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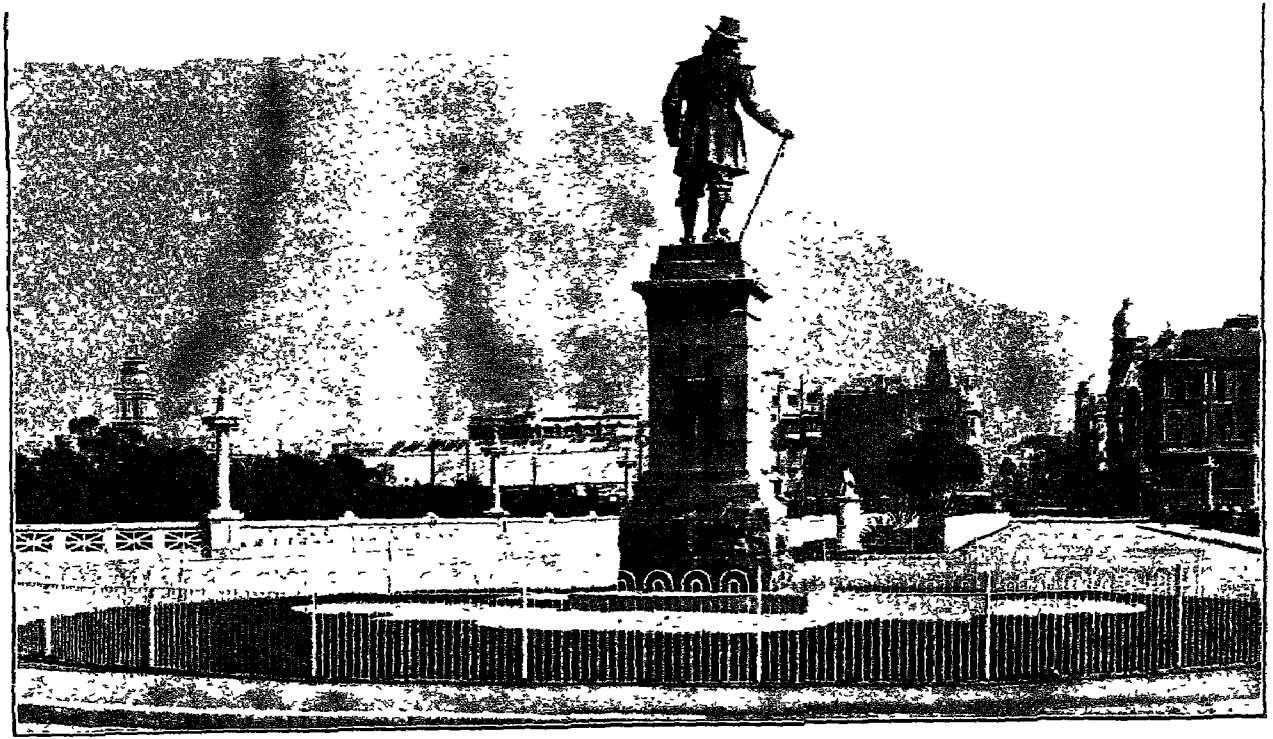
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SOUTH AFRICA



VAN RIEBEECK'S STATUE AND TABLE MOUNTAIN, CAPETOWN

SOUTH AFRICA:

PEOPLE, PLACES AND PROBLEMS

BY

WILLIAM HARBUTT DAWSON

Author of "The Evolution of Modern Germany," "The German Empire, 1867-1914," "Municipal Life and Government in Germany," etc., etc.

WITH THIRTY-FIVE ILLUSTRATIONS

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.

39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.4

NEW YORK, TORONTO

BOMBAY, CALCUTTA AND MADRAS

1925

Made in Great Britain

PREFACE

A DISTINGUISHED philosopher, happily still with us, who throughout a long and fruitful career has touched nothing without adorning it, has written that "A reasonable and controlled selfishness is in its consequences often the surest way of serving others." In the travels of which this book is the outcome pleasure was combined with study: to my readers belongs the right to decide how far, if at all, I have been able to serve the public good.

The narrative will be found to consist in part of impressions—the things that one writes down hesitantly and tentatively, and that can be erased by an india-rubber—but still more of considered conclusions, based on a due weighing of observed facts. Whatever value such a book may have, therefore, it can claim to be a record of actual experiences.

In discussions both of people and problems I have invariably spoken with the candour which honesty requires; yet if anything said should disappoint or offend my South African fellow-subjects of either race, I would ask them to remember that saying of the Wise Man, "Faithful are the wounds of a friend." The kindness which I experienced everywhere left me under a debt of gratitude which it would have been dishonourable even to attempt to pay in the false coin of flattery.

If at the end of my task I cherish one hope more strongly than any other, it is that what I have written may contribute in some measure to the fuller reconciliation of the European races in South Africa, and therewith to the achievement of that true unity of heart, will, and purpose of which political union is a symbol. The need for such unity is imperious, since without it Western civilization in that country can hardly count upon an assured future.

The question which confronts every life, that of the nation just as much as that of the individual, is the pivotal

question upon which the entire history of biological evolution, from the appearance of the primordial germ forward, has hung: it is this—"*What can you make of yourself?*" I formed the rather painful impression that South Africa has not as yet made up its mind how that question should and shall be answered. No factor in its decision is so weighty as the problem of the Native, and the European races will be wise if they face this problem while still able to discuss and adjust their differences (so to speak) *out of the Native's hearing*. At present their Press and literature are practically a sealed book to him, but 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.

Cordial thanks are tendered to several South African friends who have read the chapters while in typescript or proof, and have helped me by their criticisms; and also to Sir William Hoy, the General Manager of the South African Railways, who courteously placed at my disposal a large number of photographs for the purpose of illustration.

W. H. D.

HEADINGTON, OXFORD.
April, 1925.

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CHAPTER I

THE UNION

It is by no means necessary for Europeans to travel six thousand miles to South Africa, and another six thousand miles up and down the country, in quest of new interests. Yet a sojourn in the youngest Commonwealth of the Empire has the advantage that, besides being singularly instructive and stimulating, and bringing home to one, with almost oppressive force, the vastness and the complexity of the imperial structure, it reveals a land of infinite charm and a people of very fine qualities of will, heart, and temperament.

Not least, it affords the opportunity of exchanging the depressing spectacle of moral dementia which half the peoples of Europe offer for the benefit of the other half for one of sanity and serenity, as day follows day without any suggestion of the tragedies which are being enacted at the other end of the world. Lying off the main track of the recent devastating storm, though taking a gallant part in the work of salvage, and in consequence incurring a debt which it will take many long years to liquidate, South Africa was able to return to its habitual life and avocations far more readily and with far less disturbance than the homeland. The delightful placidity of South African life, the dignity and beauty of its capitals, the charm of its quiet country towns, the hospitality of its homes, the lure of its climate and scenery, and the variety of its races and civilizations are moments that blot out for a time the consciousness of the chaos and bitterness into which the War and the Peace together have plunged our own less wise and less happy Continent. The satisfaction of thus " drinking joyous oblivion of anxious life " may be cowardly, and possibly immoral, but it can be very real.

When one has been amongst pleasant people the impulse to say something pleasant about them is irresistible, and the visitor to South Africa who returns home without wishing to bear testimony to the affability of his kinsfolk

and fellow-subjects there must be a born misanthrope. It is doubtful whether there could be found anywhere in the world a greater readiness to welcome the visitor who carries with him credentials more substantial than the idle curiosity of the proverbial sight-seer. A South African's house may, like the Englishman's, be his castle, but at least its doors hang on easy hinges; and once admitted into the interior no pains that thoughtfulness can suggest are spared to make you feel at home. Again and again, in wheeled wanderings far from my base, I was urged by kindly hosts, to whom an hour before I was barely a name, to pass the night under their roof rather than reach my hotel after dusk. We do not do that sort of thing so readily in England, as our Dominion guests soon learn with something of a shock. Of course, differences of distance and communications, as well as social conventions, may account in part for this open-handed hospitality, yet no explanations could diminish the graciousness of spirit that prompts to kindliness of such sort.

The country, too, has a singularly marked individuality. To anyone whose travels have hitherto been confined to Europe, even though he may have scoured the Continent pretty thoroughly, the climate and scenery of South Africa must appeal with great force. My visit fell to the Southern summer (corresponding to our own winter), when the sun holds sway not apologetically but masterfully, as of sovran right, and day after day and week after week one awakened to radiant skies of azure and an atmosphere so clear that it seemed to efface distance. There as elsewhere nature can be harsh and cruel at times, and there are vast desert spaces, as well as Gardens of Eden, in the sub-tropical belt; but (with exceptions to be faithfully noted) it is the manifold evidences of her luxuriance and the prodigality of her rewards to well-directed effort that chiefly linger in the memory. South Africa should become one of the world's greatest "universal providers," for it can literally grow anything, from the rarest and most luscious of tropical fruits to the homely grains which form the food staples of man and beast—there are districts in which, after eating a big gooseberry in one part of a garden, you may cut a pineapple or a banana in another—while its capabilities as

a producer of raw materials for industry practically cover the entire range of human needs.

From the sociological and civic standpoint also South Africa offers many points of interest. It is a country where a high birth-rate goes hand in hand with a low death-rate and large families are not obsolete; where, as the practice of town government shows, the communal spirit is developed to a remarkable extent; where almost everywhere municipalities own all the surrounding land as far as the eye can reach, and the speculator in unearned increment grinds his teeth impotently as he reads at the town-gate, "No admittance except on lawful business"; and where local communities care for their unfortunates, more or less efficiently according to circumstances, without the help of a mechanical Poor Law. It is a country where the income tax is only a shilling in the pound, with liberal allowances to bring it down still lower; where sickness and unemployment insurance laws are unknown, and people pay for their own pensions; where there are only three (some say two and a half) political parties; where the good old rule of one party one leader still prevails; and where one out of every six Whites above the age of fifteen is said to be a Civil Servant. It is a country where motor-cars are as common as bicycles at home, and a self-respecting citizen will commandeer his wife's wash-house rather than be without a private garage; where some 95 per cent. of the occupied population are employed by the remaining five per cent.; and where White workmen do only the skilled work and Natives the drudgery of industry, the former often at the rate of three shillings an hour and the latter usually at less than that sum a day.

But South Africa has other claims to distinction. It is a country of great and even violent contrasts, no less physically than ethnically, and in the character and level of its civilizations. It is equally a country of mystery and surprises, of contradictions and paradoxes. The Greek and Roman of old looked to Lybia, as strangers to Athens, for new things; and South Africa, whose infinite variety age has not withered nor custom staled, perpetuates the tradition, still startling the world from time to time with unsuspected discoveries of one kind and another. The diamond mines

of Kimberley and the gold mines of the Rand, which have revolutionized the life of the country, date only from 1870 and 1886 respectively; and now the acknowledged existence of coal and iron ore deposits in unlimited amount promises a great industrial future to the country. What fortune may hold in store for the Transvaal as a storehouse of platinum remains to be seen, though the prospects have already been held to justify a gamble comparable to that of the early gold mining days. It is possible that, now as then, many foolish men will burn their fingers in kindling fires at which a few wise ones will warm themselves. One of the latest discoveries is that while for thirty years the cotton plant has been grown merely in little patches of ground, like mustard and cress, South Africa has cotton lands which if fully developed would supply Lancashire with all the raw material needed for its staple industry. More recently the discovery at Taungs, in Bechuanaland, of a fossil skull of a creature supposed to be neither anthropoid ape nor human being, but the long-sought missing link between the two, has seemed to confirm Africa's claim to have been the cradle of the human race and of civilization. In short, this country, so long unregarded, is coming to be esteemed as one of the world's great assets, though its ultimate destiny may still be undecided. Where, from the standpoint of history, England might be likened to a completed literary classic—not a back number, by any means—South Africa is a new story, progressing in ever more exciting instalments.

At the time of my visit a well-known American ambassador of commerce was likewise there, and he was reported to have shocked an interviewer who had asked for his impressions, when he began with the confession, "We in America know nothing at all about South Africa. All we know about the Cape is what we learned from our geography books." Restraining the natural tendency to say, "Just like the Americans!" it might be safer to say, "Just like ourselves!" The average inhabitant of the British Isles can hardly help knowing a good deal more about the young Dominion than the average American, but it needs some first-hand knowledge of the Union to convince even normally well-informed people how very superficial and, as

the American said, essentially geographical, has hitherto been their acquaintance with this huge slice of the second greatest of the continents. Systematic book readers, to whom the British Empire is something more than a series of red patches on a globe or map, will need no introduction to the country, but the chapters which follow will be more intelligible to others if a few general facts about the land and its people are given by way of prelude.

The first fact to be noted is the vastness of the country, together with the sparseness of its population. Independently of the territory formerly known as German South-West Africa, and now simply as South-West Africa, extending northward from the Orange River to the Portuguese territory of Angola, and held by the Union under mandate of the League of Nations, the Dominion comprises the whole of the southern part of the continent, at different degrees of latitude, to the extent of 473,000 square miles, an area equal to that of England, Scotland, France, and Germany, or alternatively four times that of the United Kingdom. Yet the total population of this great area is less than seven millions, and of that number only one and a half millions are Europeans.

As created by the South Africa Act of 1909, which is at once its Charter of Union and its Constitution, the Dominion consists of the then colonies of the Cape of Good Hope (277,000 square miles or 59 per cent. of the aggregate territory), Natal (35,000 square miles or seven per cent.), the Transvaal (110,500 square miles or 23 per cent.), and the Orange Free State (50,000 square miles or 11 per cent.). All these territories were incorporated in their historical limits, but reduced to the status of provinces, though they had previously been practically autonomous, each with its own legislature, two under the British Crown, and two (the Dutch States of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State) republics, with Presidents of their own choosing. The mandated South-West Africa has an area of 322,000 square miles. Three other territories in which the Union is closely interested, and which without doubt will eventually, like the South-West, become integral parts of the Union, are Basutoland, Swaziland, and the Bechuanaland Protectorate. To these reference will be made later.

Something must be said also of the physical features of the country, since these profoundly affect the national life in many directions. South Africa consists for the most part of high-lying land, for 40 per cent. of its surface is over 4,000 feet above the sea level, and much of it rises to a height of 5,000 and 6,000 feet; while only the coastal belts washed on the west by the Atlantic and on the east by the Pacific Ocean are under 1,000 feet high. The major part—estimated at over three-fifths—of the country occupied by Europeans lies at an elevation of between 3,000 and 5,000 feet, with the result that the hygienic advantages of a fairly temperate and equable climate are enjoyed in a sub-tropical country. Bounded on the east, south, and west by a series of mountain ranges, of which the highest is the Drakensberg of Natal and the Transvaal, stretches an immense plateau forming the basin of the principal rivers of the country, particularly the Orange river and the southern tributaries of the Limpopo. Within this region an exhilarating air, like that of the Swiss mountain resorts, is breathed all the year round. Outside the plateau and its mountain barriers lies the belt of low land already named, falling to the sea.

As South Africa lies south of the equator, the seasons are, of course, reversed. Spring may be said to begin in September and to last to the end of November; summer covers the period from December to the end of February; by April autumn has set in, and in June and July winter reigns. In many parts of the country, however, there is seldom frost, and snow is rare; at Durban winter is accounted the most genial of the seasons. In the north of the Cape Province it is usual to divide the year into a long summer, beginning during September, heightening until January, and then waning until the end of April, and a long winter, similarly varying in temperature, covering the remaining four or four and a half months. Throughout the year there is almost everywhere a remarkable record of sunshine, Capetown having 66 per cent. of the possible number of hours, Johannesburg 73 per cent., and Kimberley 78 per cent., comparing with only 29 per cent. in London. Nevertheless, owing to the contiguity of the ocean to the west, south, and east, the climate generally is cooler than that

usually experienced at a similar latitude in the northern hemisphere.

In South Africa the seasons have a definite meaning, and there summer is really summer and not a mere nondescript aberration of climate. Hence in some places the heat of December is apt to be trying to new-comers from temperate countries, though there is compensation in the clearness and dryness of the air and the consequent absence, except in certain of the coastal districts, of the acute physical discomfort induced by our " muggy " climate even in a moderate summer temperature. Altitude, of course, tells both ways. I remember still the welcome relief experienced when after a prolonged sojourn on lower levels, where at times the temperature felt like 1,000 in the shade, I paid a return visit to Johannesburg, with its healthy elevation of 5,500 feet; for there even midsummer days can be deliciously cool, with the certain promise of still cooler evenings and almost cold nights. Conversely it happens that while up in the high veld icy winds may already blow and desolation prevail, down below the crops and fruits are flourishing. Yet one of the many surprises of the country is the wide range of produce that can be grown almost everywhere. Thus orange and lemon trees flourish at altitudes of 4,000 and 5,000 feet in the Transvaal, in the extreme north, yet a thousand miles to the south, not far from the coast, they are grown equally well, with pine-apples and bananas in addition.

The rainy season falls variously. In the west of the Cape Province winter rains are the rule, beginning in April and continuing to August, while during the five months from November to March, comprising the whole of summer, the rainfall is slight and uncertain. In the southern coastal belt there is also winter rain. Summer rains are common to the rest of the country, being spread over the period August or September to March or April.

Mountain air is laden with health, and it has been identified with elevations falling between 2,000 and 6,000 feet, while medical testimony is to the effect that any height beyond the 6,000 feet level is so rarefied as to be incompatible with full physical vigour. By far the greater part of South Africa falls within the favoured health range,

the only exceptions being the coastal belt and certain areas in the south and east, which are under the lower limit, and a few high mountainous areas which exceed it or are otherwise uninhabitable. If the contour of the railway from Capetown to Messina, on the northern border of the Transvaal, or from Durban to Pretoria, be examined, it will be seen that all but one in ten of the 1,350 miles covered in the first instance and one in thirty of the 860 miles covered in the second are above 2,000 feet, while only a few miles are above the 6,000 or even 5,000 feet level. Medical men are said to agree that nowhere are natural conditions more favourable to a healthy and a long life than in South Africa, while it has been found that persons in whom disease is latent have an exceptionally good chance of throwing off or holding at bay this menace. There are, of course, malarial districts, but there is no need to go within scores or hundreds of miles of them. These districts occur in the main in Zululand and the low-veld regions of the Transvaal; but in the Cape, Natal, and Orange Free State provinces malaria is an entirely negligible risk.

It is not to be expected that South Africa can hope to become a world's sanatorium, and its attractions for the valetudinarian must, owing to distance and expense, be limited in large part to people of ample leisure and means. For those, however, who propose to make their homes in the country its singularly healthy climate, almost perpetual sunshine, and pure, invigorating air are attractions of the utmost value. Other valuable recommendations are freedom from many warping social conventions, the stimulus of a fine spirit of comradeship, and the satisfaction of knowing that honest toil seldom fails of due reward.

South Africa's wild and rugged features, and almost everything that is distinctive in its scenery, have to be sought inland, in its mountain ranges, and in the Karroo, and to such scenery reference will be made in later chapters. The Cape and Natal provinces contain most scenery of what may be called the European type. Their mountain ranges, broken at intervals by valleys or *kloofs*, sometimes running to a dead end and at other times culminating in passes over the " tops," as also their coast and river scenery, have much in common with our own. In particular beautiful

vistas of cliff and shore land, of the kind of which the British Isles offer many counterparts, needing no apology whatever, though all South Africans do not seem to know this, may be seen in abundance in the coast regions stretching eastward from the Cape Peninsula, and more especially in their bays and estuaries. Running into the slopes of the high country of the interior are also many picturesque valleys, large and small, with delightful river scenery. Nearer the coast are lagoons, sheltered by belts of low-lying land, which have been formed where sea and river meet, just as off the Baltic coast. Some of these sheets of water, which are slightly brackish, are much resorted to for fishing, boating and bathing.

There are no romantic lakes like those of England, Scotland, or Ireland, and some of the Continental countries, and the great conservation reservoirs constructed in many of the mountain gorges are a poor substitute. The only approach to a lake is the Funduzi, in the north-eastern Transvaal, with a length of under two miles, and it is due to a freak of nature. It was not always so, for in bygone times there were numberless small lakes and tarns in the central belt of the Cape Province and thence as far north as the Kalahari Desert, but these have dried up in course of ages and now contain only hardened salt, sand, or clay. The early Dutch farmers gave the name *vleis* to these dessicated pools, and they are now known more usually as "pans." The smaller of them may be only several hundred yards in diameter, but there are large ones many miles across, like the Verneuk pan, the Groot Vloer, and the Pretoria Pan. A large part of the salt produced in the Union is obtained from these sources. There are also many mineral springs, sulphur, iron, and saline, with medicinal properties, chiefly in the Cape Province and the Transvaal.

The harbours of the country are under the direct management of the Government, which also owns the harbour works. The principal are those of Capetown and Durban, cities which in many ways are keen rivals, both for trade and popularity as health and pleasure resorts, and others of considerable importance are Port Elizabeth (Algoa Bay), East London, and Mossel Bay. For several years the idea of constructing a harbour either at Kosi Bay or Sordwana

Bay, fine and spacious inlets on the coast of Zululand, has been under consideration. Kosi Bay lies 214 miles by sea north of Durban and 75 miles south of Delagoa Bay, and the construction of a harbour there would give passage to the coal and other trade of the Transvaal through British territory.

There appears to be no serious engineering difficulty in connexion with either the building of the necessary connecting railway or the construction of the harbour works. The cost would be great, but it is estimated that the railway would open up for cultivation and settlement more than a million acres of Crown land of high agricultural value, and to a large extent suitable for the cultivation of cotton and sugar cane. In the meantime by an arbitration award of 1875, Great Britain retains a right of pre-emption in the event of Delagoa Bay being for disposal at any future time. This award was the result of a dispute with the Portuguese Government over the question of ownership, which was referred to the decision of the French President, then Marshal MacMahon, with the result we know. It is understood, however, that at an earlier date the territory could have been bought for £12,000 had the Government of the day been wide awake.*

From the standpoint of communication and transport the rivers, of which the principal are the Orange, Limpopo, Vaal, Crocodile, Olifant, Fish, and Sundays, have contributed comparatively little to the development of the

* P. A. Molteno, in "Federal South Africa," p. 87. This writer dates the offer about 1872, and attributes to Lord Kimberley, then the head of the Colonial Office, responsibility for its non-acceptance. It is clear that the same statesman accepted foreign arbitration against the warnings of the men on the spot. Yet no one with the slightest knowledge of the traditional attitude of France towards her Latin neighbours could have doubted how the arbitration was bound to result. It was not the only service of the same kind done to the Empire by Lord Kimberley. The biographer of Sir Robert Morier (his daughter, Lady Wester Wemyss) records how that far-sighted diplomat and statesman, when British Minister in Portugal, "single handed and in the face of incredible difficulties . . . drafted, negotiated, and signed the Lourenço Marques Treaty," by which the Portuguese Government and Cortes practically ceded to Great Britain the port in question on a lease giving to this country unrestricted right of ingress and egress by Delagoa Bay. "This treaty in May, 1881, after three years of incessant toil, was within sight of ratification . . . when suddenly Morier was ordered by telegraph to drop it. This order was owing to the opposition of the Colonial Office, where Lord Kimberley was at the time enthroned as Colonial Secretary." ("Memoirs of Sir Robert Morier," Vol. I, p. 400.)

country, for they are not navigable far from their estuaries, owing to their heavy fall and the frequency of rapids, and those which do not run dry during part of the year are subject to torrential floods in the rainy season, making the drifts or fords impassable for hours or days together. Canals, too, are non-existent.

If the rivers are disappointing in a commercial sense the roads also still leave much to be desired, though the natural difficulties and those imposed by finance and scarcity of population justify great allowances. The provincial authorities are responsible for the provision and maintenance of main roads, but they are perpetually impoverished, and for some time have not been able to pay their education bills. For this reason many people, particularly the owners of motor-cars, advocate the transference of the roads to the Central Government in the belief that more would be done for them.

On the other hand, nothing but praise is deserved by the railways, which are a triumph at once of engineering science and of skilful and progressive administration, and in consequence deserve more than a passing reference. When the constituent Colonies were united in 1910 as the Union of South Africa, one of the most important problems to be dealt with was the unification of the four Government railway systems, and to the accomplishment of this arduous task, Lord Milner (as he became later) brought his sound practical judgment and restless energy, with the most gratifying results. But that was not sufficient. The future of South Africa being clearly dependent upon agricultural and pastoral development, it was evident that effective control would need to be exercised over every possible factor involved in the task of placing the country's products in oversea markets as cheaply as possible. For this reason it was recognized that the ports and harbours, as forming an essential link between land and ocean transportation, must be brought under the same control, in order that railway and harbour development might proceed apace according to the growing necessities of the country's trade.

Owing to the Gold Reef area of the Transvaal being the most populous centre of the Union, there had been keen rivalry between the commercial ports, each being eager

to secure the importation of as much of the "in transit" traffic as possible. This competition led to preferential rates and charges, the duplication of plant, and much other unremunerative enterprise which merely induced an artificial distribution of traffic without augmenting the total volume of trade. By placing the ports under one control and bringing uniform regulations and tariff charges into operation at each, the mutually destructive effect of the competitive system was eliminated, and trade was encouraged to seek the routes of natural outlet. The co-ordination of the two transport systems has proved a signal success, and to it much of the country's economic progress during the past decade and a half may fairly be attributable. The Transport Department has lately established a small but successful shipping service for traffic in home waters.

The framers of the Constitution of 1909 vested the administration of the railways and harbours in a Board consisting of three Commissioners, appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council, with a Minister of State as chairman. An amending Act of 1916 modified this arrangement by making the Minister the paramount influence under the Governor-General and by specifically assigning to the Board of Commissioners only advisory functions.

As South Africa is a country of mountains and broken high plateaus the railway system is a gigantic *funiculaire* or complex of *funiculaires*. The London and North-Western Railway, climbing up to 1,000 feet at Sharp Fell, and the Midland Railway, reaching 1,100 feet at Dent, are supposed to do wonders, but such ascents would not count at all in South Africa. In order to reach the extreme northern boundaries from Capetown the track has to creep from the sea level over great sweeps of undulating land to a height of over six thousand feet, only to creep down again to the sea level on the other side if Durban or Delagoa Bay be the objective. Hence come the heavier cost of construction and a rate of speed which may appear slow, but is really remarkably quick in view of the gradients. All sorts of feats of ascent and descent are performed in the course of a railway journey of even moderate distance. For example, between Alicedale and Grahamstown, the railway climbs over 1,500 feet in under thirty miles and nearly 1,000 feet

in ten, yet, while the trains at times neither run nor crawl but literally drag themselves upward, they keep up the creditable average speed of twenty miles an hour. On the line from Pretoria to Delagoa Bay, a distance of 350 miles, the track rises from 4,470 feet to a height of 6,470 feet, and then drops 3,000 feet in a run of fifty miles.

Considering the enormous difficulties imposed by natural conditions in the way of the railway engineer, the twelve thousand miles of track—all but 1,000 miles of the standard gauge of 3 ft. 6 in.—which facilitate transport between all parts of the Union to-day are a wonderful achievement. Yet the first line of rails was only laid in 1860, thirty-five years after the railway was introduced in Great Britain. Nearly £112 mill. sterling have been expended on the railways to date, and on the harbours about one-tenth of that sum; and the gross earnings in 1924 were £21·6 mill. and £1·3 mill. respectively.

Amongst many interesting British South Africans whom I met was a lady who told of her first visit to the country some fifty years ago as a bride and of her long and weary thousand-mile trek by ox-waggons from Capetown to her new home in the Transvaal. The journey occupied several weeks, and the misery of it—only relieved by the chivalry of the male passengers—left a long trail of uncomfortable memories behind. To-day the same journey can be done luxuriously in thirty hours in excellently appointed *coupés*, whose seats are at night converted into comfortable beds, enabling the traveller to alight at Johannesburg or Pretoria as fresh as when he started, reflecting with surprise that the *funiculaire* has carried him up an ascent equal to that, say, from the Lake of Lucerne to the summit of Pilatus, or 1,000 feet higher than that of the Rigi.

The spaciousness and airiness of the big-windowed coaches make railway travelling very pleasant in South Africa at all times. The track is apt to be rough in parts, and at best it seldom recalls the famous Great Western Railway of broad-gauge times, but that is inevitable in view of the fact that after the lowland has been left behind the rest is climbing and tobogganing. Probably the most fastidious passenger, however, finds himself ignoring occasional jolts and jars under the fascination of the un-

wonted and often superb landscape which comes into view in every direction. The commissariat department, too, which it would be affectation to disparage, is as good as on any European railway known to me, and better than on most, and if the sleeping provision is below the highest Pullman standard in quality, you have more air, and the cost is nominal.

The fares charged on the railways are decidedly moderate, and all sorts of inducements to travel at special rates are offered. But the greatest recommendation of the railways and harbours in public estimation is the statutory requirement that they shall be administered not for profit but for the convenience and material advantage of the community, special regard being paid to the agricultural and industrial development of the country, to which end the revenue may not exceed the necessary outlay for working, maintenance, betterment, depreciation, and interest on capital expenditure. Bound by these stringent yet salutary regulations, the Railway Administration does its best to equalize conditions as between town and country, and to counteract the geographical and other disadvantages against which inland industrial centres have to contend in their competition with the more favoured coastal towns. So far is the public utility principle applied that a large number of secondary and branch lines have been designedly built for purposes of development and the special convenience of rural populations, and with a full knowledge that they cannot be expected to pay for a long time, if ever.

At the present time several costly schemes of electrification are being carried out, and the first length of electrified railway, from Maritzburg to Estcourt, in Natal, is already working. Before electrification could be carried out on a large scale it was necessary to ensure an adequate supply of current at a cheap rate. For this purpose there was passed the Electricity Act of 1922, which stands to the credit of Général Smuts and the late Government, though behind it were the fertile brain, penetrating vision, and irrepressible energy of Sir William Hoy, to come into contact with whom is to recognize at once in the railway manager the statesman and seer of the most practical type.

The Act transfers the control of the entire electrical power

industry to a State Control Board, which alone can license enterprise of the kind. Alongside of this Board there is an Electricity Supply Commission, whose functions are to co-ordinate existing undertakings with a view to the provision of cheaper and ampler supplies of current, to advise the Provincial Councils on schemes promoted by the local authorities, and to establish, acquire and work power-stations for the supply of electricity for State, municipal and other purposes. By the operation of the machinery created by the Act it is hoped to provide a sufficiency of cheap power not only for the railways to be electrified, but for residential, commercial and agricultural purposes where local conditions are favourable. It is not an inspiring reflexion that while the British Government, in spite of Germany's example, repeatedly expounded for its benefit during the last twenty years, had dawdled over this question, and still dawdles, the youngest of the Dominions has stepped in and set the wealthy Mother Country a remarkable example of courage and enterprise.

