What answer can there be to the taking of this power? Surely this Bill embodies as its basic principle the treatment of your whole black population within the towns as being subordinate to the interests and the desires and the aims of the white population that is there. If you are going to accept that, why not take the power I suggest? Why not apply it gradually as may be from time to time required? It would have far-reaching consequences; it may even be susceptible of going very far indeed on the political side of the relations between black and white.

If you are going to treat the natives as being resident in urban areas only for the purpose of the white man, only temporarily there to do the work which the white population wants them to do and, after having done the work, they are to go away to their own territory, what is the objection to considering whether they are to have the franchise in those places?

I, for one, am glad that the Bill has been brought before the House before we are again engaged in discussing the franchise. You must, before you deal with the franchise, have clearly in your mind and have it expressly laid down in legislation the broad lines of the economic relations which are to prevail between white and black, because you may sketch out your political scheme upon lines which do not fit in with your economic plan, and which may be rendered entirely unnecessary by your economic plan. If you, on the other hand, lay down your economic policy, the political lines will follow naturally after that.

At this stage Colonel Stallard's time had expired, but several members on both sides of the House asked that he be given permission to continue.

I should be sorry, he continued, if it were thought that I was adopting an attitude of bludgeoning the native races or that I want to deny them their just rights. I repudiate that. To my mind it is impossible to do justice to the white without doing justice to the black. You have got to make up your mind whether you are going to have a black proletariat with a white aristocracy or a white nation in the full meaning of the word with the Bantu nation living alongside. I believe that the relationship which I have outlined is not only best for the white, but best for the black.

The degradation which has taken place among the blacks has been an outstanding feature of these dreadful urban relationships of which we have been hearing, and is deplored, I know, by the native races themselves. I believe that, granted adequate means of living in their Reserves, extended if you like, the natives will welcome the lines of division with which the principles of the Bill are concerned, extended as they are by the suggestion which I have made.

We have done a grave injury to the native races by pitching them neck and crop and willy-nilly into this vortex of twentieth-century economic competition for which they are unfitted. Many of them have gone down, and are bound to go down while we put up the sham argument that we are giving them fair play and

yet expose them to this relentless competition. They need separation in their own interests as much as we do. I believe the destruction of their tribal system and the socialistic basis upon which the tribes have been organised, the destructions of the sanctions which they thoroughly understood, the break-up of their family life which that has involved, are very poorly repaid by the example they see of the white man and the relations of the white man and the white woman in the white man's towns. In the interests of the town as well as the country, I hope the Minister will give consideration to the suggestions I have made.

Mr. Coulter disagreed with his present chief in practically every particular.

The fact remains that, in spite of this, Colonel Stallard has proved a true prophet, and his utterance to be the most statesmanlike, on this subject, that we have had in the House of Assembly.

Early in 1937 he left for Europe on urgent business; he was in despair, apparently, because his scheme for a panel of the Senate had been abandoned. It was a mistake not to continue the good work he began in 1930 and to guide the Dominion Party into the path of Segregation which is the only one on which they have the slightest chance to become a great party. The Colonel should try to live up to the principles of the old Forward Party, of which he and Mr. C. F. Tainton were such brilliant leaders.

Mr. Payn, who is admittedly one of our foremost authorities on native affairs, particularly in the Cape, alluded to the efforts which were being made by the farmers of the Transvaal to find a solution of the problem.

He preceded his remarks by the suggestion that the leak should be stopped from the outside instead of inside. He claimed that the native influx to the towns was caused by economic pressure. He went on to say he had received a letter, as he supposed every other member had, from the President of the Transvaal Agricultural Union (Mr. H. R. Abercrombie). In this letter he says:

"The control of natives entering the towns should be in the hands of a national board, consisting of members

of the mining and agricultural industries, with a Chairman appointed by the Government. The natives could then be directed to the primary industries."

This was a doubtful suggestion to Mr. Payn. He thought it meant forcing the natives into the particular areas in which the mines and the farmers wished them to work. They were not to be considered. This, of course, was pure assumption on the part of Mr. Payn. He first of all stated that the cause of the influx to the towns was economic pressure; surely, if this was the case, the primary industries, which always need labour, offered more attractive openings to diligent natives. Proper regulations as to pay, housing, health, and other things could have been easily arranged, and the mines and the best class of farmer would have had their needs supplied, to the advantage of all parties concerned.

This board would have been an effective check on the municipalities. They would have been placed on a quota, and the primary industries would have explained the exact position to them.

No native would have been forced to work in a mine or on a farm, but when the minimum needs of the towns had been supplied, he could have been given the option of taking the work available or returning home. The natives could also have been inspected properly, and their health attended to. Those suited to mining would have had special inducements held out to them. The towns and the farmers are not so particular as to physique.

Seeing that the towns are entirely dependent on the primary industries, it is only fair that all and more than their wants should be supplied. As it is, the mines have to import labour from Mozambique, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland, a most unsatisfactory state of affairs. In the few words that Mr. Payn quoted, naturally, the subject was not amplified. This is done a little later on when the scheme of the Farmers' Union is set out. The Board should have been responsible to the Minister of Labour. It is an anomaly that white and native labour questions should be dealt with separately in the towns.

Natives, who had been employed in mines and drifted to the towns suffering from phthisis, or diseases acquired in

the mines, might have been dealt with by the organisation which could have worked in connection with the Phthisis Board.

It is useless surmising; this suggestion and Colonel Stallard's plea were accorded a "luke-warm support and a red-hot opposition." The powers that be were of opinion that the natives could not be repatriated from the towns under any circumstances. They are slowly changing their views, as will be seen when we come to the Bill of 1937 and the aftermath. In any case, the suggestion of the farmers was a humane one. A considerable number of natives who have been detribalised would undoubtedly have been persuaded to work in the primary industries. They, their wives and families, would in many cases have been saved from death and disease.

One has only to consider the enormous expense to which the municipalities are being put. The City of Cape Town, despite the fact that the ground was given them by the Government, paid £240,000 for their Location at Langa, and they have at present an excess of unskilled labour. In addition to this heavy capital expenditure, the City loses about £10,000 per annum on running the Location, which is virtually a subsidy to native unskilled labour as against the whites and coloureds. The loss is incurred principally in the ordinary municipal services, such as medical service, light, and water. This falls very heavily on the smaller class of ratepayer, who has metaphorically to help to cut his own throat.

Whilst the increase of natives in the towns is not altogether attributable to the operation of the Act, experience shows, the better the accommodation provided, the greater the influx.

Outside the Locations, naturally, slums are created.

Port Elizabeth, despite free ground and enormous expenditure on housing, has very unsatisfactory conditions in its Locations. The Reef and Pretoria are spending thousands on housing. The policy should have been to make employers provide accommodation and compound the natives.

The overcrowding which exists at present is naturally highly detrimental to the health of the whites, and an epidemic is always possible.

One of the principal causes of this detribalisation of the

natives has been the inducement to them to bring their families into the cities; no greater folly can be conceived than this. When the native is merely a temporary resident, as is the case with most of the house boys, he comes and goes, and as a consequence the problem can be more easily dealt with.

No medical inspection takes place when the native enters or leaves the urban areas. Without this, the people of the country suffer untold harm. The presence of women in the towns, except under articles, while doing household services, should be discouraged.

Once the native understands that he is only wanted as a temporary dweller, the position will become more satisfactory.

The object of the Act of 1930 was to improve the position largely by creating better accommodation; this was necessary unless repatriation became effective.

One of the first steps that ought to have been taken was to create a system of inspection of native women entering the towns, who should have been provided with passes. Women suspected of living an immoral life might have been called up for inspection and deported when necessary.

There was furious opposition to passes for women, led by Senator Rhinault Jones. Giving evidence before the Native Commission, referring to the continuous pass system, he said:

This would be most strenuously opposed by the native peoples. (Or should we not rather say the agitator class of the native peoples?)

Continuing, he said: "One reason why the natives oppose the imposition of passes on their womenfolk is that they look forward to the time when they will be emancipated altogether from the pass system. If they agreed to the pass system, they would feel that, instead of marching towards freedom from this system, they would be agreeing to some sort of shackles being placed on their womenfolk."

Conditions of life in the Locations, Senator Jones said, should be such as to make home life possible.

The Joint Council naturally welcomed the proposed amendments to the Act giving the power to compel local

authorities to grant trading sites to natives in Locations or villages. Several municipalities, he said, such as Bloemfontein, and Beaufort West, had been unreasonable in this matter. When natives were compelled to live in a Location, it was outrageous that they should be refused the right to develop their trading habits. The obvious reply to this is, that the native comes of his own free will to the white man's town, and must submit to the same restrictions as are placed, say, in Basutoland, Bechuanaland, or any other town in the native Reserves, on the white man. He is living temporarily in the white man's Reserve.

In the course of this enquiry, Mr. Ballenden, representing the Johannesburg municipality, contended that under the existing conditions, the influx of natives for whom there was no employment could not be controlled. One can agree with Senator Jones when he says that the proper organisation of labour within the towns would in time check the inflow of native labour from the country.

Replying to Dr. Loram, Senator Jones said "*the forging of night passes had become a regular traffic.*"

Referring again to inspection and passes for women entering the towns: this is highly necessary for the health and well-being of the white and native populations, particularly in view of the high venereal figures in the country. Surely the end justifies the means. One cannot compare the white and the native populations when such methods have to be resorted to. If there is anything in trusteeship, surely this is where it comes in. This high-minded humanitarianism has rotted the native peoples of Africa, destroyed them body and soul. There can be no defence for this state of affairs. The pass was a necessary check. It would have been far better to say, very well, if you object to inspection and passes, you shall not come into the towns.

The Bill of 1930 has no further interest for us; it has been a failure. It is true that municipalities had been given some means of controlling the ingress of unwanted natives, but only a few towns made use of their powers. The bait of a cheap big pool of unskilled labour poisoned the body politic.

Prior to the introduction of the Bill, very interesting evidence was given by the Transvaal Agricultural Union before the members of the Native Affairs Commission.

Many of the suggestions form the basis of the 1936 Bill, but little notice of the Union's representations was taken by the Commission. Despite strong protests to the Prime Minister and the Minister for Native Affairs, the point of view of the farmers was not put before the House, except by Mr. Payn in the instance quoted.

The following is a report of the proceedings:

Mr. H. R. Abercrombie (President), Captain F. J. van der Riet (Chairman of the Native Affairs Committee of the Transvaal Agricultural Union), and Major R. D. Doyle, interviewed members of the Native Affairs Commission in Pretoria. The deputation was received by ex-Senator Dr. A. W. Roberts and Dr. C. T. Loram.

The object of the deputation was to place before the members of the Native Affairs Commission a resolution passed at the Transvaal Agricultural Union Congress. The resolution, which deals with the segregation of natives from the towns, is to the effect that "the welfare and prosperity of the white and native races of South Africa depend in a large measure on the complete segregation of natives, and the gradual repatriation of all male natives from the towns, except such as are housed under the compound system while serving periods of employment."

As this resolution was passed by the Transvaal Agricultural Union, the Pretoria Chamber of Commerce, and the South African Agricultural Union, etc., the deputation claimed that it should be the policy of the Government and the basis of an amended Native Urban Areas Act.

Further suggestions by the deputation were that umfaans and piccanins should be prohibited from entering the towns and the alluvial diamond diggings; both, it was contended, being demoralising to them from the health and moral points of view. Vagrants and criminals should not be allowed to seek employment in towns, and should be removed from these centres and return to their kraals, wherever possible. The services of male natives in domestic work should, it was considered, be discouraged, and be replaced by native female labour under proper restrictions. Permanent residence of natives in towns and their vested interests in towns should also be discouraged

by the Government. The deputation thought that the words "compound" and "compound annexure" were preferable to "Location," "native village," or "native hostel," as the latter, they contended, implied permanent residence.

The deputation expressed the desire that the Native Urban Areas Act be redrafted to provide for improved conditions of compound and resident natives in or near native areas, and the better administration of native affairs in such areas, and for the registration and better control of contracts of service with natives in certain areas and the regulation of the ingress of natives into, and their residence in, such areas.

Special emphasis was laid on the gradual restriction of the entry of all male natives into towns, with a view to their eventual repatriation, except such as were housed under the compound system while serving terms of employment; and further, to provide for the proper regulation of the employment of native female labour in domestic work. The exemption of coloured persons from the operation of the pass law, and the restriction and regulation of the possession and use of kaffir beer and other intoxicating liquor by natives in certain areas, were also included in the proposed redraft of the Act by the deputation.

It was, in addition, suggested by the deputation that under the amended Act a Board representative of the mining and agricultural industries should be appointed to regulate the number of natives admitted to work in urban areas. The personnel of the Board, they considered, should be a chairman appointed by the Government, one member of the Native Affairs Department (to sit in an advisory capacity), two representatives of the mining industry, and two representatives of the agricultural industry. This Board should have power to restrict gradually the number of natives entering urban areas in search of work, and to divert them into other directions, where, for instance, primary industries were short of labour, provided that the native should always have the option of refusing this class of work. In the latter event, however, he should be debarred from entering urban areas. A further duty of the proposed Board would

be to consult with the Administrator and urban authorities in regard to the carrying out of the further provisions of this ordinance, and to make recommendations for the approval of the Minister.

It is interesting at this stage to note the population figures of Johannesburg between 1921 and 1929—the period we are dealing with. In 1921 the population of Johannesburg was made up as follows: Whites, 154,413; Natives, 122,565; Euraficans, 11,014; and Asiatics, 5,540. In 1929 the estimated figures were: Whites, 176,838; Natives, 145,570; Euraficans, 14,120; Asiatics, 6,404.

The percentage increases over these eight years are as follows: Whites, 14·5 per cent.; Natives, 18·6 per cent.; Euraficans, 28·2 per cent.; and Asiatics, 18·5 per cent.

With this progressive and cumulative position of the native people and Asiatics ousting the whites from their own towns, there can naturally be only one ending, unless drastic remedies are applied before it is too late. In 1937, there were 93,000 natives on the Rand without visible means of support; they had no visible subsistence, and many lived on their wits. These figures are taken from a reliable source. Notwithstanding this fact, the mines, farms, and industries are crying out for labour. These natives should be rounded up without further delay, and dealt with by the Native Affairs Department in conjunction with the Labour Department; this is essential. The police are now moving in the matter.

In 1929, a small departmental commission sat, which did some useful work. The late Colonel Heinrich du Toit was one of the members. They estimated the natives employed in agriculture then at 375,716 and coloured people 72,533; in mining there were 261,094 natives; diamond washing, 28,694; in commerce and industry, 97,316; domestic service, 111,361; employed by Union and Provincial authorities, 54,785; coloureds employed outside mining, 52,908. These figures are now much higher.

The Commission, in dealing with the total number of the labour force required for agriculture and industry, alluded to the economic difficulties in making such a calculation, through the development of the country in general, and through changes in the methods in use in industries, such

as, for instance, the substitution of animal-drawn transport by mechanical transport, or the introduction of labour-saving devices. When one wanted to calculate what the requirements of the country are, one must do so by giving consideration to the particular period or occupation, with regard to the fact that the circumstances through which a surplus or deficit is occasioned might undergo a sudden change.

Throughout the general discussion there did not appear to be any shortage of European labourers, either normal or periodical, in the agricultural or other labour circles; on the contrary, there appeared to be a considerable surplus. There are various districts of the Cape Province and Natal where there is a surplus number of labourers, but they are scattered widely throughout these provinces. There is a surplus throughout the majority of the O.F.S. districts, but the numbers are not large. In the Transvaal, in the majority of districts, there is a considerable surplus.