It may be said with confidence that only State ownership, combined with rare administrative ability, has made the South African railway system the brilliant success which it is; yet I would add at once and with equal conviction that it does not follow that, given existing labour conditions, the nationalization of the heavily-capitalized railways of Great Britain would with either certainty or probability give the same satisfactory results. The South African Governments acquired the railways, as Bismarck bought the railways for Prussia, when the price was still low and there was abundant scope for expansion and enterprise generally. British Governments, however, in their commercial transactions usually manage to enter the market too late—a convincing argument, in the opinion of a large section of our public, in favour of immediate nationalization all round, though a dangerous one. A few private lines still continue, with a total length of under 500 miles, or four per cent. of the whole, but only one of them is of any consequence and its absorption in the State system may come at any time.

The country's economic activities are many-sided. Perhaps the gold-mining and other industries appeal most

strongly to the public imagination, but important as they are, and progressive as is the concentration of population in the towns, South Africa continues to be essentially an agricultural and pastoral country. The latest vocational classification of the European inhabitants shows that agriculture employs roughly the same proportion of the occupied population as the whole of the mining, manufacturing, and other trades and industries, commerce, shopkeeping, and the transport services.

Each of the provinces, however, makes a distinctive contribution to the country's wealth, as it has done to its history and development. Thus the Cape has great wool, grazing, cereal, and fruit-producing areas. Its Merino wool is now as well known as the Australian, and it is the special and almost exclusive home of South African grapes and wine. As the nucleus of the Union this province may fairly claim to be *primus inter pares*; for while there may be more wealth elsewhere it has the distinctions of greater age and a more matured culture. The most interesting part of the province sociologically is the Transkei, a series of territories lying between the River Kei and Natal, where a Native population of nearly nine hundred thousand lives its own life, is developing its own institutions with only a veneer of European culture, and is learning not unsuccessfully the science of self-government under sympathetic guidance.*

Natal has an important mineral region, and produces the best coal in South Africa, but like the Cape it is essentially agricultural. Its lowlands form, on the whole, the most tropical part of the Union, and being favoured by ample rainfall, well distributed, the range of their agriculture is exceptionally wide. In this coastal belt tropical fruits of all kinds are grown, together with the sugar cane, tea, and cotton. Behind and above this area is the "midland" plateau, where stock-raising, corn-growing, and the wattle bark industry are carried on. The remainder of the province is high land, with a temperate climate, given up to grazing, stock rearing and cereal crops. The size of the farms in general is from 1,500 to 8,000 acres, and except in Zululand there are no great ranches such as are common in the two Dutch provinces.

* See Chapter XXI, pp. 410-21.

Of these provinces the Free State is a great stock-breeding and maize-growing country, and "dry farming" is the basis of its agriculture. This dry land, however, is cheap, and much of it can be bought for little money. Nearly one-third of all the sheep in the Union are found in this province. The Transvaal is rich in minerals—pre-eminently gold, diamonds, copper, tin, and coal—the mining of which occupies great industries, while agriculturally it is the home of great farms and ranches measured by the dozen square miles, and also of an important fruit-growing industry. No part of the country varies so much in altitude, but the greater part of it is over 3,000 feet high.

Half a century ago the great veld farm predominated, but while many large estates running to 20,000, 30,000 and 40,000 acres still exist these unwieldy and ill-cultivated chunks of land are more and more being broken up, to the benefit of their owners quite as much as of the community at large. Nowadays the place of the great ranchers of old is being taken by companies and syndicates, in which English and Scottish money is largely invested, working large irrigated orchards planted with as many as half a million orange trees or pines, or 50,000, 100,000 or more apple and peach trees. All these fruits lend themselves admirably to mass production; they respond gratefully to the wooing of the sub-tropical sun; and given efficient and economical management, good markets, and fair dealing, the operations of such companies should be as profitable to the investors as to the promoters.

Yet South Africa is by no means a country everywhere overflowing with milk and honey. There are in the Cape Province wide arid regions where rain falls but seldom—at times perhaps not for a year or two in succession—and where in consequence field and animal husbandry is carried on sparingly, with great difficulty, and at great risks. Namaqualand and the Karroo are such areas; yet the natural fertility of both is amazing, and in the absence of drought these territories might become amongst the most productive in the Union. Of the unique Karroo something will be said in due course. Namaqualand has much of its aridity with less of its scenic charm. Parts of this region lying to the north-west of the province suffer from perpetual

drought, and are inhabited by a scanty and penurious Native population. The greater part of the country consists of high table-land and trackless sandy plains. There are streams in name, but their courses are usually dry, and the normal rainfall ranges from five to ten inches, though often no rain at all freshens the parched earth for months together. Few Whites live in this poverty-stricken land; they are normally almost as badly off as the many Blacks, while a worse turn of the drought screw brings universal disaster. In such bad times the cattle die like ostriches in other arid regions; the Natives scoop out the ant-hills in the hope of finding there something that can be eaten; donkey flesh is venerated like cates for the high gods; and the struggling Europeans, who ought to be prosperous if hard labour told, fall so deeply into debt that they are forced to mortgage both land and crops not yet grown, and to become mere caretakers on their own farms. Why they live in the land at all is a secret known only to themselves. The Free State and the Transvaal have their arid patches, but the drought areas of the Cape show nature at her hardest and cruellest.

The flora of the Union, both wild and cultivated, is wonderfully rich and varied. The brilliant colouring of the native flowers, whether of plant, shrub, or tree, as seen in public and private gardens or on the mountain side, the more subdued beauty of the flowering bush and heaths of the veld, and the delicate flowers of even the wild thistles and so-called weeds of the wayside must impress even the least ardent of European nature-lovers. In certain seasons the slopes of the Table Mountain are a picture of rare beauty, and in hilly districts of the Eastern Province of the Cape the visitor may wander through acres of red lilies, "tossing their eyes like so many poetesses looking for rhymes" (to borrow Henry James's flower simile), while even the sombre Karroo breaks after the rain into indescribable radiance of colour. Long names and technical descriptions mean little or nothing except to the expert botanist, who usually knows and talks too much about flowers to enjoy them; to be understood sub-tropical flora must be seen in the life, and so to see it is to be fascinated.

Strolling through one of the attractive botanical gardens

which are so numerous, especially in the Cape Province, you may at first be disposed to resent the arrogance with which the stately and luxuriant native plants lord it over the humbler flora of your own borders and parterres at home. As admiration for these marvels of beauty kindles, this feeling passes away; soon you find yourself spell-bound by the exotic creatures with the seductive lines and coquettish, dazzling eyes, and perhaps just for one faithless, shameful moment constancy wavers. Then comes a great resurgence; without knowing how, you are caught in a windrush of feeling, a swelling wave of memories, which heaves you back, exulting, to the staunch rock of troth and fealty. More than ever, and with a good conscience, you now can admire the bougainvillias and jacarandas, the hibiscus and the proteas, the masses of glowing celosia and portulaca and the incomparable cannas, for you know that you do not really love them. And that is where the roses score.

On the subject of roses a needed word must be said. A devoted rosarian told me flatly that the English roses could not compare with the South African. He was so devoted that I had not the heart to contradict him. I do it now, without, however, feeling very courageous at such a distance, and add that the best of the roses which I saw in public or private gardens seemed to have been immaturely forced under the influence of excessive heat and an absence of due moisture. The same remark applies to certain other English flowers, the hollyhock, for example, which is apt to be stunted and spindling, and to look like a flowering walking-stick; though where the conditions are more favourable than with us South African gardens excel.

Wild fruits also grow in large variety, e.g., pear, orange, fig, apricot, cherry, date, grape, olive, and coffee; and as for trees, while most of the conifers, oaks, poplars, and other woodland and shrubbery trees with which the English eye is familiar seem to flourish wherever they are given a sporting chance, the number of native trees is legion. In natural forest, however, the country is not rich.

On the Kirstenbosch estate, finely situated on the eastern side of the Table Mountain, are the National Botanical Gardens. They are the Kew Gardens of South Africa, but

larger and bolder in design. A large part of the area of over 400 acres is set apart as a sort of forest reserve, in which indigenous trees and scrub are cultivated as far as possible under natural conditions, while the rest is devoted to native flora generally, to exotic plants, and to the purposes of botanical research.

South Africa used to be spoken of as a hunter's paradise, but happily, owing to the growing attention paid to the preservation of the wild fauna, this questionable reputation is no longer deserved. Until this responsibility to the lower creation was recognized the indiscriminate slaughter of forest and veld animals for food by the Natives, and the destructive propensities of sportsmen, had seemed to threaten with extinction some of the rarer species. Now Government has set aside large areas of forest land as game reserves, while the provincial authorities, which deal with the subject of game preservation, have adopted many ordinances prescribing close seasons, strictly regulating the shooting of certain animals and prohibiting altogether the destruction of others.

Natal instituted game reserves many years ago, and recently the Government transferred to the province, for use as a National Park, ten thousand acres of the Drakensberg region, with much of its grandest rock scenery, including the third highest peak of the range, the Mont-aux-Sources, and here the wild fauna enjoys complete protection. Still larger are the famous Sabie game reserves on the Transvaal and Portuguese borders, which have an area of over six million acres, or nearly 10,000 square miles, of forest and veld. Within this area are preserved the lion, elephant, rhinoceros, hippo, buffalo, giraffe, zebra, antelope, wildebeest, wild boar, steinbuck, waterbuck, impala, duiker, koodoo, with baboons and other less rare animals. There is also a project for setting aside a large area of the Addo Bush, in the Cape Province, as a National Park and a sanctuary for elephants, buffaloes, and other large game.

All that has been said hitherto has referred exclusively to the Union as constituted in 1909. There are, however, several adjacent territories which, though not as yet incorporated, are destined to be. Particular interest attaches to South-West Africa, until lately a German colony. It

lies on the Atlantic beyond the Orange River, is bounded on the north by the Portuguese colony of Angola and on the east by Bechuanaland, and has an area of 322,000 square miles, which is only a quarter less than that of the Union. The European population at the census of 1921 was under 20,000, less than 40 per cent. being then German, though the proportion now is larger, and the Native and Coloured population numbered 208,000.

During the War, German South-West was occupied by Union troops, and when by the Treaty of Versailles the Allies, having Germany for the moment under their feet, compelled the Government of the moment to renounce all her colonies—the blindest and most war-impelling political act of modern history—the administrative mandate in respect of South-West Africa was entrusted to the Union Government, by which it has since been exercised. The government of the country is vested in the Governor-General, but he has delegated most of his powers to an Administrator, who is appointed by the Central Executive, and is assisted by an Advisory Council. Much has been done since 1918 to encourage settlement by promoting development works of many kinds and the introduction of new industries.

A turning-point in the history and fortunes of South-West Africa came in 1923, when the Union Government concluded an agreement with the German Government by which the German subjects of the territory received the status of citizens of the Union and consequentially became subjects of the British Empire.* Since the Armistice the

* The writer would like to believe that he helped in some degree to prepare the way for this sensible arrangement His action in the matter was dictated equally by the interests of South Africa as a whole, and the desire to see at least one certain menace to the peace of the Empire removed by regularizing a tenure created unwisely by force alone In 1921 in interviews with the German Foreign and other Ministers, and the permanent heads of the Colonial Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Berlin, he put forward the case for the formal abandonment by Germany of any future claim to the restoration of this intrinsically not very valuable colony This view was sympathetically received and the assurance given that in comparison with tropical colonies, needful for Germany's industries, "German South-West" was regarded as of secondary importance, and would never stand in the way of an understanding when Germany again stood on her feet, able to argue with her neighbours on equal terms. The substance of these colloquies the writer communicated to the Union Prime Minister at the time Action appears to have been taken in the following year. The documents since published on the subject show that Mr G R. Hofmeyr, the present Administrator,

German population, under tactful administration, had shown increasing readiness to co-operate in the good government of the territory, and had come to recognize that the altered status was not so irksome as had been feared. Only a natural disinclination to expose themselves to the imputation of disloyalty to their fatherland had deterred many Germans from more formally accepting the new order as permanent and identifying themselves more openly with the life of the Union. Scruples of this kind were satisfied in most cases by the agreement already named. The essential documents bear the date October 23rd, 1923, and the preamble sets forth that the German Government, " recognizing that the future of South-West Africa is now bound up with the Union of South Africa, and that it would be a wise policy for the German nationals in that territory to throw in their lot with South Africans," undertook to " use their influence with these nationals to induce them to accept Union citizenship under a general Naturalization Law of the Union, and to advise them not to exercise their right of declaring themselves out of the citizenship."

Accordingly the Union Government accepted the Germans of South-West Africa as citizens of the Union, enjoying the same privileges and the same responsibilities as the other citizens. Every facility was to be given for the free use of the German language; German might be used in communications to public officers, who would reply in that language wherever possible; and German translations of the issues of the Official Gazette containing laws and Government notices would also be published; but German was not to be formally recognized as a third official language. Sympathetic consideration was to be shown to German churches and schools; some of the latter were to receive special grants for a time, and German was to continue to be the medium of instruction in schools where the parents of at least twenty-five children demanded it. No future discrimination was to be made by the immigration regulations as between Germans and other nationals desirous

addressed meetings of Germans at various centres in the South-West at which the idea of accepting Union citizenship was mooted, and for the most part favourably received, and later General Smuts consulted the League of Nations and the German Government, both of which agreed. An agreement of October 23rd, 1923, was the outcome of subsequent negotiations in London.

of settling in the South-West. The promise of works of development at the ports and elsewhere was given; in particular Swakopmund was to be developed as a watering place and an educational centre. Another stipulation was that Germans in South-West Africa and their children should not be liable for military service against the German Realm for a period of thirty years. The assurance was also given that persons who exercised the right to decline British nationality should nevertheless be entitled to remain in the territory, and should " not be disturbed or molested on any pretext whatsoever in consequence of the exercise of such right."

The transaction was completed in September, 1924, when the Hertzog Government passed the South-West Africa (Naturalization of Aliens) Act, which automatically brought into Union citizenship all German nationals in the territory who did not, within the prescribed time, make written declaration of their unwillingness to become naturalized. The present measure is obviously only a first step. South-West Africa is not legally part of the Union, nor can it be so long as it continues a mandated territory. That it will ultimately be incorporated in the Union can hardly be doubted; and there may be reason to hope that when the time comes for that final step it will be effected by the willing assent, not only of the German inhabitants of the territory, but of the German Government. That a truly democratic Dominion would accept the territory on any other terms is inconceivable.

For nearly ten years now the territory has been administered autocratically, though benevolently so. For autocratic methods, however pleasantly veiled, there is now no longer need or excuse, however, and it may be expected that the present Government, composed as it is of men who have never endorsed the annexationist policy pursued by the Allied Great Powers, will introduce such a form of autonomy in local affairs as will satisfy the reasonable aspirations of a community of a socially advanced type. The least possible improvement for the present would be the substitution of a Legislative Council, predominantly elective, for the existing merely Advisory Council, as a preparation for a full representative system at an early date. Thus the way would be paved for the larger

citizenship which would come if the territory became a fully-qualified province of the Union.

The most important railway project now in hand in South-West Africa is a line of 180 miles which is being constructed from Windhoek to Gobabis, west of the boundary of Bechuanaland. At Gobabis, however, the railway cannot stop, for wherever the capital comes from—and possibly neither the Union nor Rhodesia could provide it alone—a prolongation through the Kalahari is inevitable. So extended, communication would be established both with the Union and Rhodesian railway systems, and Rhodesia would have access to the sea in British territory, while merchandise imported or exported at Walvis Bay would be transhipped at a point several days nearer to England than Capetown, and the travelling distance between London and Johannesburg would be shortened by over a thousand miles. That this line could be financially successful for a long time is impossible, for four hundred miles of track would be through inhospitable country inhabited only by Bushmen and yielding little or no remunerative traffic. On the other hand, the line would at once give an impetus to such development as the rest of the country proved capable of, and large tracts of land which would be opened up are said to be well adapted for cotton growing and other crops.

The money aspect of the question apart, it is inconceivable that two great British territories in South Africa can be content to depend much longer upon a foreign Power, and that not the most progressive or accommodating, for permission to use the broad ocean highways. Yet such is the position of Rhodesia and the northern part of the Union in so far as they are obliged to trade through the Portuguese ports of Lourenço Marques and Beira, on the Indian Ocean.

Three other contiguous territories in which the Union justifiably believes itself to have a reversionary interest are Basutoland, Swaziland, and the Bechuanaland Protectorate. All are essentially Native territories, and are reserved and administered as such in the name of the Imperial Government by the Governor-General of the Union in his capacity as High Commissioner, each being under a Resident Commissioner.

Basutoland, sometimes called the Switzerland of South Africa, is an enclave with an area of 11,700 square miles, nearly equal to that of Belgium, lying between the Cape, Orange Free State, and Natal provinces. After annexation to Cape Colony it was detached in 1884, since when it has been under the Imperial Government. With a population of about half a million, it is, for a Native territory, somewhat densely inhabited, particularly in view of the fact that half of its surface is so mountainous as to be largely uninhabitable.

Swaziland, with an area of 6,700 square miles, or nearly that of Wales, is delimited by the south-eastern portion of the Transvaal, northern Natal, and the southern coastal region of Portuguese East Africa. After being administered by the Transvaal Government for some years, it likewise passed under the Imperial Government in 1907. It has a population of 113,000 and cannot be regarded as crowded; and its agricultural and mineral resources are great and various, though it has its share of malarial districts.

The Protectorate of Bechuanaland lies north of the Cape Province, with South-West Africa to the west, the Transvaal and Southern Rhodesia to the east, and North-Western Rhodesia in the north. The territory has an area of 275,000 square miles, which is thrice that of Great Britain, with a population of 153,000. With much fertile land it has large expanses of desert, and here and there malaria prevails. The Kalahari, which is part of the territory, is South Africa's most real desert, and because of its character much of it is inaccessible during some months of the year. The sparse Native population which in this region maintains a hard existence by hunting and stock-keeping moves from place to place as one well after another gives out, and pastoral life generally remains on a very primitive level. Yet the Kalahari was very different in the past. At one time the Molopo flowed through and watered large parts of it, but for thirty years its channel has been dry. Given a water supply by well sinking and systematic irrigation, it is maintained that many thousands of square miles could be converted into rich ranching land and stocked with cattle, goats, and ostriches. The difficulty, as so often when the potentialities of South Africa as an agricultural country are estimated, is how to obtain permanent water in sufficiency.

CHAPTER II

RACE AND COLOUR

THE controversy over the question who were the original inhabitants of South Africa was long ago decided in favour of the Bushmen, an under-sized, yellow-skinned race which has left behind it little more than a series of rude rock drawings and a reputation, deserved or not, for wanton treachery. Then followed the quarrelsome and indolent Hottentots, who gradually drove the Bushmen inland, only to be supplanted and largely exterminated by the incoming Dutch in turn, though not before they had contributed largely to the racial miscegenation which has had such noticeable results in the Cape Province. The darker Bantu, or "Abantu" ("the people"), as they called themselves, then descended in hordes to the south from the north, east, and centre of the Continent, and to-day, in virtue of overwhelmingly superior numbers, they dispute for possession with the white races.* Strictly speaking, therefore, South Africa is by right no more the country of the European than of the present Native races. As the historian G. W. Stow writes, "It is only of the Bushman race that it can be truly said that they were robbed by every race with which they came in contact, and compelled by them to abandon for ever the land of their ancestors."†

The enumeration of the two broad sections of the population given by the census of 1921 was as follows:

*Sir Harry Johnston puts the Bantu at the head of the Native races of Africa, with the disappearing Bushmen at the bottom, and says that the Bantu is the outcome of a slight intermixture of Northern African blood with the "true Negro," though he adds that "it is very difficult to lay down a thesis that there is a distinct physical type of Negro to be described as the Bantu."—"The Living Races of Mankind," Vol. I, p. 356 (*note*) and p. 360.

†"The Native Races of South Africa" (edited by G. McCall Theal), pp. 5, 6.

	European.	Per cent.	Non-European.	Per cent.	Total.	Per cent.
Cape of Good Hope ..	651,000	23.4	2,132,000	76.6	2,783,000	40.2
Natal	137,000	9.6	1,293,000	90.4	1,429,000	20.6
Transvaal ..	543,000	26.0	1,544,000	74.0	2,088,000	30.1
Orange Free State	188,000	30.0	440,000	69.9	629,000	9.1
Totals ..	1,519,000	22.0	5,409,000	78.0	6,929,000	100.00

Roughly speaking, therefore, the Whites form only about one in five of the population, while the proportion of Coloured people of all shades is between eight and nine times larger than in the United States. There is a considerable foreign and foreign-born population in the larger towns. Of these towns Johannesburg has the highest proportion of foreigners and Pietermaritzburg the lowest. Over a quarter of the foreign population of Johannesburg is Russian; in Capetown a third is Scandinavian; and the preponderating foreign element in Pretoria is European Dutch.

Practically all the non-Europeans are Coloured people. But "Coloured" is a generic term, and there are in South Africa many species. It is customary to distinguish between the Natives, meaning the aboriginal Blacks, and the half-castes, who are the Coloured people proper, and there is in addition a strong Asiatic element. The sub-divisions used by the census returns are the Bantu population, composing the more or less pure Native races, the Asiatics, and "mixed and other Coloured" people. Thus classified the non-European populations of the four Provinces were enumerated as follows in 1921:

Provinces.	Bantu	Asiatic	Mixed and other Coloured	Total Coloured
Cape of Good Hope ..	1,644,000	7,700	485,000	2,132,000
Natal	1,143,000	141,800	11,100	1,293,000
Transvaal ..	1,501,000	16,100	30,300	1,544,000
Orange Free State ..	424,000	400	17,800	440,000
Totals ..	4,712,000	166,000	544,200	5,409,000

This classification, however, represents the composition of the non-European population in the broadest possible way. The Bantu races are numbered by the dozen, the last census report singling out as the principal ones the Zulu, Basuto, Fingo, Mashona, Bechuana, Xosa, Pondo,

Barolong, Shangaan, Tembu, Baca, Bavenda, Bomvana, Damara, Hlangweni, Ndebele, Pondomise, Swazi, Tonga, Xesibe, Ovambo, Barotse, and Mozambique. Of these the Zulus, Shangaan, Basutos, and Fingoes are specially vigorous and progressive, and may be regarded as belonging to the flower of the Bantu people. Nothing corresponding to a geographical incidence of the Native races exists any longer. The Zulus, for example, though naturally predominating in Natal, to which their country was annexed in 1879, are found in every part of the country, and in almost every occupation open to Native labour. The tribes of South-West Africa—the Hereros, Ovambos, Damaras, and others—have hitherto kept more or less to their own territories, but with the new status of that region it may be expected that even they will soon begin to mix more freely with the rest of the Coloured people of South Africa.

On the other hand, the "mixed and other Coloured" races include nearly all the half-caste population, together with the Hottentots, Cape Malays, Griquas, Korannas, Namaquas, and Negroes. The Cape Malays represent a very marked type. They are in part the descendants of Javanese imported as slaves by the early Dutch, but they have become thoroughly naturalized, having lost all their Asiatic characteristics apart from their religion, for they remain Mohammedans, and at Capetown have an imposing mosque. Many of their number are successful traders and market-gardeners.

Apart from these more or less clearly defined races, the census reveals numberless differentiations and borderland cases, due to inter-marriage and difficult of classification. Thus in the west and south of the Cape Province there is a class known as the Cape Coloured, a population of mixed blood shading from almost pure White to almost pure Native.* There are also Bantus who have inter-married with other Coloured people or Asiatics, and are something "betwixt and between," and there is a semi-negroid element, the result of Coloured people falling a notch or two

*M. S. Evans says in his "Black and White in South-East Africa" (1911), "Miscegenation in Capetown and many other parts of the Cape Colony between Whites and Coloured is becoming very frequent" (p. 280), and there is reason to believe that the tendency has further increased since he thus wrote.

lower in the scale of racial status, a process so much easier than the reverse.

The last census classified about two millions, or two-fifths, of the non-European population as "Christian," though to some extent the description must be regarded as relative. Of the Bantu people a million and a half, or under one-third, are so described, 41 per cent. of the number belonging to the Methodist Churches, 18 per cent. to the Anglican, 12 per cent. to the Lutheran, 12 per cent. to the Congregational and Presbyterian, and 7 per cent. to the Dutch Reformed Churches. The only Mahommedan Natives are several hundreds from Central and East Africa. Nearly two and a half million Bantu were represented as of "no religion," and of a further three-quarters of a million the religion, if any, was said to be "unknown or not stated," though both of these groups doubtless consisted in the main of pagans still "suckled in a creed outworn."

The diverse composition of the Coloured population having thus been indicated, no distinction will be drawn in later pages between Native and Coloured people other than Asiatics, except where the context makes it desirable, since in other cases such discrimination would only be confusing and tedious for the reader. Nor is it needful to discuss the question of ethnic origins when referring to the Native population, and the official description of "Bantu" will be accepted as sufficient for the altogether practical purposes of this book, though many tribes will be mentioned in the course of the narrative. It should also be remembered that in common language the name Kaffir or Kafir is now indiscriminately applied in South Africa to any branch of the Bantu family, and as synonymous with "Native."*

Counting all races, the density of population is 14·6 persons to the square mile, a low figure, though herein South Africa compares favourably with other British Commonwealths, New Zealand having 11·6, Canada 2·4, and Australia 1·8. Of the four provinces, Natal has the greatest density of population, with 40·5 persons to the square mile,

* The word Kaffre, Kaffir, or Kafir is Arabic, meaning "infidels," and was originally applied by the Europeans (themselves so called by the Mohammedans) to the inhabitants of the coast of Mozambique.

the Transvaal following with 18·9, the Orange Free State with 12·5, and the Cape of Good Hope with 10·1. There is no great inequality in the incidence of the White population, the Transvaal having 4·9 to the square mile, Natal 3·9, the Orange Free State 3·8, and the Cape 2·4, with an average for the entire Union of 3·2.

The distribution of the non-European population shows far greater disparity, for while the Cape has only 7·7 to the square mile Natal has 36·6, and the Transvaal and Orange Free State 14 and 8·7 respectively, with an average for the Union of 11·4. The highest ratios of Coloured people are found, of course, in the large towns, particularly those of the mining centres. On the other hand, there are extensive rural areas which have neither one White nor one Coloured person to the square mile.

Viewing the question of incidence from another standpoint, it appears that just under one half (48·9 per cent.) of the population defined as " urban " consists of Europeans, and that a little more than one-half of the entire European population is distributed in urban areas. In consequence, however, of the fact that agriculture depends almost entirely for its labour supply upon the Native races, and that the latter are also pastoral by nature, the Coloured people form the largest element of the rural population, 79·1 per cent. consisting of Bantus, while the Asiatic, mixed and other Coloured people contribute a further 7·9 per cent. Altogether 87·5 per cent. of the Bantu races live in rural and 12·5 per cent. in urban areas, the latter consisting predominantly of towns of small size. For some time there has been a serious exodus of Whites from the country to the towns, with the result that the predominance of the Natives in the agricultural districts, which are their natural habitat, tends to increase, a circumstance more to be welcomed than their urbanization by absorption in the restless life of the industrial centres.

Not a few European nations have contributed to make South Africa what it has been described—a multi-racial, multi-coloured, and multi-lingual country. The Dutch were, of course, the earliest settlers. Their first settlement at the Cape dated from 1652, but in their later appropriation

of successive areas of the country they did not follow a systematic plan. The old Boer pioneers by preference occupied land near water, whether river, stream, or spring, and the rest was left to be claimed or not according to need. Later such unappropriated land fell to the Government, but each man trekking into the unknown was entitled to peg out an area up to between 7,000 and 8,000 acres. A useful French addition to the population was made in the form of a band of several hundred Huguenot refugees after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, which led to the establishment of many similar colonies in European countries. The healthy influence of this influx was altogether disproportionate to its numbers. The Huguenots, as everywhere else, were people of a high level of intelligence, and though they were in time absorbed by the Dutch, who took care to distribute them in various centres, and summarily suppressed their language, the effect of the intermarriage of the two races was to create a modified stock, more mobile in nature and warmer and quicker in blood than that which came over from the Low Country. Not a few place-names and family names, some of the latter recalling men who have played a distinguished part in national history, commemorate the Gallic settlement of those early days. During the following century most of the Europeans who settled in the Cape were Dutch and German, with small contingents of French, Swiss, Danes, Swedes, Belgians, Norwegians, and even Russians, but hardly any English.

At the end of the century the European population did not number quite two thousand, and there were about the same number of slaves. The latter had been imported to work on the farms and do the harder work generally, the earliest coming from the Guinea Coast, Madagascar, and also from Java, Malacca, and other Dutch possessions. The systematic trade in slaves was continued until early in last century, though even later slave cargoes captured at sea were still gratefully accepted as a gift of Providence, and the institution of slavery enjoyed high countenance. As late as 1828 a Chief Justice of Cape Colony owned thirty-seven slaves, and a clerical citizen of Port Elizabeth owned two. There still exists at Capetown a building which

once served as the slave lodge of the Dutch East India Company. There the slaves, on landing, were received and kept in cells until the time came for putting them up for sale in the market-place.