Considering the very high protection given to our industries, and the enormous dividends many of them earn, such as the breweries, there is no necessity for them employing native labour when Europeans are available.

Hereunder are some of the figures about the period of 1929:

<i>Industry.</i>	<i>Production.</i>	<i>Employees.</i>		<i>Protection.</i>
		<i>European.</i>	<i>Other.</i>	
Brick, tile, earthenware, pottery works	£1,198,832	722	9,613	20-25%
Brush and broom factories	£78,366	34	301	25%
Butter, cheese, condensed milk factories	£1,878,278	579	1,016	Very high specific duties
Breweries (including native beer breweries and malt works)	£1,549,030	347	1,069	2s. 3d.-2s. 9d. per gal.
Printing and publishing establishments	£5,028,744	6,019	2,254	35-40%
Galvanised ware, tinware, and steel trunk factories	£1,453,137	1,415	2,887	20%
Grain mills	£10,041,199	1,799	3,886	Various specific duties
Jam factories, fruit preserving works, and sweet factories	£1,976,827	1,763	2,511	35%
Dressmaking and millinery establishments	£350,221	1,227	108	20%

Industry.	Production.	Employees.		Protection.
		European.	Other.	
Tailoring establishments and clothing factories	£3,526,595	5,197	4,292	25-30%
Cooperages, packing-case, and wooden-box and trunk factories	£157,717	95	649	20%
Aerated water factories	£664,130	509	1,257	Very high specific duties
Tanneries	£961,674	358	1,216	20%
Soap and candle factories	£1,895,549	540	1,243	25%
Sail, tent, and other canvas goods factories	£171,672	146	94	20%
Boot and shoe factories	£2,395,973	3,261	1,756	30%
Salt pans and salt refineries	£141,449	189	782	30%
Tobacco, cigar, cigarette, snuff factories	£2,750,898	1,410	2,039	High specific duties
Bacon and ham factories	£674,307	117	296	6d. to 8d. lb.
Harness and saddlery works and leather portmanteau and bag factories	£376,135	468	485	25%
Sawmills	£475,145	343	867	20%

Many of the mining groups are interested in industry; they can divert this native labour to the mines, if they wish, in some instances.

We shall now consider the latest Urban Native Bill; the name was changed to the Native Laws Amendment Act. This was brought forward by the new Fusion Minister of Native Affairs, the Hon. P. G. W. Grobler, one of the old school of Segregationists. It was largely due to his determination that the Bill became law. At one time it was thought the opposition would prove too strong for him. He laid down in his opening speech the principle that the native was in the town for the purpose of ministering to the wants of the white population.

The Act itself is rather cumbersome, and it would have been better to introduce a new and simpler one. In view of the opposition, which was extremely vocal, it was probably considered better to proceed by means of amendments.

It strengthened the welfare machinery, and remedied certain defects in administration. The great question was the removal of redundant natives. The Native Affairs Commission and other bodies had agreed in 1921 that the

existence of a redundant native population in municipal areas was a source of grave peril; such a native did not engage in work for the white community, but forms the class from which the professional agitator, the slum landlords, the liquor sellers, the prostitutes, and other undesirable classes spring. The Commission continued to report that the towns were a European area in which there was no place for redundant natives; just as the Native Trust and Land Act prevents any other person than a native from residing or carrying on any business in the native areas, so have the whites the right to be paramount in their own areas. This, however, is disputed and fought tooth and nail by the comminglers.

The 1923 Act was largely a failure because the municipalities would not avail themselves of it. Then, of course, there was no clear direction in native policy. Notwithstanding the delay in settling the Reserve question, this was no excuse for the apathy which prevailed.

The Bill also provided for a very full census to enable the question of redundants, etc., to be dealt with. The amendments were few and, as will be seen later on, there are many things to be rectified, but at least it indicates a change of heart and policy, and our feet were turned slightly towards urban segregation. Naturally, if we cannot segregate the towns, it is idle to talk about the separation of the races.

The battle round the Bill started with the usual motions for postponement, backed up by various motions and resolutions of Assimilationists and religious bodies. They said, as usual, that the matter was conceived in haste, although it had been hotly and thoroughly discussed for twenty years. They wanted it referred to the Native Representative Council, knowing full well that the way that Council was constituted, such a measure would have been rejected. They said the Prime Minister had virtually promised this.

Despite the fact that the Stallard Commission in 1921 had considered the whole position and reported unanimously that

“ the native should only be allowed to enter urban areas which are essentially the white man's creation when he is

willing to enter and to minister to the needs of the white man, and should depart therefrom when he ceases to so minister."

Despite this, they wanted more time; they claimed the detribalised natives were detribalised for good, which is absurd; that there was nowhere to put them, which was untrue. Naturally certain industrialists wish to have a reserve of detribalised natives to draw on for their convenience, but this means less employment for the whites. They quoted the Young-Barrett two-man departmental enquiry which set itself up as a critic of the Select Committee and other bodies with much more experience. They labelled the principle embodied in the Stallard Report as "immoral."

The Bill required amending in a very important particular—the question of regulating the supply of unskilled labour, white and black, to the urban areas. Mr. W. H. Rood was the only member to mention this important point, on which the Bill is bound to break down the moment a depression starts. He pointed out that we wanted to protect our white unskilled labour against unfair competition by natives, and suggested amending Clause 20 of the Bill in this particular. He thought it was desirable that each urban area should fix in advance a quota of unskilled labour, so as to provide for undue competition. Nothing more was heard of this matter, despite the fact that strong representations were made. It is well known that the influx of native unskilled labour produces the poor white in the urban areas, he is forced down, in other words, to the native level and below it. The clause referred to by Mr. Rood should have been amended by an addition, something like the following:

The Minister may allot to each urban authority only such native labour as shall not over-supply the unskilled employment market, governed by the labour statistical position of whites and blacks in the area concerned.

The object being to eventually segregate the urban areas, and reserve the unskilled labour market in the towns to the whites and coloured, with the exception of domestic service, for which female labour should be substituted.

The Bill fails to recognise the interests of the primary industries in the matter.

We have shown how difficult it is to get the right class of man into public bodies. Under the Act the municipalities are assumed to be the only people affected. The least that could have been done, if what the Board previously suggested was not adopted, was to provide for consultation with the farmers and miners.

Then there are various opportunities for exemption, outside the mining industry. Naturally, those wishing to avail themselves of cheap black labour as against white labour will avail themselves of this opportunity. The Bill only considers the native question; it does not provide for the white unskilled labourer. By artificially restricting the influx of natives, the rates of pay for the remainder of the unskilled population would have risen automatically.

The Bill allows more native females to enter the towns; this has already been discussed. It does not provide sufficiently for the expropriation of vested interests. In other words, while providing for redundancy, it made no provisions for gradual repatriation as a principle of the white man's area. This should have been clearly laid down in the name and preamble of the Bill. It was enunciated by the Minister, who took it over from the Stallard report, that the native departs when he is not required to minister to the white man. Why was this principle more or less ignored in the Bill?

Telegrams poured in, one signed by the chairman of the Christian Council of South Africa, the Rev. Nicol, we believe. Without expressing definite opinions on the measure, they asked for postponement to enable the Native Representation Council and other bodies to study the Bill. If this had been acceded to, the Bill would never have come before the House in our lifetime.

The native comminglers got busy. Mr. R. H. Godlo considered "Such evil sowing can produce but one result—a feeling of rank injustice, ill-feeling, and discontent, and will reap a crop of tares, for tares there will be."

As this exactly describes the feelings of the unskilled white towards the native who robs him of employment in the

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towns, it is worth repeating. Mr. Godlo is now a member of the Native Representation Council.

It has been suggested by the Young-Barrett enquiry, that the redundant natives should have garden villages where they could grow foodstuffs, and where they would have commonages upon which they could graze their cattle, quite close to European settlements. One may ask, can the whites not have this Utopian existence too?

Native villages near European towns exist already. They are hot-beds of crime and illicit liquor selling. Property in the neighbourhood invariably depreciates in value. This plan would never work. It is unnecessary and expensive. In the newly-purchased Reserves there are plenty of opportunities for Labour colonies, where the detribalised native can earn something to maintain himself, and get the opportunity to revert to his former happy, carefree life. Back to the land!

During the debate, mention was made of the attacks which were being made on the position of the white skilled artisan. Honest industries in the towns were being undermined by native undercutting. The wage determinations were also constantly evaded. In one case in the baking industry, men built small rooms round the bakehouses, paid their native bakers £6 or £7 a week, and charged them £3 or £4 a week rent. Many other industries are exploited in like manner by degenerate white traders in Johannesburg.

Certain Syrians have been cited lately in one of the Reef towns as the greatest sinners in the illicit liquor business. The vile products sold are responsible for half the crimes which exist.

It was pointed out that native churches should not be in European areas. They have done good work in the past, but when situated in white centres, they become places for the congregation of natives, and an entirely undesirable state of affairs is created.

One of the most important provisions in the Bill provides for the brewing of kaffir beer; this beverage, when made out of good sound kaffir corn, is the natural food and drink of the native, with a very low alcohol content, and when not indulged in to excess, is a necessary evil. There has been great discussion as to whether there should be home

brewing, licensed beer halls, or municipal control. The latter has been decided upon generally. Native opinion has been in favour of home brewing or beer halls. Home brewing can be ruled out, as too much "skokiaan" would be made. This is a vile mixture in which all sorts of things are placed in the beer to give it a "kick." For beer halls run under licences there is more to be said. Control would be effective. Anyhow, the municipalities are going to deal with this somewhat difficult matter. The natives would be far better off brewing in their own Reserves.

It was stated that many of the natives living in the urban areas were permanent residents; this no Segregationist can admit. If the native is in any respect a permanency in the white man's Reserve, then the same right should be extended to the white man of residing in the natives' territory.

Many of us were domiciled originally overseas. As boys and girls we crossed the ocean to make a livelihood, driven out by economic pressure. Now we are told, forsooth, by people who ought to know better, that to expect to remove a native who has been born in a town is absurd. True, the detribalised native should be the last to go, while he is fit for work, but to achieve success, the towns must be made as white as snow.

The policy now adopted—let us hope it will be carried out—is one of restriction of natives in the urban areas to the actual minimum which is required, and limits the casual drifting classes of labour. As will be seen later on, when we discuss the way to deal with this question, there are no great difficulties in repatriation provided the townspeople are prepared to make a small sacrifice.

The returns which the municipalities have to make will be very helpful: they will show the number of natives, both male and female in the urban areas, their origin, those in employment, the occupations they fill, the quantity necessary in the opinion of the local authorities for their requirements, and the redundants requiring removal. The returns should also have ascertained under what conditions they first came to the towns; this refers, of course, to detribalised natives. Whether they came with the permission of their Chiefs, or the white man on whose farm they resided. In the majority of cases it would be found that these natives were in the towns without the necessary

permission, and should be made to return to those who were responsible for them, if they were prepared to receive them. If not, then to other parts.

Under present circumstances the false-termed liberalism is merely exploitation under another name. These natives who have illegally turned to the towns in response to their lures are being kept there under the guise of liberalism, the real reason being to provide a cheap pool of unskilled labour.

About 75 per cent. of the natives in the towns are tribalised or have tribal relations, which means we have the solution in our own hands, if we are prepared to increase the proportion of white labour employed.

There are 100,000 native children at least in the urban areas, many of whom are illegitimate. Every effort should be made to get these potential criminals away from the cities. The Native Representation Council merely insists on their being educated. Education, one may say, what crimes are committed in thy name!

These children want a healthy country life; many of them have traces of venereal disease. They, and their parents, when possible, should be treated in special clinics; if the illegitimate children are healthy, there would be no difficulty in apprenticing them. This method has proved highly satisfactory when dealt with through the magistrates in the past.

It is not true, although this has been stated, that the redundant natives all belong to the criminal or disorderly class; many of them are just idlers and visitors, who live on their friends—the ladies particularly so. Most of them are known as the 2s. 6d. or 5s. girls, from medical impressions pretty expensive at that.

The question of native employment measures was discussed. For years the farmers and others have advocated the establishment of labour bureaux throughout the country. This would have been of great assistance when there was a scarcity of native labour for development. To be efficient these bureaux must be connected with the European Labour Department. We have in the Union a very efficient system of labour officers.

If not by amalgamation, then by co-ordination, the Departments of Native Affairs and Labour, working together, could effectively control and ration the white

and native unskilled labour position. Nothing appears to be contemplated in this direction at the moment; something will have to be done. Public opinion is rapidly concentrating on unemployment of whites. Labour bureaux for whites and natives have been consistently advocated by the Pretoria Juvenile Advisory Board. These Boards have great difficulty at times in finding work for white juveniles, many of whom thus become delinquents; the figures run into thousands.

Great efforts have been made to establish what is called a stabilised urban native population; as we have seen, this is merely the beginning of the end, if not checked. Towns are the centres from which all agitation against the white man is directed. Stabilisation, detribalisation, and all the other damnations, must be done away with if we wish to survive, although it sometimes looks as if the gods have driven us mad in the cities, where so many white people prefer the present state of affairs.

It was explained by Mr. Nicholls, *inter alia*, in the House of Assembly that the report of Messrs. Young and Barrett was to have been merely a departmental enquiry. Owing to inadvertence, it became a criticism of all that had been done by Colonel Stallard and the leading members of the House who constituted the Native Commission, including the Prime Minister. They found fault with the policy which had been adopted by the country. These gentlemen admitted before they started that they were not in favour of the policy. Naturally, it was mere folly to let them proceed with any enquiry under the circumstances.

It was pointed out how redundancy can be controlled, and redundants provided for. There were the young natives who run away from home, older natives, and natives from foreign territories, of whom there are ten thousand in the Union. These immigrants naturally would be the first to go; then the young prodigals who had run away from home; the older natives could go to the Reserves or suitable work outside the towns as they preferred.

Naturally, the criminal class, the amalitas, and the prostitutes must get out.

With regard to the criticism that was continually being made as to where the natives were to go, the Government had to provide accommodation under the Native Trust and Land Act.

If we are still to be faced with fifty-fifty black and white cities, it would have been far better not to waste millions of public money on buying these 14 million or 15 million extra acres of ground for the natives. They cannot have it both ways.

The Bill is now being tried out; the Assimilationists are nibbling at it. The Minister, the Hon. P. G. W. Grobler, is no fool; he piloted the Bill through with courage and determination; and we expect him to live up to his reputation as a keen student of native affairs, if his health will permit him to retain the position. If he must retire, Mr. Heaton Nicholls should succeed him.

Sufficient has been said here to give our readers an estimate of the position to date. The rest is in the lap of the gods. It will be followed that the successful working of this new Act lies largely in the hands of the municipalities. Under our present system it is extremely difficult to get the right persons into these bodies; this is not meant to decry many of those gentlemen who have gone to so much trouble to become our leaders in municipal life; they will be the first to admit that there is room for improvement. The result will be largely guided by public opinion.

Unfortunately, the leading English dailies, with the exception of the Natal papers and the Schlessinger-Barlow group, is largely assimilative.

Editors brought up in the missionary or European schools have not got the necessary experience to guide public opinion on the native question. As has been said before, it would be a blessing if they could be given twelve months' experience of working with natives on a farm in the country. That is the only place where practical knowledge can be acquired, not in an Editor's chair.

The public must back up the Minister for Native Affairs and the Native Commission, if they wish the present position to be remedied. Failure will mean the ultimate end of white civilisation.

(NOTE.—Since writing the above the Hon. P. G. W. Grobler has retired.)