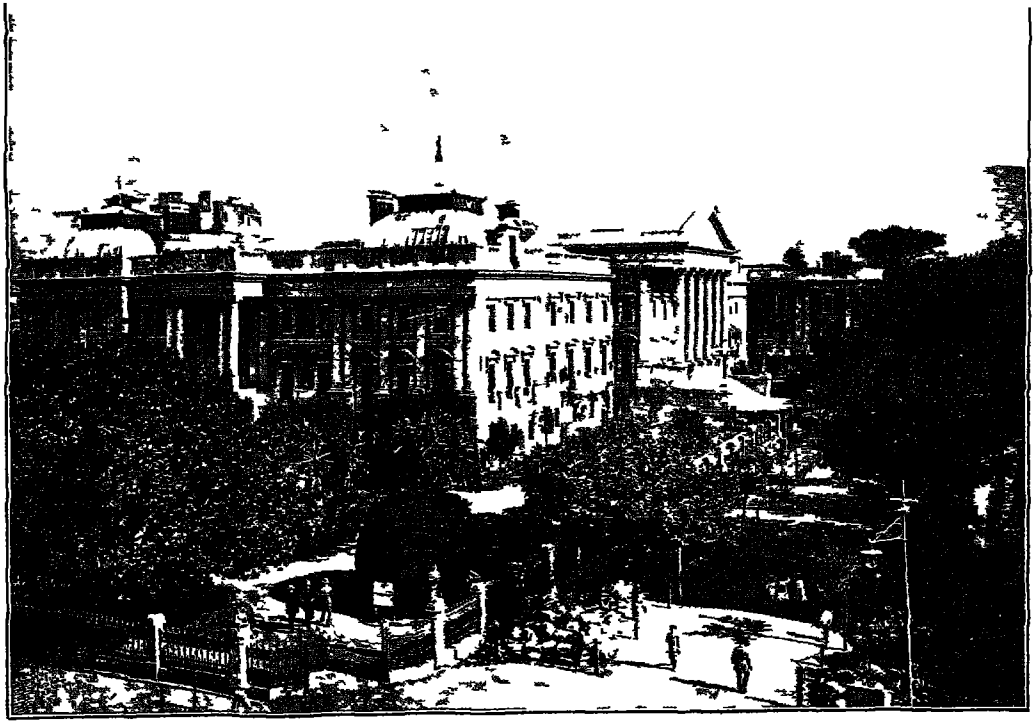
To-day there is general agreement that the employment of slave labour was a grave mistake, and one for which no necessity existed. As Dr. Theal writes:

> "The climate for nine months of the year is to Europeans the pleasantest in the world, and even during the other three—excepting from twenty to thirty excessively hot days—White men can labour in the open air without discomfort. The settlement could have been purely European. But in the seventeenth century it was the custom of all colonizing nations to make of the Negro a hewer of wood and drawer of water, and the Dutch merely acted in the spirit of the age."*

By the introduction of slave labour and the assignment to it of all the roughest kinds of physical work, the country's development was begun on mistaken and unsound lines. Slavery passed away, but the White man's prejudice against such work remained and was further strengthened with the multiplication of a Native population only too ready to take over the distasteful burden. It will be shown in later pages how this prejudice, now petrified into a stubborn tradition, lies at the root of more than one of the critical problems upon the right solution of which South Africa's future depends.

Holland's political interest in South Africa, suspended when an English fleet seized the Cape in 1795, ceased finally in 1814, when she ceded the colony to the British in perpetuity, and from that time her attention was concentrated upon the development of the colonies in the Indies which remained to her. At the end of the first decade of last century, the population comprised some 26,700 Europeans, mostly Dutch, 17,700 Hottentots, and nearly 30,000 slaves, giving a total of 74,000. Culture had already set its mark on the colony; a prosperous class of wine-growers and farmers had sprung up; there were many fine homesteads in and around Capetown; and hardy Boer pioneers had

* "South Africa" (1916), by G. McCall Theal, pp. 33-4.



HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT, CAPETOWN

pushed back the remaining Hottentots to the distant north and east.

Ten years later a large British immigration took place, as a result of which several settlements were established in the south-east of the colony. England was still suffering from the impoverishment and misery caused by the exhausting Napoleonic wars. Industry was paralysed and discontent rife, as now in like circumstances, and in the hope of relieving the pressure on the labour market, and giving a fresh chance in life to people unable to find work and a livelihood at home, the Government organized a scheme of emigration to South Africa. The number wanted was under 5,000, but nearly 90,000 people applied to be sent out. The first batch of emigrants landed in Algoa Bay (Port Elizabeth) in April, 1820, and others followed month by month to the end of the year, by which time 3,700 had arrived, and their number ultimately increased to about 5,000. They settled in the Albany district, first Bathurst and later Grahamstown, then a new military centre, being chosen as their headquarters. Original settlers' cottages still remain in this seductive little town, their humble simplicity contrasting strongly with the evidences of opulence now visible on every hand. The known descendents of these settlers in the country to-day are estimated to number 150,000, or one-tenth of the entire European population, though it is probable that this figure is excessive. From that time forward there was a steady influx of population from Great Britain, but the contribution from Ireland was small.

In the early days there was a constant demand for labour, and when the need was urgent neither Dutch nor British were particular where the supplies came from. Thus there have been mass importations of Germans at various times. Germany sent some hundreds of artisans under indenture to the Cape in 1838, and Natal drew a large amount of labour from the same country, whose lower orders were then and long after regarded as the wood-hewers and water-drawers of the nations. Later Germans of the substantial agricultural type settled in various parts of the country. Just as French troops had been brought to the Cape by the Dutch East India Company in 1781, so after the Crimean War the British Government sent several thousand German

legionaries and settled them on a military footing in British Kaffraria. To Kaffraria, too, came in 1859 a colony of German peasants, who settled on free grants of land, and about the same time a small German colony was established at Kroondal, near Rustenburg, in the Transvaal.

The last-named colony continues to prosper, as I found when chancing to visit it early in 1924. The original settlers came from Hanover, and they still use their native language and live more or less the old social life, having their own school, church, and pastor. There are now about twenty families who cultivate holdings of some 70 acres of irrigated land, with grazing rights in respect of a commonage of nearly 10,000 acres. They have had their ups and downs, but have done well on the whole, though at the time of my visit their tobacco crops were a source of disappointment, owing to low prices and high taxation. Like Germans elsewhere, they have a reputation for industry and domestic order. Their farms are well cultivated, and their homes bespeak a measure of comfort probably greater than peasant families of the same class enjoy in their native Hanover to-day. They are peaceful and neighbourly folk, who are liked by both British and Dutch.

Next to the Dutch and British, the Germans have come to be the strongest element in the European population, and there is general and willing agreement that their solid virtues of industry, application, and thrift have greatly contributed to the material and moral progress of the country. To this community General Smuts paid a generous tribute several months ago, when visiting Grahamstown, where are many old German settler families.

Coming to later times, there has been a considerable Scandinavian immigration, for the most part spasmodic and unorganized. In 1882, Norway sent a batch of fifty families who set up house near the Umzimkulu river, several miles inland from Port Shepstone, in the south of Natal, whose Government allotted to each of them 100 acres of suitable land, and gave a further area of 1,000 acres to the settlement as commonage. They still form a satisfied and hard-working if not over-prosperous community, and retain their national customs and language. Scandinavians are also largely employed in the whaling industry

in the two maritime provinces. Belgium in 1875 sent some hundreds of labourers, who engaged themselves on railway work, and there have been later additions from the same source. Since the Armistice there have been many Dutch, Italian, Scandinavian, Portuguese, and still more Russian immigrants, though the new British settlers have outnumbered all the rest by three or four to one. The Italians are largely found in Natal and the Orange Free State, and are by preference market-gardeners and stone-masons, while most of the modern Netherlanders have settled in the Transvaal.

Oriental labour in the persons of Chinese coolies began to come to the country after the middle of last century, though never in large numbers. As late as 1881, however, a batch of 250 came to the Cape for railway construction work, but soon abandoned it for the diamond diggings at Kimberley. When, however, the South African speaks of "Asiatics" he means the descendants of the coolies who were imported as labourers for the Natal sugar plantations from 1860 forward, and the immigrants from various parts of India who have settled in that province and in a minor degree in the Cape and the Transvaal during more recent times. The difficulties which have been created for Natal by this large and assertive element will be considered later.

The Hebrew element is not strong relatively to the aggregate white population, except in the larger towns, where its activities find congenial scope in finance and dominate the Stock Exchanges in particular, though Jewish competition in trade and commerce is also severe. For agriculture the Jews have little taste, except as lenders to encumbered farmers. Where the Jews are there is certain to be wealth, and when a short time ago one of the suburbs of Capetown needed a synagogue, £10,000 was soon given for the purpose. The relations between Christians and Jews, in so far as they consort, are everywhere harmonious.

In the middle of last century the European population of Cape Colony was estimated at about 120,000 in a total population of 800,000, and the Dutch were still twice as numerous as the British. Since then, owing to the fact that the Dutch increase has been, and continues to be, due almost solely to excess of births over deaths, while the

British have been largely reinforced by immigration, the racial disparity in the country as a whole has become less marked, though the Dutch are still in a large majority. To-day the most British part of the Union is Natal, though there are, of course, many Dutch and a smaller number of Germans there. In the Cape the two races are more evenly distributed, though there are many specially strong centres both of Dutch and British influence, while the Orange Free State and, except on the Rand and in other mining areas, the Transvaal are overwhelmingly Dutch.

It was from the Cape that the Dutch from time to time "trekked" to the territories both to the east and north. The habit of "trekking" was formed early in the history of the country. While the Netherlands East India Company was still in possession the Boer farmers of the Cape Peninsula marked their dissatisfaction with the administration to which they were subjected by withdrawing to the east and east-centre of the colony, and later "trekking" was always going on somewhere or other. When the land was impoverished or insufficient for the growing herds and flocks, farmers simply moved farther afield, harried the Natives out of the way, pitched their tents, registered their claims with the Government or not as they were disposed, and resumed farming. If they remained, the licences or permits were renewed yearly, but if this new land again proved unsatisfactory they moved still further on.

So the nomadic instinct was strengthened, and "trekking" became the recognized outlet for restless energy or social discontent. What is known as the "Great Trek" of South African history took place between the years 1836 and 1838. The Boer farmers had never felt comfortable under British administration, which was too rigid and too careful of the Natives for their liking. They complained that the stubborn "rooineks" (red-necks) not only gave them insufficient protection against the Native raiders, but refused to allow them to defend themselves in their own drastic way. They had also a more genuine grievance over the emancipation of the slaves, which took place about that time. The abolition of slavery in the British colonies was enacted in 1833, and it was decreed that all slaves in the Cape should be freed in December of the following year.

The Cape farmers petitioned for a short respite, pointing out that the work of manumission was already in progress on a voluntary basis and that, with a little financial help, it would be completed within ten years, without any of the disastrous consequences inseparable from a sudden change.

Historians of South Africa maintain that the system of slavery in vogue there was of the mild household type, and that the slaves were on the whole well treated by their European masters. It is on record that charges of cruelty brought by missionaries in 1813 were found on investigation by the British Government to be for the most part baseless. However strong may have been their claims for respite, the petition of the Cape farmers was ignored, the decree of emancipation being enforced with literal exactitude in every detail except the compensation due to the slave-owners. The British Parliament had assigned the sum of twenty million pounds to cover compensation to those who were thus to lose their human chattels throughout the Empire, and for their 36,000 slaves the farmers of the Cape should have received three millions. Not only was this share reduced to a million and a quarter, but in its distribution all sorts of chicanery were practised. Thus the certificates entitling the farmers to compensation could only be cashed in London, and deceived as they believed they had been over the head-money, many of them suspected this arrangement to be a final trick for robbing them outright; hence they parted readily with their *bons* to wily agents for a fraction of the value. The rate of compensation worked out at £33 a head, or little more than a third of the valuation, but few farmers received even this reduced sum. The awards offered were in many cases so small that the claimants declined to receive them, preferring to cherish a well-founded grievance instead. Not a few families were reduced to poverty in consequence of the indiscriminate way in which a humane measure was executed.

Discontented and resentful owing to these and other causes, between ten and twelve thousand Boer families moved from the old colony partly into Natal, but in far greater numbers into the then unsettled regions which later became the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, the most Dutch of the four present provinces. Pieter Retief was

their organizer and leader, and in a proclamation which he left behind at Grahamstown he said: "We are now quitting the fruitful land of our birth, in which we have suffered enormous losses and continual vexation, and are entering a wild and dangerous territory; but we go with a firm reliance on an all-seeing and merciful Being, whom we shall always fear and humbly endeavour to obey." All he asked for himself and his associates was that the English Government would "allow us to govern ourselves without its interference in future."

Taking with them their rude pieces of furniture and household utensils, with foodstuffs, fire-arms, and powder, the trekking families went northward in bands at intervals, each as it was ready for the journey, travelling in bullock waggons, which were living-rooms by day and bedrooms by night. Hardly were there as yet roads in the modern sense, and the sprawling tracks which they followed took the country just as it came, climbing up valleys, crossing mountain ranges, tobogganing the river drifts at low water, and scooping and levelling their course through endless tracts of barren veld and tangled bush. Paul Kruger, then a youth of ten years, trudged behind his father's ox-waggons and cattle on this great adventure, at once one of romance and tragedy.

But with the discovery of new lands of promise the difficulties and trials of the sturdy trekkers—heroes all, the women as well as the men—were not at an end. They organized here and there, wherever the communities were numerous enough, crude systems of government, but orderly progress was hindered by frictions, jealousies, dissensions, fightings within and fears without, and it was 1856 before peace came to the last of the rival factions. Two years before the Republic of the Orange Free State had been formed, and now followed that of the Transvaal, which began its life in the same year that Natal became a separate colony.

Recalling the grim old Boer Voortrekkers of those stirring days, and the nation-building, so full of hard toil, so empty of glory, in which they were engaged without knowing it, one can but bow the head and whisper "Peace to their ashes and honour to their memory!" They were stubborn

folk, often stubborn as their own oxen, rebels on occasion, as men as good and better were before and have been since, ruling it tyrannically, each in his patriarchal domain, with no light word of command for their house folk, and no light hand for their soulless niggers; yet, with all their crudeness and austerity, wanting to do right as they understood right, and religious in a stern Old Testament, Calvinistic way. They were men made for rough work, and such work they did; yet strong as they were, they were not so strong as fate. History has not shaped South Africa as they wanted and envisaged it, yet for all that they have largely made it what it is, and without them the Union might have been to-day a still more hopeless black Liberia.

What has already been said will have prepared the reader for the discussion of the race problems which will occupy us later, and have suggested how and where these problems press with special weight. Two facts of outstanding importance are the great preponderance of the Native races and the menacing strength of the Asiatic element in the province of Natal.

Every level of civilization is represented in this land of contrasts. At the top there is the Western culture of the European communities, which owes much to heredity, much to a remarkably efficient educational system, but something also to the White man's knowledge that he can only hope to keep back Native pressure so long as his superiority to the Black man, intellectually and morally, as well as materially, remains unquestioned and unquestionable. At the bottom there is primitive barbarism, unsophisticated and untamed, though restrained by wise laws severely regulating the use of fire-arms and intoxicants. Referring to one of the more backward Native communities, in the Eastern Transvaal, the Report on the 1921 census states that it is still "a physical impossibility for enumerators to visit every Native kraal in an area such as the Zoutpansberg, as much of the country is wild and inaccessible, except on foot, and the Natives in many parts are as wild as the country, and take to the bush immediately on the approach of a European."

Between these extremes are found not only the gradations of European culture natural in a country with a very

backward as well as a progressive agriculture, and a social residuum created by outlived economic usages or other unfavourable conditions, but all the varieties of civilization which are represented by the Oriental, the more or less Europeanized Coloured man, and the still only partially Europeanized Bantu. To take an example of the social contrasts revealed by the manifold life of even the European races, half a day's journey from Cape Town, a city at once of high culture and extreme luxury, which dresses as closely to the fashions of Paris as London does and Vienna used to do, will bring you to outlandish districts where White people live on the outer verge of civilization, clothe themselves in sheep and goat skins, bake their bread in mud ovens on the veld, and live in huts made of a concatenation of box-lids and flattened-out tin cans.

Again, a tragic survival of the old Dutch patriarchal system—a system possible only amongst primitive and pastoral peoples and analogous to that described in early Old Testament history—exists in a class of people, mostly agrarian by descent yet steadily drifting into the lower strata of the urban labouring population, known as the "poor Whites," to whom reference will often have to be made in later pages. When Europeans in general fall behind in efficiency they run a great risk of becoming "poor Whites," and a poor White is in far worse case than a poor Black. For in all probability the latter is at least on the upward way, though that way will still be a long and toilsome one; while the former is on a slippery slope that leads lower and ever lower, with perdition at the bottom unless his precipitate course be checked. In the main, however, the "poor Whites" are a class of deteriorated Dutch, the descendants, more or less distantly, of substantial farmers who perhaps once counted their acres by the ten thousand, and many of them still drag on an impecunious and dependent existence on the large back-veld farms.

Several years ago a Government Commission estimated the number of the "poor Whites" at 120,000, and it cannot be less and is probably more now. However numerous they are, the "poor Whites" form a dangerously large element in a White population of only a million and a half. Pity them as you must, they are for the most part a hapless,

helpless, ineffectual set of people, with all the weak characteristics of the "down and out" class—fecklessness, improvidence, and indifference alike to present anxieties or the certain cares of the future.

In spite of all such contrasts, however, South Africa on the whole is a distinctly go-ahead country, though happily for it not one of the hustling, rushing kind; with the consequence that what is done for national development is usually done well, not for the present only, but for permanence. Its economic structure has, in fact, just the solidity and substantialness which are rightly claimed as distinctive of the two races which have taken the foremost part in its development. When in the Magaliesberg district of the Transvaal I went about the farms there, visited the orchards and tobacco and cotton fields, and saw signs of comfort and prosperity on every side, it was difficult to believe that less than half a century ago lions, elephants and rhinos freely roamed that romantic and fertile region.

CHAPTER III

POLITICAL LIFE

SOUTH AFRICA has been spoken of as a country of anomalies; it is also one of compromises—compromises between man and man and between man and nature. Politically, for example, it is a country with three capitals, Pretoria being the administrative, Capetown the legislative, and Bloemfontein the judicial capital. The arrangement is awkward in many ways, but it was unavoidable, and devised in order to meet rival claims when the constitution of the Union was settled. A brief statement of the main provisions of that document will fitly introduce the more personal subject of political life and the main issues over which parties contend.

The Act of Union of 1909, known as the South Africa Act, was a concordat of the four Colonies, Parliaments, and peoples of the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange River Colony, which territories were thereby constituted the "Union of South Africa." The Executive Government is administered by a Governor-General as the King's representative, and legislative power is exercised by a Parliament consisting of the King, a Senate, and a House of Assembly. The Senate is composed of forty members, eight nominated by the Governor-General-in-Council and eight elected for each province by its Council, membership being for ten years. One half of the senators appointed by the Governor-General have to be selected "on the ground mainly of their thorough acquaintance, by reason of their official experience or otherwise, with the reasonable wants and wishes of the Native races in South Africa."

The membership of the House of Assembly was fixed at 121, the numbers falling to the several provinces relatively to their populations being 51 for the Cape of Good Hope, 17 for Natal, 36 for the Transvaal and 17 for the Orange Free State, but provision being made for increases and reductions in specified circumstances. The representation

of the Transvaal has since been increased by 14 seats, so that the total number is now 135. Members are paid £400 a year, but for several years a bonus has been added, to meet the higher cost of living. The country is divided into single-member constituencies, and election is by direct franchise, and for a term of five years, all elections taking place on one and the same day. The constituencies, though extensive in area, are very small in voting strength, the number of electors ranging as a rule from 2,000 to 4,000, according to province—and in this respect elections compare rather with those of the larger local government districts at home.

The qualifications of a senator are that he shall (*a*) be not less than thirty years of age, (*b*) be qualified to vote for election to the House of Assembly in one of the provinces, (*c*) have resided in the Union for five years, (*d*) be a British subject of European descent, and (if an elected senator) (*e*) be the registered owner of immovable property within the Union of the value, unencumbered, of not less than £500. The qualifications of a member of the House of Assembly are as defined under (*b*), (*c*), and (*d*) above. The franchise is still restricted to men, though early in 1924 a majority of the House of Assembly voted in favour of its extension to women of the White races.

In fixing the franchise it was necessary to pay regard to the different traditions of the four territories, and the provisions on this head are of special importance as bearing on the political status of the Native and Asiatic populations. As this subject will occupy us in later chapters it is desirable to give these provisions in full. They run:

> "Parliament may by law prescribe the qualifications which shall be necessary to entitle persons to vote at the election of members of the House of Assembly, but no such law shall disqualify any person in the province of the Cape of Good Hope who under the laws existing in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope at the establishment of the Union is, or may become capable of being, registered as a voter from being so registered in the province of the Cape of Good Hope *by reason of his race and colour only*, unless the Bill be passed by both Houses of Parliament sitting together, and at the third reading be agreed upon by not less than two-thirds of the total number of members of both Houses. . . .

No person who at the passing of any such law is registered as a voter in any province shall be removed from the register *by reason only of any disqualification based on race or colour.* (Art. 35.)

"Subject to the provisions of the last preceding section, the qualifications of parliamentary voters, as existing in the several Colonies at the establishment of the Union, shall be the qualifications necessary to entitle persons in the corresponding provinces to vote for the election of members of the House of Assembly; provided that no member of His Majesty's regular forces on full pay shall be entitled to be registered as a voter." (Art. 36.)

One effect of these clauses is that, except in the Cape of Good Hope, and to a nominal degree in Natal, only British subjects of European descent can either vote for or be members of the House of Assembly, or, consequentially, vote for or be members of the Senate. In the Cape Province both Coloured people and Natives can obtain the franchise subject to the qualifications which apply to Europeans. These are ability to read and write in a simple way, with the ownership of real property worth £75, or the receipt of wages of not less than £50 a year. The non-European electors are estimated at 40,000, and they are supposed to hold the balance in several constituencies, for most elections are decided by small majorities. For the Cape Native election time is a time of sheer bliss and glory, for then for a brief spell he finds himself humoured and petted as a person of importance, and he has only to lift up his hand and a White lady will drive him to the polling booth in her costly motor-car. What he does when he gets there is his affair. As the attitude of the South African Party is far more sympathetic to the Native population and to Native welfare than that of the Nationalists as a whole—for there are striking exceptions among the more enlightened and far-seeing members of the latter party—the Native vote has hitherto gone to General Smuts. Some spokesmen of Native interests, however, calling down "A plague on both your houses!" systematically advocate abstention from the polls, though only with modified success.

The provisions relating to money bills and the inability of the Upper House to amend them are taken from British constitutional practice. There is provision for joint sittings

of the two Houses in the event of disagreement over Bills, in which event the votes of a simple majority of the members present decide finally. An important right secured to the Union is the right to alter its constitution without interference from the Imperial Parliament in England. Any such change, however, must be enacted by the two Houses in joint sitting, and at the third reading must be agreed to by not less than two-thirds of the total number of members of both Houses. There is provision for the admission into the Union of the territories which in 1909 were administered by the British South Africa Company (i.e., Rhodesia), and for the transfer to Union administration of the Native territories provisionally remaining under the Imperial Government. Other important provisions will be mentioned in later chapters.

By a later Act the control of the land defences of the country was transferred to the Union Government, which accordingly took charge on December 1, 1921, on which date the Imperial military force was withdrawn, so ending a tie between the British Army and South Africa which had continued unbroken for 115 years. It was a rupture which many British inhabitants sorely regretted, but it was effected amid amicable feelings on all sides.

South Africa does not lack national problems, some of momentous importance, yet there is really nothing very complicated about its party politics. Neither the British nor the Dutch are exclusively identified with separate and distinctive party groups. It is rather the outstanding problems than the parties that are complex and confused, so that clear issues seldom present themselves. There are nominally three parties, though for the present only two in practice, since one has temporarily renounced an independent existence by allying itself with one of the larger groups.

The stronger of these groups is the South African Party, whose leader since 1919 has been General Smuts, until a few months ago practically the only statesman of the Union still in active political life who was more than a name to the British public. The party may be regarded as broadly representing Liberal and progressive tendencies in the forms in which these tendencies express themselves in a country

without violent social contrasts ; yet there is attached to it, *faute de mieux*, a little section of die-hard Conservatives who in British political life might scarcely feel comfortable in the Liberal Unionist camp. From the national standpoint the party stands for unswerving loyalty to the Union and to the principles upon which it was founded, these being to General Smuts, as they were to General Botha, his predecessor, in every implication a fundamental and inviolable part of the concordat of 1909.

The headship of the party fell by natural succession to its present leader. General Smuts was not only a member of General Botha's first and second Cabinets, but the mentor and devoted friend of that good and just man, and when Botha died in August, 1919, his mantle fell to him as by right. Called to be Prime Minister and form an Administration, he found himself hampered by a House of Assembly so ill-balanced that an early election was unavoidable. The result was to give to the Ministerial South African and Unionist Parties, the latter (created by Dr. Starr Jameson) led by Sir Thomas Smartt, one vote less than the Opposition parties, the Dutch Nationalists and the Labour men, so that the casting vote rested with several " Independents." An abortive attempt made by Smuts to persuade the Nationalists to join hands with the British and the members of their own race in the South African Party led to the fusion of this party, still retaining the old name, with the Unionists, and in a second election in February, 1921, Smuts came to power with a majority of 24. It was a substantial margin in a House of only 134 members, for proportionately to numbers it was equal to a majority of 110 in the British House of Commons, and it enabled him to retain his position for a little over three years.

The other main group is the Nationalist Party, led by General Hertzog. It is overwhelmingly Dutch, predominantly agricultural in composition, and by comparison with its rival strongly Conservative, with an extreme right wing of pertinacious retrogrades, ever pulling backward. Of this wing Mr. Tielman Roos is the spokesman, and if he were the last word in Nationalist wisdom the outlook of South Africa would be melancholy. No one knows better the back-veld farmers, and he has hitherto not scrupled

to play up to the most violent of their prejudices, regardless of the injury done to the cause of national development. The party as a whole, however, lacks warm sympathy with modern ideas, and will never allow South Africa to advance too quickly. Its economic standpoint is practically that of the German agrarians, while its political bias may be judged by the fact that when a Government measure for the enfranchisement of White women was brought forward in the last Parliament the Nationalist party opposed it almost unanimously. It is characteristic of the Dutch mind in general that the speakers on that side of the House based their attitude on the plea that Holy Scripture had assigned to woman once for all the duty of caring for her home and children, and for the rest of "keeping silence." "That," said one speaker, "is the light of the Word and the basis of the Roman-Dutch law."

Essentially the basis of the party is racial, and because race constitutes so clear a line of differentiation many varieties of opinion are represented by its adherents, with Unionism *plus* Monarchism and Secession *plus* Republicanism at the two poles of thought.

The third party, whose fortunes are now linked with those of the Nationalists, is that of Labour, whose leader is Colonel Creswell, a mining engineer. It is largely, though not altogether, a British party, genuinely patriotic and staunchly upholding the Union, but no less staunchly devoted to the interests of the White workers and to the ideal of a nebulous Socialism as a more or less far-off divine event. It is particularly identified with the industrial constituencies of the Transvaal, though it has a growing following in the larger towns of the other provinces. A good deal of criticism, most of it pointless, has been passed on the alleged incongruity of the "Pact" which enabled the Nationalist and Labour parties to co-operate for the overthrow of the Smuts *régime*. It was, of course, a union not of hearts, but of convenience, and neither more nor less ardent than most such unions are, whether political or marital. It was concluded, however, openly and without cant, and with a clear understanding that after the election the allies would be free to withdraw from the "Pact" or to renew it at discretion. Both parties to the bargain

made a temporary sacrifice of principle, the Nationalists agreeing to keep in the background all secessionist and republican sympathies, while Colonel Creswell's followers deferred to the sentiment of the Boer country party by jettisoning their more gruesome Socialistic proposals.

Although it was no part of the "Pact" that Labour should enter the Cabinet in the event of the Nationalists being called to form one, that course was the natural and only possible outcome, and it has happened. There is reason to believe that the success of this apparently incongruous combination of parties, which created far less surprise in South Africa than in this country, has already had the effect of greatly mollifying racial feeling amongst all but the hopelessly irreconcilable of the Dutch.

The personalities of the two foremost of South Africa's present political leaders deserve to be further particularized. Both are Dutch, men of enthusiasm, and born leaders, but the similarity does not go much farther. In *psyche* the two men offer, in many ways, a complete contrast. With Smuts reason predominates, with Hertzog feeling. Smuts, too, is a strong man of wide grasp and of the long view; he is far more agile of mind and readier of tongue than his rival, and more thoroughly familiar with all the resources of the business of politics; calculating in great measure, he is yet personally utterly disinterested, doing and wanting everything for the cause and nothing for himself. He has been accused of being too much hand-in-glove with the gold-mining industry. If the suggestion is intended to imply illicit dealings, it is too discreditable for reply. For the rest, it would clearly be absurd for the leading Minister of a country whose finances are, unfortunately, as I think, so largely dependent upon the Rand to ignore its greatest and wealthiest industry, harmonious relations with which is otherwise so necessary for the maintenance of social peace and order in a community that has in it many potential elements of unrest and turbulence.

He is also charged with often being less perspicuous in public speeches than he might be, and claiming more than the customary reticences and reservations usual with statesmen. You are told that no man in South Africa can sway an audience more effectively than Smuts, yet



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that none can leave his hearers in so much doubt as to the precise meaning which should be attached to his words. Lord Buxton has spoken of Smuts' "alert and lucid mind." But a mind may be utterly lucid where lucidity is absent from its utterances, since language may be used to conceal as well as to reveal thought, and I have even heard Smuts accused, as the great Gladstone was, of sophistry. In both cases intellectual subtlety would be a truer and kinder description, and in minds of a highly analytical and speculative order that characteristic is inevitable, and can carry no reproach.

Moreover, who but a blunderbuss of a demagogue would blurt out his inmost thoughts on subjects which may not be clear even to his own judgment? A statesman who respects himself and does not take his fellow-men too cheaply, as most leaders of the multitude do, will always, in his public utterances, reserve something to himself and leave something to the intelligence and imagination of his hearers. What the accusation, if it can be called one, of intentional obscurity, obfuscation, and want of candour really comes to is that Smuts stands head and shoulders above his followers, and that while he will not speak down to them they are unable to reach up to him. Such men are seldom, at least for long spells at a time, idols of the market-place, since its mental currency is never gold or even silver, but copper at best, and often hopelessly depreciated paper.

What is entirely creditable to Smuts is his refusal to play to the gallery. He wants political support and will angle for votes with the best, but not by sacrificing conviction. Facing a turbulent meeting during the recent election he replied as follows to reproaches levelled against him because of his action in quelling the revolutionary movement on the Rand in 1922: "What was the Government to do? It could not do otherwise than preserve order. And as long as I am in power I shall preserve order. If there is a rebellion it will be put down. If there is a revolution it will be put down. We cannot have this country a second Mexico." The most perverse of Smuts' critics in his own party should forgive him everything else for the sake of a courage like that. As the head of a Cabinet he has the reputation of being a strict disciplinarian,

again like Gladstone; he never allows his colleagues to outrun a modified independence, and his idea of a compromise is that the concessions should in all fairness come from the other side.

He is also a convinced opponent of bureaucratic trade monopolies, except in the case of the public utility services such as Transport and the Post and Telegraph, where unity of system and administration is an essential of efficiency, and where in his view the public interest and convenience should be the first consideration, even if at times they have to be purchased at financial loss. Thus when lately urged to make the Government responsible for lifting the wine industry out of the slough of despond which it had deliberately entered, he refused, insisting that the industry must save itself by co-operative action; and the Wine Control Act was drafted and passed from that standpoint. In general he is a warm advocate of co-operation, and believes with justification that what South African agriculture and industry need to-day is less State help and more associated self-help.

What the British people at home, and the Commonwealth of British nations in general, owe to Smuts for his important work in the arena of world politics—" that is another story," as Thackeray said long ago; yet the debt is a great one.

When in April, 1924, its majority in the House of Assembly having already gradually dwindled to eight, the late Government received a further and unexpected reverse by the loss of a traditional South African Party seat in the Transvaal, Smuts came to the conclusion that it was time to test the opinion of the country. Inasmuch as Natal votes almost solidly British and the Free State is equally Dutch, the result of a general election in South Africa is practically determined by the action of the waverers in the two other provinces. Smuts had predicted that if his party failed it would be owing to losses on the Rand, and in fact the Transvaal turned the day against him by transferring fourteen seats from the South African Party to the Nationalist (eight) and Labour (six) Parties, with the result that the " Pact " parties came to power with a clear majority of 26.

The political landslide has been attributed to all sorts of causes. For example, hearing Smuts once criticized, and

his chances of being returned again to power discounted, by a member of his party, I probed the matter, wanting light. Thereupon I was told that, while Smuts' great gifts were admitted, he was too much of an idealist for a still only half or quarter-made country, and that South Africa needed for its development a "hard-headed man of business." We all know that same man : but often wooden-headed would better describe him. The truth is that civilization-building, at least on the right lines, is impossible without vision and imagination, which Smuts possesses in a marked degree, yet which the "hard-headed man of business" generally lacks, even priding himself on the fact. My own impression is that the country's verdict was due in large measure to the general *malaise* which had prevailed for a long time, and the feeling that as one Government had failed to prevent the trade depression, drought and locust visitations, and all the other ills of which the community complained, perhaps a new Government might succeed. For the voters who turn elections in South Africa are no more guided by logic and reason than the same people in other countries.

After having said this, however, I cannot regret that the tyrannical doctors—most of them quacks, not to use Carlyle's stronger word—who look after the political health of Parliament men everywhere, have ordered Smuts to take a rest. He deserved and he needed it. For many arduous years he had carried a heavy burden of public duty ; he had been a Union Minister since 1910, and Prime Minister since 1919 ; during the war and several worse than war years which followed, he served the Empire in various parts of the world, and latterly the work at home had become excessive, even for a man of his strenuous temperament and passion for activity. Yet it would be wrong as well as ungenerous to regard Smuts as simply a defeated political leader. He is rather a general who has been obliged, by a combination of forces never before believed to be possible, to withdraw from a position which he had long held and believed to be still tenable, but he is still in the field, and his party is far and away the strongest in the country, though not for the present in the House.

For the fact is sometimes overlooked that the South

African Party polled 49 per cent. of all votes, or nearly a third more than the Nationalists alone, though it gained only 39 per cent. of the seats. With their excess of 8,700 votes the Pact parties gained a majority of 28 seats, though with proportional representation their majority would have been only four. In any event Smuts is not a man to be down long, and it is safe to say that the valuable opportunity which will be afforded him while in opposition of taking stock of the national situation in all its bearings will both enable him to fight better another day and increase his capacity for useful public service when he returns to the helm of affairs.

There is another aspect of the question which, whether he would openly admit it or not, must appeal to him as a statesman, and to all the large-minded of his associates. Perhaps outsiders recognize more clearly than insiders that the result of the late election brings the constitutional system into balance, by letting the other side have a turn at the pleasures and pains of political responsibility. With no prejudice one way or the other, I am bound to say that the past dominant attitude of the South African Party towards the Nationalists, as expressed in the belief that the latter had no right and no capacity to hold the governing voice in the State, though perhaps to be understood on certain disputable premises, betrayed an entirely erroneous idea of what constitutional government should mean in a modern State. The right has existed at all times, while the capacity will no doubt be demonstrated.

Moreover, experience proves that it is not good for one party, still less for one man, even were he archangelic, to remain in undisputed power too long. Writing of politics, Emerson reminds us that "parties are perpetually corrupted by personalities" when these are so strong as to overshadow and dominate the masses whom they direct. Substitute for "corrupted" the less strong word "emasculated" and the position of the South African Party is fairly stated. Smuts' personality, relatively to his environment, is frankly rather overwhelming, and one effect has been to create in the mind of his followers, in the characteristic South African way, the belief that whatever they did or left undone all would come right, which on this occasion did not happen

according to their ideas. It is safe to say that the election last summer was a personal more than a political contest; it was a question not of industry *versus* agriculture, monarchy *versus* republicanism, Union *versus* secession, or any such make-believe issues, but of one outstanding personality pitted against another, of Smuts against Hertzog.

The thoughtless people who are so fond of saying that only one man is capable of holding supreme office in this country, and only one man can save the Commonwealth from disaster in that, do an immense amount of harm. It was the prevalence of a superstition of that kind that led the Germans to abase themselves before a Bismarck, renounce the independence and self-respect which free men cherish, and in the end accept a veiled system of despotism unredeemed by intelligence, without knowing or feeling—which is worse—the deep humiliation of their servile yet self-imposed status. It will be a good thing for South Africa if the idea of the super-man in politics is not allowed to make headway in any direction, good also for the political leader or leaders who would otherwise be forced into a false and unnatural position.

The great evil of modern political life is part of the all-prevailing mental inertia and indifferentism; it is that parties are not sufficiently conscious of their distinctive *raisons d'être*, their justifications, and the objects and purposes rightful to them. Loose thinking, impatience with principles as abstract, doctrinaire, and unpractical, the easy toleration of an opportunism that enables crafty and shifty men to seek success by crooked means—these things detract from the seriousness and weaken the cohesion of party life, and therewith rob it of true dignity, with the result that many men who want nothing from the Commonwealth and their fellows but the permission to serve it and them with a consciousness of self-respect wash their hands of politics altogether and seek opportunities of usefulness in other and quieter fields of endeavour.

How far this is their own experience only South Africans know; but they may be warned by what they see to-day in England, where a great political party, owing to forgetfulness of its historical mission, which once was to do justice, love mercy, and stake its existence on lofty moral prin-

ciples, has fallen from its high estate and is now wondering how and when it will be able again to stand erect.

Of General Hertzog not much can be said, for his chance of showing the quality of his statecraft has only just come, and it would be unfair to judge him only by utterances belonging to a time of less responsibility and greater freedom. He is not the equal of his rival in political gifts and aptitudes. He is not an orator in the same degree, and his speeches have not the same persuasive power. He has the habit, characteristic of a versatile statesman at home, of indulging in looseness of language and highly optimistic speculations, of exaggerating his case, and of "making the worse appear the better reason," yet without equal skill in extricating himself from dialectical difficulties. When confronted by the reminder that he is contradicting something which he had said before he "takes note of the objection," like the judge he used to be, and passes on. Such defects, however, are not constitutional, and do not reflect upon his integrity, which no one has ever impugned, but are probably attributable to the fact that, owing to excess of temperament, he has not at command the perfect restraint and self-possession which come sooner or later to most practised orators. Perhaps much of the vagueness from which his public utterances suffer is due also to his difficult task of managing an unruly team, composed of men of all sorts and sizes of intellect, some of whom lack the most elementary ideas of party discipline.

Nor is he at all times the most tactful of public speakers; when enthusiasm and passion carry him off his feet he has a way of saying things which he does not mean, or means but ought not to say. His critics often call him a fanatic, but the epithet is rather complimentary than otherwise, for all it means is that Hertzog is just as much attached to his own opinions as the critics are to theirs. Certainly if one were to take the late Keir Hardie as a type of the political fanatic, there is nothing of the visionary or *exalté* in either his appearance or table conversation. Friends of the opposite party had everywhere described him to me as "a charming man," and so in private intercourse I found him; though when in the ordinary course of political wrangling Smuts and he are hurling brickbats

at each other it might be prudent to be out of the way.

That brings me, inevitably, to the saddest fact of South African political life—the personal antagonism of these two men, each of whom knows so much better, and is meant for so much better things. They went apart when Hertzog was backed out of General Botha's second Cabinet, and the animosity which that episode occasioned has never abated. Disraeli kept Lord Derby in his Cabinet of 1874-80 long after he began to wish him out of the way, but he feared his influence outside as an independent critic. Botha tried to quiet his inconvenient colleague with a judgeship. This Hertzog declined, going forth empty-handed, but knowing well whither he went, for he was fully conscious of his influence with the Dutch of his own way of thinking, and he knew that time was on his side. From that day to this the Orange Free State has been Hertzog's undisputed sphere of political influence. In that province his position is that of Mr. Lloyd George in Wales, the Chamberlains in Birmingham, or, to recall old memories, of Joseph Cowan in Newcastle and W. E. Forster in Bradford. Now the whirligig of fortune has given him Botha's office, while Smuts retains for the time only the mantle.

Is it not time to write " Finis " to this unedifying chapter of political history? Who can doubt that South African politics would gain in largeness and wholesomeness if personal rancours were more rigidly eschewed and the civilities and graces which give dignity and decorum to public life more generally cultivated? The leaders might greatly help in this, and ought to do.

The description of Hertzog as a dangerous revolutionary and secessionist, which is retailed from time to time by influential but ill-informed London newspapers, is a ludicrous but also a cruel slander, and caricature of that kind hinders rather than helps the cause of South African unity, for Hertzog's associates resent it even more than he. Nor is he the intolerant racialist which he is represented to be by opponents who hold that race pride is good for the British, but not for the Dutch. All through the late election the Nationalist leader protested against European race feeling and bias in every form, and since taking office he has lost

no opportunity of conciliating British susceptibilities and urging his kinsmen to abandon sectional sympathies and join with their fellow-subjects in working for complete unity. To this question, however, a separate chapter must be devoted.

Colonel Creswell, of whom much more will be heard as the fluid elements in South African politics solidify, has proved a skilful and judicious leader of the Labour Party. He is a forceful personality, who knows his business, and has shown himself to be a shrewd tactician. The attitude of his party has until latterly been intransigent, in that it chose to go its own way, rather than repudiate economic doctrines unacceptable to the great mass of the electors in general. Thus it declined to join the South African Party's Cabinet three years ago, and the "Pact" with the Nationalists was originally concluded only for the purpose of overthrowing the Smuts Cabinet. The Labour Party is thoroughly loyal to the Union, and will have nothing to do with either secession or republicanism. Nearly all the members of the Parliamentary group, indeed, were born in the British Isles, and a large proportion of their followers are British South Africans of recent descent. On the whole there is far less of doctrinarianism and fanaticism in the South African Labour Party (disregarding the unallied Communistic offshoot) than in the same party at home, a fact which may be explained by the more favourable material position of White labour on the Rand and in industry generally. That the leader at times has his troubles, however, may be judged by the public attack which was made on him not long ago by a colleague because he had dared to dine in the Rand Club in Johannesburg wearing a smoking-jacket and its essential adjuncts. It would have been an education in tolerance to unsophisticated politicians of that type, whose idea of social equality is levelling down instead of up, if they could by some magic have been transported into the dressing-rooms of Mr. J. H. Thomas and Mr. S. Walsh while those gentlemen were grooming themselves for a royal *levée*.

What has been said will not have prepared the reader for any enthusiastic laudation of South African political life, though its principal defect is a want not of cleanness,

but of sweetness and light. Even at the best men seem to enter Parliament far too much in the spirit of boisterous schoolboys, oblivious of one of the highest functions of a Legislature, which is to serve as a school of tolerance and national self-respect. Men who are not drawn into political life by sheer devotion to duty or ideal causes, or by some great stake—a family tradition to uphold, or the interests of a class or order to defend—need as a counterbalance a prodigious amount of honesty if they are to go quite straight; and it is a matter of experience, especially if you have been behind the scenes, that this counterbalance is sometimes wanting. I know nothing whatever that could reflect unfavourably on the character of South African politicians. Early last year what was called a painful impression was caused by the announcement by a former public official, who had served the Union for a quarter of a century, that he was going "home" for good because he preferred "a country where there is less official encouragement of corruption and less penalization of attempts to obtain honest administration and less bleeding of an impoverished public by bureaucratic methods." The extent to which bureaucratic administration may be carried without public injury is a question of expediency and not of morals, but as to the suggestion of corruption, I am bound to say that I neither heard, read, nor saw anything that would justify it.

It may be that the Parliamentary system, which means in effect the State behind it, is regarded there no less than with us as a sort of family plum pudding, from which it is every politician's right to pick out such fruit as he can, but that is not necessarily corruption. It is highly questionable whether in South African political life there is anything like the same amount of backstairs manœuvring for offices and favours of the kind which our own triumphant democracy has hitherto seemed to approve; and the unsuspected Hercules who has recently cleansed the Augean stables at home, washed off the Tammany stain, and made "right honourable" again an attribute of repute, would find himself unemployed at Capetown and Pretoria.*

* A motion for a petition to the King, urging him not to confer titles upon South African subjects, was carried in the House of Assembly in February, 1925, the South African Party voting solidly against it.

To that extent we may fairly take off our hats to South Africa, and before replacing them sprinkle our heads with just the amount of ashes which our consciousness of duty suggests. Yet because political and public life in South Africa, though defective in temper, is morally sound, it is the more surprising that politicians seem to take each other's reputations so lightly. Accusations are made, innuendoes thrown out, obnoxious opinions attributed, with no attempt whatever at proof or justification, and with hardly an apology when they have been disproved or repudiated. I read in a leading newspaper that a certain member of the House of Assembly (the name is not to the point) "likes to put questions with an unpleasant suggestion in them." You cannot follow Parliamentary debates for many days without coming across instances of the sort. Answers to private members' questions, though to ingenuous minds clear as noonday, are frivolously denounced as evasions, and mis-statements of fact are fabricated for the obvious purpose of harming opponents, though it is known that as false coin they will be promptly nailed to the counter. A member gravely asks why on a certain day employees of a State Department were liberated from duty in order that they might do electioneering work for the South African Party candidates, and the answer comes at once from the Minister concerned that the said employees were *not* given leave of absence and did *not* do the work attributed to them. The denial should settle the matter, but it is never certain that denials will be believed.

While I was in the country the statement went the round of the Nationalist newspapers that the Transvaal Chamber of Mines had subscribed a quarter of a million pounds to the South African Party's election chest, and within a few days the amount had increased to a round million. The explanation of the story was that a cheque of that amount had been passed to the Government by a certain mining group in payment of part profits and taxes. Yet, though I looked for it, I never saw any manly withdrawal of the slander. The other side, however, behaves at times no less generously. Thus just as, when there seemed a prospect of a Labour Government coming to power at home, capitalists and investors were bidden to prepare for ruin, so during

the late South African elections the Nationalist leader was accused of the intention of taxing the gold mining industry out of existence. Of course, there never was any danger of the sort, but the scare having been created denials mattered little. All such trickery is part of the capital of unprincipled wire-pullers, but it does not make for reputable politics, or encourage the best men to enter public life.

Occasionally the reputation of the Civil Service suffers from discreditable attacks, though when struck it can only strike back by proxy, a method which obviously entails a great sacrifice of force. During the Parliamentary Session early last year the Kosi Bay harbour project came up again, and the time being opportune for a sensation, the allegation was publicly made that certain unnamed but highly-placed Government officials had bought large areas of land in the locality in expectation of profiting. The Minister of Lands effectually extinguished the cruel charge with the statement that no land was owned by Europeans within a hundred miles of the Bay, and that as the whole region was part of a Native Reserve, not a yard of it could be alienated without parliamentary consent. Later the wife of a distinguished public servant recovered damages for defamation against the secretary of a trade union who had mendaciously asserted that she had speculated in farms at Kosi Bay in consequence of information obtained from her husband, and on disproof of the assertion had published an apology almost as offensive as the original charge.

Where politicians thus fall into licence it is pardonable if the Parliamentary reporter should occasionally claim a little liberty, of a less flagitious kind, as becomes the higher reputation of his profession; and who shall blame the stenographer who seeks relief from monotonous duty by an outburst such as this: "The reply of Mr. —— (a Minister) was, as usual, difficult to follow, for the patient listener is very often in doubt whether he is speaking English, Dutch or Czecho-Slovakian."

South Africa, therefore, has nothing to teach us of suavity in political life, which is a pity, since we, too, have much to learn; for neither here nor there have politicians reached the bare League of Nations standard of social relationships. There is much bitterness in controversy,

and the last general election let loose a deluge of it, as violent as the floods which roar through the veld river courses in the rainy season. Abuse and recrimination unredeemed by eloquence, angry attacks, mordant criticism, ungenerous innuendoes are the commonplaces of parliamentary debate and still more of platform oratory.

The rowdyism which was shown during the late election on parts of the Rand, when meetings of the South African Party were systematically wrecked, and its candidates refused public hearing, had a counterpart at home a few months later, and to that extent the two countries may cry quits. What we happily have not, at least to anything like the same degree, is the debasement of political life by personal animosities, grudges, and back-biting. In general it would be safe to say that the attitude of the mass of active politicians is influenced more by personal bias one way or the other than by high principle. It is one of the less gracious aspects of public life in the Union which rather shocks the outside observer who is impressed by so much that is admirable in the country.

No higher service was done by Lord Gladstone to the people of South Africa than when, at the end of his governor-generalship in 1914, he gave to them this admonition: "Political strife, strong feeling and hard hitting, so long as they are fair, not personal nor provocative, stimulate thought and promote the health of the country. Fight out your differences like men and respect each other like men, whether you are Unionists, Nationalists, Labourites, or belong to other parties. Remember that each party has its own ideas and endeavour to understand the point of view of your opponents." Opportune then, these words are still more opportune to-day, since the need for national unity was never so great. They are recalled here, lest they should have been forgotten.

"The mind's the standard of the man," wrote long ago a versifier who is still accounted a poet, and it is a good test of the quality of a man's mind, of its weakness or strength, whether he goes with the unthinking crowd and hunts for popularity, or has convictions of his own and staunchly follows them. I doubt whether there is more independence in South African political life than in our own, or even as

much. Judging by the oratory of the last election people allow themselves to be even more deluded by labels and phrases, humbly accepting the party leaders' tacit valuation of them as mere figures in their registers of dumb, driven vote-recorders.

Political opinion in consequence is not very mature, and if anywhere I found suggestions of smallness, as experienced advisers warned me before leaving home that I should do, it was here. There is, indeed, a good deal of provinciality in political life, though when a country one-third the size of Europe has no real metropolis, is practically all province, and is six thousand miles from Europe and the centre of the Empire of which it forms part, this should hardly cause wonder. Yet South Africa may be consoled by the assurance that the most provincial part of England, intellectually, is London, which as a broadcasting station for political platitudes, small talk, and all-round benightedness can hardly be paralleled in the world.

The larger questions of politics do not seem to trouble the multitude, and of Imperial issues it is only such practical bread-and-butter questions as that of Preference that excite wide interest. It should be said to the credit of the daily Press, however, that in its leading articles the problems of Empire are discussed freely, with knowledge and great ability, not in little paragraphs which exhaust questions of moment in a hundred words, but in solid columns of careful exposition and argument. So the blame does not lie there.

It would be futile, if not arrogant, to pronounce on South African statesmanship, still less to make comparisons, for the quality of statesmanship depends largely upon circumstances and opportunities for action, just as the greatness of the commander of fighting men is conditioned by the difficulty of his task or the success of the actor by his part and the stage upon which he performs it. South Africa, however, has produced many men of outstanding force, ability, and character in the past, and it will long stand to its praise that in Paris in 1919 it fell to one of its statesmen to voice the higher aspirations and ideals of the British family of nations when the leaders of political thought at the heart of the Empire were silent as the grave, knowing well what was right, but not daring either to do or say it.

The level of Parliamentary oratory appears to be very unequal, and as there is the usual contingent of silent members so there is also its complement of voluble ones. You may hear speeches made in the House of Assembly which need not fear comparison with any heard to-day in St. Stephen's, though also speeches worthy only of Little Pedlington and the parish pump, of which the South African counterpart is the locust spraying-machine. How some of the best-known Parliamentary figures have come by their reputations is a mystery, and it may be that if the Union were to begin its constitutional life over again there would be a radical revision of personal values, as a result of which some much-trumpeting and much-trumpeted politicians might have to take back places and just as many abler but more modest men come to the front.

In as much as the electorate consists largely of agriculturists, as a rule far more substantial than our own, the Legislature naturally contains many farmers—the true aristocracy of South Africa—and there would be far more if farmers were as good talkers as bargainers. A Cabinet, too, is certain to have one or two members with first-hand knowledge of agriculture, though South Africa has not adopted Bismarck's excellent idea that a Minister of State should be paid partly in money, but more by being allotted an estate to the successful cultivation of which he should look for his main support while holding office. Botha was a practical farmer, as Smuts is to-day, and though Hertzog and Creswell are professional men, two at least of their colleagues in the Ministry live on and by the land. Here the interesting fact may be noted that families are divided in politics to a degree that seldom occurs with us, so that it has happened that brothers of members of the late Cabinet are either Ministers or Ministerialists in the new House.

Far more than is the case in this country to-day the clergy, particularly of the Dutch Reformed Church, play a part in political life, though with no sign that its level is raised or its temperature lowered in consequence. More or less the Dutch pastor has always taken to politics, just as his British Nonconformist colleagues used to do more than now; and of late he has extended his influence from

the pulpit and the platform to Parliament. Probably no statesman of modern times drew upon himself from clerics of his own race so many warnings of wrath to come as General Smuts did during the late election. Behind the warnings there was no doubt a burning zeal for righteousness as the pastors understood it, but this zeal was simultaneously intended to do duty for the Nationalist cause, and did it very effectually.

As a specimen of the heat which political controversy generates the following flowery passage is taken from the speech of a well-known Dutch city pastor: "Jesus had His Judas, Paul had his evil spirit . . . and so to-day General Hertzog has his Smuts, in order that the contrast may bring out his honesty, his selflessness, his statesmanship, all the more brilliantly." Probably ninety-nine out of a hundred English readers would regard such an utterance as a vagary of fanaticism, if not of a deranged mind, but I doubt whether it appeared either grossly intemperate, or intemperate at all, to the speaker's audience.

Let us, however, be fair to the Dutch pastor as a censor of public morals. However thoroughly one may endorse Matthew Arnold's dictum that while religion and politics are both good in their place they make a bad mixture, it must be conceded in favour of the Dutch clerical politician that his motives are of the highest. Behind his political activity there is unquestionably a deep religious instinct, and full justice can only be done to him when it is remembered how largely his thought and estimate of life are coloured by the Old Testament, the prophetic books of which are full of the politics of their day. The view that life is one and indivisible, and that its duties are solemn and austere, to be done "ever as in the Great Taskmaster's eye," is still a fundamental article of Boer faith. The acceptance of that view may not, in our opinion, entitle one man to vilify another who may be every whit as honest and upright as himself, but when did religious zealot think as far as that? It is significant fact, not to be lightly esteemed, that one of the first acts of the head of the new Government was to ask the different religious denominations to agree upon a day of prayer and humiliation in connexion with the drought and locust plague, promising that the day chosen should be

duly proclaimed, as it was. Is it an exaggeration to say that a suggestion of that kind would send the British House of Commons, which a high dignitary of the Church leads in prayers every day, into a howl of merriment ?

It remains to mention a political rock ahead, upon which it is sincerely to be hoped that the cause of unity will not suffer shipwreck, and by a singular irony of phrase it bears the name " Re-union " (Hereeniging). The movement for the amalgamation of the South African and Nationalist Parties dates from General Smuts' gallant attempt in 1920. He failed, with the result that the differences which divided the two parties became accentuated. There seems little likelihood that success would at present attend a similar effort at reconciliation, and recognizing, and perhaps gloating over this fact, Mr. Tielman Roos is endeavouring to persuade the Dutch members of the Smuts party to go over to the camp which he adorns. It is not a very chivalrous proceeding, but as the same party manœuvre has lately been practised at home, it would be ungenerous to criticize it more strongly. Such a racial re-union could only be formed for purely racial ends, and it would inevitably force the British into a corresponding solid phalanx, with potentialities of mischief which no responsible leaders of public opinion should be able to contemplate without anxiety. Inevitably the first result would be to banish from the sphere of practical politics the larger hope of racial unity and fusion which the best minds of South Africa entertain.



GROOTE SCHUUR (RONDEBOSCH), RESIDENCE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

CHAPTER IV

DUTCH AND BRITISH

THE relations between the two dominating European races have so important a bearing on political life that they call for special consideration. Let me begin with a few words of an elucidatory kind, which may make more intelligible the Dutch standpoint, for it is of extreme importance for the unity movement that it should be both understood and treated sympathetically. The Boer or Dutchman or Afrikander—whatever we choose to call him—dates every event in the modern history of his country from " the War," but by the war he does not mean, as the Englishman or the Scotsman does, the Great European War, but the South African War of 1899-1902, for him so much more momentous and tragic. That bitter struggle, which should not have happened, and might not if more understanding, patience, and tact had been shown on one side and less suspicion and narrowness on the other, has left wounds which time has seared over but has not yet healed.*

You see mementoes of it and of the resulting divisions in many towns, where the contending races commemorate their fallen heroes by separate public monuments, one, perhaps, in a commanding position and the other hidden away in a corner, so that no one can find it except by accident. Had there been at the time imagination enough to unite these pious tributes, as symbols of a common sacrifice made by each side for causes which it held dear and worthy of supreme devotion, how much nearer might not the British and Dutch have been to-day! As it is, they perpetuate the memory of issues which are dead, and are a challenge to the races to recall the past each in a different way.

* The seeds of friction and hostility were, of course, sown still earlier. Referring to the ground lost from the time of the first Boer War (1880), Sir James T. Molteno writes, " In those days politics were on a different plane. . . . One never heard of Boer and Briton. Everybody knew everybody else. There were no races except the Coloured races and tribes." —" The Dominion of Afrikanderdom " (1922), p. 4.

Apart from "the War," the evil done by the nefarious Jameson raid lives after it, and while the Dutch have never forgiven it there is not a decent British South African who does not deplore it, and admit the difficulty of living it down.

Then, too, it is fair to remember that our own country is in South Africa by a very different tenure from that of the Dutch. They are there in virtue of their conquest of savagery and the subjection of nature, we largely by our conquest of them—in 1796, 1806, 1814, 1843–4, 1848, 1880, 1899–1902, and at other epochal dates. The idea that we are supplanters may not be complimentary to us, but it is natural to them. We know how the feeling would rankle if it had a place in our own breasts; why should conquest and the memory and ever-visible tokens of it be pleasant to other peoples? Suppose, for example, the late War had ended differently, and to-day we were all expected to sing "Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles," instead of our own more modest and ever-fragrant "Rule, Britannia," and to kow-tow to Barbarossa's beard instead of pulling it, what would free-born Englishmen think and say and do?

Because of how and why they came to the country, now nearly three centuries ago, the Dutch are South Africans in a way that the British cannot hope to be for a long time yet. They are the original White settlers, and we are, by comparison, new-comers. They also have no other fatherland and no other home. How many British go "home" to England or Scotland or Wales every year! How few Dutch go to Holland, have ever been there, or know anything about it save what is learned in history and geography at school! I read recently of a South African Dutch girl who had gone to Europe under the impression that Holland was still her *alma mater*, yet was bitterly disappointed on finding no one there who could speak her beloved *Afrikaans* or cared much about her country. So it is that the Dutch are apt to say, "We are here always and for ever, but you come and go again." It is true now, though it will be less true as the British more and more accept the growing idea of "South Africa first," learn to look upon that country as their true fatherland, and take the same pride in it that the Canadian takes in Canada or the Australian in Australia.

Nor should it be forgotten that the Dutch are far and away the largest single racial element in the White population. Even when all the British races are grouped together this numerical predominance is still marked. All such considerations should prepare us to make generous allowances when forming opinions on the race problem.

It is unhappily too soon to speak of racialism as dead, as some optimists do, for no one can move about the country on any large scale and have intercourse with all classes of the population without coming across evidences of it on both sides. But at least the harsher forms of it are disappearing, and it would be wrong to suggest that anything like race hatred exists any longer. Old factions and frictions have lost much of their bitterness, and old issues have been solved or shelved. What was an impassable gulf has become at most a crevasse, fairly deep in parts, perhaps, but everywhere narrow and not unbridgeable. All the best, clearest, " forward-looking " minds recognize that the time has come for the recognition of a common patriotism and nationhood, if not in every direction as yet for common ideals.

Upon this subject I had the opportunity of speaking with General Hertzog, the Nationalist leader, and there can be no indiscretion in recalling some remarks of his, since they seemed to me to put the matter at once compactly and temperately. He avowed the belief that the relations between the two European races had become much more friendly during the last five years—herein confirming what I had already repeatedly heard from others, both British and Dutch*—and when questioned as to his view of the possibility of ultimate fusion agreed that it was bound to come and was even already on the way, only pointing out that both races would need to give equal help. Such racial friction as still existed he regarded as " the inevitable result of a backward and old-fashioned people consorting with a more progressive and more assertive race." This latter statement probably represents the facts in the most favourable light. Granting the existence of friction,

* Just before the influential Dutch newspaper *De Volkstem* of Pretoria had written that there existed " much less racial hatred and racial prejudice between the two sections than there used to be."

however, without attempting to measure its extent, the problem is how to bring about a franker and more cordial *rapport* between the two races. Owing to a reciprocal lack of sympathy, due to a host of causes—crude prejudices, personal incompatibilities, differences of temperament, custom, and tradition, and not least many stubborn and inconvenient facts of history, those "chiels that winna ding"—the Dutch have to a large extent surrounded themselves by an atmosphere of suspicious reserve, and both they and the British have chosen to go different ways, with the further result that the more the Dutch have fallen back upon old political traditions, the more the British have emphasized their own vigorous form of nationalism. If the truth were confessed, it would probably be found that both races would like to be "top dog" in the community, but because the British are habituated to domination, and will never be second if they can help it, the bias in that direction is more conscious, more visible, more purposive on their side than on the other. But in a free Commonwealth, based on the complete equality of all White citizens, domination and ascendancy of any kind are entirely out of place, and the first condition of any real understanding must be the eradication of every trace of that evil spirit, wherever and in whatever form it exists.