BLACK AND WHITE

WE have traced the course of events through the last few years which have been pregnant with meaning for the people of Africa. Now we must consider the cause of the differences which are arising between black and white. It is the desire to graft our civilisation on to a people who are not fitted to receive it. Divided as we are on the subject, we insist on educating the natives on our own lines. With a fairly low level of culture ourselves, we insist on giving the native that which we after all the centuries have hardly attained. Knowing the chains which fasten us through civilisation, we try to get the native into the same kraal. The consequence has been that we are creating a problem for which there is no necessity. The educated native—and with all his education he is still a savage at heart—insists on more of our kind of education. He objects to his education being directed along tribal lines. They despise the traditions and customs of their fathers. They ignore the fact that they are throwing over probably the finest communal system in the world, which nothing they can take from the white man will ever replace. They look for motives, and accuse us of wanting cheap labour, when we suggest that they must go back to the Reserves; whereas their labour is never cheap, but exceedingly dear on the whole, except in the mining industry and similar institutions where they can be trained to work in gangs. And then many people think the mines could be worked more satisfactorily by whites. In addition, this cheap labour has the effect of preventing immigration to the Union, because of the unskilled wage position. The leaders of Bantu thought object to economic pressure; who does not? But the white man dare not loaf, sponge, or steal, rather than work, as is the case with many of the natives.

The fact is that the system, which we have built up over so many years, is not suited to the Bantu. It can only

make him a menace, which he is fast becoming, in the towns, and lead back again to barbarism, for without the control of the whites, the days of Chaka will speedily return to the land, and the first to go over the precipice would be the leaders of native thought and their friends.

Let us consider why there is this clash of culture—in this connection a book which is well worth studying is *The Menace of Colour*, by Professor J. W. Gregory. He devotes a great deal of attention to the negro in America, where the introduction of the system of commingling has led to disastrous results.

He states that the Capitalist Party in South Africa holds that assimilation between the white and the negro is ultimately inevitable. (If so, that accounts to some extent for the policy of many of our leading newspapers.) He regards the opposition to segregation as due to political prejudices, the Nationalists having been the great advocates of this method. He recalls a speech of General Hertzog, as recorded at Potchefstroom in 1924, wherein he predicted "a bloody revolution unless through his policy of segregation the white man's economic safety was assured." He contends that a policy of this kind is morally justified by the size of the Reserves and the great Protectorates. He states that the hostility of the old Nationalists to the Capitalists was often regarded as simply anti-British, whereas it was really resentment at a policy which was regarded as treachery to the white man. He refers to the large number of skilled artisans, who are gradually usurping the white man's position in the skilled trades. And concludes that the only solution is segregation, despite the difficulties. He says: "Nevertheless, despite the hostility of the capitalist and of the anti-white section of the missionaries, the maintenance by some means of segregation of an artificial barrier between the white and native races seems the only way to prevent the submergence of the white population, and the loss of South Africa as the home of an outlier for the European race."

We have dealt under colour with the question of miscegenation, and Professor Gregory discusses this question by quoting a number of authorities who disagree with the

view that this is advantageous as a means of racial improvement, when applied to the mixing of negro and white blood. That hope has been sadly disappointed in the United States. The only intermixtures which have been beneficial to the progress of mankind have been between nearly-related nations. The Teutonic races have the greatest aversion to inter-breeding with natives. The Scandinavian professors have given great attention to the crossing of the Lapps and the Scandinavians, which they condemn wholeheartedly: such crossings lower the physiological and mental level. Herbert Spencer strongly discountenanced intermixture between Europeans and Japanese. His advice was, keep other races at arms' length as much as possible. Notwithstanding anything that may be said on the other side, nobody will convince the breeder of pure-bred stock that the propagation of mongrels is good business. That is the solution we are asked to adopt in South Africa. That is what commingling in the towns will lead to. It is no good talking about the pride of the Bantu not allowing him to go in for miscegenation: we have 750,000 coloured people in South Africa; and we are not going to permit this insidious policy of penetration through black to coloured and thence to white.

The Native Representation Council can shout with all its friends for a policy of education and commingling which will lead to our disappearance as a white race, but they have yet a tough hill to climb before the white man is booted out of Africa.

Another book which is well worth reading is *The Clash of Culture*, by Professor Pitt-Rivers. This is an anthropological and psychological study of the laws of racial adaptability. It shows how the white man has destroyed the subject races in America and the South Sea Islands, by forcing our civilisation on them, with its deadly clothing, wicked liquor, and unsuitable missionary efforts. He gives the figures of the ravages caused from disease, which we have succeeded in beating in our Rand Native Locations.

This wise and impartial scientist shows how the majority of field-ethnographers have been driven, often against their inclinations, to the conclusion that Christian proselytism has done irretrievable harm to native races

by disintegrating their culture, and to us also by the unrest and antagonism the process evokes.

He concludes by asking, if it is too late to hope that now, by studying more sympathetically and intelligently native customs and ideas, we may learn their intrinsic value as expressions of social purposes? To the rising generation of our dark-skinned subjects have we the right to say any more than this? May they learn to value whatever is sound or beautiful in their own culture, in which may be found the surest promise of their own racial achievement, in place of blindly following the lead of people whose preferred cultural gifts they can never truly make their own.

The Negro in American Life, by Professor Dowd, gives us a detailed account of what has happened in the United States, where, with an overpowering white population, the system of commingling has led to evil. The criminal statistics for major offences in the great towns are similar or worse than ours. In the large cities, friction and racial clashes are very common, and rioting on a large scale has often taken place. We have not reached this stage yet, but we are on the road. The recurring epidemics of native crimes in Johannesburg, and the Vereeniging riot shows the way the wind is blowing. In view of the fact that the police are under a cloud in official circles, to judge by the recent circular asking them, metaphorically, to deal gently with native criminals, it is time that something was said on their behalf. Without wishing to disparage the constitution of any of the Commissions which have sat, one can ask why the farming, commercial, and mining classes were not represented on them, why men with expert knowledge of the native and criminal classes were not asked to assist? After all, the farmer comes more into contact with the native.

Some people think the police have been given a raw deal. The native papers think they have got them on the run. The report of the Vereeniging debacle, when some of our finest white police lost their lives in stopping what might have degenerated into a serious thing for Vereeniging itself, has been characterised by *The Bantu World* in flaming headlines as justifying the riot on the ground of "Rough Handling of Africans." Let anyone who has had to deal

with an armed, skokiaan-mad crowd of natives say if the situation can be dealt with by kid gloves?

These fine public citizens, without whom the Reef would be uninhabitable, were assaulted 785 times in the course of their duties during 1934, and 782 times in 1935, whilst during 1936 4 Europeans and 4 non-Europeans were killed.

In 1927, in the Witwatersrand area alone, the native prosecutions for serious crime *were* 2,770. The Commissioner of Police said that 1927 was marked by terrible crimes of violence.

In 1935, 179,735 non-Europeans were convicted in the Witwatersrand alone, and 18,034 *natives were convicted* of serious offences in the Union, against 2,038 European convictions; of the native cases, 4,383 were on the Rand. Note the progressive figures. The Witwatersrand is certainly becoming a university of crime, so far as non-Europeans are concerned.

It is fashionable in certain circles to say that criminals are being made, because natives are convicted under our Pass Laws. But Pass Laws are essential. Bad as the position is, the police could never cope with it unless they had this check on the natives. Natives are so much alike that only by finger-prints and passes can the criminals be detected. Every means is adopted, including forged passes, as mentioned previously by Senator Jones, to evade the law, and the culprit is rightly punished. As it is, the crime of desertion is rampant owing to the light penalties. Every householder in the Union knows that.

In the towns we have a lazy, shiftless population to deal with. There are honourable exceptions, but even then one is lucky if 75 per cent. of the native staff turns up on a Monday morning. This must be remedied; it can be done when wages are stabilised and repatriation effective.

Of these offences in the Rand in 1935, 6,898 were against the person. No wonder ladies dare not go to church at night!

In the Union, all non-European convictions increased from 405,818 in 1931 to 510,933 in 1935. Statistics may be dry, but they are very illuminating. There were, in 1935, 251 cases of rape by natives, and 169 attempted rape, against 8 and 9 by Europeans.

How the Southern States of America would hum if their white women were treated by natives as some of ours have been. Then the people of this country are described here and in some overseas circles as slave drivers. We have proved ourselves the most self-restrained nation in the world, small as we are, when one considers what we have put up with from the criminal natives, who are getting rapidly out of hand. We have to thank the police for our security. Everybody knows that, owing to the numerous duties they have to perform, it is very often impossible for them to cope with their work. They have made out a case for better treatment, and it is hoped they will get satisfaction.

The force wants strengthening and must be well armed, so as to be able to defend itself against such attacks as they had to face at Vereeniging. In the States the police vans under similar circumstances would undoubtedly be provided with machine guns. Notwithstanding these figures, the position in the Reserves and rural areas is far more reassuring. We can get on all right with the native when he is not in the towns. But there are evil influences at work. The native papers want careful scrutiny. It is all very well to talk of the liberty of the Press, better less liberty in the native Press than more bloodshed.

The figures given are startling, but would be considerably increased if the police were not under-staffed, on the Witwatersrand particularly. Desertion in the main goes unpunished for this reason.

Now let us go into some of the causes of this epidemic of crime, which, despite occasional lulls, is assuming alarming proportions. Why, only a few years ago, were the conditions comparatively peaceful? Why, despite far lower wages, were the natives so prosperous? Wages are not everything: the Belgian native works for practically nothing, and is satisfied. The joys of civilisation are not worth purchasing by the native at the risk of living a life of crime. Mistaken agitation is to blame for a lot of the unrest in the country. We refer readers to a report of a meeting which appeared in the *Rand Daily Mail* recently. This paper cannot be accused of being unsympathetic to the native, and there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the report. The article reads:

Is the European a problem in South Africa rather than the native?

A very definite affirmative was given to this question by four leaders of native thought, at a meeting held in the Darragh Hall last night, under the auspices of the University Democratic League.

One of the speakers, Mr. Salope Thema, went so far as to say that *if the natives of South Africa had machine-guns like the Chinese, they would certainly have been fighting that night.*

A discussion on the views expressed by the four speakers, the other three of whom were the Rev. S. S. Tema, Mr. Selby Msimang, and Mr. John Marks, was opened by Professor R. F. A. Hoernle, who urged the natives not to lose hope.

"A people that has ceased to hope is bound to perish," he said.

Recent developments gave cause for a certain amount of hope, and he trusted that the hope would modify to some extent the views of their African friends on the "European problem."

It was announced at the meeting that one of its objects was the launching of a South African Students' Liberal League. The objects of this League were explained by Mr. Brian Bunting, who stated that it had contacts with all the leading South African universities.

Its main tenets were:

(1) Access to sufficient land for all sections of the people in the Union on equal terms.

(2) The repeal of the Pass Laws.

(3) The establishment of a minimum wage for African workers in urban areas based on the cost of keeping a family without the mothers having to go out to work.

(4) No taxation of any wage under that regarded as less than enough for a family to live on; taxation of income above that level to be graded as to the capacity of the payer, beginning at 5s. per year.

The views which are ascribed to Mr. Salope Thema, who is a member, we believe, of the Native Representation Council, and Editor of *The Bantu World*, if true, are highly improper, to say the least. The white man is not only to

be booted out of the towns and Africa ultimately, but he must be machine-gunned too, when the natives can get hold of these weapons.

Influential white people were at the meeting. All present can thank their stars they were not living in Russia, but in a Dominion which is the most tolerant in the world.

The meeting went on to consider the activities of the South African Students' League. They want more land, more land for the natives, repeal of Pass Laws, minimum wages for natives, *and nobody else apparently*. No taxation under certain circumstances.

The working of this students' organisation wants careful watching on the part of the Segregationists. It has opened its progressive campaign to make the students of South Africa comminglers, and possibly Communists, under bad auspices.

In no sense are we attacking the decent class of native, the majority of whom, outside the towns, are very law-abiding and useful workers. But they are being slowly poisoned by the agitation going on in the cities, and what the position will be in a few years' time it is not hard to predict, unless we change our policy to meet the times.

Mr. Francis Le Mas, a contributor to the native Press, is alarmed at the attacks on the police. He writes:

In each of the latter riots the mobs of natives have won against the police. At Mossel Bay the police went to suppress a Dagga party. While attempting to carry out their duties, they were set upon by a hostile crowd of natives, numbering about 200. Only by using their revolvers and fleeing did they escape with their lives. He says the next time the police are attacked the mob must be taught a salutary lesson. He advocates increased police patrolling in Locations in the urban areas. The police force is also much too small. The number of robberies and assaults which take place in the Locations every week is appalling. No law-abiding native is safe there. At night, bands of "amalaitas" (young native criminals) roam the streets assaulting and robbing any native they can lay their hands upon. No wonder the police are being set upon.

To assist them in their duties and protect the women of Africa, it is necessary to adopt the system used by the

Germans when in South-West Africa. The police had a record of every boy looking for work; they knew where he came from, and he had first to go to the doctor for his health certificate. He was protected on his card by the rate of wages being marked on it, and the time he was employed by his employer or householder. If he was not paid at the proper time, he had only to repair with his card to the Pass Office. The officials then promptly took the matter up. No employer would think of taking on a native unless his card was in order and the boy was healthy. By this means criminals and diseased natives would not be permitted to be employed on delicate household duties, including the looking after of children, as is the case to-day.

Everybody has to give a reference, if he is white, when seeking employment. Owing to the Cape influence, which fought Mr. Bains-Marais' motion in the House of Assembly from pillar to post, we have the present state of affairs inflicted on us. It would help everybody to have the German method. The police would be assisted in interrogating natives; the native will get his wages without demur, and the woman in the home, who, though long-suffering and uncomplaining, has had a bitter time lately with many of this class of houseboy, will be protected. The plan is so admirable that it should also be extended to every native employed on a farm, whether working for wages or time. It would show if the native had been paid, and also if he had fulfilled his contract with his employers.

It is essential, in connection with the census which is being taken in the urban areas, to introduce this scheme. The mothers of children will then sleep calmly at night, until able to change over from male to female labour. Females should be treated in the same way as males, as they are the carriers of venereal disease in the towns.

It has been stated that many of our natives are under-nourished, that they do not get sufficient wages, do not buy the right food, and that this is a matter which must be rectified.

As a matter of fact, the Union native is the best-paid coloured man in Africa. In the Congo, as has been stated before, he works for a mere pittance. The only native who is under-paid is the one who has a family in the towns—the detribalised native. Then the family, when old enough, get plenty to do to add to the exchequer. The women wash.

On the whole it is very doubtful whether the business men and others have made out a case. There is a suspicion that all that is wanted is higher wages for natives, to add to the gains of commerce and industry by the sale of more goods, particularly by wholesalers. Naturally, the education civilisation policy demands a well-clothed native. But the majority, the idle and lazy, would only have to work a short time, then return to the Reserves, and loaf about.

The people who are under-paid and have a case are the unskilled whites; their wages must be raised and the native placed on the same level. This measure will assist us in building up a white population, and repatriating the natives to the Reserves, as will be shown later on. We have previously referred to Mr. Francis Le Mas of Pretoria; this gentleman writes in *The Bantu World*, and in a recent issue he deals with the question of segregation in a most sensible way. He is doing the natives of this country a great service by putting the true side of the position before them. The more the real position is placed before the urban natives, particularly the older and more sensible ones, the easier will repatriation be. At a meeting at the "Bantu Institute" some years ago the elderly natives said that if they could get ground they would leave Johannesburg immediately. Well, they have land, and soon, if they wish, they will be able to achieve their heart's desire. The younger people, who have not the common sense of their elders, naturally want to stay, frittering their lives away under present conditions.