The language question is a difficulty, though the experience of the best-governed democracy in Europe, if not the world, is a proof that it alone need not be a source of political division. Here are a few figures as to the numerical relation of the two White races. Taking the Union as a whole, and relying upon the religious census of 1921 as affording the only available data on the subject, the balance is decidedly in favour of the Dutch. This census showed that 55·2 per cent. of all Whites were adherents of the Dutch Reformed Church, while the British community, taken as represented by the Church of England (19·4 per cent.), the named Protestant Churches and other societies (13·4 per cent.), and the Roman Catholic Church (4·0 per cent.), numbered 36·8 per cent., which if increased hypothetically by one half of the small unclassified Christian population other than the German and Scandinavian Lutherans, would make the possible British total 37 per cent. The remaining

inhabitants were described as non-Christian, these being nearly all Jewish (4·1 per cent.), and " No religion, unknown, and indefinite " (0·8 per cent.). According to these figures the Dutch majority over the British population would be equal to 18·4 per cent., or nearly one-fifth, of the total White population. These proportions should be borne in mind in every discussion of racial status and rights.

The only provision of the Constitution that directly affirms the equality of the two races in political and civil status, which otherwise is taken for granted, is that contained in Article 137, enacting that " both the English and Dutch languages shall be official languages of the Union, and shall be treated on a footing of equality, and possess and enjoy equal freedom, rights, and privileges ; all records, journals, and proceedings of Parliament shall be kept in both languages and all Bills, Acts, and notices of general public importance or interest issued by the Government of the Union shall be in both languages." * Nevertheless, Article 145 stipulated that the services of officers in the public service of any of the then Colonies at the establishment of the Union should not be dispensed with by reason of their want of knowledge of either the English or the Dutch language. That reservation was obviously intended to ease a period of transition, and for some time the bi-lingual qualification has been increasingly applied, and properly so, particularly in the case of officers whose duties bring them into close contact with communities of the less literate class. The British appear to regard this qualification as more irksome than the Dutch, and certainly they are said to go to less trouble to master a second language than their fellow-citizens of the other race.

In practice the Englishman or Scot of the less reflective type decides the language question to his own complete satisfaction with a summary " Hang it, but we live in a British colony, don't we ? Why should I speak Dutch ? " The matter is not so simple, or possible of so simple a solution. For the Dutchman asks also with equal or greater justification " Why should I speak English ? We were here before the *rooineks*." Yet when, standing on his rights,

* Since this chapter was written the Houses of Legislature have agreed in joint session that from 1926 Afrikaans shall replace Dutch as one of the official languages.

he professes inability to understand any language but his own the plea is probably in most cases mere pretence. Now and then one hears or reads of dour Dutchmen who systematically expose themselves to fines with the alternative of imprisonment, rather than forgo the theoretical right to be addressed and answered in their own language by public officials. But the uni-lingual official, particularly if British, usually has his way. One such told me gleefully of a severe "tussle" which he had recently had with an obstinate Boer farmer who declined to speak English. The Dutchman had addressed him in the *Taal*, receiving the curt reply "Don't understand (which was not true); speak English!" Thereupon the Dutchman professed his own lingual limitations in turn, and that with great volubility. So the two faced and fired at each other for some time, and the business in hand made no progress. "I was determined to make the beggar speak English," said my informant, and in the end he gained his point, though whether the time and effort which it cost to win the victory were wisely employed is another question. For legally the Dutchman was altogether in the right and he knew it.

By way of intelligent contrast I heard of British settlers in the interior, who, in the interest of good neighbourhood, had at once made a point of learning the *Taal*, and to all such one can only accord hearty praise, for they belong to the best emissaries of their race. For to many an unsophisticated Boer farmer English is as unintelligible as Afrikaans in a Durban drawing-room, for Afrikaans is at best a nondescript language, without literature, though that fact makes no difference to the Dutchman's fondness for it or to its claim to respectful tolerance. The first Dutchman with whom I had travelling intercourse could not speak a word of English, though that did not prevent us from getting on well together, and his kindly attentions to the stranger were a prelude to many experiences of the same sort. Curious misunderstandings arise at times owing to the backveld farmer's concentration on the *Taal*. At a farm sale in the Transvaal not long ago the property hung fire at fourteen or fifteen shillings an acre, and the auctioneer thumped his table in vain. At last an old Boer offered twopence more, and was declared the buyer. Then he learned

to his astonishment that he had bought, not, as he believed, a table, but a large farm, and he retired in confusion.

Grievances are alleged to exist on both sides in connexion with the filling of public offices. The Nationalists have hitherto complained that only "full-blooded" Imperialists have been appointed to high State positions, like the Administratorships of Provinces, which more than any other, they contend, should reflect the dominant sentiment of the communities directly concerned. How far this complaint is true, and if true how far justified by a fair application of the "spoils system," I am unable to say. Perhaps at the end of their first tenure of Ministerial office the grievance may not bulk so large in the estimation of Nationalist politicians as now.* Nor do they appear to relish the fact that many important public posts are still filled by men who were trained in the Milner school twenty and more years ago, but that grievance, likewise, if it can fairly be called a grievance, will right itself automatically.

I also heard the complaint that the newer highly-paid positions, requiring technical or other special knowledge, not only in industrial and commercial life, but in certain State Departments, usually go to men from overseas, which means from Great Britain. If this is correct, it is only right to say that the successful British official usually obtains his position in open competition and inferentially because he is held to bring to his special duties a capacity superior to that of his rivals. In this connexion a justifiable step has just been taken by the passing of a law requiring that as a general rule no one may enter the Union Civil Service until he has lived three years in the country.

On the other hand, alarm is unquestionably felt by the British section of the community at the difficulties which are said to be put in the way of English-speaking youths wishful to enter the Civil Service. Under the Act governing that service admission is allowed to uni-lingual applicants,

* Referring to the fact that recommendations to certain official appointments made by the Public Service Commission had been ignored by the Government, which appointed other men, the Capetown correspondent of *The Times* (March 11th, 1925) wrote that the same thing had occurred in connexion with the Defence Force under the late Government, adding, "It is disquieting for the public to learn that under both the present and past *régimes* promotion in the Civil Service and Defence Force have been contaminated by political motives."

but subject to their acquiring a sufficient knowledge of the second language within five years. It is said that the men (and they are chiefly the English-speaking officers) who enter with only half the prescribed qualification find progress difficult. This, however, would appear to be inevitable in the circumstances, and it would be the same in any other Civil Service, except that in some—our own, for example—any relaxation of the statutory requirements would as a general rule be refused at the outset. The remedy clearly is for British members of the Civil Service to go to the same pains to qualify themselves as the Dutch admittedly do. Perhaps the fact that both races complain of inequality of treatment in the Civil Service is a fair presumption that there is nothing seriously amiss there.

Common sense dictates the wisdom of a policy of give-and-take on the question of language, and where a reasonable spirit is shown on both sides no trouble and no sense of wrong arise. While I was in the country an appointment to an important municipal post in one of the provincial capitals was lost to an applicant, recommended by superior qualifications otherwise, for the sole reason that he was unable to speak Dutch—not Afrikaans—fluently, but though the incident led to discussions in the Town Council it evoked no bad blood or unpleasantness. That is how the uni-linguist may fare in a special case. Yet to make bilingualism compulsory on the whole population would impose intolerable hardship in numberless cases without purpose, and possibly lead to a large multiplication of mental hospitals. Much may be said for the teaching of both languages in the schools up to a certain standard, but even here a large degree of elasticity should be allowed. Where in areas of sufficient size either English or Dutch is demonstrably the spoken language of an overwhelming majority of the population, that language might alone be made a compulsory subject, and if exemption were granted it should be after due warning that inability to speak the second language might prove a serious handicap for the children in the event of removal to another part of the country, and that there could be no dispensations in later life for those desirous of filling public offices. The essential condition of such a rule, however, should be

absolutely equal treatment for both races and languages. In the choice of languages for their public announcements the municipal authorities exercise local option, consulting the convenience of the greatest number. Thus in Pretoria and Johannesburg the tramway tickets are printed in both languages, while those of Capetown and Durban are printed only in English. Government announcements of all kinds are, of course, published in both languages, as the law directs.

It is greatly regrettable that there is ground for fear that the cause of racial harmony and peace is being checked where it should be able to count on the greatest furtherance —in the schools. In travelling about the country you hear of schools of the higher grade in particular in which the racial spirit and cleavage are very marked and of an amount of political propagandism amongst teachers which, after ample allowance for possible exaggeration, gives promise of much future trouble. A fellow-countryman occupying a prominent position assured me that the only higher schools convenient for his children were so permeated by an anti-British animus that he had no other choice than to send his sons across the ocean to be educated. There are towns in which British and Dutch boys have little or no association, and schools where the children of the two races do not play but only work together; and I was told of English Protestant parents who sent their boys to Roman Catholic schools rather than submit them to influences which they knew would be hostile because of their race. At the same time I would warn English readers against the temptation to draw general conclusions from special cases.

Where the racial feeling is particularly strong, and the conditions are favourable, the difficulty is got over by setting up separate schools, one for each race. Such a policy of segregation may mollify the prejudices which are held to justify it, but it is contrary to one of the highest purposes of education, which is to unify and consolidate society by leavening it with the spirit of understanding and sympathy. It is said that a large majority of the young Afrikanders attending the universities of Stellenbosch, Pretoria, and Bloemfontein, and in a less degree the Dutch teachers of the primary and still more the higher schools, are Nationalists of an extreme type. The most pronounced

politician of this class with whom I conversed on the subject was a teacher, though neither of Dutch nor, of course, British descent. Letters and articles which have appeared in the South African Dutch Press from Rhodes scholars at Oxford indicate that the intellectual atmosphere of that famous University, however stimulating in other ways, does not in all cases leave our student guests from overseas more eager than before for the unification of the races in their homeland.

Facts like these, though mentioned only as signs of unrest and ferment, are chiefly significant as seeming to show that while amongst the older Dutch people the racial fires may be falling into embers, new faggots are being built up and kindled by the rising generation. In one of the admirable "forward-looking" addresses in which he speaks to South Africans from time to time, Dr. Viljoen, the Cape Superintendent-General of Education, a man of ideals and real enthusiasm, reminded teachers of their special duty and responsibility as leaders of thought. Asking the question, what was the task which the Great War and its problems had created? he answered, "The task is the stupendous one of bringing the communities nationally and the nations internationally into lasting, peaceful, and honourable relations with each other. In that task . . . it is above all the schoolmaster who is going to take the leading part and play the most prominent *rôle*." One wonders how far the schoolmasters of South Africa, of both races, are loyally "doing their bit" towards achieving that great and beneficent purpose.

But for uncertainty as to where the youth of to-day is heading for—unity and concord or the pitiful divisions and disharmonies of old—it would be possible to draw only the most hopeful conclusions from the fact that there is to-day freer and more unrestrained intercourse between the races than ever before, particularly where they are thrown upon one another by the conditions of residence. Inter-racial marriage is common, though unions between Dutch girls and British men occur oftener than the reverse. In civic life the two races as a rule work side by side in perfect amity, and there is said to be a laudable absence of cliquism in the choice of municipal bodies, though race may

turn the balance, other considerations being equal. Municipal honours are fairly shared, and you hear of towns of pronounced Dutch population whose Councils vote to the mayoralty men of British birth or descent, and keep them in that office year after year. By way of exception I was informed in one town of the Cape that whereas formerly the Dutch and English Nonconformist clergy used to exchange pulpits the former are no longer so ready to do so, though elsewhere I was assured that this was an anomaly due to purely local circumstances.

More serious than either the language question or even racial incompatibilities is the alleged desire of the Dutch Nationalists for secession. If I do not seem to take this subject quite as tragically as many, it is from no lack of recognition of its importance, but rather from a conviction that the need for unity will sooner or later be bound to draw the races more closely together and so will put an end to all talk of separation. English people hear much—perhaps far too much—of Dutch hostility to the Union, and I do not apologize, therefore, if the following discussion of the question should be thought unduly detached to come from an English pen; for even on the lowest view magnanimity in political controversy—though, indeed, a desire to be merely fair and impartial has no claim to be regarded as magnanimity at all—is ever a more effective weapon than malignity.

To begin with, it is incorrect to assume that the Dutch are either secessionists or republicans as a body. The considerable Dutch section of the South African Party is a fact which alone controverts any such assumption. Among the Nationalists themselves are very many men who, while ardent lovers of their race and its traditions, and loyal to the increasingly popular cries of "South Africa a nation" and "South Africa first," have no sympathy at all with revolutionary and secessionist ideas. An impressive illustration of Dutch attachment to the Union was afforded at one of the celebrations of Dingaan's Day in the Cape Province last year. It took place on the farm of Mooimeisiesfontein, near Riebeek East, a name recalling patriotic memories, since there the famous Voortrekker leader Piet Retief settled and built himself a homestead in 1814.

On that occasion a grandson of that fine old farmer-soldier, in the person of General Piet Viljoen, made a noble appeal to the Dutch and British races to bury the hatchet once for all and be one people. After recalling how the Zulu wars had claimed as victims nearly 3,000 Whites, while the Whites had killed at least 100,000 Natives, he added,

"But peace has been made in the land. I have lived in peace under three English Governors, and they have belonged to the best of men. I have met them, and am sorry that the last has gone. They have all co-operated heartily. The English and the Dutch are Christian nations; let us endeavour in the future to agree and work together and leave the quarrelling alone. Then only can we become a great nation, not otherwise. A house divided against itself cannot stand. We must be one, a proud nation upholding our sacred institutions, a free nation."

The British sometimes tell you that they hesitate to rally to the cry of "South Africa first!" because they fear that a republican South Africa is meant. But that very fear should decide them all the more not to stand aloof; since the aspiration for a distinct nationhood is one which will mature whether they help or seek to hinder it. By throwing themselves into it enthusiastically, however, they would be able to use all their influence on the side of moderation and the preservation of the existing monarchical basis unimpaired. To remain outside the movement would be to leave its development to chance, and possibly to encourage the very tendencies which they deplore. It should not be forgotten that many leading Nationalists, while admitting that the principle of "South Africa first" means for them such a modification of the imperial connexion as would leave the Dominion free to control its affairs from first to last, repudiate altogether the idea of dissociation from the British Crown.

That is the position taken by men like General Hertzog and his colleague, Dr. D. F. Malan. In a recent speech the latter justified the claim to "secede from the Empire but not from the King"—yet only when the nation was prepared for so great a change—by the fact that the constitution of the Union speaks of the Government of the Union as consisting of the Senate, the Legislative Assembly

and the King and does not mention either the Imperial Parliament or the Empire. This distinction may appear to many people elusive and fanciful, and in referring to it I must not be supposed to endorse it; yet politics is the science not of certainties or even of calculations but of speculations, and because for that reason in politics it is usually the unexpected that happens he would be a rash prophet who dared to predict that in the development of imperial relationships such a distinction will never take some practical form. Perhaps the best-known historical analogy for such an arrangement is the "personal union" between the Kings of Denmark and the old Elbe Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, and it must be confessed that the precedent is, to say the least, discouraging.

We are continually reminded of what this Nationalist politician said and that one did years ago. Of course, in the past much wild and whirling language has been used, and some irregular and compromising things have been done, by leading Nationalists in the ardour of their political idealism. But was there not a time when the most brilliant British Colonial Secretary of modern times believed himself to be a republican *pur sang* and was wont to avow himself as such, and when a late Prime Minister, who did yeoman's service to his country and the Empire in the fateful years of the Great War—service far more valuable than later when negotiating the Peace—was mobbed because of his alleged want of patriotism in a similar time of national danger? In more recent times we have seen at home how when questions of Home Rule and Union, not dissimilar from those which distract South Africa, were at issue, feeling has expressed itself in words and acts of an openly seditious kind. The less talk there is of the past, therefore, the easier it will be to discover a fairway for the present and the future.

My own opinion, formed after careful study and observation, is that the question of separation need no longer be a source of anxiety; it may have "a name that it lives," but it is to all intents and purposes dead. A dozen years ago, just after the consummation of the Union, it was different. The old republican tradition was then very strong amongst the Dutch, both of the intellectual and the back-veld type, and the hope of regaining full political

independence was regarded as at most deferred. But the progress and prosperity which Union has brought in its train and the soothing influence of time have wrought a profound change, and it is likely that the accession of the Nationalists to office, far from encouraging the idea of separation, will have precisely the opposite effect. Unquestionably the issue has been kept alive by the fact that in Parliamentary life the Dutch have hitherto felt that they were deprived of any influence on national policy commensurate with their numbers, importance, and social influence. Hence the significance of a speech made by General Hertzog at Bloemfontein just after the election, in which he said:

> "The Dutch-speaking Afrikanders did not understand that English party government was one of the blessings which ensured a periodical change of Government, and he desired to support the English-speaking Afrikanders in making the Dutch understand better the principles of the party system. He would not admit that there were two races in South Africa."

The formation of the Hertzog Cabinet has infused a new spirit in the Nationalist party, and a willing and grateful recognition of the splendid service done by Jan Smuts to South Africa and the Empire is compatible with the opinion that it is good for the country and for its political life that the Nationalists have now been allowed to take upon their shoulders the burden of State cares and responsibilities. They will find the experience educative in the highest degree, for it will give them new perspectives and larger and broader ideas, temper and steady their political judgments, and perhaps even cold-douche the hot-heads who still persist in trying to keep the racial fires burning.

Never before was the time so opportune for a general burying of hatchets and tomahawks. Not only during the election, but even more emphatically since it, General Hertzog has repeatedly declared it to be his intention to do everything in his power to eradicate whatever traces may remain of race prejudice and antipathy, and his colleagues have cordially emulated his example.* Proposing the health of the Empire Parliamentary Delegation at a meeting in

* Thus Mr. Beyers (Minister of Mines and Industries) at Johannesburg in July: "After a long period of misfortune, I think we have arrived at

Pretoria (October 15th), at which the Governor-General was present, he welcomed them with the words, "We are all brothers of the Commonwealth." Speaking then of his own political party he added:

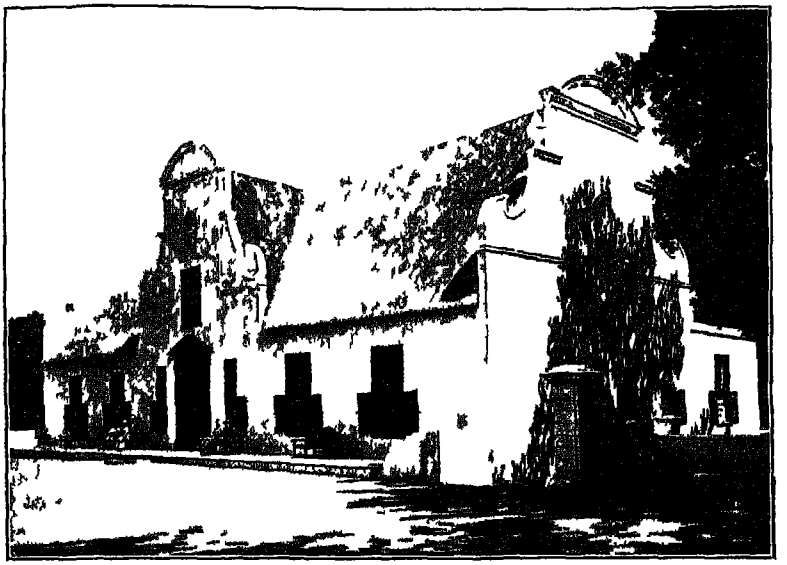
> "South Africans would always lay great store by the close co-operation existing to-day between the Dominions, as long as it was felt that they were each free, individual nations whose freedom would be recognized and would always be in the hands of the individual peoples. It was a point of national honour with young nations that, having reached their manhood, they looked to see that manhood acknowledged and recognized. If that were kept a little more in view some of their difficulties would not be so great."

Are utterances like these unreal and intended as a mere blind? I do not believe it, and I am certain that it would be a tragic mistake if the British either in South Africa or at home allowed themselves so to regard them. Even Mr. Tielman Roos has taken his place as a Saul amongst the prophets of peace. He may have exaggerated present facts when he recently said that owing to the influence of the Pact with Labour "the taint of racialism amongst the Nationalists is practically destroyed," but it is probably in the power of Mr. Roos more than of any other man in South Africa to bring this assurance to good effect. When people say that no one knows what General Hertzog's ultimate views on the question of South African autonomy are it is pertinent to reply that the views of the rival leader are just as little known except to himself. I for one would be very surprised if any man of Dutch descent, whose mature convictions were formed in a Transvaal or Free State environment, no longer entertained more than a platonic respect for the republican principle, however loyal he might be to the monarchical basis of the Union as in the special circumstances of South Africa's population, and in the existing stage of its political development, the most politic and safe. Not only so, but it is doubtful whether the cause of the Union would in the long run be secure in the keeping of any political leader incapable of appreciating equally the standpoints of the convinced adherents both of monarchy and republicanism.

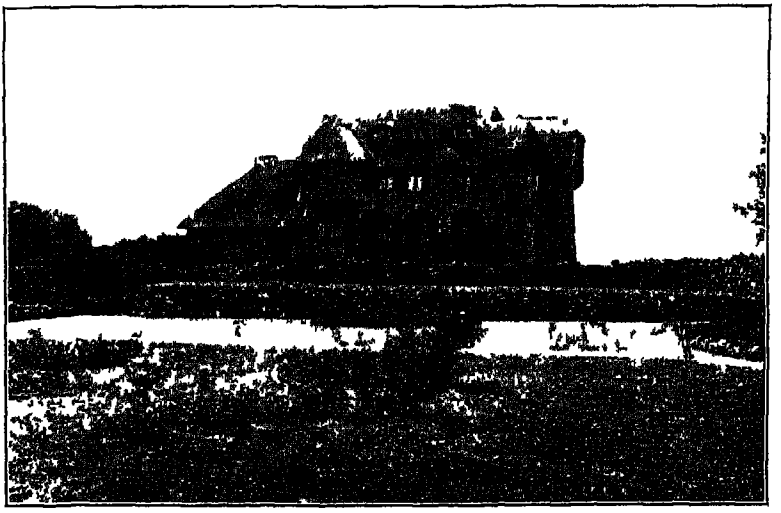
a point when we understand one another; when, our South Africanism asserting itself, this glorious country of ours can be pushed forward by the co-operation and joint good-will of the two great White races."

Whatever they may have thought and said in the past, the Nationalist leaders, and General Hertzog most of all, know well that the stability and very existence of the Union depends on unity and co-operation between British and Dutch, since their division would be tantamount to an invitation to the Native races to assert predominance and appropriate their splendid patrimony. Two centuries of rivalry and struggle, maintained with untold sacrifice and heroism on both sides, and with right and justice not always on one side only, have at last brought these races together. But to what end? A Union going no further than a sort of civil contract, enforceable only by the arbitrary will of the stronger party, would not be worth having, unless it paved the way for a relationship stronger, more intimate, more enduring, because based on mutual understanding, sympathy and confidence. In an essay on Politics written over eighty years ago Emerson deplored the fact that "the power of love as the basis of a State has never been tried," and the words are still true to-day. It is impossible that British and Dutch can ever be reconciled so long as they or either of them are readier to find faults than to recognize excellences in each other, to exaggerate points of difference than to emphasize points of agreement. On the vexed question of Nationalist aspirations there is great need for concession on both sides. Even if the Nationalist movement be in the main sentimental, though very passionately so, there ought to be no difficulty in understanding it and respecting the convictions of the better spirits behind it. "Things have their laws as well as men, and things refuse to be trifled with." Tradition, sentiment, even prejudices, which after all are only ill-formed or half-formed opinions, are amongst the most potent things in the world, and to refuse to allow for them is like challenging elemental physical forces.

As an illustration of how long injured racial susceptibilities take to heal I may mention that on two occasions, and in different places, I was told—first by a Dutchman and later by a British settler—of the unfortunate impression made by a reply given by the representative of the Crown, now nearly thirty years ago, to an address in which a deputation representing a strongly Dutch town of the Cape



An Old Dutch Homestead



A Modern Transvaal House

spoke of its loyalty to the Sovereign. "' Of course, you are loyal," he said; " is there any reason why you should be disloyal ? " The words rankled, and are not forgotten even to-day. Here were Dutch people who were willing to be loyal, but they would not have loyalty forced on them. How can such a sentiment be manufactured artificially like wooden nutmegs and synthetic dyes ? It can only grow, and to growth are needed the right conditions, of which the most important is sympathy.

We shall never convert into monarchists the dour old Dutch farmers, whose memories go back to the days of the South African Republic, either by force, or recrimination, or contumely, or yet by pointing to the harmonious colour-combination of the Union Jack; and if there is one thing which the Dutch of all classes resent more than another it is the attempt to " imperialize " them. Charity, conciliation, tact, patience, combined with good government, may achieve that result in time, but if all these fail nothing else will succeed. And if the back-veld Boers of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State still cling to the old traditions, is there no good side to their fidelity to conviction ? The same staunchness may one day make them and their like pillars of strength in a political system to which they have not as yet succeeded in adapting themselves. For it does not follow that because a section of the Dutch population still continues unconvinced fourteen years after the Union came into existence, it will never come round.

In any event, to meet a genuine Nationalist sentiment by the irritating arguments of defiance and opprobrium can only make it more disruptive. With their experience of Ireland and Egypt, to go no further, Englishmen of all people should understand that elementary fact of folk-psychology. Even assuming the vague Dutch talk of secession and republicanism to be altogether serious, why should not the British quietly recognize the fact, instead of making of it a personal grievance and indulging in futile recrimination ? It is childish to expect that mature men and women can be brought to a sudden change of political sentiment by the articles of a constitution.

If, however, the British are apt to make too little allowance for the fact that the Dutch States of South Africa were

reared on a republican foundation, and found their strength and popularity in the fullest expression of democratic principles, the Dutch for their part are apt to emphasize grievances which are almost or altogether imaginary. Thus it is often argued that so long as South Africa continues in the Empire it will be unable to shape its commercial relationships with other countries to its liking. The fact is, however, that the Union trades, or does not trade, with other countries just as it likes. If the hard truth has to be told, it even draws largely on British credit on terms more favourable than could be obtained at home, and in spending it on railway, harbour, and other plant and material it buys from this country only so much as cannot be obtained on better terms, by hard bargaining, from our foreign competitors.

Moreover, the Dutch might reasonably be asked to pay greater regard for the deep-seated monarchical instincts of the British peoples, remembering also that monarchy is a Dutch tradition, and that when over two hundred years ago the English made a new dynastic start it was to Dutch William that they went. The Dutch are very sentimental people, and sensitive to the point of a needle when their feelings are concerned. But the British, too, have their tender spots which smart when roughly touched, and there is no reason in the world why the Dutch republicans should needlessly excite British susceptibilities by continually "rubbing in" their favourite doctrines. All practical men among them know and admit that no change of the existing order could be seriously contemplated in the absence of a British as well as a Dutch majority in its favour. Why not, then, have their say once for all, and then leave the matter to simmer? It is neither good politics nor good sense to be for ever tilting at windmills whose present purpose is to grind corn.

And will not some influential leader of the Nationalist Party hint to the old-fashioned clergy of the Reformed Church that their talk of the Dutch of South Africa as "a chosen people holy unto the Lord" is a little out of date, and worthier of the Doukhobors than of the race which gave to the world Erasmus and Grotius? Christendom is gradually repudiating one claim of a "peculiar people" — the Hebrews; it is rather unfair to expect it

to wrestle with two such absurd pretensions at once.

During the late election, Mr. Jagger, one of the late Prime Minister's ablest Ministerial colleagues, presented to General Hertzog and his party the challenge:

> "What we ask is this—put it in the Pact, put it in the agreement, and let them also put it in the principles of the party, that they will never ask for secession unless the majority of the English-speaking people in South Africa are prepared to agree to it. If they will do that those who wished for the adherence to the connection with Great Britain will be satisfied. The Nationalist party as they stand to-day are not bound by the promise of General Hertzog. I am taking no risks; but if they put it in the principles of the party, then we have nothing more to say."

General Hertzog has, of course, given his personal assurance on this point again and again, and has even stated that there is no mention of secession in the party programme. No pledge could have been more categorical than that given at Bloemfontein in June last, when he said, "The Nationalists, without exception, are determined to stand by the pledge given to Labour. Nationalists do not look on secession as practical politics till it is demanded by the whole population, more especially till the feeling of the mass of the English-speaking community changes." *

But this pledge is General Hertzog's and not that of his party. A candid friend at his elbow, with power to influence him, would say, "Accept the wider challenge—it is a fair one. Give the undertaking asked for; it will set at rest the apprehensions of your opponents, and will free your own party from trammels that impair its repute and usefulness, and will allow it to concentrate attention on questions of a far more urgent and practical kind." It may be that difficulties would have to be encountered, though coming less from the accepted spokesmen of the party (with one or two exceptions) than with the free-lances of the rank and file. Yet if General Hertzog intends to be a real leader, one in fact as well as in name, he will have to act as well as talk as one, and that means keeping all his unruly followers in order, if necessary with a firm hand, for no party can prosper if its members are pulling different ways.

* This attitude was avowed with even greater emphasis in a speech made in the House of Assembly on April 28th, 1925.

Such a formal and binding pledge having been given, the two parties would be able to give the issue between them a long holiday. It is now kept alive by exasperating controversy, and I believe that if they came to an agreement not to mention the word secession for ten years they would at the end of the term wonder to what part of the Empire a notion so unwise and unpractical could relate.

It is a common contention of the South African Party that the Nationalists would have no reason for existence as a separate group if the questions of republicanism and secession were definitely shelved. But it would be equally pertinent to contend that in so far as the South African Party exists to defend the Union its *raison d'être* would likewise cease if the Union ceased to be called in question. Those who, on either side, fear that if the race question and the issues which it involves were side-tracked political life would lose its savour are of the same school as the well-meaning doctrinaires who oppose the formation of a League of Nations on the plea that if people ceased to fight and kill each other by millions the human race would become flaccid, and as tame as overfed game-cocks. Such people may be reassured. Nowhere would public life long continue vigorous or well-informed without the healthy controversy in which mind stimulates mind as iron sharpens iron; and there are in South African politics issues large enough and legitimate enough to justify the normal rivalry and antagonism of Government and Opposition parties, and to put to the test their highest qualities of mind, statesmanship, and patriotism for years to come, without dragging in mischievous and futile causes of dissension.

Yet whatever may or might be possible in the way of a party truce in the sphere of political controversy, only a great change of spirit will bring about a true reconciliation between the two races. On both sides there are needed a larger tolerance, a more generous trust, a greater readiness to bear and forbear, and to call oblivion on all that is dismal and regrettable in the past. In social intercourse the Briton and the Dutchman of normal common-sense and *savoir vivre* never dream of wrangling, and trouble little about each other's angularities. What is needed is to translate the temper of private life into public relationships, the women of both

races not omitting to do their part, which might be a very important part. Such a change would pave the way for hearty co-operation on the basis of a common South African nationhood as the ideal to be aimed after, since in that direction the finger of history and the trend of present-day tendencies clearly point.

Is Empire an end in itself, or only a means to larger purposes outside and transcending itself? Those who hold the narrower view have the facts of history against them. If the alternative view is correct, there can be no higher, sublimer, more intelligent object of imperial policy than to evolve new nations, train them to independence, and so equip them that each may be enabled to go its own way in the world and make its distinctive contribution to civilization and human progress. Did not Lord Dufferin envisage some such autonomy as the rightful lot of Canada when he said in 1874:

> "Words cannot express what pride I feel as an Englishman in the loyalty of Canada to England. Nevertheless, I should be the first to deplore this feeling if it rendered Canada disloyal to herself, if it either dwarfed or smothered Canadian patriotism, or generated a sickly spirit of dependence."

For the larger destiny that awaits South Africa it is not even now too early to prepare. To give to their country, its life, thought, and institutions, not a British nor a Dutch but a distinctively South African stamp and individuality should be the aim and ambition of the European races. Such a union need involve no sacrifice of pride or personality, no absorption or assimilation, by one race or the other. Briton would still be Briton and Boer would remain Boer, the two "not like to like, but like in difference," each supplementing the best characteristics of the other, since

> "In true marriage lies
> Nor equal nor unequal; each fulfils
> Defect in each, and always thought in thought,
> Purpose in purpose, will in will, they grow."

Would it be unsafe to hazard the belief that, their collective energies being thus concentrated upon the fruitful task of working out their country's development and solving its problems on specifically South African lines, the still disaffected Dutch might lose zest for uncertain political

experimentation and see, not unwillingly, the republican movement die a natural death ?

One other thing remains to be said. I am confident that the British Press, both in South Africa and in this country, might contribute far more effectually than, on the whole, it does to the creation of a better feeling between the two races. The Nationalists complain, and with justification, that they do not receive from our newspapers in general a " fair deal." There are notable exceptions here as there, yet no one who judges the facts without prejudice can fail to observe with regret the factious and sometimes snarling spirit of much of the criticism levelled against the Nationalist Party and its leaders by journalists who are probably persuaded that Nationalism of any kind has no right to exist. Everything in the party's actions seems to be represented in the worst possible light, and it is taken for granted that it can do nothing right. This is unfair to the Dutch, and it is also unfair to the British public at home, which in consequence is compelled to form its opinions and conclusions on South African affairs on imperfect and often distorted evidence. The truth is that the British public learns little about South African politics from the Dutch standpoint, the great mass of the information served to it being coloured by quite other sympathies. In so speaking I suggest no wilful misrepresentation ; yet it is certain that both the country itself and the larger interests of the Empire suffer because of this one-sided attitude. It is probable that the Dutch newspapers deal no more tenderly with the South African Party, though the assumption would not relieve the British Press of its duty to set a better example. South African politics will never be healthy, and the cause of racial unity will never prosper, until the Press on both sides shows a greater spirit of fairness and generosity.

There is endless talk of peace and the need for it, yet hitherto it has failed to materialize. Where is the great conciliator, the final unifier, who will come with love and goodwill in his heart and healing on his lips ? South Africa still waits for him. A round-table conference solved the greater question of political union in 1909 ; is not the statesmanship of South Africa to-day big, clear-eyed, constructive, conciliatory enough to find in a similar way a solution of the present racial differences ?

CHAPTER V

CHARACTERISTICS

REMEMBERING De Quincey's warning that when a man generalizes about the other sex you may be sure that he is talking about his wife, I make the admission at the outset that in what is said here about personal characteristics I have in mind chiefly, though not altogether, my own countrymen, since with them I naturally came in contact more frequently than with others.

You cannot be long in South Africa before you recognize that the two dominant European races have strongly marked individual traits of their own. It is impossible to speak of a South African type as one can of an Australian or a Canadian type. There are more or less typical South African British, and more rather than less typical South African Dutch, but of an amalgam of the two there is little trace. That the older stocks of the two races have in some degree reacted on each other must be assumed, though how far no one who has not lived long in the country would venture to say; yet however much more willing than now one race may be to defer to the ways of the other, it may be doubtful whether of real assimilation of elements so strong and tenacious more can be expected for a long time than will result naturally from extended intermarriage.

South Africans, even of the older generations, do not, of course, differ from ourselves in any essential mental and spiritual qualities, since these are everywhere the same: the dissimilarity is rather in the ways and forms, and the degree of emphasis, in which these qualities express themselves. High among their outstanding virtues must be placed their amiability, kindliness, and hospitality—virtues all as simple and homely as earth, air, fire, and water, yet like them primary elements in human life. If of hospitality, the effluence of the other two, I speak at once and specially, it is because South African hospitality is altogether different in kind and degree from what the average Englishman understands by the idea, and because

the English visitor's first and last impressions are almost sure to be associated with this gracious characteristic.

The story is told of a Scot who had succeeded in surviving the voyage out to the Cape without yielding to the temptation to spend a shilling on sweepstakes or games, yet who rebutted the unkind charge of niggardliness with the vigorous protest that he was "no stingy but only careful." That more than usually canny Scot must have had many qualms of conscience on landing if he accepted the attentions which would be lavished on him in the ordinary course by kind-hearted people, who, whether scrupulous or not in other directions, are certainly not in the habit of practising "carefulness" in the matter of hospitality to the stranger.

One often hears or reads of the South African's disappointment when he visits this country at finding Englishmen so reserved and cold of manner. Of course, the Englishman does not mean to be cold, any more than the iceberg does; it is partly our nature and partly habit, and perhaps within limits we cannot help it. To admit a stranger who is not heavily credentialled into his domestic *sanctum sanctorum* is to an Englishman a risky adventure. It is not for your plate that you are frightened; what you fear is the invasion of your time and privacy. Will the stranger, socially speaking, bring warmth into your genial surroundings, or a draught? He enters, and you eye him at first, not suspiciously, perhaps, but critically. What will this babbler say? Will the talk be worth the time lost, knowing that all the while some duty, some other call is waiting? Perhaps the adventure turns out all right in the end, and you are glad to have made a new acquaintance. "Not such a bad fellow, that." (Infinitely more human than you, old curmudgeon!) "How he gets to the heart of things—how he trims the phrase! Shouldn't mind if he looked in again—some day." (But he won't; he has his own price, and you want him too cheaply!) Yet all the time at the back of your mind is the thought, "Well, I've given him a whole hour—how good of me!"

Is it not an entirely mistaken attitude, when we come to think of it, and remember that we pass through this life but once? And for how many of us may not one of the things that will disturb our "peace at the last" be a poignant

regret for so many failures to accept acquaintance offered, to meet outstretched hands with a readier and warmer clasp, to mature the vintage of friendship to the full bloom and bouquet, to give and also accept of the milk of human kindness! Not so bad as those grosser sins, you say? I wonder.

Not so is the stranger received or regarded in South Africa, granted only that he is himself approachable and gives himself no airs. No such visitor from the British Isles need for long feel himself adrift there, and if he does it is certain to be his own fault. Wherever you are, you have the consciousness of being at home, amongst genial, warm-hearted people, who wish to please you and do you good. One's first acquaintance with their hospitality, so spontaneous, unaffected, and warm, creates unforgettable impressions, however much later experience may deepen and increase your appreciation of kindly attentions unsought, unexpected, and perhaps insufficiently deserved. It is the same in the country as in the towns. No sooner do you enter a house than you have to meet the friendly challenge, "What will you have—tea or coffee?" For both appear to be at a moment's call, and as often as not the necessary china stands on the sideboard in readiness. Sometimes, when motoring somewhat far from my base, I had to resist pressure to stay the night, and so postpone to the cool of early morning my return to hotel life. As in small, so in larger things. Many of my calls on well-known and busy public men had to be made without formality of any kind, yet I retain memories of the kindest possible welcomes, leading to long and informing talks.

A little experience that befel me near Johannesburg one Sunday afternoon greatly impressed me. Wanting a walk in the open country I went out by tramway to a distant suburb, intending to return to town across country from a different point of the compass. After blithely following a rough, partly-made road for some time, I found myself at last floundering aimlessly among spruits and dongas. Spying a house afar, I sought guidance. The occupant, who was gardening, gave me very explicit directions, but ended with, "Look here, I'll run you in with the car," and in spite of my protests he insisted on dragging out his

two-seater and taking me back to my base. How often is similar courtesy shown to strangers in England—in a week, a month, a year? A friend, an enthusiastic walker, who has footed it all over the three kingdoms, to whom I told this story, assured me that whereas in the old days kindly if rarely-accepted offers of a "lift" in country gig or cart were invariable incidents of a day's tramp, never once had the same courtesy been shown to him by a motorist. "I am not pitying myself, for I would rather walk," he added. "I am sorry for the motorists."

Lest it should be thought that there may be exaggeration in what I have said about hospitality I reproduce from home letters, for once only, stray sentences in which the impressions of the moment were set down hastily and without after-thought, for they will perhaps best do justice to this charming trait of South African human nature:

> "From all this you will see how pleasant people make my visit. Their hospitality is wonderful."
>
> "My friends were hospitality exaggerated."
>
> "The people are cordial and hospitable beyond words."
>
> "I had a delightful time at ———. The people, from Magistrate and Mayor downwards, were singularly kind and the hospitality was such as we are not accustomed to offer to the stranger at home. I was regaled with fruit wherever I went."
>
> "To-day a basket of beautiful peaches came to me at the hotel, and at ———'s house yesterday I had to devour a whole bunch of black grapes, and take away figs and peaches."
>
> "My days at ——— were a really delightful experience —the people were all so pleasant and hospitable."

And so it was to the end of the chapter. But one exhibition of South African courtesy was quite irregular. I had boarded a tram-car, and was at the end of my journey before the conductor had had time to give me a ticket. As I prepared to alight I reminded him of my liability. "Oh, never mind, sir," was the obliging rejoinder, and I owe the municipal authority of that town a "tickey" to this day. I do not mention the town, however, so that any one, or all of them, may claim the honour of employing so considerate and gallant an official.

I am not going to try to analyse this gracious trait of

hospitality, and if I were able I should regard such a proceeding as a profanity. But wondering how it comes about, and in what soil and other conditions of growth it flourishes, one may try to satisfy that not unhealthy curiosity. Of course, happiness must be at the bottom of it. General Smuts said while I was in his country that the Europeans were the only unhappy people there, while the Natives were superlatively blissful. I never saw any evidence of that European unhappiness, though he knows far better than I. I saw many people of the kind whom Dante put in the Fifth Circle of his Purgatorio :

> " A race appeared before me, on the ground
> All downward lying prone and weeping sore ;
> ' My soul hath cleaved to the dust,' I heard . . ."

and their faces were scored with traces of care and worry It was the penalty which has to be paid for devoting life to the pursuit of things that matter little now and a few years hence will not matter at all. Yet I do not suppose that even the owners of these faces were all without happiness of a sort, though everyone to his taste. There must be many " poor Whites " who are not happy as others understand happiness ; though just as nature tempers the wind to the shorn lamb, so when cares weigh upon human souls Providence, like the Great Gentleman he is, often, with a fine delicacy and a great sympathy, blunts the sensibility, so relieving the ache and pain.

But South Africans in general, as you see them day by day, impress you as essentially a bright, a buoyant, a happy people. How comes it that they are so ? Is it that the sun pours more of its magic into their veins than into ours ; is it due to the alchemy of the wonderful air, clear, limpid, exhilarating ; is it their nearness to nature in this land when nature counts for so much and the works of man for so little ; is it their youth and the dower of vigour, hopefulness, and confidence that are youth's eternal gifts ? Their happiness is, I think, due to all of these things together ; and being happy by instinct they are kind-hearted with a kindness which is uncalculated and spontaneous, and of which their hospitality is just a natural overflow.

There are, too, the traits which are rather mental than

temperamental. You cannot help but be impressed, for example, by a quiet modesty of demeanour which was never yet claimed as an Englishman's special characteristic. In shedding much traditional reserve and reticence, the outcome in part of sea-bound isolation, the British South African seems to have shed also much of his assertiveness, and home (i.e., Union) politics apart I found him singularly tolerant. He loves conversation and debate, and is a good listener, yet whatever he may think of your opinions he is slow in controverting them, in this respect paying perhaps an undue deference to the stranger, who, if of enquiring mind, prefers criticism to silent acquiescence. He may not always be quick either in argument or intuition, but his native common-sense is a master key which solves for him quite satisfactorily most of the problems and difficulties of daily life. At times one may come across a certain detachment from the broad streams of thought, and even an immaturity of opinion, where something different might be expected. Where they occur, however, such limitations are those of youth and inexperience of the world; they will pass and are passing. How the South African comports himself as a public speaker I had no opportunity of judging, but it was whispered in my ear that the Dutchman outshines the Englishman in that capacity.

Social intercourse, as far as I was able to judge it, appeared to me more natural and freer from unnecessary convention than at home. People seem to be themselves, real individualities, for however much they may be worth, and not mere automata or copies of fashion-plates. It was also pleasant to find so striking an absence of the snobbishness which, quite as much as servility, robs English social life in so high a degree of dignity. They are still a strongly individualistic people, as may be seen in many ways—in the detached houses, the provincial clannishness, the general aloofness from all forms of co-operation, and not least in the laggard advance of the national unity movement; yet there is some ground for fearing that the present generation of South Africans is not characterized by all the old sturdy spirit of self-reliance and independence. That trait, racial in both Dutch and British peoples, and confirmed and strengthened by the hard life of the early settlers and pioneers,

lives on amongst the older stock, but the disposition of the modern farmer, and nowadays of the industrialist, to lean more and more on the Government is an unhealthy sign, which may or may not be explained, in part at least, by the State Socialistic tendencies which are so strong in European countries, whence most of the new settlers come.

Nevertheless, in every branch of economic life there are plenty of British who are able to give a good account of themselves. The Dutch have ever represented the static, but the British the dynamic force in national life, for they it was who brought into a country which otherwise would have lagged behind a progressive spirit, new and wider outlooks, and a driving force that made things go. In general our kinsmen are still allowed to have more energy, perseverance, tenacity, and will-power than their neighbours, to be readier to carry an enterprise through when once it has been taken in hand, to be more patient in waiting for results, and altogether less frightened to take large risks. In the early gold and diamond mining days men made and lost great fortunes without turning a hair: whether luck came or went, it was all in the day's work, and the "sporting" adventurer was as mercurial as Mark Tapley, whether in clover or for a time "down and out." That is the right and only spirit for a new country and a young nation, and South Africa, still in the stage of experiment and adventure, has plenty of men who have it in a large degree.

Yet except, perhaps, on the Rand, or the centres of the newer gold and diamond diggings, there is little of the frantic rushing through life which is regarded as the supreme achievement and proof of civilization in Europe, where life's content and value are measured by the number and variety of the frivolities and inutilities which are crowded into it. It would be absurd to idealize the South Africans as a people who have deliberately chosen to follow the Wordsworthian path of "plain living and high thinking," for they respect material wealth greatly, though they do not all worship it; yet at least they give themselves time to live, which is the first and most necessary step towards living rationally.

I remember reading in one of the Capetown newspapers a controversy in which the readers accused their countrymen, which meant, of course, one another, of all sorts

of faults and failings—among them slackness, want of initiative, love of ease and indulgence, and even effeminacy. I heard myself of youths, with careers only just begun, who were supposed to be rather too proficient in billiards for their age, but oftener of other young men who wanted to make money too easily and too fast—on the whole a far worse fault. A well-informed South African, himself engaged in business, told me that a tradesman used to expect to obtain a position of independence within ten years of setting up on his own account. While this can hardly be the case to-day, I saw here and there evident signs of a disposition to off-saddle business responsibilities and enjoy an easy time at an earlier age than is customary in this country, though such a tendency presumes a prior condition of over-strain rather than the reverse.

On the whole I should say that both men and women are in general steady workers in their special spheres, though perhaps not strenuous ones, a fact to be explained in part by the climate and also by the fact that they have at call an unlimited supply of cheap Native labour, to which most of the heavy and more unpleasant tasks can be assigned. Nevertheless, there are several colloquial Boer maxims of practice which are quoted far too often to be good for those who use them, and they may be either an explanation or only a result of the easy-going spirit pilloried above. They are sayings like " Waacht en bitjen " (" Wait a bit "), " Morë is nog 'n (een) dag " (" To-morrow is also a day "), and the favourite phrase of wise President Brand —it is lettered in gold on his statue at Bloemfontein— " Alles zal reg kom " (" Everything will come right ").* These are all dangerous sentiments to trifle with ; cautiously used they are safe, but, as Mirabeau said of bayonets, you must not sit down on them. There is, of course, a sense in which each may be helpful and stimulative in a high degree, but it is not the sense in which they usually commend themselves to those who are fondest of applying them. For the settler in a new and undeveloped country, whatever the work to which he lays his hand, there can be no waiting

* The full saying ran, " Alles zal reg kom als elk zijn plicht doet "— " Everything will come right if everyone does his duty," which is another thing altogether ; but the second and more important part of the maxim is usually omitted.

and no ease; for him there is no time like the present, since every new day brings new duties; and little in this world comes right without effort of the right sort.

That there is ground for the common criticism that South Africa has not for a long time gone forward quickly enough I do not doubt. So far as this complaint is justified I suspect that one great reason is the widespread wish simply to get rich, and to do it without undue loss of time. People remind you that the country is still in the pioneering stage, and the fact is held to justify excessive devotion to speculative activities by men who ought to have motives more intelligent, and pursuits higher, than those of snatching up accidental and inflated gains totally out of proportion to any service of real and permanent value that they render to the community.

There is a strong gambling instinct in the national character, as anyone with eyes to see will soon discern. Every new country has it in plenty, and in the case of South Africa it is largely due to the example of Johannesburg and Kimberley, and other gold and diamond mining centres, and the bad influence of the rag-tag-and-bobtail element that settles down in every mining community in the earlier stages of its development, and leaves so much permanent evil behind it. Those who indulge in and encourage the gambling habit in finance and commerce contend that it is legitimate to try to make money fast, since no one knows how long his chances of so doing will last. But that from the national standpoint, however it may be from the individual, is a wrong view because not a long view.

The conspicuous place occupied by land speculation and investment and dabbling in stocks and shares, in particular, bears eloquent testimony to this habit, and suggests a country which is still in the making. Everywhere, indeed, far too much attention is given to money and its acquisition and too little to the production of the intrinsic values of which money is only a symbol.

South Africans may be said to live in an atmosphere of faith. They are pronounced optimists, except in the time of drought and locusts, when many of them lose hope—or think they do—though even then they do not take to writing tragedies. Whether it be due to this constitutional

optimism and the habit of living in the present, or to the dislocating influence of war conditions on social habits, and the excessive profiteering which was practised in South Africa as with us, it is the fact that if the South African earns well he is a still freer spender, and the charge of indulgence and extravagance cannot be altogether rebutted. The average man likes to have a good time, and is willing to buy his particular brands of pleasure at any price. In this he is probably encouraged by the practice of attractive towns, and even of the Government itself, of representing South Africa, in their propagandist literature, as a sort of world's playground and holiday centre. Thrift is said to be a decaying virtue in the middle classes, though it must be said that where parents are not concerned to leave handsome *dots* to their children they at least take care that they are well educated and fitted to make their own way in the world.

In a Johannesburg Labour newspaper I came across the following indictment of the social riot which is alleged to prevail on the Rand, evidently emanating from a pen pointed with the proverbial bias of the "have-nots" for the "haves." Alluding to a warning of the then Minister of Finance, that the people could not safely continue the extravagant standard of life which they adopted in 1914, the writer continued:

> "They do not do without luxuries when they cannot afford them. They run up bills, and do not cut their coat according to their cloth. This equally applies to the man with a thousand a year and the office typist with her £15 per month. The thousand a year man gets a motor-car on the instalment plan, and immediately becomes liable for from £12 to £25 per month for running expenses. He does not want the motor-car, but perhaps his wife does, for the sake of swank, and because her neighbour has got one on the same easy terms of payment. Formerly they used to be content to ride on the tram-cars, and were very pleased when the Town Council discussed the reduction of the fares from 2d. to 1½d. Mr. Burton, (then Finance Minister) it was who spoke deprecatingly of this very "motor-car standard" which seems to destroy the judgment of men and women in the matter of domestic economy, and prompts them to launch into all kinds of extraneous extravagances that appear to be necessary to maintain the standard.
>
> "Instead of paying off the bond on the house, the middle-

> class owner of a motor-car puts the money into a dozen things that eat up the money which should go to securing a roof over the heads of the family. The tradesmen's bills are neglected, and perhaps the day comes when the husband announces that the motor-car will have to be sacrificed. But perish the thought that it shall be, because it would at once announce to the friends and neighbours that his business position was in peril. Therefore the motor-car is retained, and always it goes on eating up money. We will not discuss what the end must be. We know it. We see it every day."

This picture of social ambitions and indulgence is probably heavily over-coloured, but there is enough truth in the indictment to give it a sting. I asked a friend on the Rand, who was piloting me about, "How can you all afford your cars?" and he answered with a meaning smile, "We can't, but we have to do it." But the people who do unwise things because they "have to do it" are seeking trouble, which as a rule is easy enough to find without effort. If one were to measure the wealth of South African towns by the "visibility" of the motor-car, Johannesburg might be found by that test alone to head the list. For there the ratio is one to under thirty of the population, and there are whole streets of automobile works (chiefly repair shops), warehouses, and garages.

Johannesburg, however, is in everything *sui generis*. It is a city of wealth and luxury, and "Quickly come and quickly go" might seem to indicate the prevailing attitude towards money. With this trait goes inevitably a certain instability of character. The Johannesburg type is highly temperamental and very nervy, and may pass through the entire gamut of psychical experience in the course of twenty-four hours. He is a gay and hilarious optimist when the sun shines and trade and the exchanges are all right, but saturnine and doleful as a funeral mute when the sky is overcast and the bottom is falling out of the market. It is all quite comprehensible, of course, for it is the men who have much at stake, to win or to lose, who most react to the oscillations of fortune; a fall means far less to the man who is walking on *terra firma* than to one whose drop is from an aeroplane, or even the top of an omnibus.

Putting Johannesburg on one side, however, as not sufficiently representative, here is another incident which

set me making comparisons at the time. In returning to Capetown from the Eastern Province just before the Rosebank Flower Show, a very popular social event in the Cape metropolis, I was assured that the trains just then were crowded with travellers on their way to "town" for the "show." In that part of the country alone there were evidently hundreds of people, mostly from small dorps and country districts, who thought nothing of spending some pounds on railway fares (all going first or second class), apart from the cost of hotels and entertainment for several days, where the average Englishman, and still more Scotsman, of the same social condition would probably have looked lovingly at a twenty-shilling Treasury Note a few times before investing it in a like junketing.

Nevertheless, South Africans collectively appear to be saving at a satisfactory rate, in proof of which we are told that "whereas ten years ago only eight per cent. of the public securities were held in South Africa, now of the very much larger national indebtedness only two-thirds is owned abroad."* It is also a significant and creditable fact that the number of life policies in force in South Africa in 1921 was equal to 140 per 1,000 of the population and the aggregate amount insured represented £430 per policy and £62 per inhabitant; while the corresponding figures for the United Kingdom in 1915 (the latest year for which data exist) were 70 per 1,000, £270 per policy and under £20 per inhabitant. Industrial life policies are here excluded in both cases. Two facts which may go far towards explaining this disparity are the far higher wages of White labour in South Africa and the larger proportion which the working-class and the ranks of the absolute poor form in the British population.

Happily for it, South Africa is not cursed by traditions, like Europe. For example, politically it is a country without a governing class; yet it jogs along quite cheerfully and comfortably under that heavy handicap, the mere contemplation of which would appal the average sturdy British democrat. The immunity has even positive advantages, for the consequence is that youth and ability have everywhere a better

* "Report on the Economic Conditions in South Africa" (July, 1923), by Mr. W. G. Wickham, H.M. Senior Trade Commissioner in South Africa.

chance than with us, and mentally decrepit old men are not suffered to cling to the last to public office, however deplorably the nation's affairs may be muddled by their ineptitude and left to be straightened by their successors—the young men and women of to-day, who invariably are called upon to pay their spendthrift fathers' political debts. As an instance of this different attitude, while I was in South Africa a new Administrator of the Transvaal Province was appointed in the person of Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr at the age of thirty, and I can only join in the good wishes of those who hope and believe that the success of this gifted son of the South Africa College and of Balliol in the sphere of public administration and later, as everyone assumes, of parliamentary life, will justify the transference of his abilities from the sphere of education to these more controversial and exacting fields of activity.

In general the country, though it has copied a good deal from England during the last twenty years, largely because much of its administrative ability has been drawn thence, seems now disposed to fall back more and more on its own traditions and to make its own precedents. That is a good sign, because an evidence of vitality and strength. In the past British Governments have notoriously conspired to leave South Africa out of their calculations. It looks as though South Africa intended now to repay the compliment. What struck me as singular, however, was the fact that the sessional opening of the Legislature of this most democratic people, who want nothing more passionately than to follow the ways of peace, and prosper in them, is accompanied by the military effects and trappings beloved at home.

I heard many expressions of concern and apprehension over the alleged tendency of the youth of both sexes to claim liberties at the bare mention of which one of Jane Austen's maiden ladies would have uttered the word "Shocking!" and collapsed upon the nearest cushioned sofa. It is the restlessness and impatience of restraint characteristic of the normally more sedate sex that specially excites misgiving. At all times the Colonial, like the American, girl has enjoyed more freedom than her European sister, but roomy though the squirrel-cage is, she is now said to be beating the bars rather violently in token of a wish to

be out altogether. This is a subject upon which doubts and perplexities exist at home, but having tried to probe them fairly I find myself with much relief on the side of the new generation. Pre-eminently the question of social conventions is one on which elders might make a greater effort to bear with youth than they usually do. For, after all, the boys and girls, the youths and maidens of to-day are their own children and grandchildren, flesh of their flesh and spirit of their spirit; and they, too, in days which they often like to forget, had their hectic moments, spurts of rebellion, and nibblings at forbidden fruit, yet in the end learned quiet and self-control in the riding paddock of life, whose firm but wholesome restraint not one of these prancing colts and mettlesome fillies will be spared.

Old folk should be more honest with themselves, so that they might be fairer to the young. How is it that with growing years men and women become more tolerant of restraint? It is not because they love authority in itself more than they did in the distant past; but rather because restraint and authority have ceased to harass and vex them. They have learned by the manifold disciplines of experience that though there are millions of wills in the world all must work together if the end of human life is to be perfection, and that to the extent that they pull different ways all forward movement is arrested, discord and confusion take the place of harmony and order, and social life becomes a rough-and-tumble *mêlée* instead of a quiet idyll—a wild, mad Valkürenritt instead of a Pastoral Symphony. So there comes a time when wise men and women, accepting their limitations, however unwillingly, decide that it were better on the whole to *give in*. Then they cease to kick at the pricks, and not needing the goad it has no longer for them a sting. The same process will be repeated to the end of time, since human nature never changes.

In the meantime let the doubters be reassured. Social forms and conventions, important as they are, are fluid, and both may change radically without any weakening of the vertebral structure of society. Only let the ideals of morality and duty be held scathless, and liberties and latitudes may be legitimate in many directions. And, after all, the world and the future belong not to the old but the young.

For the public behaviour of young and old, so far as my observation went, there can be nothing but praise. There, as with us, one occasionally meets the thoughtless smoker who lights his weed in a non-smoking carriage, with a careless disregard both of regulations and manners, and the clumsy man in the crowd who pokes his umbrella ferrule into your eye, and thinks it apology enough when he mumbles, "My mistake!" But these are minor faults as compared with the weightier matters of the law. It may be a consequence of the habit of drinking light wines and beers of home production, but you seldom see drunkenness in South Africa, though visitors to our own country spoke to me mournfully of the excessive drinking, particularly by women, which had shocked them in London. When I asked them to remember that London is no more representative of England than Paris of France, or Leningrad of rural Russia, the reminder invariably both pleased and relieved them. Only twice or thrice did I see intoxicated men in towns—and one was in a hotel of the first rank, the convenience of whose guests seemed to be the business of no one in particular—and in the country districts never. Not only so, but not once was I accosted with a request for alms; I never heard a blear-eyed sinner singing before my hotel windows on a Sunday morning, "Fight the good fight," followed by "Abide with me;" and I observed no evidences of immoral pursuits in the streets. South Africa may not be free from all these social excrescences, but it is doubtful whether our larger British towns would afford visitors so favourable an experience.

As to the moral tone of South African town life in general I would hazard no independent opinion, though I observe that in a valedictory sermon in Johannesburg Cathedral several months ago the Dean deplored an "extraordinary break-down in the moral law," instancing in particular the "immense number" of irregular unions. Unfortunately the statistics of divorce afford some justification for this lament, though they also contain a warning against generalizations. While in 1914 the number of divorces and judicial separations in the Union as a whole gave a ratio of 1·7 per 10,000 of the population (Whites only), the ratio in 1923 was 4·4. In the Cape Province the increase had been

from 1·8 to 3, in Natal from 0·4 to 4, and in the Transvaal from 1·7 to 7·4, but in the Orange Free State, the most Dutch of the provinces, there had been a decline from 2 to 1·7. Owing to the different divorce laws, comparison with our own country is impossible, and even were the laws identical it might be injudicious.