Mr. Le Mas writes as follows:

"There have been many Europeans who have been opposed to segregating the Bantu into areas where they will live apart from the white people and under their own Chiefs. Many Bantu leaders in the urban areas are also opposed to segregation, as they believe that the Africans will suffer a set-back thereby.

However, the increasing crime and lawlessness in the Locations attached to the cities and towns are quickly changing the former views of anti-segregation believers. The frightful number of stabbing cases, assaults, robberies, and the frequent attacks on the police are arousing the fears and misgivings of the whole of South Africa.

Something must be done to check the growing waves of crime and the lack of morals in the urban areas. Segregation appears to be the quickest and the most efficient means at hand.

The turning out of the Location of all unemployed persons and sending them back to their homes, where they will come under the supervision of their Chiefs, ought substantially to reduce crime and lawlessness in the Locations. Unemployed persons will no longer be able to earn a living by robbery.

In the areas of segregation, the natives will come under the supervision of Chiefs, and they will have to respect tribal laws and customs. This restraining influence ought to have a very beneficial effect on them. It is the lack of such healthy influences in the Locations which is one of the chief causes of the large amount of crime and vice which prevails there. The mass congregation of Africans into Locations has had a very demoralising effect upon them. In Natal this fact is fully appreciated by the Zulu women, who refuse to leave their kraals and to work in the cities and towns.

Native laws and customs and the rule by Chiefs will of course have to be modified to suit modern conditions. The basis of Bantu society is healthy, and it will be a fatal murder to destroy Bantu culture. Let Bantu ways be changed by all means, but do not let that which is good and beneficial be completely destroyed.

Strengthened by Bantu culture, why should not the Africans advance in their own areas? There they can advance their own interests and that of their people by becoming teachers, ministers, traders, builders, shoemakers, farmers, and so on. They can serve on councils, which are responsible for the tribe and for the advancement of public works, such as the building of roads and bridges and dams.

South Africa can learn much from West Africa. There the Africans have made great advancement, but not at the expense of everything African. They are becoming civilised, but they are retaining their native rulers and their culture. For the sake of law and order and virtue it seems that the Union will have to follow the example of West Africa."

A very serious state of affairs is arising in the large towns by the creation of Native Trades Unions. The Clothing Workers Native Union states that, on account of the vast numbers of workers who are enrolling, two *comrades* had to deal with the job of enrolling. Trades Unions in towns are superfluous at the moment. In the Reserves the natives can have them if they wish; but the idea behind them in the cities is to be able to strike at the proper moment—not sectionally but generally. To paralyse eventually the Witwatersrand gold-mining industry—this has frequently been threatened by native agitators. With strikes come riots: we have seen this before; and if the native strikes at any time—and they are being centralised on every side, making it easier for them to act—heavy fighting will take place.

The lower-class employer encourages these Unions, as he has a more docile form of labour to deal with, and one which, while asking for higher wages, will always work for less than the whites. There is a Communistic influence at work. Native Communism in the Protectorates and Reserves has much to be said for it, but there is nothing in the Russian pattern for the towns.

We are told, give the native an equal chance; this is the only way to peace and good will. We would paraphrase this and substitute white for native. Surely no native has been so pampered and protected as the Bantu. If he does not get work, it is only owing to the absence of labour bureaux; why did he not agitate for these institutes with the aid of his influential white friends? Short of the necessary machinery for employment, the native has very little to complain of. But we are told he must have an equal chance, and that segregation will be useless unless it is total and complete. This is absurd. While the ideal is one at which we must aim, the way must be taken gradually. Our paths lie on parallel but non-competitive lines.

We hear very little of native problems in the mines. As stated previously, mining is a typical native occupation. Many tribes have tendencies towards this work, probably through the Arabs, or the unknown explorers of Africa, who have vanished in the mists, as we shall do. Mining is a healthy occupation; for the native who comes and goes, or stops away altogether after a few months, it is ideal. To raise wages unduly in mining, whatever may be said else-

where, means, of course, a shortage of labourers, as the more money they take home, the less inclination they will have to come out to work. This may diminish the profits of the gentlemen who are selling cheap watches and clothing, but it seems unavoidable if the mines are to continue producing. This is a great example of what is meant by parallelism. The native comes in for a comparatively short period. He is well cared for, his health attended to, the food is ample, the wages attractive, he is compounded, and although improvement can be made in the shape of trying, for instance, to keep the same or friendly tribes together on individual mines, very little can be said against the mining companies' policy. They get as compound managers men who know their business, speak the native languages, and are generally esteemed by the workers themselves. Surely this is an instance where whites and blacks can work together. The white man should be employed in the healthier occupations connected with mining, as he takes greater risk, owing to the long time of service; the natives given more underground work. Naturally, the larger percentage of whites that can be employed satisfactorily, the better for the country. On the farms the same principle of compounding is followed. It is a policy of segregation, so is that of the mines. It prevents the commingling and social contacts which lead to miscegenation and other evils.

The Native Representation Council is very anxious to get education out of the hands in which it is placed at present and bring it under the Education Department, Interior. They want every native child to have a European education. The Assimilationists are hot on this cry. When the Segregationists corner them at one end, they hark back to the other. With a Commission sitting and spending hundreds of pounds to find out what is wrong with white education, they offer this education as a panacea to the natives.

The most successful business men in Africa were practically self-educated. This seems a startling fact, but it is true. At a big political meeting in Johannesburg, once, after the battle was over, a carpenter came up to the candidate and said, "I wish, Mr. So-and-So, I could have had a college education like you." The prospective member said, "I left school when a small boy; my education has been gathered in the rough and tumble of the world. You can have the

same." This man and thousands of others tell a similar story; with natural ability and intelligence, very little of what we call education is necessary. We can see this by noticing how some professors, who are adepts in their specialty, wonder when people laugh at their want of knowledge of the native question. Their specialisation has atrophied the capacity to absorb other subjects: they cannot have it both ways.

It is fashionable to accuse the white people of discrimination against the native peoples. Naturally, they are human beings, and cannot help any stigma of inequality and inferiority which attaches to their colour or their state of life. On the whole, it can be denied that there is any undesirable discrimination in the Union. The attitude on the farms is the patriarchal one. Some natives would never leave the white master whom they love and respect.

Respect is due to the superior race. That is not discrimination. We are told these "good old days" are gone, but if some of the professors and agitators will leave the native alone for a while those good old days will return, and there will be no slaughter of dear little native children in the Reef Locations, in the name of giving the native an equal chance.

The educated native, the M.A. or the B.A., will not get sufficient opportunities in this country in many of the professions, unless he transfers his activities, especially so far as the medical profession is concerned, to the Reserves. A fine thing it would be, if the highly educated natives whom our Native Colleges are turning out concentrated on medicine. They have great scope in and amongst their own people.

In other professions there will be little work in the Union in future, unless the white man commits the most altruistic thing in history—race suicide.

There is another occupation these gentlemen can take up, that is, agriculture. There is room for thousands of native extension officers to combat the present wasteful methods of native agriculture which are fast turning the country into a Sahara.

Outside of this the only future is for our educated natives to leave, as soon as possible, for other parts where the assimilative nations hoist their flags. There will be no future for them in the towns, as the fight will continue until the last

male native leaves the white man's Reserves, and then their clients will be gone, and they can only follow them to the Reserves or elsewhere.

There is nothing harsh in this. All the immigrants into Africa have had to do the same. If the circumstances were not propitious, they had to go elsewhere. It is not a question of inferiority; it is a question of saving the white population from extinction. With such a paucity of numbers, it is impossible to engage on friendly or intimate social terms with natives in one's house. If you go so far as to have natives to tea, dance with them, be on easy social terms, you only lead up to miscegenation, commingling, and the disappearance of the whites. All nations of Teutonic blood have a natural antipathy to this, which comes from the far-distant past.

There is something different in our breeding; the instinctive horror with which the Voortrekkers shrunk from diluting their white blood has an anthropological basis in the long ago. Each man has his rights; we should be the natural guardian of the native, and he ought to look up to and respect us. Considering the great privileges he enjoys in the Union, and the freedom from the wars of extermination which were his lot in the past, he should have the greatest respect for the decent white man, whether he is a member of the Institute of Race Relations or not.

The Nordic races have developed a fine type of man which must be preserved. They have the highest percentage of intelligence of all the races of the world; Southern Africa is one of their outposts. If it becomes submerged, inferior races will occupy Africa, who may dominate Europe through their strategic position. In this case, man will again make a descent and disappear as we know him, in the same way as the comparatively high types of the Heidelberg and Neanderthal man did thousands of years ago. This sublime instinct, which was the cause of the repugnance of the Voortrekkers to commingling, is at the back of the determination to fight for segregation to a finish.

In Africa the Nordics may yet renew themselves and reverse for some considerable time the decadence which is apparent in some quarters. This can be done by physical efficiency and scientific planning, but never while our towns are half coloured.

These statements may be unpalatable in certain quarters, but time will show them to be correct. Africa is now at the parting of the ways. We have only a few years, at most ten, to carry out the policy enunciated here. We have, through the fatal curse of politics, lost at least twenty or thirty years, and as sure as the sun sets, our grandchildren will be hewers of wood and drawers of water if we do not take the bull by the horns and settle matters once and for all.

FIXING THE BLAME

Why are we so much behind with our segregative policy?

It was dear to the heart of General Louis Botha, but he did not get very far with it. The Great War had a certain effect on keeping matters back. Still, more could have been done. The real cause of conflict, as we have seen, was the political system dictated by the British Government; the equal rights policy of the Cape Colony. They sinned in ignorance, guided by missionary opinion, which was anti-white.

The continual angling of parties for the native and coloured vote, when Responsible Government was given, has perpetuated, right up to the present day, a policy which involves the disappearance of white influence in Africa. The great fight has been over the franchise. The economic issue was disregarded. This was by far the greater question. The pre-Fusion Nationalist Government was guilty of criminal negligence when it refused to entertain Colonel Stallard's suggestions in 1930. The facts were put before them by the farmers, who had passed resolutions, in the Transvaal, and the South African Agricultural Union, urging the gradual repatriation of the natives from the urban areas.

Speaking at Vereeniging, in 1931, Colonel Stallard, said:

"The Government did not seem to realise that unemployment had been rife for many years. Certain measures, it was true, had been introduced with the object of solving the problem of unemployment, and an advance of £350,000 had been set aside in the estimates for unemployment relief, but the Government had not yet arrived at a remedy which would strike at the root of the canker.

"The European always flocked to the towns when

work was unobtainable, and it was, therefore, in the towns that the problem was most acute. His (the speaker's) solution, which he had submitted to Parliament, was that the Government should empower local authorities to refuse admittance into the towns of natives from native areas. The Town Councils would estimate how much employment there was for natives in their municipal areas, without encroaching on that available for whites. There would then be a shortage of native labour, and private employers would be compelled to absorb the white labour. He had submitted this solution to Parliament, but, while grateful for the attention it had received, he very much regretted that it was rejected by the Government, which had thereby been guilty of gross neglect of the problem."

It was singular how little support he got for this sensible scheme. There were forces at work influencing the Cabinet and the Native Affairs Department. The hidden hand, which wishes at all costs to make South Africa a black man's country, even perhaps unwittingly, had done the trick.

The people who did not believe in segregation, who thought Jack was as good as his neighbour, were to blame. One of the Ministers made the poor excuse that he had not a clean slate to write upon. What is the result? We have made no provision for repatriation, only for redundancy.

Speaking to the Municipal Associations in September, 1937, General Smuts alluded to the gravity of the position. He instanced the facts mentioned, that as the Locations improved, the natives left the country and herded into the towns.

He said that this influx was assuming alarming dimensions and, unless controlled, might result in revolutionary changes. The Urban Act—now the Native Laws Amendment Act—was an attempt to get control of that almost uncontrolled situation, and the evils emerging from it. It was a ticklish job to tackle. The influx had been largely uncontrolled, and the resultant evils had been growing correspondingly. The city Locations had been growing on a very large scale. In fact, the figures show that in the last fifteen years, from 1921 to 1936, the native population in our urban areas had practically

doubled, from 587,000 to 1,150,000. Medical Officers of Health from one end of the country to the other had issued warnings that the health conditions prevailing in most of the Locations were very serious.

That is the position. Why, may we ask, has the problem been allowed to assume such alarming proportions? Purely, because of the Government's apathy in the past, and the fact that the country itself was not aware of the position, which was carefully kept in the background, whilst a few Segregationists fought a lone hand, with scanty Press reports.

Quite recently a member of one of the Commissions has publicly stated that urban segregation is an impossibility; probably because he was afraid of losing his male domestic servant.

Let us now turn to the political picture. There has just been a sitting of the Native Representation Council, which is somewhat illuminating.

We have followed up the incubation of all the Native Bills, and know that second-best methods were adopted in deference to political and so-called Liberal and missionary pressure. The Institute of Race Relations also played a big part, as we have seen, in this.

In the Joint Committee on Native Affairs of 1936, the scheme, previously unanimously adopted and dropped, was revived. It was proposed by Mr. Strydom that, in place of the Native Representation Council—

1. There shall be established a Grand Committee, thereafter referred to as the Committee of the Senate on Native Affairs.

2. Senators elected under this Act and the four Senators selected under the South African Act, 1909, shall, *ex officio*, be members of the committee, which, in addition, shall include five other members, who shall be appointed by the sessional committee on Standing Orders of the Senate.

3. Every member of the Committee shall, notwithstanding any prerogation of Parliament, hold office as such until he ceases to be a Senator or, in the case of an appointed member, tenders his resignation to the President of the Senate.

4. Any Minister may attend meetings of the Committee

and take part in the proceedings, but shall not have the right to vote, unless he is a member of the Committee.

The Amendment was defeated, all the Ministers voting against it. Senator Hofmeyr, Senator Le Roux van Niekerk, Mr. Le Roux, Colonel Stallard, and Mr. Strydom voted for it, for which they deserve the thanks of the country. It was a last attempt to prevent the amalgamation of the native tribes of the Union into one Council—a policy which has been represented as extremely dangerous by all men of experience connected with the natives.

We have still to see how the new Members of Parliament, who represent the natives, and the new elected Senators will react.

In the event of the experiment being a failure, it will take five years to retrace our steps. The future seems black at the moment. The public will hold the House of Assembly accountable if white supremacy is endangered in any way.

The first sittings of the Native Representation Council have been held. The proceedings were opened by General Smuts, who has fathered the scheme. The Minister for Native Affairs, Mr. Grobler, warned the Council that, unless their requests were reasonable, there was not much probability of the Government agreeing to them.

The first question tackled by the Council was the question of education.

Mr. Salope Thema criticised the excellent Report of the Native Affairs Commission on this subject, to which we have already referred. He wanted the same education as everybody else. They would not be satisfied with a Bantuised education in a Europeanised Africa. Mr. W. M. Ndhlovu said the natives were becoming suspicious that attempts were being made to drive them into a groove.

Professor A. M. Jabavu declared that there was no parallel in history where the education of a people had been made subservient to a Government policy. The speaker deprecated the remarks of the Native Affairs Commission concerning the domination of native education by missionaries.

Mr. Heaton Nicholls replied, *inter alia*, stating that the

Commission was not a departmental one, but a political commission with unique status. The criticism was merely against the method and content of that education. So long as education was in private hands, dependent on private funds, so long will education be starved.

Mr. S. M. Godlo said the Bantu people think the members of the Commission went out of their way to say the things they did.

Naturally, the Council decided they wanted the control of education transferred to the Union Government. They also wanted a Board on which two native members, to be recommended by the Council, should serve. In this connection it would be interesting to revert back to what the Prime Minister said about education in the Assembly debates.

If a full-steam policy on European lines is sanctioned by the Government, for which there are strong advocates within and without the Executive, a demand will soon be made for a fuller franchise, and the white man can pack his bags, or fight it out, whichever is most expedient.

The native can do what he likes in his own territory—provided he finds the money for all the arts of Government, and does not look to the white man for more subsidies; if he is so foolish as to want the system of the Europeans, with its cramming Matriculation fetish, he can have it. He will have a pretty large Budget to carry, particularly if the cost of the Reserves is considered. Interest and amortisation on this large amount should be charged annually to the Native Trust Account without fail.

The next subject was the land. Dr. Dube asked for a native to be placed on each of the Boards, under the Native Land and Trust Act. He said that there were many natives who are not satisfied with the present method of land disposal.

Mr. R. H. Godlo moved that the Government be urged to give as much encouragement and assistance as possible to natives desirous of acquiring land by individual tenure. The motion was carried unanimously.

Another motion carried unanimously asked for land to be provided adjoining municipal areas, where natives might acquire and occupy dwellings under freehold title.

It will be quite apparent that, if individual tenure is adopted, the communal system on which native government is based breaks down at once, and is replaced by the white system. This is most undesirable.

There is at present in process of sale a large native township. This will prove a great source of trouble in the future: the time is not ripe for such townships, particularly when they are contiguous to white areas.

To start native villages near the towns for the natives working in them is even worse. A number of the existing townships are nests of crime, disease, vice, and drink. Vested interests have been created there, in the white man's Reserve, which he will have to expropriate if he wishes to remain in Africa.

Native townships should be in the heart of the Reserves, though there is much to be said against great native towns; a scattered population will be much happier.

Over a Location there is a certain amount of control; once individual tenure becomes a principle of government for natives, in goes the thin end of the wedge.

We have seen how many natives have been united through their Council, and we must turn for a moment to see what is going on behind the scenes to push this unity movement. The idea is to get all African native organisations into one body; to get national unity; to co-ordinate the various movements so as to deal with matters of national importance to the natives. There is some disharmony at present, probably owing to the antipathy of different tribes to one another. This must be ruled out.

The native women too are taking a hand. They are also conferring and organising. In Johannesburg there is a co-ordinating body, presumably of natives and their white friends.

The idea is to have the native people striking as a solid body, with coloured and Asiatic assistance, behind the Representation Council, and the European Members of Parliament, the Senate, and the Provincial Council who represent the natives—the non-EUROPEAN front!

This, whilst the European is slowly destroyed by the various parties in his political system. The danger was pointed out in the Assembly debates; words of warning were lightly thrown aside.

Amongst the writers on the native question, the works of Mr. Maurice S. Evans are worthy of careful study. They are a little bit out of date, being published in 1915, but his conclusions are sound in the main. He studied the problem not only here, but in the United States.

He arrived at the following conclusions, *inter alia*:

1. He was against the franchise.
2. He preferred the principle of trusteeship. The American people did not take this line, hence much of the trouble there to-day.
3. As the native advances in education and copies the white man's mode of living, race hostility increases; when he is in a different sphere and accepts it, he is tolerated. When he impinges on the life of the white man, he is disliked. This is evidenced in the United States, both North and South.
4. One of the most difficult phases of the question is the educated black man. The natural and true line of life for him seems to be to help to uplift his own people.
5. In reference to the coloured man, we must face the consequences of our own actions, and admit them in South Africa to our opportunities and responsibilities.
6. It is clearly shown that the Negro is not fitted for city life. His home life should be in the country, and it is as peasant farmers that the majority will find the sphere for which they are best fitted. The same may be said of the Bantus.
7. The races are so different, that to reduce antagonism and give each its full opportunity for race development, a conscious and reasoned attempt at race separation should be made.
8. Such separate communities should be under white guidance, assisted by the more advanced of the black races. *Scientific study* should be given to the educational requirements of the black man.
9. Religions and morals should be given a high place in any educational system. The emotional side of the native mind should not be suppressed, but guided.

Mr. Evans goes on to say that we want a frank recognition that the races are different, and that different treatment is necessary. We have adopted a final system of

government gradually evolved by homogeneous people of Western Europe to suit their needs, and fatuously hope this will meet the totally different conditions of South Africa, with its many problems of race and colour, where the outstanding fact is that a minority of civilised whites form an oligarchy, and rule over five times the number of a weaker people hardly emerging from barbarism. To continue in this way is to court disaster.

He suggests a permanent, non-political Council established under Statute law, to study continuously the question of race relations in all its bearings, etc.

When dealing with the Native Representation Council's work, one can see the influence of the urbanised natives. Agriculture, which should have taken up most of their time, received scanty attention. If their country continues to be made a desert, what hope have they got, in any case? Strong resolutions should have been taken deprecating soil erosion, destruction of timber, over-cropping, over-stocking. The principal topic should have been the strengthening of the Lobola system. These natives wish to break down tribal customs, but seem to be afraid to tackle this one. We must explain this matter of the Lobola for those who are not acquainted with its intricacies. Lobola—the handing over of cattle on marriage—is to the natives a religious question. It is not a personal matter; the family groups, the tribe, and the nation are interested. Thus the cattle must be seen and possessed. The beast alone has actual value for Lobola. Substitutes are valueless. Wealth is not money, but cattle. The ceremony of marriage is not consummated by handing over the cattle; animals are slaughtered in accordance with recognised ritual, to give a religious seal to the agreement, and to the marriage. The ownership of the family in the cattle is communal. It is the compensation paid to the family of the bride. Live animals which reproduce are given, but should the bride prove barren, she can be returned, and the cattle given back or another sister provided.

The detribalised natives have reversed this ancient custom, which has many good points. As a consequence immorality is rampant, as the Native Representation

Council has recently admitted; illegitimacy extended from mother to daughter down to grandchildren.

Some little money may change hands on marriage, but very seldom does the bride's family get anything. The religious element disappears. Native justice, which is very equitable in cases of breaches of the marital law, is dispensed with. The guardians of the girl have nothing to say. Authority breaks down and a reign of licence ensues.

The Native Representation Council suggests that Lobola was responsible for illegal marriages. This is absurd. If tribal authority is maintained, and Lobola insisted on, there would be few natives who dare break the law. As it is, weakening of the system in the country results in natives marrying or living with native women there illicitly, and then fleeing to the towns, if there is any trouble. There they continue their pursuits. Bring them under tribal authority again, and they will be forced to make reparation to the injured family. The present state of affairs is an apt illustration of what happens when we interfere with native customs.

At the same time, it is necessary to deal with the economic aspect of the question. The vast herds of cattle, which are not managed scientifically, destroy the countryside; they contribute largely to soil erosion, by making paths and roads throughout the country. In times of drought, thousands of animals die, as no provision is made for conserving fodder. The remedy is planned animal husbandry: reduction of numbers, improvement of strain by acquiring better bulls, and limitation of the quantity handed over to the family, whilst providing a better article.

This aspect of the matter received but little attention from the Native Representation Councillors.

The Council was good enough to advise the Government to proceed carefully with the evacuation of redundant natives from urban areas, under the Native Laws Amendment Act. In native territories, where white men entered without permission, they would be given twenty-four hours' notice to clear. With natives there is to be a different procedure. This meets with the approval of some of the Johannesburg papers. Why the Editors who represent the big Houses (as the capitalists who control the Union mining industry are called) should be so enamoured

of the present positions of the towns is a mystery. It is the greatest act of altruism yet tendered to a grateful country by a class which has been singularly lacking in doing anything with their millions for the country in which they made them. By perpetuating the present system, they will effectually close down the primary industries.

To insist on retaining in the towns about three-quarters of a million native males, thus keeping them from labour which is healthy and wealth-producing and plunging them into evil, as we have proved, is to destroy the existing labour force, and ruin our mining future.

One can only come to the conclusions that the heads of the industry are Assimilationists. The unhappy shareholders, to whom they have sold out at remunerative prices, will be called upon as before to "nurse the baby."

The Native Representation Council has concluded its labours. It has floun in the face of the sensible report of the Native Affairs Commission, with regard to education, which has been already referred to. To take education out of the hands of the Native Affairs Department would be creating another *imperium in imperio*, and would cause endless friction between the two departments, the educated native continually playing the one up against the other.

After a great display of eloquence, the mountain in labour produced a mouse. The Commission was warmly thanked by Mr. Smit, the Secretary for Native Affairs, on their moderation. This was not apparent to the discerning public.

The Commission asked for the earth. They do not like the efficient way in which the Trust and Land Act is being administered. Now that land has to pay a small rental, and be dealt with on scientific lines, as is proposed in the Zebedela scheme, under white supervision, they are fighting shy of the Act. The cry was always, shortage of land. As General Hertzog pointed out in 1930, this was incorrect. There is no shortage with proper methods.

The irony of the situation is that natives are offering to work in some cases as farm tenants, rather than come under the Land Act. They are turning to the poor despised farmer, because they consider they will have an easier time with him. In this particular it must be admitted that certain farmers do not manage their labour forces

efficiently, whether they are labour tenants or squatters; some form of inspection is necessary to combat this evil. Not only is there too much laxity, but a want of discipline amongst the squatters. This we have seen in a recent case, where the highest in the land were involved. The remedy is the reintroduction of the Veld-Cornet system, with the powers they originally possessed, and further duties of inspection. The time of the police, the magistrates, and the public will be saved, and the reign of peace return.

But not if the all-Bantu organisation can stop it. We have alluded to this attempt to amalgamate the natives of Africa into one body. Here is an organisation which bids fair to be the king-pin in the agitations which are planned for the future. In Professor J. T. Jabavu they have a well-educated and plausible leader. His remarks appeal to the Aborigines Protection Society, and Exeter Hall. At intervals a volley of questions are shot at the Secretary of State for the Colonies and other members of the British Government.

Very little is heard of the white man and his affairs in the British House of Commons. One must say that the Conservative Party has treated us fairly. At the same time, a feeling is growing up in Africa that the less we have to do with the Imperial Government the better. This is caused by the delay in handing over the Protectorates, and the attacks of the negrophilists.

In opening the December, 1937, All-Bantu Conference at Bloemfontein, Professor J. T. Jabavu cursed metaphorically with bell, book, and candle the Pass Laws, Native Servants' Contracts, and the Lands Act. He advised the natives in the Protectorates to resist amalgamation with the Union by every means in their power. He concluded a speech full of terminological inexactitudes by saying that all Africa would be doomed to slavery unless *their efforts* succeeded. *What efforts?*

The Bantu World gives us some interesting information. They state recently :

There are very few Africans who are aware that Mr. A. Creech Jones, M.P.—British House of Commons—who receives so many Press notices for his pertinent and

pointed questions, relative to native conditions in British African Territories and Protectorates, is the Chairman of the Friends of Africa in London. Mrs. Margaret Ballinger, M.P. for the Cape Eastern Electoral Circle, and Mr. W. G. Ballinger are the Southern African Advisers and Representatives of the Friends of Africa. They have an office in Exploration Buildings, Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.

It is gratifying to record that Mrs. V. Jones, wife of Mr. A. Creech Jones, was recently elected to the London County Council.

The question of the transfer of "Protectorates" in Southern Africa, from Great Britain to the Union of South Africa, may be a *major issue* in the next session of Parliament. Mrs. Ballinger has, on several occasions, expressed herself as opposed to transfer on the grounds that the native policy of the Union of South Africa is not such as would appeal to the natives in the "Protectorates," and that they would be an economic liability to the Union.

It can definitely be said that it would be playing with fire to bring the Protectorate question into party politics. The Advisory Conference recently established should lose no time in coming to a decision, in the interests of Great Britain and the Union.

Let us in conclusion carefully examine the Conference's functions, whose actions are so pregnant with meaning, for the elimination of the white man.

We cannot do better than quote *The Bantu World* of November 20th, 1937. It says, *inter alia*:

To understand the magnitude of Congress achievement, let us briefly review the position of the African prior to 1912. When the Europeans were holding conferences, discussing the question of unifying the then four colonies of the Cape, Orange Free State, Natal, and the Transvaal, the Africans went about the country as though nothing was happening. They were not race-conscious. Tribalism ruled supreme, and their organisations were more of a tribal nature than of a national character. In the Cape, where they had the franchise,

the people were politically minded, but not nationally minded. They thought more of their franchise rights than of the welfare of the Bantu race as a whole. In the Northern colonies the organisations that existed were, as we have already pointed out, run on tribal lines. No one had the vision of a united Bantu race.

As for the treatment meted out to Africans by the authorities and the Europeans in general, it is unnecessary to inflict pain on the minds of those who suffered during the period. Suffice it to say that the African *found no justice in the magistrates' court*; his word was *never* taken against that of a white man. In the streets he was *kicked* and *knocked* about, not only by the police, but by Europeans *with impunity*. In short, he was treated *worse than animals*, and there was no organisation among Europeans for his protection.

This briefly was the position when the African National Council was established on January 8th, 1912. It was Dr. P. Kai Seme, who had just returned from overseas, who conceived the idea and put it into action. He convened a conference of Paramount Chiefs, Chiefs, and prominent African leaders at Bloemfontein, and delegates came from all parts of South Africa. It was there and then decided to form a national organisation for the unification of all Bantu tribes. Dr. John L. Dube was elected its president, while the late Solt. Plaatje and Dr. Seme became secretary and treasurer respectively. From that moment a vision of a united Bantu race caught the imagination of nearly every intelligent African. The new spirit spread like wild-fire. From one end of South Africa to another, men began to talk and think in terms of race instead of tribe. They began to realise the oneness of their race, and that in their treatment by the white man there was no tribal distinction. Xosas, Basutos, Zulus, and Shangaans all suffered in the same way from the tyranny of his rule.

The African National Congress opened the eyes of the people and set aflame the force of race consciousness and race pride. It inspired hope and faith in the darkness of oppression. It opened a new chapter in the history of the Bantu race and pointed the way of salvation. Its leaders preached the gospel of unity, self-help, and self-reliance.

It is they who enthused the spirit of nationalism which has become a creative and driving force, in every sphere, of our activities.

It is Congress that made white South Africa realise the magnitude of the so-called native problem, and the fact that South Africa was at the cross-roads. During the years 1918, 1919, and 1920 its leaders, under the leadership of Mr. S. M. Makgatho, carried on such a vigorous crusade against misrule and injustice, that the Government found it necessary to appoint two commissions of enquiry, and the result was the relaxation and modification of some of the stringent laws and regulations, and the change of attitude on the part of the officials of the Department of Native Affairs and the Department of Justice. This gave birth to the spirit of Liberalism, which found its expression in the formation of Joint Councils of Europeans and Africans, that have brought about so many changes in the life of our people. Surely this is a great achievement!

The Bantu World, it will be noted, states, *inter alia*, "that in or about 1912 the African found *no justice* in the magistrates' court; his word was *never* taken against that of a white man. In the streets he was kicked and knocked about, not only by the police, but by Europeans with impunity. In short, he was treated worse than animals."

This speaks for itself, and the Editor should be made to prove his words about our magistrates, who are a most outstanding body of public servants. Before the law, white and black are absolutely equal with them. One can only say that if this class of propaganda continues, the Reef will become unsafe, and the rot will spread to the Reserves.