Physically the South Africans of both the principal European races look a strong, well-built, virile stock, the women no less than the men, and I was assured that, except in the slum areas of one or two towns, what may claim to be the "A 1" standard is still well maintained. The English may lack, on the whole, the robust amplitude of the typical Dutch, whose sturdy massiveness is at times overwhelming; but with less bulk they are said to be more mobile, and to have greater staying power. Perhaps it is too soon for the climate of the sub-continent to have exercised any modifying influence upon the two races, in view of the fact that the British population is constantly being reinforced from Europe, while the Dutch in the mass are still reaping the advantage of a hardy ancestry, and of long life in an invigorating environment at high altitudes. One would expect climatic influences to show themselves first in the towns at a low level, and it would be interesting to know whether there exists any evidence that such influences have as yet told upon urban populations, and if so in what directions, and to what extent.

If I try to assemble the impressions suggested by much sampling of South African town churches, chiefly but not altogether Anglican, it is done in no captious spirit, yet with a feeling that unless frankness is shown it might be far better to pass the subject by in silence. Yet whether religion be three-quarters of life, as Matthew Arnold said, or its complete content, as the Preacher taught, it is at least a big business for man or nation, and to ignore it altogether might be regarded as either weak affectation or moral cowardice. Some of the many sermons I heard were excellent alike in spirit and substance, and if they were not helpful to those who heard them the fault did not lie with the preachers. Yet most of the good clerics seemed to rate the intelligence of their hearers unnecessarily low. It is a fault common to so much preaching at home—the perpetual doling out of

commonplace, threadbare phrases, doctrinal platitudes of the kind that not only every man but every woman has known since adolescence at the latest, and elementary principles, with no apparent consciousness that they have any point or application in particular, always the first book of Cæsar or of Euclid, and never anything beyond it. And that in the country of Colenso and Olive Schreiner! All the men I heard were clearly very earnest and devout, but some of them seemed to have brought with them no urgent, definite message, capable of stimulating devitalized souls and remedying the spiritual wear-and-tear of the week: they had to preach sermons, and they did it. One missed also at times the clear, strong, manly note of faith and confidence, without which no preaching can convince or edify.

The Anglican Church is officially known as the Church of the Province of South Africa, and is divided into twelve dioceses, several of whose centres are as yet little more than villages, and their churches comparable in size to English village churches. The cathedral churches of the large towns evidently draw large and attached congregations, and there must be a powerful driving force behind their busy machinery. The preaching which I heard in them, if not in each case strikingly original, was clearly that of sincere men who meant all they said. The Anglo-Catholic school or tendency appears to be strongly represented, and in several towns evidences of it were particularly noticeable. In the cathedral of Bloemfontein, capital of the most Dutch and Calvinistic province of the Union, a space is reserved for children, and a scroll on the adjacent wall bears the invocation, " Holy Mary and all the blessed Saints, pray for us children ! " In an Anglican church such an invocation looked incongruous, though I do not forget that in interpreting the obligation of fidelity to the law and canon of the Church many clergymen apply standards less rigid than do most of the laity.

Discussing this subject with a beneficed clergyman who promptly approved the Anglo-Catholic position, a remark of mine to the effect that there seemed a likelihood that many South African children of to-day would never know what the Reformation meant to the life of the British nation,

drew the prompt rejoinder, "I hope they will never know what Protestantism means." He proceeded to say that he approved of "Catholic" vestments and positions, confession, and the rest, and added that while his people did not object to a change when it was explained to them he would never be led by a congregation in such matters. This clergyman had read of the "informal conversations" at Malines, which proved to have been very formal indeed, and had convinced himself that the Roman Church would be prepared to sacrifice the Papacy for the sake of union with the Church of England, never having heard of Cardinal Mercier's pastoral in which he stated, "On essential questions such as the primacy of the Pope—which was the first and last question for consideration—neither I nor my friends intended to sacrifice to a senseless desire for union at any price a single article of the Catholic Apostolic and Roman creed." The oddest thing is that this clergyman claimed to be "Low"—a view of the Low Church which may explain much.

The British Nonconformist bodies naturally deplore every sign of a repudiation of Reformation principles, as reacting upon themselves and making more difficult their missionary work amongst the Native populations, which it probably does. The most stalwart buttress of Evangelical doctrine is, of course, the Dutch Reformed Church, which, undivided throughout the length and breadth of the land, upholds in city, town, and dorp the undiluted and unattenuated faith of its fathers and founders. Both the polity and the service of the Dutch Church have a great similarity to those of the Church of Scotland, while the elders occupy seats behind or around the pastor, just as in the old-fashioned Lutheran Churches of Westphalia years ago, and probably still to-day. But while it is inconceivable that a German church elder could pray in public, I heard a devout Dutch elder on one occasion pray, and with great feeling, for a good quarter of an hour.

I have written frankly, but I hope in a spirit seemly in a critic of his own Church, for to my mind not only moral but imperial issues are involved in this question. Nowhere is there greater need for clear and definite religious teaching, for the vigorous statement of plain and simple principles

of life, unencumbered by hair-splitting and subterfuge, than in a young country like South Africa, still battling with the stern tasks and problems of development. For such a country the question "What shall become of it?" is one of immense importance, and the answer to this question depends largely upon the extent to which the Churches think and speak and act together. The whole future of South Africa depends upon its unity, which is no less imperative in the struggle between good and evil, religion and irreligion, Christianity and paganism, than in the economic and political struggle between the White and Black races. On all such issues one side must triumph in the end, and victory, wherever it lies, may be victory without quarter. Not by individual pulpits, even of "forty-parson-power" (to recall Byron's phrase), will these battles be won, but by national unity in mind, purpose, and effort.

This is how the matter appears to an outsider. Of the White population of South Africa more than one-half belongs to the Dutch Reformed Churches, and just under one-fifth to the Anglican Church. Adding to the adherents of the Dutch Churches those of the British Nonconformist Churches and the Lutherans, at least 70 per cent. of the European population stand practically united—the majority race with almost fanatical devotion—on Reformation principles. In face of that fact, is it uncharitable to regard the intrusion of the Anglo-Catholic movement, which does not represent the Church of England as by law established and is still less representative of the English nation as a whole at home, as a challenge to the national unity which is so greatly to be desired? A little less of what is very arbitrarily called "historical continuity" might be amply compensated for by a little more of that unity.

Having spoken freely, I would all the more gladly bear testimony to the fine courage and sense of responsibility shown by the Anglican bishops in combating moral evils, espousing the rightful interests of the Native population, and enforcing the principle of equal justice for the White and Black races. There the true English spirit speaks, and one can only wish that it may never speak, in South Africa or any other part of the Empire, in less clear and urgent

tones. It is equally pleasing to know that, though in some points of doctrine as far as the poles asunder, the relation between the British Episcopal and Nonconformist Churches and clergy is a cordial one, and tends to become still more so.*

Women take a prominent part in church and other religious work, for which they are so well fitted, and they are no longer excluded from all the Nonconformist pulpits. A year ago the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa formally recognized women as lay preachers instead of as mere "helpers," and other Churches admit them to their representative assemblies, but the Dutch Church in general holds fast to the Pauline sex bar.

South Africa is happy in the possession of a daily Press which would be a credit to any country. Each of the three largest towns has at least two excellent daily journals, which are published, on a convenient live-and-let-live principle, in the morning and afternoon respectively. Capetown is represented by the *Cape Times* (M.) and the *Cape Argus* (A.), Johannesburg by the *Rand Daily Mail* (M.) and the *Star* (A.), and Durban by the *Natal Advertiser* (M.) and the *Natal Mercury* (A.). Bloemfontein also has in *The Friend* an old-established newspaper of repute. All these are journals of the highest status, conducted with great enterprise and with a laudable sense of responsibility to the *res publica*, whose interests they loyally serve, each according to its political angle of vision. As a "regular reader" of these journals during my visit I had reason to admire the fine public spirit, the broad and statesmanlike outlook, and the freedom from petty personalities which marked the normal daily discussions of national and imperial questions in their leading articles. It is only when the rival policies and interests of Government and Opposition are at issue that the journalist is apt to become superheated and lose his customary balance of judgment. Upon that subject, however, enough has been said already.

Not only so, but these articles are written in better English than will be found in any but the best daily journals

* The Cape Town Press reported that on a Sunday of November last the two Anglican bishops and a dean had preached in the three principal Nonconformist pulpits of the city on the appropriate subject of religious unity.

at home. Speaking of style, it was another of the many South African surprises to see a Johannesburg Labour newspaper formally rebuking the municipal authority for its slovenly use of the English language. There is apt to be a somewhat marked provincial touch in the social and personal news columns of even the more reputable newspapers, and distinction and fame are often awarded to deserving national representatives of the Muses with a generosity which the recognition of international standards might not justify. But every journal knows its public best, and concessions to vanity and the love of publicity are at least more defensible than pandering to the love of the morbid and the sensational, an evil of which I saw no evidence.

The Dutch population has a large and well-read Press of its own, ably written, though somewhat lacking in breadth and a sense of realities, and on the whole rather backward than forward looking. Visiting small out-of-the-way towns of several thousand Europeans, one is surprised to find them served not seldom by two newspapers, one for each race, appearing twice or thrice a week, an instance of journalistic enterprise of which, so far as my knowledge goes, only Germany of European countries affords a counterpart.

In several of their social features South African journalism, even of the dignified daily order, recalls the usage of the German and Dutch Press. Thus betrothals are commonly announced in the advertising columns; invitations to marriages are similarly issued; and the undertaker announces funerals and bids friends thereto. An obituary notice is often subscribed by a number of named survivors and married relatives, or is elaborated by such an addition as "fondly remembered by the loving husband, children, sisters, cousins, and other relatives." Altogether in this matter there is a marked absence of that restraint which was customary with us before the war broke down the tradition of what Goldsmith called the "silent manliness of grief," a tradition for which there is much to be said, and which may come again to its own.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL LIFE

THE typical South African house is a detached, one-storey structure of the kind known in this country as bungalow, and, as may be seen by the old Dutch homesteads in the Cape which remain, it is a variation of the type introduced by the first settlers. All the rooms being on one floor, the bungalow has most of the advantages of the modern flat, and it is a singular illustration of the caprice of custom and taste that in some of the larger towns the flat is to-day taking its place. Simultaneously the two-storey house is steadily making headway, particularly in the suburbs of such towns. Entering such a house, you may be pretty certain that you are on English ground. The modern villas, each in a spacious and beautiful garden, which adorn the residential districts of Johannesburg, Durban, Capetown, and Pretoria, in particular, are in excellent taste and fair to look upon, but they are an exotic feature of South African life. In grace of form and quiet dignity the older Dutch town and country houses, with their tall gables, sometimes of the crow-foot type, and high-pitched roofs, are still unexcelled.

Bungalow houses are not as a rule large according to English ideas, and 70 per cent. of all the dwellings in the country contain only three, four, or five rooms, with kitchen, pantry, and usually a bathroom in addition. It is also significant that, as with us, there is a steady fall in the relative number of the larger houses. The traditional Dutch *stoep* or verandah, often running the whole width of the house, and usually raised a foot or more above the ground level, is seldom missing, and almost invariably it has a corrugated iron roof. Usually the front door opens from the *stoep* into a spacious hall or *voorhuis*, from which the principal living rooms in front are entered.

The bungalow style of architecture allows of loftier rooms than are usually found in English houses, and as a rule

the dimensions are very generous, particularly in the older structures. Often the rooms have a height of twelve feet and over, and their handsome floors of polished yellow-wood or other hard wood and their large and massive doors give them a very attractive appearance. While, however, the internal design and arrangements may be in unimpeachable taste, the external aspect does not always give the same impression of substantialness and permanence which is suggested by an English stone-built house of a corresponding value and social type. The usual building material is brick or brick and stucco, and if the latter is not kept white- or colour-washed, as the case may be, it soon begins to look first dingy and then neglected. Red tiles are the favourite roofing material, and their warm colour suits the sunshine excellently, though they have the disadvantage of not being invulnerable against the fierce hailstorms which are frequent in some high situations, and shatter thousands of tiles in half an hour. For that reason the unpleasing substitute of corrugated iron, usually painted red, is seen oftener than is good for the eye.

In the smaller towns the absence of modern water supplies frequently means inadequate bathing arrangements. In such towns the bath provided at your hotel may have to be sought in an outhouse, reached across a courtyard or lawn, and when found it may prove to be a massive structure of concrete, with sides a foot thick, looking suspiciously like a disused sarcophagus, though acceptable enough at any hour on a hot summer day.

The proportion of houses owned by their occupants is remarkably high, and considering the relative costliness of houses the fact must be added to the other evidences of an advanced level of material well-being. In 1921 two houses out of every five in the Union occupied by Europeans were owned by their occupants, the largest proportion being in Orange Free State, where it was nearly one half, though in individual towns, like Johannesburg, even this high ratio is exceeded. A large part of the money so invested in house property is borrowed, but the practice of home-owning is so healthy and commendable, owing to the greater stability and wider interests which it gives to home life, that the proverb that the man who goes a-borrowing goes

a-sorrowing does not necessarily apply to the head of a household who incurs debt reasonably for such an object.

It is specially in rapidly growing and popular towns like Capetown and Johannesburg that middle-class families are now turning more and more to flats as being easier to manage, entailing less service with its attendant cost, giving housewives in consequence more freedom and opportunity for varying the conventional routine of domestic life with outside interests, and offering the further advantage that they can be rented, since it is as difficult in South African towns as in English to rent single-family houses. The newest of the Capetown blocks of flats are built in attractive style, and their accommodation meets the needs of families of all sizes and every degree of means. All the rooms in a block are heated from a single central system. Some of the blocks are built with only two floors in what is known as the Cape Colonial style, but with internal conveniences surpassing those with which the old Cape Colonial was satisfied. For such flats rents of from ten to seventeen guineas a month are said to be obtained readily.

The impression appears to prevail in South Africa that the cost of living is very moderate there, and compares more than favourably with that in the United Kingdom. Before the War that country was admittedly a dearer one to live in than our own, and so far as such commodities as enter into food, clothing, and domestic requirements generally are concerned, it is doubtful whether on the whole the positions are yet reversed, though each country has distinct advantages in one direction or another. The War led to an increase in prices there as with us, often, in each case, with no more justification than the fact that the nation's extremity gave opportunity to immoral cupidity of the meanest sort; but in South Africa the upward movement came later and it did not go so far. The result is that the present average increase is estimated at not more than 15 per cent. If the present British arbitrary estimate of a 75 per cent. increase is recalled, it is only in order to utter a warning against the natural disposition to treat the two figures as comparable quantities, which they are not.

The recently published Report on the Census of 1921 seems to justify my own conclusions, for it says:

> "In South Africa the condition experienced has been that of cheap living in the country and expensive living in the towns. Living in the towns has been notoriously expensive, and South African prices have far exceeded those prevailing in other British Dominions, and still more those in the United Kingdom and (in normal times) the Continent of Europe."

After stating that a more favourable level of prices prevailed towards the end of the War and just after, the Report continues:

> "Unfortunately, however, South Africa suffered in common with the rest of the world the extravagant rise in prices recorded in 1920, and the favourable position relative to other countries was lost again. Thus South Africa has reverted to her historic condition of being a country in which the cost of living in her chief industrial and urban areas is excessively high" (p.270).

Such honest speaking is highly creditable, but it is only fair to add that the more the comparison is extended from expenditure on commodities to outlay other than that over the tradesman's counter, e.g., education and taxation, the more favourable is the position of South Africa seen to be. Education, right through to the university, is much less expensive than in Great Britain; the income tax is only a shilling in the pound up to a fairly high limit and after generous allowances, though local rates are heavy; and there is further compensation in the fact that there are no Sickness and Unemployment Insurance Acts, Old Age Pensions, or even a Poor Law to pay for. Moreover, while, owing to climatic, social, civic and other differences, a British household budget, even a complete one, could not properly be compared with one relating to the same social stratum in South Africa, a fact most necessary to be borne in mind is that the general standard of life in the latter country is decidedly high, and that it corresponds to the relatively more comfortable position of the mass of the population; though it may be doubtful whether the practice of living up to the outer margin of one's income is as common among people of moderate means at home as there.

Even high rent and rates are directly counterbalanced to some extent to the householder by the economy on domestic service where only Native labour is employed.

The economy is twofold, in that it is not necessary to provide bedrooms for Native servants, since they "live out," which means that a hut of sorts is found for them at the bottom of the garden, or they find their own quarters anyhow and anywhere, while the monthly wages of a Native "boy" or woman range from £2 to £3 and from £1 to £2 a month respectively, with simple food in addition. In the Cape Province Coloured persons are chiefly employed, and their wages are somewhat higher.

Here a word or two may be devoted to those convenient maids-of-all-work, the Native "boys." It is a common complaint that they are inefficient and unreliable, yet there is hardly anything in or about the house that they are not expected to do. The truth probably is that they do at least as much and as efficient work as their wages pay for. Reasonable employers, who do not expect too much from weak human nature, agree that the Natives—particularly the Zulus, who are the best and most desired of them—make quite passable general helps, and can even be trained to be capable cooks, though in the absence of explicit directions odd mistakes occur at any moment. Thus Black "boys" or maids are said to have an embarrassing way of mixing the order of the dinner menu, and an unpractised cook told to strengthen an improvised soup with a packet of "Maggi" or "Heinz" will as likely as not put into the saucepan the paper wrapper as well. The only misunderstanding that fell to my own experience was when a "boy," asked for a jug of shaving water, brought a three-gallon zinc watering-can, filled to the brim. Remonstrated with, he replied with complete unconcern, "No more tin can, gentleman!"

The common practice of engaging young Native girls as nurses is admittedly open to objection, for the Native is a primitive being, both girls and boys developing physically and sexually at an earlier age than Europeans. Medical officers of health, whose professional experience of the effect and risks of Native service gives to their opinions special value, are continually urging the entire replacement of Coloured by European labour in the home, but as the question of cost stands in the way this is a counsel of perfection which is at present impossible of realization.

The British—and above all the English—hold their black servants, and Blacks in general, more at arm's length than the Dutch, keeping them in their place less by any active measures than by the attitude of aloofness and the unconscious assertion of superiority in relation to subordinates which come naturally to a governing race. The one rule of the normal British household where Natives are employed that may not be broken is "No familiarity on one side or toleration of it on the other," and the rule undoubtedly works well for both parties. For familiarity of any kind is destructive of discipline and even of good influence, since the Native takes the European at his own valuation, neither higher nor lower, a fact deserving to be carefully borne in mind in a time of transition and unsettlement like the present.

The Dutch of corresponding social class are less rigid and ceremonious in their bearing to the Native, and claim that they understand him better, which is quite probable, though it may be doubtful whether they maintain authority with an equal absence of rigour. Corporal punishment is prohibited by law, though I never heard anyone deny that it occurs. The odd thing is that more drastic handling does not appear to make the Native less willing to serve one kind of master than another. To the Dutchman's credit is probably put the fact that he is not so concerned as the typical British employer to keep his Coloured servants in a corner.

The Native speaks more or less broken English or Dutch, as the case may be, or perhaps a mixture of the two, but his vocabulary is very limited. When he takes to letter writing his efforts are laborious and the results grotesque, though there are professional Native scriveners, with all the flowery and bungling eloquence of a Dutch bulb catalogue at command, who are ready to help him out of difficulties for a small fee. The names taken, or rather given to, the "boys" who find their way into White households as domestic servants are various and peculiar. Biblical names, particularly those of the Old Testament patriarchs, are popular, but colloquial names like Sixpence or Jim Fish appear to have impressed Europeans of a certain type as ingenious or humorous, and, used in a generical way, they

are handed on to successive new-comers with their uniforms without apparent protest on the part of the recipients. Sometimes the "boys," who may be sixteen years old or sixty, are camouflaged by women's names, and "Moses" is bidden to reply in future to the call for "Rebecca." This custom of playing with names is only one of many ways—though in worse taste than most—in which Europeans deny to the Native individuality and self-respect. Unless experienced you can never even approximately guess a Native "boy's" age, and when the grey hairs begin to streak his curly mop you are only left more uncertain. I have known married "boys" who literally looked like boys, and adults who looked far older than their admitted years.

About the domestic arrangements of urban households there are few other features that call for special notice except the practice of early rising, its resultant the invariable siesta, and the tea-drinking habit. The last named impresses all new-comers, and they judge it variously. Whatever else may be kept on the dining-room sideboard, a tea urn, with the appropriate china, will be found there. Whether you are in a private house or a hotel, tea, or coffee as a variation, is served to you from morning till evening. After a cup, if you prefer it to longer sleep, at any time after six o'clock, you have it (unless you prefer coffee) at breakfast. At eleven there is another turn at the tea-urn, and after lunch another. The professional man or tradesman down town does not forgo the indulgence which he would have claimed at home, and often drinks his forenoon cup of tea in his favourite place of entertainment, stoutly maintaining that it eases business negotiations wonderfully, and that tea and the change of scene together give a flick to flagging energies. Four o'clock or so is a tea hour universally consecrated by the social code of nations and needs no apology; while after dinner there is tea or coffee, according to choice, once more and for the last time. On any rational dietetic principles this habit ought to be thoroughly unhealthy, but most visitors seem at once to fall in with it, though after a short experience I fancy that many, like some I met, while not adopting Goethe's resolute doctrine of "renunciation," judiciously compromise by following the Napoleonic maxim "savoir se borner."

Coming to outdoor life, it is a pleasure to pay a tribute to the order and decorum of the streets. The police constables, both European and Native (the Native constable, where employed, only concerns himself with people of colour) seem to have little to do, and to do that little well, while Europeans receive at their hands all the courtesy for which we seldom look in vain to the protectors of order at home. The point-duty man is at his place in crowded crossings directing the traffic, in some towns mounted for better survey on a high wooden platform, overshadowed by a huge umbrella on the hot summer days; but otherwise, except for his different style of helmet, the police constable is neither more nor less conspicuous than with us, and he is never officious.

The Native policeman is said to be disposed to magnify his office when dealing with people of his own race, and even with Coloured people who may be socially his superiors, and in the Transvaal towns to be fond of challenging them to produce their passes or permits for no other purpose than to gratify the conceit of the proverbial jack-in-office. The laws under which these passes have to be taken out, in order to entitle Natives to move about the country, are very invidious and naturally odious to the more intelligent and self-respecting of them, and in as much as the entire pass system dates from times and conditions altogether different from the present radical ameliorations have long been overdue. Personally I found the Native constables extremely polite, and invariably ready to be helpful to the full extent of their capacity, though this was not always equal to their goodwill. At Johannesburg one of the number did his best for me in an emergency, but without success. He was a fine, tall, stalwart fellow, with a happy-as-a-mudlark look on his face that was good to see, and when I asked him the locality of a certain street he promptly saluted with a vigorous, "Yassar." After a time of puzzled reflexion he broke into a hilarious laugh, rich, expansive, explosive, as he exclaimed, "Master, I'm damned if I know!"

A genial, healthy, young people like the South Africans could not be indifferent to the lighter sides of life. To judge from the handbooks which their towns publish for

the information and capture of visitors one might suppose their existence to be a continuous round of play and enjoyment. It is far from being that, yet I doubt whether town folk anywhere extract from life more legitimate pleasure. The very sunshine has the force of a categorical imperative, bidding them follow the advice of Herrick, most genial of philosophers, and "gather rosebuds while they may." Outdoor sport is naturally followed with avidity in the land of the outdoor life, where sun and air and all nature react on the social instincts of an essentially sociable people. All the field games known at home have their devotees, and municipal authorities regard it as an essential part of their business to provide land and all other necessary facilities for outdoor recreation, from golf and tennis to the less exciting games of bowls and croquet.

Perhaps owing to its large British stock of comparatively recent importation Johannesburg in particular is passionately fond of sport, and a "test" football match sends the greater part of the community crazy. On an occasion of the kind during the past season spectators expectant began to pour into the field at seven o'clock; by noon 15,000 people had passed through the turnstiles; and before the match began several hours later the number had doubled. All South Africa contributed to the great concourse, trains bringing loads of visitors from the Cape Peninsula, in the extreme South, the farthest frontiers of the Transvaal, the Free State, Natal, and even Rhodesia.

To the all-pervading sunshine, and the settled conviction that life was not intended to be all grind and no grist, may be attributed a multiplicity of public holidays such as will only be found in the more easy-going Roman Catholic countries of the European Continent. Where we in strenuous England have six in the year, South Africa does not think eleven excessive, viz., New Year's Day, Good Friday, Easter Monday, Ascension Day, Victoria Day (May 24th), Union Day (May 31st), King's Birthday (first Monday in August), the first Monday in October (Wiener's Day, so called after the Cape politician who passed the authorizing Act), Dingaan's Day (December 16th), Christmas Day, and Boxing Day (December 26th) The observance of "Delville day" (July 18th), as recalling a critical episode in the Great

War in which the South African Brigade played so gallant a part, is at present under consideration. This fairly generous allowance of holidays has the advantage over our own niggardly portion that it distributes throughout the whole year the welcome spaces of leisure which most people can enjoy without the depressing consciousness of privilege. The most historical of the holidays is Dingaan's Day, which fell on the day of my landing at Capetown in the height of summer. It was on December 16, 1838, that Andries Pretorius, the famous Voortrekker leader, signally and finally defeated the warlike Zulu chief Dingaan, whose massacres had long kept the Boer settlers in fear and trembling, though it was 1840 before the despot came to his end by assassination. The day is commemorated throughout the entire Union, though with special heartiness by the Dutch community, which varies its rejoicings by religious services.

A great diversity of climatic as well as social conditions leads to a sort of general post in the summer holiday season. The coast resident likes to exchange the sea breezes for the more robust air of the high plateaux; the resident of the high veld districts welcomes a descent into the genial temperature of the lower levels; while the back-veld farmer and his family, after spending many months together in the isolation and stagnation of their wide domains, are ready to go to any point of the compass where there is a prospect of busy life and movement, fresh things to see, fresh people to talk to, and the opportunity of assembling experiences and memories to be recalled and lived over again in the long monotonous days and months that will return. The Johannesburgers, who are a law to themselves in many things, largely take their holidays in the winter season, when the change from their highland elevation to the mild climate of the Pacific Coast is attractive to those who can afford it. Capetown and the seaside resorts of the Peninsula attract hosts of visitors from all parts of the country, and particularly from the north; while Durban, on the Indian Ocean, at the other end of the country, draws largely from the Dutch provinces, and keeps her rival in the west on the tenterhooks by great enterprise and resource as a pleasure centre. Between these two towns are

many attractive holiday resorts on the coast or near it, such as Mossel Bay, Knysna and the lovely George neighbourhood, Port Elizabeth, Port Alfred, East London, and Port St. John's. In short, in some place, near or distant, every peculiarity of constitution and every variety of taste and mood can find congenial environment at one season or another, for in everything that relates to the satisfaction of physical and even of mental needs South Africa is so many-sided as to be almost if not altogether self-sufficient.

Club life also is highly developed, even in country districts, a fact which will be readily understood when it is remembered that every little market town is the nucleus of a large community of farmers, who need a meeting-place at which to confer and transact business. The Rand Club at Johannesburg has been called " the best hotel in Africa," and the man would be irrationally fastidious who failed to appreciate the high quality of its material comforts and social amenities. The clubs of even the smallest towns, however, are excellent, and have no counterpart in this country. My own sojourn in several places was made more pleasant owing to the thoughtfulness which offered me temporary membership of these centres of social life.

There is ample provision for indoor public entertainment. Most of the theatres and variety halls, at least in the larger towns, are combined in a powerful yet, I was assured, a very efficient trust. This organization covers the entire range of the playhouse—the drama, comedy, musical comedy, vaudeville, and opera, though the last named has but little vogue in South Africa. In all the capitals and other important towns the company owns or leases theatres of the first rank, but the recreative needs of smaller places are not ignored where there is a Town Hall or other public assembly-room in which a passable stage can be improvised. For the public this amalgamation of the theatres is said to have the advantage that better companies and better-known individual artists can be induced to visit the country, and it is claimed that its effect has been a notable raising of the level of dramatic performance. To the artists themselves the trust system offers longer and better-paid engagements as part of a visit to the country than usually fell to them before. Short runs are general in the theatres; and where a drama

may hold the boards for a year at once in London a run of more than several weeks is exceptional even in the largest of South African towns. Co-operating with the theatre trust is a film company, which works half a hundred bioscopes in different parts of the Union, and appears to supply a never-varying demand for amusement of this kind.

Not long ago I read that certain people at Grahamstown, in the Cape Province, had "picked up" jazz music which had been disseminated through space by some American broadcaster. Pope is said to have preferred a hurdy-gurdy to Handel's new-fangled oratorios, but South Africans in general are conscious that there are better things in the way of music to be "picked up" than the inanities of jazz bands. In every town of any size there are enthusiastic societies of musicians and music-lovers. Both Capetown and Durban have municipal orchestras, which do much to encourage the love of good music amongst all classes of the community, and the town must be very small in which a public hall is not available for orchestral and vocal concerts, even though drainage and water schemes are as yet only contemplated.

Speaking of the muses in general, it is pleasant to be able to record the success with which Young South Africa is asserting itself in Great Britain in the drama and music, in art and letters. A list of the men and women who during late years have made their mark as dramatic writers and on the stage, as composers and in the concert hall, and as painters, poets, and novelists, would be long and distinguished, and it is growing every year.

There is to-day a far more serious observance of Sunday in South Africa than in England, where Sunday observance is fast coming to mean attention to the sporting engagements arranged for the day, and the Saturday farewell, "You'll be there to-morrow?" has reference to the golf field or tennis-court. Of course, there are exceptions in the case of some of the larger towns—Johannesburg, for instance, that city of many altars, both to known and unknown gods—and both the motor-car and outdoor games everywhere have an increasing number of devotees. Yet Sunday is on the whole far less like a week-day than with us; the churches seem to be well attended; and the streets are

certainly quieter and more decorous, though not always as carefully swept and garnished, even in the populous cities, as they might be, for the Dutch motto " There is another day yet," is not unknown even in departments of municipal administration. It will be interesting to see how far the secularizing of the Sunday will be allowed to go in that country, and whether the rigid Sabbatarianism of the Dutch Reformed Church will succeed in stemming the tide. At present the law on Sunday observance appears to be very severe in some places. There is in the Transvaal a little dorp—there may be a hundred such dorps—where a shopkeeper cannot sell a penny candle on a Sunday without being heavily fined, and in the Transkeian Territories of the Cape the public playing of games on Sunday is rigidly prohibited.