Our only hope lies in weakening the centres of propaganda in the cities.

In concluding this chapter, it should be fairly apparent that the blame for the present position rests in the political atmosphere in which the native question has been fought out. Where so many seats in the House of Assembly depended on the native and coloured vote, the party leaders were tempted to make overtures, even when they conflicted with white interests.

Politicians do very little for the good of a country—they sometimes may give a push forward; on the other hand, they can do a lot of harm. Statesmen are scarce. These remarks are attributable to the late Mr. R. K. Loveday, L.V., in a conversation many years ago with the writer, which he has carefully remembered. *Verb. sap.*

A CENTURY FOR THE WHITE MAN

WHEN the following Resolution, which had been passed by the South African Agricultural Union, the Transvaal Agricultural Union, the Pretoria Chamber of Commerce, the Pretoria Juvenile Advisory Board, Juvenile Unemployment Conference at Johannesburg, and numerous other public bodies:

“That the welfare and prosperity of the white and native races of South Africa depend, in a large measure, on the complete segregation of the towns (within ten years, added at Kimberley), and the gradual repatriation of all male natives to the country except such as are housed under the compound system, while serving periods of employment,”

was brought forward, at the Poor White Conference at Kimberley recently, and carried with a short addition, one of our ablest professors said “the Resolution would only postpone the final clash for a century.”

He may be right, but this book is fighting for that hundred years. Lots of things can happen in a century. If South Africa but be true to the Voortrekkers, the British, and the Dutch who fought together against Dingaan, the courageous 1820 settlers, we can keep this country white for a period, and give our successors time to turn round. As things are going, the white man is being rushed off his feet by the civilisers of the native.

We have lost the opportunity, for the moment, of complete segregation, but we can still do this in the towns and urban areas.

To the native, morally, his present situation leads to nothing but despair. By leaving all unskilled work to them, we ruin our youth. The latter have largely forgotten the dignity of labour; they have little opportunity of starting at the “bottom of the ladder,” and their only salvation,

under present conditions, is to emigrate. Our townspeople have largely been accustomed to this order of life, forgetting that all over the world the urban residents can get on very well without cheap native labour; with the use of mechanical transport and electrical labour-saving appliances, they are more fortunate than their country friends.

The primary industries in South Africa pay for everything. The towns are pressing for higher wages for natives; to this the primary industries strongly object unless the money goes into white labour, and the natives are used, where they are needed, outside the urban areas. This would build up the whole country, and save the detribalised natives, who are fast falling victims to the vicious, unhealthy, and insanitary life they lead.

It is true that many of the natives will object to leaving the towns, and the anti-whites will fight with them; but those who know the native feel that no trusteeship will be of any avail unless he is resident in the country, where he can be protected, in many cases, from himself. Pretoria, Johannesburg, Durban, and Bloemfontein are to-day huge native Locations; the numbers of non-European inhabitants exceed those of the whites in the leading towns; the Johannesburg figures are progressive for many years and almost alarming; the recent census discloses that in 1936, 262,394 whites, 241,179 natives, 10,266 Asiatics, and 23,411 coloureds were resident there. The native has no excuse with regard to the land question; as we have shown, millions are being spent to provide him with sufficient land.

The natives are an easy prey to the low-class agitator and the gambler; they lose thousands of pounds annually in games of chance. They are continually being told by the Communists that they are the equals of the white man and better; this leads to discontent and thence to trouble. They can be a prosperous and healthy people on the land and in the mines, adding to the country's wealth and doing away with malnutrition. A few cases of hardship might occur, but just as Khama would not allow the white man into his territory, except one or two traders, and Basutoland is still reserved, so the white people in the towns have every right to their own Reserve.

The question is not so difficult as some people think. In over five years, if we were determined, the majority of

the natives could be repatriated, or stopped from entering the towns. The greatest difficulty is the domestic servant question. This can be dealt with in the following way. Native, coloured, and white girls must be trained in much larger numbers for domestic service. There should be Government and private institutions subsidised by the provincial authorities. In Johannesburg alone there are 5,000 female servants employed, which is one-fourth of the number of males so engaged. Here the missionaries and philanthropic bodies are doing good work. By placing restrictions on male kitchen boys, an unnatural form of labour, and pushing ahead with trained domestics as indicated, this problem can be brought down to reasonable dimensions in a short space of time. A knowledge of domestic science would do all classes referred to a great deal of good. These native women could, where possible, be indentured for a period, and then returned to whence they came, outside the towns. The principle of segregation would be maintained, and trusteeship, by looking after the health and morals of the girls. As time went on, and the whites and coloureds took up domestic labour in larger numbers, the natives could gradually be dispensed with. This is a woman's question; they have the vote, and they will settle it the right way, for love of their children. The Inter-departmental Committee on Labour Resources strongly recommended this plan, in 1930.

The sale of property to natives in white townships is fatal; where it has taken place means must be adopted for expropriation. Colour is not the ground on which we fight; it is the welfare of the citizen. The whole future of the country lies in the position of the white child, what his fate is to be, is he to survive or be submerged? In this case it will be the native who will suffer eventually, amalgamated with Eastern blood in all probability, and losing his Bantu status, or alternatively ruled by savage despots of the Chaka type. The white man naturally will disappear if our urban policy continues. Everybody must admit that both races consist of human beings, and therefore are entitled to opportunities for self-development, but not necessarily in the same economic spheres.

Although the Native Economic Commission has been severely condemned for its findings on segregation, its

statistical work, and general information on native life and customs are excellent. Dealing with the question of revenue and expenditure, in 1930-32 they find native revenue stands at £3,322,917 and expenditure at £3,414,528. It is fairly certain that it will be found that native expenditure is considerably higher to-day. The natives are on the most-favoured basis of the nation, if not actually pampered.

The cause of the low revenue derived from the natives must be sought in their own improvidence. When the native in the Reserves has enough to eat, he stops work, and only the strongest economic pressure will make him do anything further. His women minister to his wants. He retires at a very early age. At the same time, our labour markets are in a chronic state of disorder. The native labour forces rise and fall in the mining industry and elsewhere with startling regularity, largely due to the weather. Dry conditions favour more labour, wet less, and so on.

With a glut of cheap labour, the position of the unskilled poor white has been created. We are told this problem is to be solved. Let us hope so; better late than never. The solution lies along the lines of wage determination and repatriation of natives from the urban areas. There should be a minimum wage of at least £5 monthly for all juveniles, £7 10s. for adults, and £12 10s. for married people, of all colours, outside domestic service. The effect of such a minimum wage would be to encourage white labour. It has done so markedly in certain occupations, where the Wage Determinations are effective and not evaded. Motor-lorry driving is one. The white man would be foolish indeed if, when he had to pay higher wages, he did not prefer his white brothers. They may be poor, under-nourished, and backward; good wages will soon put that right. This measure demands control of all labour resources, white and black, by one Minister; labour bureaux, with barometer statistical plant, so that the exact amount of white and native labour available may be recorded. To achieve success, we must throw the country open to Nordic unskilled immigrants and boys and girls from institutions like Dr. Barnardo's Homes, the moment our own people have been all placed, even if assisted passages are necessary. This seems a vital change in our present policy. Let us look at its advantages. To make a rapid change-over from black to white labour, we

have to see that there is sufficient people to fill the positions. The Minister would enforce the minimum wage system by regulation, selecting those trades which are best suited to treatment first, such as the motor business, food trades, wholesalers, and so on, but he must have his white labour available. The redundant natives would be provided for under the Land Act, or in other employment, as they wished, outside the towns.

There is one great danger looming in the offing: many of the commercial men and industrialists seem wedded to cheap labour. Notwithstanding that, if this system of minimum wages and repatriation were carried out, the trade of the country would progress by gigantic leaps and bounds. Put up native wages alone and the greatest benefit will be derived by the Asiatics, the lower-class traders, and manufacturers. The coloured population would increase in the towns, and the high-class trade disappear. In spite of this, there is a strong movement amongst industrialists and commercial people to *increase native wages only*. This was naturally whispered into the ear of the Native Representation Council, and they passed a resolution to that effect. If any Government in Africa dares to place whites and coloureds in this position, they will face a storm to which Vareniging was a picnic. We demand equal rights and equal wages, on the scale mentioned or higher, for every person in the urban area. Not on a low uncivilised basis. The application must be gradual, to provide for replacement, but wage determination must be speeded up. We require many more boards to officiate, not one. At the present speed any action will be futile, and we shall have to fall back on immediate repatriation; the process of redundancy must then be expedited by creating a pool of white unskilled labour in the towns; when our own is insufficient, then suitable unskilled immigrants from Europe.

There may be slight differences in the minimum wage paid in different towns, according to the cost of living.

The Hon. Mr. Hofmeyr, speaking at Worcester in 1917 as Minister of Labour, said, *inter alia*:

“It was a very important point of Government policy that it should bring about a narrowing of the gap between wage rates for skilled and unskilled labour. That was

still one of the weaknesses of the South African economic structure."

To show the ill-effects of the present system, the great Iscor iron industry at Pretoria was always looked upon as a white industry. To-day the management claim that they should use natives, notwithstanding that the mines are short of labour. They claim the same privileges as regards using natives as other industries. This is where the minimum wage will come in and stop this sort of thing.

In the meantime there will probably be a bitter battle before this policy is carried out. A Minimum Wage Act should have been put through Parliament at its last session; the Executive has been requested to do so, and they are quite aware of the position.

What is the objection to white labour in industry? It has given far better results elsewhere than our mongrel system.

Let us take a few figures of comparatively recent date and data which have been slightly altered. These statistics were compiled by Senator Rheinault Jones for a Conference held at Johannesburg on the vocational problem of South African youth, at which the urban segregation resolution previously alluded to was carried. They are extremely useful as showing the enormous markets we can develop if white labour only is employed in industry; the other information shows the small increase in the white population, which is a most disturbing factor. According to the recent census there were, in May 1911, 1,276,242 whites in the Union and 4,697,152 non-Europeans. In 1936 there were 2,003,512 Europeans and 7,585,153 non-Europeans, of whom 6,597,241, were natives. The statement begins here:

Population figures throw some light on the problem of finding employment, e.g.:

- (1) Union European population *doubled* in the twenty years, 1891-1911, but only increased by 20 per cent. (+) in the ten years 1911-1921.

Our present rate of increase is therefore only 2 per cent. per annum. The children born after 1915 are now on our hands.

- (2) The Transvaal population increased in twenty years (1891-1911) by 350 per cent., but only increased by 28 per cent. (+) in ten years (1911-1921).

A few interesting points arise from these facts:

- (i) The 1891-1911 increase is partly accounted for by the large influx from overseas after 1902.
- (ii) Most of the new-comers came to the urban areas of the Transvaal for mining or allied concerns.
- (iii) The children of these new-comers have been on our hands for the last few years.

European Juveniles in the Union (15-19 years of age)

1904 . . .	108,900	} The figures for the Transvaal would show a much larger increase proportionally.
1911 . . .	125,700	
1918 . . .	114,400	
1921 . . .	146,900	
1926 . . .	180,300	

- (iv) Has employment kept pace with this greatly and specially accelerated increase of population?

N.B.—Employment of Europeans:

In Mining and Allied Concerns:

1904	12,730
1911	38,282
1926	39,029

In Manufacturing:

1904	30,300
1911	21,050
1926	75,987 *

The non-European population of the Union as a whole has increased as follows:

Between 1891 and 1911 by 69 per cent. { *N.B.*—Figures for natives are wholly unreliable for this period.

Between 1911 and 1921 by 15 per cent. { About $\frac{1}{2}$ million loss through influenza epidemic.

Between 1911 and 1921:

Bantu increased by 16.9 per cent.

Coloured increased by 3.0 per cent.

Asiatics increased by 8.9 per cent.

The state of the labour market and the distribution of labour have to be considered in the light of:

* Or 57,405 if we exclude P.W.D. and Railway workshops.

- (i) World depressions and their effects on prices.
- (ii) Our tariff system and wage adjustments, and their effects on the cost of production, especially in agriculture and mining, which cannot adjust prices to costs.
- (iii) Our limited home market.

Owing to the rapid industrialisation of the Union since 1914, and the inability of agriculture to change over quickly enough from a subsistence economy to a cash economy (cash wages, economy, etc.), our rural population has shown a downward tendency.

* UNION (EUROPEAN) POPULATION

				% Total European Population.
1904.	Urban, 590,926	.	.	52.91
	Rural, 525,880	.	.	47.09
1911.	Urban, 658,286	.	.	51.70
	Rural, 617,956	.	.	48.30
1918.	Urban, 766,849	.	.	53.94
	Rural, 654,932	.	.	46.07
1921.	Urban, 847,508	.	.	55.78
	Rural, 671,980	.	.	44.22
1926.	Urban, 975,235	.	.	58.17
	Rural, 701,425	.	.	41.83

Note.—(1) Drop from 47.09 per cent. to 41.83 per cent. in the rural population.

(2) Decline despite the likely larger rate of natural increase in rural areas.

The "townward pull" of cash wages is helped by the "town drive" of the unhealthy economic condition of agriculture.

The same economic and social factors are at work driving and pulling natives into the towns.

Industry tends to have an undue share of labour resources.

(d) *The level of production* has a direct bearing upon the national income and the money made available for further production.

The recently published volume, *Coming of Age*, has the following statistics (p. 165):

Countries.	Years.	Average yield per morgen per annum.			
		Maize, Bags (200 lb.).	Wheat, Bags (200 lb.).	Tobacco (lb.).	Potatoes, Bags (150 lb.).
Australia	1921-7	15.6	8.0	—	80.6
Canada	1921-7	20.7	11.0	2,058	124.8
New Zealand	1921-7	29.5	19.5	—	174.6
Argentina	1921-7	15.9	7.6	—	73.8
South Africa	1923-8	5.6*	5.5†	1,118	46.4

* Transvaal and O.F.S.

† Cape.

The 1921 Census Report says that the figures of yield in South Africa are not encouraging. "It is not a question of the capacity of the country, but the need for closer settlement, more capital, more intensive cultivation of the soil, and better markets at home and abroad."

Only 5 per cent. of European-held land is cultivated, while the total production of native areas is only £8 millions per annum.

The low productivity of South African manufacturing industry is shown in the following table:

Countries.	Year.	Gross value of production per head of employees in manufacturing industry.	Value added in process of manufacture per head of employees.	Gross value of production per head of mean European population.	Value added in process of manufacture per head of mean European population.
Canada	1926	£ 1,143	£ 525	£ 71	£ 33
New Zealand	1926-7	1,014	400	61	24
Australia	1927-8	898	361	67	27
South Africa	1927-8	515	248	62	30

The purchasing power of the nation is the soundest basis on which to establish industries. The national income was

estimated by the Economic and Wage Commission of 1925 in the following table:

Country.	Aggregate Income.	Per head of population.	Per occupied person.
Australia (1923) (Shirras) . . .	£430 millions	£78	£178
Canada (1922) (Official) . . .	\$4,000 millions	\$450	\$1,130 (£260)
U.S.A. (1919) Bureau of Economic Research	\$66,800 millions	\$637	\$1,690
S. Africa (1923)	186	26	43
S. Africa (excluding Native Reserves and Locations)	178	—	96

The average income per annum of all occupied persons in agriculture in South Africa is estimated at £60 per annum.

These figures indicate sufficiently that our great economic weakness and much of our employment difficulties lie in our low productive power.

The *desire* to purchase has been awakened, but the ability to purchase is still far behind. Whites and natives have rapidly developed social wants, but the economic ability to satisfy them has not progressed at the same rate.

The figures are most interesting, though somewhat out of date. Take the question of the small increase of European population. The cause of this is undoubtedly because most of our unskilled labour is done by natives. As there are 1,150,000 of these people in our urban areas, if we repatriated them it becomes at once evident that we can absorb, not only all our unemployed poorer whites and juveniles, but that we shall have room for a large number of suitable immigrants to tone up our blood and increase our markets.

What a picture this conjures up! Vast markets in the interior, increased exports to neighbouring and other States. A great internal market, which is always the best. Room for vast expansions on the land, and on our completed and projected irrigation schemes. Parallel intensive development in mining, in white and native agriculture, the growth of cotton and oil seeds, the erection of cotton mills

and oil plants. Room for everybody, happiness and contentment on all sides.

Oh, for a magician's wand ! We might have done it but for our past native policy, and we can still do it. Saddle up, citizens ! Let us make Africa a citadel of white civilisation.

Forget the pettiness of politics ; establish on square and solid ground a new white ideal State, which may rival and eclipse that of the ancient Romans, the Greeks, Egyptians, and Carthagenians. Then the name of the Union of South Africa will live through the ages to come, and not vanish under a sea of colour.

The most disturbing of the industrial figures are those dealing with the low productivity in South African manufacturing industry, which confirms the argument that non-European labour, outside the gold mines, is unsatisfactory in the extreme.

Just as the farmers have such poor tools which affect their output, so the industries, in the years quoted, suffered. The gross figures per head of production show £1,143 in 1926 in Canada and £515 in South Africa. With all white labour consisting of our own people and suitable Nordic immigrants, the Australian figure of £898 could easily be reached. And yet, the Directors of Iscor are nibbling at cheap uncivilised labour, which will reduce the population of Pretoria if used, and only expedite the date when we all can leave the country or become Mestizos.

Our purchasing power, outside that attributable definitely to the gold-mining industry, could easily be doubled with white cities.

We have not dealt with the mining side of the question, because it is in a state of the highest efficiency. As pointed out before, the natives are segregated there, and the system lends itself to getting excellent results from them. The objection to replacing natives by whites there is the health question. The incidence of phthisis, etc., has improved considerably, but the fact remains that natives only remain on an average ten months in the mines, which keeps them healthy, whereas the white miner is doomed if he stops long enough. This is sufficient argument to discourage mining as a white occupation, provided *the natives leave the towns* and thus create the openings the whites require. Naturally, if the mines oppose urban segregation, they can

expect some day an agitation similar to that conducted by Colonel F. H. P. Creswell for the employment of white labour, for which there is much to be said outside the health question.

If depressions occur, as is bound to be the case, from time to time, and the towns are closed to unskilled white labour, the consequences depicted are quite obvious to any thinking man.

We have dealt with the question of domestic labour and the industrial position. Now let us devote a few words to political education—not party political education.

The libraries of this country are poorly stocked with literature on the native problem from the segregative aspect. This should be amended. Mr. Heaton Nicholls, for instance, who has a library *flair*, might simplify the 1936 Report of the Native Affairs Department for use in schools. From an early age, the white children should be acquainted with the position. From Kenya to the Cape, this is highly necessary. What child or youth can write to-day a paper on our native problem with satisfaction? They have not got the data. We must see to these things.

Books like those of Gregory, Evans, Jerome Dowd, and Pitt-Rivers, which have already been alluded to, should be in every High School and University library. Public debates on this question should be held. For instance, the University at Pretoria could discuss matters with Johannesburg: it is understood their opinions differ considerably. Potchefstroom too.

There is a miscegenation school (on the lines of Mr. G. Findlay's book) growing up in some of our universities. This must be combated by every means in our power.

And what about the Bantu? We have neglected the opportunity of supporting those natives who are opposed to the educated class, their propaganda, and opposition to the transfer of the Protectorates. The tribal natives know what mistaken leadership has cost them in the past—a series of bloody wars.

Counter literature must be circulated to combat the Communistic slime which is being printed for white and native consumption throughout Africa.

This is not a matter for the Union alone: it deeply concerns our brothers in the North.

This book has given convincing evidence that there is a deliberate conspiracy to keep down our unskilled white population, and to disseminate a tissue of lies to the native population and the world, with a view to representing us as a nation of slave drivers—the vilest untruth ever disseminated on this earth.

The white people of Africa repudiate these utterances with the greatest scorn, and will not tolerate a state of affairs which allow these gross libels to be perpetrated.

We must educate the Chiefs and high tribal authorities, whose position is jeopardised by these agitators. Speeches on segregation by white men and natives who understand the position should be made in Pitso and elsewhere, in the town Locations too (the native loves an *indaba*), advocating segregation. The salaries of Chiefs might be somewhat increased; they are the Veld cornets of the Government; if inefficient, they should be removed.

In other words, we want more of Mr. Le Mas and less of Professor Jabavu. Our policy is to support moderate native opinion, more particularly in, but also outside, the Reserves; this applies to the coloured people, too.

After all, we are fighting for our lives, and those of our descendants, and a fiery cross must go through the land to make the politicians do what is right, and not put matters off, as they have done, until it is almost too late.

We wish to live in peace and prosperity side by side with the native and coloured people, and, if the agitators leave us alone, we can have the most prosperous country in the world for a long period of time. Provided the native tends towards a simple life, his future is assured. His decline and fall will take place with over-education in European culture and under-education in the practical needs of his everyday life.

There is another solution of the native problem which no right-thinking man would advocate. Leave the natives in the towns, where, despite the health authorities, they will rot with venereal disease, tuberculosis, etc., and disseminate these evils through the countryside. When disease has got its grip, the country would automatically become white, as the natives died away and their numbers decreased. Given an unlimited supply of bad liquor, as is the case in the towns to-day, we can settle the native problem. It is easy to deal with an enfeebled and diminishing population.

The Segregationists have fought this position openly from pillar to post. The Institute of Race Relations have at last taken up the case of the Benoni location which was brought to public notice *years ago* by us.

The Segregationists have been attacking these things for thirty years.

We wish the Bantu well, but he will face bad trouble under present conditions. One of his worst habits, which is doing untold harm, is dagga smoking; this, coupled with a liking for "*skokiaan*," or drinks with a deadly kick in them, is doing untold harm.

It is believed that many of the Indunas are guilty of using dagga, which bad example accounts for part of the inefficiency of our native labour. That is why it is necessary to support tenant farming up to a point. The white man on his own farm can better supervise and stop such practices and look after the health and welfare of his native people.

Some comminglers may say it is better to loaf, steal, smoke dagga, or even to starve than work for a farmer. These men, and the members of the Native Representation Council and others, should be made to prove their statements about the farmers. The natives who listen to them are the sufferers. They are driving the farmer to mechanisation, and the natives are gradually losing a market for their labour on the land. Leading natives from the Reserves should be taken round farms in the Union to disprove these false charges, and the advantages of agricultural life explained. There are bad farmers as there are bad townspeople, but the majority are good, hardworking people, anxious to do their duty to their neighbour; and one's blood boils at the stream of calumny to which they are so unjustly subjected.

Owing to the misuse of native labour in industry, the mines are being starved, and the whole country held up. We can look for a continued falling away in the mining industry and lack of capital for development, unless the whole position is reorganised on the lines we advocate. The employment of natives from outside our borders is unnatural, uneconomic, and unnecessary. If one million and over natives leave the towns within the next five or ten years, there will not be the slightest necessity to import any native labour from outside. Keep them in the urban areas,

and the whites, with the mining industry thrown in, in the future have the thinnest time of their lives.

One must not be deceived by present appearances. The old hands of Africa know that this is a country of ups and downs. With possibilities of vast development, we should be going up all the time, but not on present lines.

One of the main arguments of the capitalists in the past against the employment of white labour was the liability to strikes, natives being more docile and more easily managed.

This fallacy has taken hold of the minds of many of our captains of industry. Have they ever considered where the organisation on Trade Union lines of the natives of the Rand will lead them? This is actually taking place, day and night, with startling rapidity. The mines think it will not spread to them. It will, if the agitator class can bring it about. So long as natives remain, to form Trade Unions in the towns, the mines are in the gravest danger.

But leaving that out, the weapon the native agitator hopes to use eventually is the General Strike, so that he can demand almost any terms he likes.

Look at this picture of the future; mines, industries, and domestic service, all held up by a native general strike on the Witwatersrand. There would be a furious clamour at once to accede to the urban natives' demands; and where should we be?—at the bottom of the hole.

No, our captains of industry must think again. They can get better results with white labour as advocated here.

One cannot understand the mentality of many industrial and commercial men on this subject. They never suffer by a rise in costs of labour: it is passed on to the consumer.

Why should they be the principal financial supporters of anti-white organisations? If they want to improve the Bantu, why not spend a few thousands in the Reserves instead of the towns?

All the world over there is a risk of economic trouble; but in a wealthy country, such as Africa, the desire to strike can be minimised considerably. If the minimum wage is attained—and without it we perish, in any case—there will be no longer that feeling of frustration which is a ready field for Communists' agitation.

There is everything to be said for native communal life.

We prefer democracy for ourselves, if we can only free it from its shackles.

Given these premises, and a financial pool to meet depression, this country need not worry about the white man striking, provided he is treated properly, and given fair wages. If an industry is making abnormal profits, and sweating its workers, naturally, there will be trouble, and rightly too.

It is a duty of our leading merchants and industrialists to support urban segregation in every way.

As every man knows, in the last resort women dominate the position. They have been given the vote. Let them use it.

Let us appeal to them to make a deep study of segregation in all its implications. For years, only one side of the question has been drummed into the ears of the ladies in the towns. With the exceptions of the work done by Mrs. F. P. H. Creswell, Mrs. Colenbrander, and Mrs. J. S. Smit, nothing has been heard of the real position. The women on the land, generally speaking, are Segregationists to the bitter end. They have had that practical experience in dealing with natives which townspeople cannot expect to have. Surely their opinions are entitled to consideration. Do their friends in the town consider these ladies and their husbands are in the slave-driving class? Certainly not!

It is their duty therefore to discourage anybody who belittles their white fellow-countrymen, and to call those people to account who do so. Every woman should see her child has a proper knowledge of the native problem of this country. This is essential. If the schools will not deal with the matter, the Provincial Councillors soon will, when the woman voter shows her teeth.

There is not a day passes that the native problem is not discussed. It is all very well, as some writers say, to leave it alone. It cannot be left alone till the native departs from the urban areas; then the quiet stillness will prevail of the early years of this century, before the agitator got busy with us.

In the Reserves, on the farms, in the mines, the native will be happy, restful, and satisfied with wise native administration.

The mothers of this country, in the daily press, very

often see one-sided reports ; they must make themselves thoroughly acquainted with both sides of the question.

By this means there will be no fear for our future. The women can fix matters up, if they take things into their own hands.

They must back up Mrs. Hall of Pretoria with her idea of training white domestic servants. Take an interest in this side of the question, and strive, in and out, to increase the number of female domestic servants and lessen the number of males. Do the ladies realise that there are at least 150,000 natives employed in domestic service in the Union? Great, big, husky fellows, most of them. If they were employed in the mines, what a blessing it would be to everybody.

In 1929, the departmental figures show there were 111,361 in this regrettable form of employment. No man should deal with intimate family matters, much less the care of children. The woman can only get things remedied by her political influence. The politician is like the ostrich, he buries his head in the sand to escape unpleasantness. When in danger of losing votes he is like a cockbird—on the attack. He must be made to right matters; the way has been pointed out. He will prate of difficulties, want of funds, liberty, Liberalism, and all the other "isms"; but if the vote is at stake, he will level mountains.

After all, every woman loves her child. Is it pleasant to contemplate a state of affairs which involves the disappearance of the white civilisation of which we are so proud?

We have made mistakes in the past, we have neglected our poorer brethren; this is being rapidly overtaken, and a new era is opening up. Malnutrition is being tackled for white and black. We must not throw the opportunity away.

The sands of time are falling, too rapidly for most of us. There is so much to do and so little time to do it in; and many of us have not the opportunity to do much. The Segregationists appeal to the women of Africa to help them; the battle must be won. They know they will not appeal in vain.

SUMMING UP

THE picture is now in front of us: this problem of the future of the white people of Africa. The vanishing Children of the Mist. What policy must we adopt for the future? On what lines shall we teach our children from their earliest days to deal with the natives?

First, on those lines of justice tempered with common sense with which the Voortrekkers and the British Colonials managed these people, when peace and happiness reigned in the land.

Secondly, by realising that there is no solution except along the lines of segregation.

We can carry out a practical measure of limited segregation, as has been shown in the preceding pages. For some time the system would work on the following lines:

1. *The Reserves.*—There, as has been truly said, lie the root of our policy; and with them may be included the Protectorates. Some day they will be ours. In those Reserves will be the permanent home of the bulk of the native population if we are wise.

2. *The Squatters.*—This system is segregative. The native is apart from the white man. We shall not break it down by enforcement of the meagre taxes we are imposing on a rising scale.

We can improve matters by making these natives fulfil their duties, as regards erosion, afforestation, soil, and cattle improvement. Squatting will remain with us for a long time, unless taxation is considerably increased, or the old Plakkers Wet, which limited the number of native families on each farm to six, is enforced.

3. *Native Farm Tenants.*—This class will tend to grow; with proper control by the Magistrates and District Committees, the native tenant system can be improved.

These natives all have roots in the Reserves, to which they are free to return at any time. They are kept apart on the

farms in most cases. This is segregation. They are also provided with temporary employment which is very useful to them.

4. *Urban Natives*.—Within a fixed period, our native male labour must disappear from the towns. The last to go would be the detribalised natives who have been born in the cities, or have specialised in certain occupations, such as stevedoring. They would have to be compounded in any case, for the time being, in the same way as mine natives, and returned to the land when convenient, their place being taken by white and coloured labour.

Our new native Locations, which have very good housing accommodation, can be used for this purpose. There will also be room for the coloured people to obtain some of the houses, which they could be encouraged to purchase.

It would be a great thing to give them individual tenure, to let them own their own property—naturally, far apart from the few natives who would remain for the longer period.

This is the only use that the municipalities can eventually make of their new Locations. With the natural increase of the coloured population, they may save a few pounds.

5. *Education*.—This should be primarily confined to the Reserves, and be entirely under the control of the Native Affairs Department, in consultation with the Native Councils. The education should be mainly in agriculture and mining, with the smallest additions, the object being to preserve native culture and customs.

The discouragement of the agitator type of educated native in the Reserves is essential to success.

6. *Health*.—Native hospitals and clinics should be established throughout the country. The native should be eliminated as far as possible from the white hospitals and treated in his own institutions. It is most undesirable for young white girls and nurses to have to work with native cases, as they do at present.

Here is a field for native doctors and native nurses. The natives are rotten with disease, and the country must be cleaned up. Temporary field hospitals, similar to those used in war-time, would do in the meantime.

7. *Missions and Trading Stores* of white firms should not be encouraged in the Reserves. Where missions exist, the

policy should be to encourage native teachers to take the places of whites.

The natives should conduct their own business in the Reserves, and not leave it to the Indians or other low-class trader, as is sometimes the case; more particularly in Kenya and Uganda.

8. *Minimum wages* on a civilised labour scale, applied as required to different occupations, with a view to eliminating the natives employed therein, and increasing the numbers of redundants. By adopting this policy, the suggestions of Mr. H. O'K. Webber to the Labour Commission, in December 1937, might be carried out. He maintained

that the supply of native labourers on farms could only be kept up permanently by the general acceptance of the principle that natives should gradually be excluded from employment in South Africa's secondary industries.

At the same time, he suggested natives should be gradually given more responsible positions, carrying correspondingly higher pay in the primary industries, until the whites, who instructed them and supervised their labour, could gradually be reduced to such a number as was compatible with safety and efficient results.

He advocated the exclusion of natives from working in the secondary industries. If this were done, Mr. Webber claimed, the number of natives available for work in those primary industries concerned with the production of all the products of the earth would increase.

Assuming that the secondary industries of the Union employ 100,000 natives, these persons would, in making room for white boys and girls, find employment in the primary industries; moreover, the right of the natives to work in a defined sphere of labour would be established once and for all, said Mr. Webber.

An enquiry is now being conducted in Durban and Cape-town by the authorities into the question of a minimum wage.

The Minister of Labour, Mr. Hofmeyr, is in general agreement with the principle of a minimum wage for natives, but considers that it would be preferable to make use of the wage-regulating machinery under the law to calling a representative Conference as suggested by the

* Associated Chambers of Commerce in November 1937. To this end Wage Board investigations in respect of unskilled labour are at present in hand, as mentioned above. The Minister considers that it will be better to deal with the matter centre by centre. The question of the desirability of arranging for a Union-wide investigation could be considered later.

The objection to this is that it will take too long. Durban has probably been selected on account of the native strike which took place there; and Capetown, because there is a big surplus of unemployed coloured labour at that place, as has been already pointed out.

Why cannot the Officers of the Department tackle the other large cities? The position is well known. The question of a minimum wage has been before the country for many years, and it is suicidal to postpone its adoption as a cardinal point of national policy.

9. *Immigration of Suitable Nordics*.—This is essential as natives leave the town. We have not enough unskilled white people to fill the various positions which will become vacant. In commerce and industry there will be at least 150,000 vacancies. It is all very well to talk about placing 100,000 of our boys and girls in the secondary industries, but we have not got them. It is true that there is a surplus to-day of a few thousands, caused by the natives taking away their birthright, but there is not sufficient for the great scheme here enunciated.

We must be prepared, the moment our own nationals have been absorbed, to fill the other vacancies with whites. There is no difficulty in getting them. A whisper, and the ships would be filled with suitable people, who would assimilate with us and strengthen the white blood of this country, which requires constant reinforcement.

10. *The Combination of White and Black Labour Employment Bureaux*.—All labour to be dealt with from one office. Branches to be established in the country districts to assist the primary industries. Eventually, the urban native offices would be dispensed with, as the Bantus left the towns. They could deal with native female domestic labour, so long as they were required to minister to the needs of the white people.

An expert statistician should be one of the heads. Every month, exact information must be available to the public as to the state of the labour market, particularly in the unskilled lines, in the same way as the boys and girls are dealt with to-day. The Juvenile Advisory Boards know what is the position, and try their best to deal with it satisfactorily; this is impossible under existing circumstances. In Pretoria, for instance, there is always a surplus of white girls seeking employment.

11. *The Franchise*.—The election of three members of the House of Assembly and four Senators, with the Native Representation Councils, must be looked on as a temporary experiment. It has been fixed by law at five years. As Parliament is paramount, even this can be changed if the people of the Union wish it. The opening session of the Native Representation Council has been most unsatisfactory from many points of view. Fortunately, it did not sit too long. Irreparable injury to the country will be done if its education policy is adopted by the Government.

12. *Native Councils*.—Segregation means, if it means anything at all, that the natives should be divorced from the whites in all their institutions, with a guiding link, and then trusteeship comes in. The system for which we must work is no centralisation. Bungas or Principal Councils in each centre, such as the Transkei, Zululand, and later on in Swaziland, and Bechuanaland for example, so that a native remains a Zulu, a Swazi, Basuto, or Bechuana, as the case may be. It is not in the interest of the whites or the blacks for the tribes to amalgamate, and possibly combine, as the native agitators wish them to do against the Europeans in Africa.

The chairmen of these Provincial Councils, preferably white men, in the early stages, would consult the Native Affairs Commission and the Minister on all matters concerning their districts. Finally, the link between whites and blacks would be a special panel of the Senate as proposed by Colonel Stallard and Mr. Strydom.

We have lost the opportunity of carrying out this comparatively simple plan for the moment. It is an uphill fight to get back to it again. But not nearly so strenuous as the battle was over the Cape franchise.

Under this scheme we shall be practically cut off from all native affairs on the political side. The natives will be free

to do what they like in their own Reserves, where they can develop as human beings on sane and sanitary lines, under the trusteeship of the whites.

A great act of folly has been committed in mixing the interests of black and white in the Assembly; this is totally opposed to segregation, and must be remedied when the opportunity offers. There will be grave trouble, if one reads the signs of the times aright, before a change can be made.

13. *Coloured Policy.*—This has been fully dealt with. There is a great deal to be said for separating the coloured vote from the white. On the other hand, the present system has worked well, where the guiding hand of the European has been appreciated. Take, for instance, the position at Stellenbosch and other constituencies.

We must improve the economic position of these people without any further delay. A minimum wage would certainly earn their gratitude, and bring them up gradually to our standard. We cannot allow the coloured people in the Transvaal and Free State to be in an inferior position to the native. This aspect of the question must be dealt with as time goes on. There is no doubt, however, that the economic side is the one that matters. If the coloured man can get a good living for himself and his family, if he can be separated from the natives, then his future will be assured, and we shall find him, as the Voortrekkers did, a valuable ally when trouble comes.

14. *The North.*—Although these remarks apply largely to the Union, they are also a foundation for our people in the North to build on and perhaps our friends in the United States. They can profit by our mistakes in the past, and their own, not to mention those of the Imperial Government. We appeal for a united native policy on the lines advocated.

Finally, all those who believe in segregation must rally to the standard. There has been too much apathy in the past. Influential white and native organisations are working night and day, one must say, to rob us of our inheritance. We must organise too; the means will be found in the Appendix, which suggests a Council of Europeans of Africa with European and American branches. All bodies interested must affiliate into one strong Federation, with its own publicity organ, to combat the pernicious and plausible editorials of the Assimilationist papers.

The fiery cross must be raised in the land by those who know the question thoroughly. The great majority of the people of Africa believe in what has been laid down in this book, but they are not articulate.

We are fighting powerful and well-organised coteries, with ramifications in Europe and America. The Bantu we can deal with; the jackals of the native agitator require other methods. The gloves will have to be off with them, if our children's future is to be saved.

Surely the position is serious enough when the Prime Minister of the Union, General Hertzog, has to defend himself against insolent natives who wished to assault him and his son on their farm near Witbank, during December, 1937. One of them had the impudence to say, "Look out; on Dingaans' day we shall finish you off." Such a thing would never have been heard of thirty years ago.

Brutal assaults on white men and women in the country are becoming far too common. Previously they had been practically confined to the towns.

It is in no alarmist spirit that we ask the authorities to keep the most watchful eye upon the native and Communist press, which is continually agitating throughout the platteland and the Reserves, and working up the natives in the towns.

The latest idea is to cripple the administration of the Native Laws Amendment Bill or Urban Areas Act. Sir Abe Bailey's organ urges more sympathy for the urban natives. In what way, may we ask? The answer, as given by this paper, is, improve the conditions for them in the towns. We have all read what General Smuts had to say on this aspect of the problem. The paper referred to, the *Rand Daily Mail*, attacks the Act, because it is regarded as an instrument for furthering the policy of segregation; and goes on to say, *inter alia*, "If it is applied with the mere object of redistributing the native population, it will benefit neither black nor white."

This newspaper's policy means the elimination of the European population if the evidence of the eminent authorities we have quoted in this book counts for anything.

We must fight tooth and nail against such sentimentalism. The Segregationists must not let such statements go unanswered, although they answer themselves in most cases. For years they fought on the side of health and sanitation,

better Locations, and a lower native child death-rate in the cities. At the time of the Poor White Conference they were misrepresented and misrepresented, and the facts brought forward, dealing with this and other vital matters, suppressed. May the guilty ones repent in sackcloth and ashes.

In any case, the white man in Africa is not going down without a fight for all that he holds dear. The natives will have to leave the towns, whether they like it or not. We know what is good for them and our children, and if we lose we shall go down with the ship.

Turn back to the words of Senator Langehoven, in the Assembly debates. We, the British and the Dutch, who have made South Africa our home, and look to no other Fatherland, where are we and our children to go? What future have the native races when we disappear?

The great majority of these people will work with us; we can get on with the tribal natives and many of the detribalised people. We appeal to this class to cut themselves adrift from the agitator, and throw themselves into the fight for segregation with us, *their friends and protectors*.

To those who would divide us on racial lines, we say nothing must separate the British and the Dutch where this problem of survival is concerned.

The European who has left his own country for ever can say in all truth to the Dutch Afrikander:

"Intreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee: for whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge: thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God:

"Where thou diest, will I die, and there will I be buried: the Lord do so to me, and more also, if ought but death part thee and me."

AMEN.

APPENDIX

THOSE who are in sympathy with the objects of this book are invited to send their names and addresses to the Organiser of the Council of Europeans of Africa, Box 784, Pretoria. Membership is free, but a voluntary contribution is necessary. A meeting to elect Officers will be held shortly, of which due notice will be given.

Branches may be started anywhere in the Mandated Territories, British Africa, and the Union. Applications will also be considered from other parts of Africa, Europe, and America.

PROGRAMME OF PRINCIPLES OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPEANS OF AFRICA

ART. 1

The Council represents the conviction of all Europeans in Africa and elsewhere, who advocate a native policy on the following principles, and who strive to develop and realise this conviction, for the salvation and prosperity of the Europeans, as well as of the native races.

ART. 2

It strives for just and righteous treatment of the native, and the assurance of continuous and responsible guardianship of the European over the native in Africa.

ART. 3

It will combat any movement or tendency which may aim at the suppression of the native race, and work for the realisation of their administration by strengthening the tribal system.

ART. 4

It is convinced that every opportunity and motive towards miscegenation between the European and the native races must be prevented, and that all laws against such miscegenation must be most rigidly enforced.

ART. 5

It desires to ensure for the native, by lawful means, every opportunity towards development along his own channels, next to the European, in accordance with his natural talent and intellectual capacity, and to encourage the native races to preserve all that is worthy of recommendation in their own nature, culture, traditions, and everything that is inherent in the race.

ART. 6

It strives for a system of education for the native which is based on his own national character, to prevent him becoming a veneered European, and to combat all endeavours to force Western civilisation upon him.

ART. 7

It will devote attention to the education of the European youth of Africa, in accordance with the social relations between white and black which our ancestors have advocated for centuries, and in this spirit to do its utmost to prevent our European youth being influenced, through ignorance of its effect, be it in our educational institutions, Universities, Churches, or in social life.

ART. 8

It will combat undesirable negrophilism in Africa, and therefore declares itself opposed to all comminglers and ideas of equality, and the promulgation thereof to European or native, and undertakes to combat this at all times by all constitutional means, and it will disseminate its aspirations through the Press, literature, public debates, and other means.

ART. 9

It strives actively for the preservation, under European guardianship, of a healthy equilibrium between European and native in Africa, which can only be obtained by means of a practical segregation policy in the country, as well as in our towns and cities.

ART. 10

It will use all its influence towards the obtainment of preference to European labour, and strive to prevent the unskilled European labourer being degraded to the status

of the native labourer by having to compete with natives on an equal footing.

ART. 11

The Council of Europeans will strive for the gradual repatriation of male natives from our towns and cities.

ART. 12

The Council will fight tooth and nail all attempts to found a non-European front in Africa.

CONSTITUTION

ORGANISATION

1. The name of the organisation shall be the Council of Europeans of Africa.

2. The organisation may have patrons.

3. The organisation shall consist of:

(a) A Central Committee, with Head Office at Pretoria, consisting of, but not exceeding, fifty members who shall be elected at the first Annual Congress, and, thereafter, at every Annual Congress.

(b) A Central Executive Committee, consisting of the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary, and five other members who are to be elected from the members of the Central Committee.

PROVINCIAL ORGANISATION

4. In every Province of the Union of South Africa and other States there shall be:

(a) A subsidiary Central Committee, with Head Office in the capital of the territory concerned, who shall have full power to draw up its own domestic constitution, based on the Programme of Principles of the Council of Europeans of Africa.

(b) It shall be the duty on the part of these subsidiary Central Committees to form Branches in their respective territories.

CONSTITUTION OF COMMITTEES

5. (a) Committees shall consist of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary, and not exceeding twenty-five members; and

(b) An Executive of not exceeding seven members.

MEMBERSHIP

6. Any European person, who makes an annual voluntary contribution towards the Central Funds of the organisation, becomes a member.

FINANCE

7. (a) All funds shall be vested in the hands of the Central Executive Committee, who shall have full power to deal with same, and who shall render Statements of Accounts and Balance Sheet annually to all Branches.

(b) The Central Executive Territorial Committee shall allocate 50 per cent. of the amount contributed by the Territorial Central Committees to the respective Territorial Central Committees for the conduct of their business.

(c) The Territorial Central Committee shall render from time to time Statements of Accounts to the Head Office at Pretoria.

VOTING

8. At all meetings the vote of the majority shall bind the minority.

QUORUM

9. (a) A Quorum of an Executive Committee shall be one-third of the members thereof; and

(b) A Quorum of a Central or a Branch Committee shall be 25 per cent. of the members thereof.

ANNUAL CONGRESS

10. The first annual congress of the Council of Europeans shall be held during 1939 and, thereafter, annually.

CONSTITUTION OF CONGRESS

11. Congress shall consist of: the Central Executive Committee, the Subsidiary Central Committees, and the representatives of the Branches. Patrons may be present and take part in the discussions, but shall have no vote.

REPRESENTATION OF BRANCHES AT CONGRESS

12. (a) Branches with a membership of fifty or more shall be entitled to send two representatives to the Annual Congress.

(b) Branches with less than fifty members may send one representative to the Annual Congress.

VOTING AT CONGRESS

13. Voting shall be on the Card system.

PROGRAMME OF ACTION

14. (a) The propaganda of the Council of Europeans shall be conducted by and through an official Hon. Editor, to whom all communications in connection with propaganda shall be addressed, and who shall have power to co-opt literary assistance in the various parts of Africa.

(b) It shall be the duty of individual members to act on their own responsibility in dealing promptly with matter appearing in the Press which is in conflict with the principles of the Council of Europeans.

(c) The Central Executive Committee must be consulted with regard to the organisation of large public functions.

(d) It shall be the duty of the members, under the direction of the Central Executive Committee, to use their influence with Educational Authorities so that the study of the Europeans' position with regard to the native in Africa be made, in accordance with the principles of the Council of Europeans.

(e) Members should endeavour to obtain permission to address scholars or students on the native question, and to get suitable books on the subject introduced in the libraries of educational institutions.

(f) The Executive Committee shall have power to co-opt any person with a knowledge of native affairs, in an advisory capacity, to assist in its work. Such persons need not necessarily be members of the organisation.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE CONSULTED

History of Native Policy in South Africa, Senator E. H. Brooks,
M.A., D.Litt.

Life of Delamere, H. C., 3rd Baron, E. Huxley.

Thrice through the Dark Continent, Professor J. du Plessis.

The Menace of Colour, J. W. Gregory, D.Sc., F.R.S.

The Negro in American Life, Jerome Dowd.

Black and White in the Southern States, Maurice S. Evans.

The Clash of Culture and Contact of Races, Pitt-Rivers.

Japan must fight Britain, Lieut.-Commander Tota Ishimaru,

I.J.N.

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