During my travels I saw as much as possible of the free, healthy, unconstrained life of the countryside, and this chapter cannot be better rounded off than by some recollections of the sort. Life on British farms on the veld has little in common with that of our English countryside. Not only are the farms of far larger size, but as a rule they lie at a much greater distance apart and from organized communities, with the result that their occupants have to trust largely to their own resources. Where, as in cases which I call to mind, the nearest farm is anything from six to a dozen miles from a dorp, and that is just as far from the next, intercourse is seriously restricted, though there is as much of it as distance and time will allow. As a rule one Saturday in the month is allotted by the young folk to tennis parties, which gather at different houses in turn, and social re-unions and dancing parties are a welcome feature of the long winter evenings.

The bungalow-farmsteads are invariably spacious and substantially built, always with the long low *stoep* on the sunny side, looking on to the flower garden which exists everywhere and is the object of much tender solicitude, as in the hot and scorching days of mid-summer it needs to be. Beyond the rose trees and flowers, unless in another part of the ground altogether, are sure to be a large vegetable garden and an orchard; somewhere near at hand will be seen the boreholes and tank which supply the house and

farm buildings with fresh water; while in every direction stretch the broad acres of arable land, lucerne land, pasture, and rough veld, with their flocks and herds, their poultry and ostriches.

The interior of the house has all the air of comfort which will be found in the homes of English families of what are known as the "gentleman farmer" class, and but for peculiarities in the style and material of the furniture, and decorative touches suggestive of a fauna and flora unknown to northern latitudes, you would never dream that you are six thousand miles away from home.

To be invited to spend a day on one of these farms is to see and enjoy South African hospitality in a very pleasant environment. Your car draws up at eight o'clock after half an hour's furious spin, just in time for another cup of coffee. The welcomes and the coffee-drinking over, the first part of the morning is devoted to an inspection of the farm, or so much of it as can be seen in the course of a two hours' ramble. At eleven o'clock you are back at the homestead, where tea awaits you. Then follows a shorter tramp in another direction, with a look at the irrigation reservoir, the stalls, and storehouses. At one o'clock the signal for the mid-day meal is heard, and you take your place in the long dining-room at a table which has been laid with perfect taste by Coloured hands, all but the finishing touches—the vases of flowers, the bowls of fruit, and their arrangement—which betray a subtler artistry and appreciation of effect. Of the meal I will only say that the proverbial plenitude of the "groaning table" has a literal significance when, as happened on the occasion to which I am referring, several fresh or cured meats are served with marrows, sweet corn, cucumbers, and different roots, *compôtes* of various fruits, with for dessert a choice from oranges and pears, apricots, plums, fat black mulberries, grapes, and melting peaches. And the whole of these products, without a single exception, came from the owner's farm, garden, and orchard.

The meal over, there was tea or coffee again, and then the lady of the house withdrew for the customary siesta. After a short smoke my host confessed that he, too, felt likewise, so after assigning to me the morning room and

wishing me a pleasant sleep, he similarly disappeared. So the day passed, leaving ineffaceable memories of gracious courtesy and a warm-heartedness which seemed to turn into caricature our formal English ideas of hospitality, and withal the feeling of how good human nature is at bottom and how much wiser it would be to give to its healthy instincts free play, instead of keeping them for ever in cold storage.

It was in the course of the return journey to town that I saw a little illustration of the spirit of mutual helpfulness which is encouraged by the isolated life of the countryside. We were motoring steadily along the veld when suddenly my Dutch driver pulled up the car, and jumping out ran through the bush to a side road at some distance. He had noticed—as I had not—that a fellow-traveller was in distress. The other car having been righted and sent on its way, he returned to his wheel, remarking, "We help one another. It may be my turn to-morrow."

Allowing for national peculiarities in custom and taste, the life on Dutch farms of the progressive kind, particularly where the younger generation has been brought into a more or less close contact with the outer world by school and social ties, follows pretty much the same lines. Where a radical difference exists is in the life of the Boer farmers of the older stock, living in remote districts—the proverbial back-veld type. While these pages are being written I read that one Johannes Zietsmann, the last known survivor of the Boer *Voortrekkers* who migrated from the Cape to Natal and what became the republics of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal in the historic migration of 1836 to 1840, has died at Johannesburg at the reputed age of 107. He is said to have taken part in every Native war from the historic Blood River Battle of 1838 forward, and to have governed his life by three rules—never to go to dances, never to talk scandal, and never to enter a bar. It is added that he had eighteen children and married a girl of fourteen when he was just four times as old.

With the passing of such a type a distinct order of life seems to become extinct. For there was something crudely primitive, almost primordial, reminding you of dinosauria and dinotheria, in some of those old-world characters. Truly, there were giants in South Africa in those early days.

The early Dutch farmers were the simplest of folk, who brought with them little culture, but for compensation strength and tenacity of will, great courage, fortitude, and resolution, a gallant spirit which never shrank from difficulties, hardships, and privations, and a simple religious faith which, nurtured on the Old Testament, led them to read their own experiences in the narratives which told of the wanderings and struggles of the nomadic tribes and patriarchs of early Hebrew history, and in consequence to look upon themselves likewise as marked out in a special manner for divine favour and furtherance. Even now, this same view of themselves as a peculiar people lingers on in the old stock, and is an insuperable obstacle to the acceptance of modern ways and of changed political conditions.

As showing how the primitive faith persists it may be mentioned that there are Boer farmers—whole communities of them—who would not dare to fight against the epidemics, blights and pests which from time to time afflict their crops and stock, believing these to be a divine punishment for their own or other people's sins. When the locust plague was at its height in 1924 one of them wrote in the Dutch *Vriend des Volks* protesting, for this reason, against any attempt to destroy the swarms. " Hearken, authorities and people," he wrote, " can we revolt against the chastisements of the God of our fathers? We are powerless. What is man in the eyes of God but an insignificant mortal? Have we the right to resist God's punishments by means of squirts and poison? Are we not rebelling against the great and Almighty God?" The matter was not so simple as this pious man thought, for at the same time another Dutch newspaper, *Die Burger*, was reporting that, in spite of the drought and locusts, " the farmers must admit that the Lord has blessed them during the past year."

If with old Zietsmann's death the race of *Voortrekkers* may be said to have died out, their sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons remain, an invaluable heritage for the land which the fathers did so much to open to civilization; and these younger men still maintain undaunted the unchanging struggle with nature, in which to doubt is betrayal and to hesitate is to be lost.

Much of the old-fashioned character and life of the elders

has been inherited by their descendants. They are the true back-veld farm folk, a race which is the butt of much misdirected satire, yet is marked by sterling qualities, and is still as strong, hard, and rugged as the country to which it clings. The same spirit of liberty and independence which led to the Great Trek from the Cape lowlands across mountain range, river, and boundless bush and veld to new lands, as yet unclaimed and almost untrodden by the White man, the same passive protest against the tyranny of convention, the same chafing against restraint are in the bone and marrow of these men and women—traits fine and rare in any race, and when lost not easy to be regained. They have their deficiencies and their faults, the latter as often as not the faults of virtues, but need we go so far as South Africa to find similar inconsistencies? Those who best know the old Dutch farm folk are warm in praise of their unfailing hospitality, responsiveness to every kindly overture, and neighbourliness in all emergencies. Win their confidence and they never fail you.

With all his crudeness and lack of book learning, the older Boer farmer of to-day has plenty of shrewd commonsense, and he is no longer the easy dupe of calculating miscreants as in the distant days. In his recently published "Reminiscences," Sir Lionel Phillips, who began life as a gold digger, tells how, when the first gold "rush" took place in the Transvaal, "The Rand was a very desolate region; one might travel a hundred miles without seeing a tree. One could at that time (1886) have bought farms of 10,000 acres and more for £200 apiece. And through these inhospitable areas ran the greatest beds of gold-bearing conglomerates in the world." Not all of those bargains were honestly come by, for many of the gold gamblers of that time cheated the farmers basely, as they cheated each other on occasion. A sturdy septuagenarian settler, who had lived through the early gold and diamond "rushes," without ever giving heed to their glamour, told me stories of how many a simple farmer whose land was believed to contain precious ore was outwitted by unscrupulous sharks. Perhaps the price agreed upon for a large tract of land was £100,000, to be paid in yellow coin. The day and hour of reckoning came and the buyer was there to time. First he

counted out a thousand pounds in glittering piles. "That is a thousand?" "Ja!" "And this is a hundred?" (counting coins to that number). "Ja!"—less decisively. "Then that makes a hundred thousand."

The wool buyer, too, had a way of making vicious profits at the expense of the ignorant and unsuspecting Boer. The wool having been bought and the price per pound fixed, it remains to calculate the total and pay over the money. Buyer and seller have both their Ready Reckoners, but for some reason the sums do not agree. "I make it more," says the Boer. "Let me see your Reckoner," says the factor. It is handed to him; he glances at it, and remarks, "Oh, but that is last year's. Mine is up to date." And the farmer swallows the fraud and receives a good deal less than his due. Sorry tricks, these and such-like, to have played, if the stories be true! Yet that they still survive on the countryside is a bad sign, for behind even legend there is always some substance of fact.

Amongst the Dutch generally you find a great veneration for Paul Kruger, and amongst the farmers the feeling is passionate. They regarded him to the last as one of themselves, and he was certainly typical of their sturdy and stubborn character and Old Testament conceptions of religion and the social order. A story of the old statesman told to me is worthy of Solomon, and it is repeated in the belief that it may be new to many readers. So great was the farmers' confidence in "Oom Paul" that they often asked him to settle their disputes, accepting his decisions as law. On one occasion two brothers, unable to agree on the division of their dead father's farm, appealed in the last resort to Kruger. With the plan of the property laid out before him, the old man pronounced judgment with hardly a moment's hesitation. "The elder brother," he said, "shall have the right to fix the boundary, and the younger shall have the first choice." On this basis the dispute was arranged amicably on the spot.

It is not an exciting or even an eventful life, that of the Boer farmer in the back-veld country. The seasons come and go and each brings its special tasks, but otherwise one day is very much like another. There is little variation in the society either, for the families of the old stock have

struck their roots deeply and firmly into the soil; son follows father in regular sequence, and changes are infrequent. Births, marriages, deaths and an occasional visit to or from town, these, with the usual daily round of duty, sum up their monotonous, yet far from empty lives.

Sunday in the country districts is even quieter than it used to be in old-fashioned English villages, before motor-cars and char-à-bancs came to mar their peace and defile the loveliness of the rural roads and lanes. From morning till evening there is nothing doing save the unavoidable work of the farm and the home, for the nearest dorp may be too far away for church-going. Yet the leisure afforded by one day in seven is welcome after the days of toil which have preceded; there is more time to spend over the tea-cups, the midday siesta can be prolonged, and in the late afternoon there are visits to or from neighbours and chats on the *stoep* over pipe and coffee, the latter often of the reinforced kind. Then, in sympathetic company, farmers can grumble to each other to their hearts' content, just like the farmers at home, and sometimes with no more reason. They do not know why, when they are put on a jury against their will, they receive only eight shillings a day, where the doctor has thirty, though their evidence is of far greater value. They think the income tax of a shilling in the pound a cruel imposition, and contend that, as the gold brought to the surface on the Rand is all profit, the mining companies should be saddled with the entire burden of national expenditure. They cannot see why the price of wool should not be two shillings a pound this year as it was last They are quite certain that the Government could stop the locust devastations if it would, and make it a grievance that it omits to do a dozen other things for the farmers, while complaining even more strongly of the continual increase of officials and the crushing cost of them.

Burials are fixed for Sunday whenever possible, for they are public and communal ceremonies. While motoring in the country one Sunday morning I witnessed a funeral slowly making its way along a veld road to the place of interment, and I was assured by my companion that every male and female living within call would be sure to be there. A plain cart did service as a hearse, and behind it followed

the long string of mourners, all evidently dressed in their normal "Sunday best."

Although sociable in a high degree amongst themselves, in many of the remoter parts of the country the farmers live an almost hermit-like life during a large part of the year, with little or no variation or interlude beyond the periodical *Nagmaal*, or Lord's Supper. Often in the rainy season floods cut off a farmhouse and imprison its inhabitants for days at a time, and in such circumstances even medical attendance, when needed, is difficult to obtain, and sometimes provision for extremities is made in very unsentimental ways. An excellent doctor, who had ministered for many years to the Dutch farming community of a wide rural area in the southern part of the Cape Province, told me how on visiting an ailing old man on one occasion he was surprised to see that a coffin had just arrived. "Oh," it was explained, "we feared that it might be needed when the floods were on." The odd thing was that the old man seemed to appreciate the solicitude thus shown on his behalf. In another house the same doctor once found a coffin, which had similarly been procured in advance, serving as a receptacle for potatoes until it should be needed for a more serious purpose.

While in the Transvaal I read in a newspaper an account of the installation of two doctors in a dorp of the remote Zoutpansberg district of that province, and as a picture of present-day rural conditions it deserves reproduction. The report ran:

> "Another event of considerable importance to us occurred on February 1, (1924). The Resident Magistrate of Louis Trichardt paid us a visit to introduce to us two medical men, our new district surgeon and assistant district surgeon. The farmers assembled under a great and beautiful tree, which afforded ample shade. . . . The Magistrate, after introducing the two doctors, promised to do his best to advance the district. He has already obtained for us a concrete drift through the Sand River, a great boon; and now we are to have a cage at the drift so that we can cross the river when it is in flood. . . . The two doctors then had to make speeches. We are much more critical of a doctor here than one is in a town. When he goes on his fortnightly rounds our district surgeon will have to travel a distance of 200 miles. . . . He will have to traverse a country infested with lions, and, worse still, he will have to cross a bad malaria part."

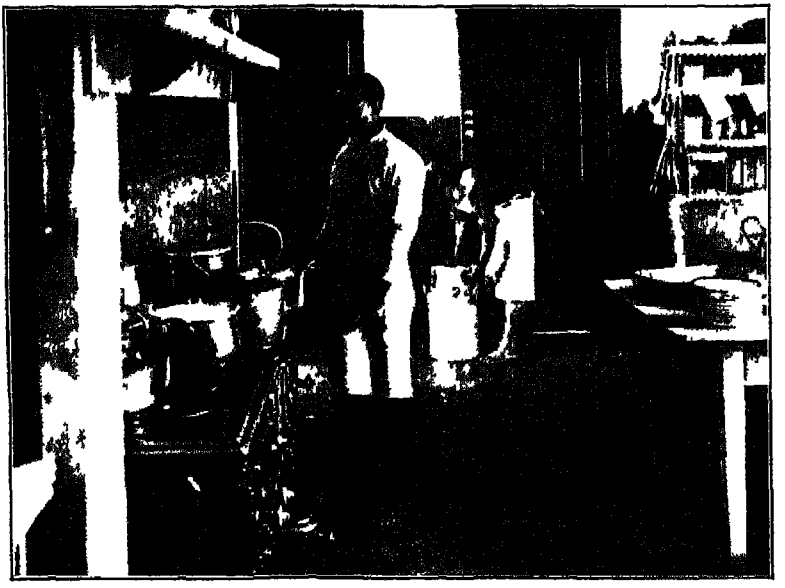
And so on and so forth. Medical practitioners in such a country and in such conditions have an even harder time than the panel doctors who attend the sick of the Scottish Islands, and there are many cases of the same kind.

A red-letter day or rather week in the life of the back-veld farm folk is the time of the periodical Communion, for it has a strong social as well as religious side. "Nagmaal" is a call of the Boer's church and religion which is seldom ignored by those who are physically able to respond. From all sides horse-drawn carts and waggons trek to the dorp "Kerk," carrying, besides their human load, a varied supply of food sufficient to cover the needs of a week. Arrived at the dorp the parties outspan, the horses are stabled, and the visitors either quarter themselves with relatives or friends by prior arrangement, or set up tents of their own which they have brought with them. To the religious ordinances of Communion week belong, besides the supreme event, quite an accumulation of baptisms and marriages.

The week is also a time of pleasure as well as of devotion. Full use is made of the dorp's attractions, permanent or provided for the occasion; there is much social intercourse and endless gossiping; acquaintance between the sexes often ripens into something stronger even than friendship; between whiles not a few business transactions are negotiated; and in these and other ways the time passes all too quickly. Before the farmer and his family turn their faces homeward they have laid in a store of food-stuffs for many days, as well as replenished their stocks of clothing and miscellaneous wares, drapery, crockery, hardware, tools, and the like. In some of the remoter districts, where communications are specially difficult, the Dutch pastor visits his distant flock once a year to administer the *Nagmaal*, incidentally enjoying a little sport with the gun.

In parts the back-veld country is no longer, of course, as inaccessible as it used to be, and conditions are steadily improving. More and better roads are constantly being made, and both the motor-car and the telephone are used where means allow. The railway also is spreading its tentacles slowly but surely over the land, and the more it advances the more the ox-waggon, the Cape cart, and even the post-





THE NATIVE IN DOMESTIC SERVICE

cart are withdrawn as media of transport. The motor-car and the motor lorry in particular have been a great boon to rural communities, bringing nearer the teacher and the doctor, the store and the market, and civilizing agencies of all kinds, and opening out to them the larger world which lay so long beyond their horizon.

As these and other influences—of the post and telegraph, the commercial traveller, the itinerant bagman, the newspaper, and not least the political orator—increasingly penetrate to the outer confines of civilization, there will come a great stirring in the life of many now quiescent and stagnant localities. The change will inevitably bring to that life loss as well as gain, though the balance will almost certainly be on the credit side.

A rough, stern, Spartan life—a hard ordeal from beginning to end—is this of the back-veld folk, at whom the people of the towns are so fond of gibing as uncouth and backward. Granted they are slow-going and a generation behind the times, and that they obstinately refuse to worship the idol which moderns call Progress, yet is there any reason for wonder? And is there also no need and place in these hurrying days and in this mad world for slow-going people? After all, do not most of us, when we reach a certain milestone in life, fling ourselves down with a peremptory "Steady on!" to the young, stout-limbed Hercules and the fleet-footed Diana at our side, protest that the rest of the journey shall be done at our pace and not theirs, and feel mightily virtuous in so doing? South Africa is a wonderful corrective of irrational haste and impatience. Now, when the itching for greater speed and the longing to do twenty-four hours' work in half a day come over me, I recall the picture of the back-veld farmer sitting on his *stoep* over pipe, coffee, and rusks in the cool hours of a summer evening, looking out upon the stars and thinking of nothing in particular except whether rain will fall this week or next; and with the recollection comes a sense of quiet, of composure and resignation—alas, too fleeting—but also a remorseful suspicion that it is the slow-going people who all the time see the best of this interesting interlude, our short span of human life.

CHAPTER VII

EDUCATION

THE accepted standard of institutional education may not be as high in South Africa as in England, yet with some confidence I hazard the proposition that, while the average South African may be behind the average Englishman in all-round general knowledge, by which I mean the knowledge of men and things, the world and affairs, gained not in the class-room or from books, but by traffic of mind with mind and that study of mankind which Pope held to be the proper preoccupation of all of us—there is in South Africa, relatively to its population, a larger class of what might fairly be called "well-educated people." Of course I speak here of the Dutch as well as the British. The education of the former may not always be—shall I say?—as visible and vocal as that of the latter, but to assume its inferiority, comparing class with class, would be an arrogant mistake. The idea that in culture the British alone are "the people" belongs altogether to a past generation.

Education is taken very seriously in South Africa. In some respects the school system has followed British precedents, yet in others it has followed an independent course. The Union constitution of 1909 introduced a large measure of uniformity, yet as each of the four provinces had traditions of its own these were as far as possible respected and they still find expression, not always without inconvenience. For the constitution, while reserving "higher" education (i.e., in the main, the education given by the universities and university colleges) to the Central Executive, entrusted all other grades to the Provincial Councils, first for five years, and that arrangement still continues. Primary and secondary schools, and also technical, trade, and industrial schools not of university status fall, therefore, under provincial administration, though the last named group is now to be taken over by the central authority. There is a Union Education Department, under a permanent Secretary for Education, and

each Province has a corresponding Department, located in its capital, under a Superintendent General of Education (Cape), a Director of Education (Transvaal and Orange Free State), or a Superintendent of Education (Natal). The Government makes grants to the Provincial Councils for the purposes of education, and these are supplemented by the proceeds of local taxes, and fees where such are charged.

The localizing of administration has had the result that four systems of State or State-aided education exist, since each province formulates its own policy and determines the methods and measures of applying it accordingly. While there are still many differences in points of administration, however, the general tendency is unquestionably towards uniformity.

The principal features of the education system may be explained under four heads. It will be understood that only the education of Europeans is here dealt with.

Primary Education.—In the main primary education is free, yet while fees are charged in some schools the inability of parents to pay fees nowhere debars children from receiving the normal instruction, since there is provision for free scholarships or the remission of fees where the circumstances of the parents warrant it. In the Cape Province a charge is now made for school books and other material, subject to exemption where hardship would otherwise be caused. It is interesting to have it on the authority of Dr. Viljoen, Superintendent General of Education for the Province, that " free education and free school requisites are destroying individual initiative, local enterprise, and community co-operation,"—another illustration, amongst many, of the truth that like causes produce like effects even in different countries. Attendance is compulsory throughout the whole country, and in general children are required by law to attend school until they have completed either the sixth standard of the primary school course or their sixteenth (in Natal their fifteenth) year, but to this point it will be necessary to return later.

It is claimed that the urban primary schools compare very favourably with similar schools in other parts of the world, the teachers being almost invariably trained and certificated for their work. The school course is liberal,

comprising religious instruction, English, Dutch (really Afrikaans in nearly all cases), arithmetic, history, geography, manual training (for boys), needlework (for girls), physical training, singing, and drawing. At some schools cookery, nature study (taught in all schools in the Cape Province), the elements of algebra and geometry, and other subjects are also included in the curriculum. South Africans do not seem to quarrel about religious instruction, but agree to it as a matter of course. In all the provinces the school opens with prayer and the reading of Scripture, and Bible history is taught subject to a conscience clause, though without sectarian or doctrinal teaching, except in the Cape Province under specified conditions. The buildings in the towns are as a rule admirably designed and equipped and commodious, and compare well with modern English schools of the same type.

The rural schools are as a rule small, owing to the sparse and isolated population, yet many attain a high level of efficiency, and some of South Africa's most distinguished sons received their early education in these little schools. Nevertheless, it is admitted that these schools often afford only a makeshift for a sound education, and all the provincial educational authorities are alive to the fact that they present the most serious educational problem of the day. Efforts have been made to consolidate small struggling schools into larger and more efficient units, and the ideal now kept in view is that whenever possible a rural school should serve an area of six miles' radius, and that children living more than three miles from a school should be conveyed daily to and from the school. To this end various methods have been tried—the humble donkey-cart conveying two or three children, the school wagon and motor lorry, conveying a large number, and even in some instances the school boat, while hostels have been established in many towns in order to bring educational facilities within the reach of children living at a distance from schools.

The provision of the constitution which places English and Dutch in a position of parity has created a difficulty in the schools which in some places leads to friction, though where tact and a friendly spirit are shown by the authorities and teachers this can be avoided. The general rule is that

up to and including the fourth standard of the primary school course the medium of instruction shall be the home language of the child, whether English or Dutch. It is not enough that the parent shall say what he wishes; he must state distinctly what is the language used in home life. Whichever language is chosen as the medium, however, the other must be taught as a regular subject unless the parent objects, and it may be used as a subsidiary medium of instruction if the parent desires. After the fourth standard more latitude is allowed: the parent may then make his choice between English or Dutch, or have some subjects taught in one language and some in the other. Often the language difficulty leads to the establishment of separate schools for the children of the two nationalities, with the result of accentuating a deplorable division.

In the smaller towns and rural districts the primary schools are mixed, like the American schools of the same type, and I was assured by several teachers that the co-education of the sexes has been justified by the results. In general, however, class distinctions do not exist in South Africa to anything like the same extent as in England.

In spite of statutory requirements no rigid rule is followed in regard to exemption from school attendance, and often, where circumstances make it desirable that children should be allowed to contribute to the domestic budget as early as possible, exemption is granted in spite of the fact that the prescribed conditions have not been complied with. Against this practice the Union Education Department sets its face resolutely, though not always with success. Here, however, as in so many other directions, the Native question creates complications, for in some parts of the country while the White boy is being kept at school the Native boy is appropriating the work which he might have done. For compulsory attendance at school does not apply to Native children, and in any event it would be impossible to enforce a standard age for exemption in their case, for the simple reason that there are not schools sufficient in which to educate them, nor does there exist either intention or wish to create a sufficiency.

The Education Administration Commission which in 1923 inquired into the problem of education and employ-

ment came to the conclusion, as was inevitable, that the suggestion that " the only way to meet the case is to provide similar educational facilities and requirements for both types and then to impose a common minimum age for employment must be regarded at present as belonging to the realm of abstract logic rather than of practical politics." It follows, therefore, that the Native boy and girl will continue to be able to enter the labour market at a much earlier age than White children, and become of value to the employer long before the latter are allowed to leave school. Nevertheless, it is the opinion of all progressive educationists that, in attempting to mitigate the evils inseparable from the Native labour problem, nothing should be done to lower the educational standards now applied to European children, and the Commission just named pronounced emphatically against any slackening of the compulsory provisions of the Education Law and insisted that the upper limit of compulsion should not fall below fifteen years, as had been proposed in the interest of economy. It is even thought possible that in a few years' time the standard of exemption will be raised, and that at suitable centres attendance will be required at institutions of a post-primary character.

The Councils of all the provinces except Natal have devolved a certain amount of administrative work to local school boards, chosen in the main by the parochial electors, the provincial and district authorities co-opting representatives. In the Cape Province each school has a committee, one of whose functions is the recommendation of teachers to the local boards, which have the right to appoint, subject to confirmation by the Education Department of the province. The Transvaal still retains a reputation for backwardness in some directions, but this does not apply to its educational system.

A novel educational experiment was recently made in the Cape Province in the shape of a school-room on wheels, capable of accommodating fifty children, and intended for the benefit of the rural districts without stationary buildings and staffs. This school-room, contained in a large van, in charge of a teacher, is drawn across the veld by a team of sixteen oxen and it stops for a few days at a time at each centre assigned for a visit.

A beginning, but no more, has been made with the medical inspection of scholars, and meanwhile Child Welfare Societies do much in this direction in some towns.

Secondary Education.—In the Transvaal secondary education is free, but while fees are charged in the other provinces free places and bursaries are liberally provided to enable deserving pupils from the primary schools to have the advantage of an advanced course of instruction. Some educationists contend that the provision of bursaries is excessive and that a form of over-education is the result. The fees otherwise charged are everywhere low, e.g., in standard VII from 15s. to 30s. a term (four terms a year), in standard VIII (junior certificate stage) from £1 to £2 a term, in standards IX and X (matriculation age) from 30s. to £3 a term. The fees are lower in the small country towns than in the larger towns.

In the larger schools the curriculum is fairly uniform in character and quality, and as the matriculation examination of the University of the Cape of Good Hope has long dominated the sphere of secondary education, such education has in the past come almost invariably to be regarded as a course in English, Dutch, Latin, history, science and mathematics. Strong efforts, however, are being made to widen the conception of what secondary education should be; and before long it is likely that the secondary schools will provide differentiated courses which, while ensuring a sound general education, will pay greater regard to the needs of pupils not intending to proceed to a university.

In the small towns secondary education means the continuation of the primary course, in the same buildings, from the seventh to the tenth standard, but in all towns of sufficient size there are separate buildings, well designed and equipped. While in the Cape the establishment of a primary school can be demanded on a guarantee of ten children, the guarantee must be not less than twenty-four in the case of a secondary school.

Many secondary schools, though established in the first instance as day schools, have now hostels in which suitable provision is made for pupils whose homes are at a distance. In addition to the undenominational secondary schools, which are all assisted out of public funds, there are a number

of private secondary schools conducted, without Government aid, by denominational bodies.

The Universities.—There are four universities—the University of South Africa, the University of Capetown, the University of Stellenbosch, and the University of the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg), all but the first being teaching universities. The University of South Africa has constituent colleges at Grahamstown and Wellington (Cape Province), Pietermaritzburg (Natal), Bloemfontein (Orange Free State), and Pretoria (Transvaal). It is probable that each of these colleges will in due time detach itself from the parent university, just as the universities of Capetown, Stellenbosch and Johannesburg have done, and develop into a university. The number of students at the four universities is about 4,000, one-quarter of them women.

Two new university buildings are being erected at the present time, those of the Cape University, situated on the Groote Schuur site outside Capetown, and the Witwatersrand University, and each block is to cost over a million pounds.

It is claimed that the proportion of students in the universities drawn from the lower-middle and working classes is higher than in this country. Certainly the attitude of the working class to higher education generally is very sympathetic, and the endeavour of members of that class to help their children to reach a higher rung in the social ladder is marked. The matriculation examinations are held locally. The standard is not claimed to be very high, and the diploma gained corresponds substantially to the leaving certificate of a German gymnasium. Many good private schools, Anglican, Roman Catholic, and others, prepare for the same examinations as the Government high schools.

Training Colleges.—All the training of secondary teachers is now done by the universities and university colleges, and in addition the university institutions participate in the work of training primary teachers of the higher grades, liberal bursaries being obtainable by deserving students at each institution. In addition, however, training institutions not of university rank exist in considerable numbers. All of them train primary teachers of the lower grades, but some train primary teachers of the higher grades as well. Certain of the institutions also provide courses of training

for kindergarten teachers and for teachers of domestic science, manual training, needlework, etc. Bursaries for student-teachers are allowed by the provincial administrations.

The training colleges here referred to give a specialized two-years' course and are entitled to use the schools of the towns in which they are situated, each school giving to the training school facilities for several hours of teaching weekly as part of its normal work. Many towns have what are called "practising"—sometimes "spes bona"—schools, attended by the more backward children, where teachers in training act as auxiliaries in emergencies.

The salaries of teachers are generous, and that the teaching profession is popular in South Africa is proved by the large number of men and women who systematically train for it. About 1,200 certificated European teachers leave the various training institutions every year for work in the schools, the majority being trained in the Cape Province. Nevertheless, there is permanent complaint of the insufficiency of the supply, attributable largely, no doubt, to the large number required in proportion to the number of pupils, by reason of the multiplicity of small schools. The need of teachers with higher-grade qualifications is particularly great.

Liberal provision is made for technical instruction. Not only do the universities and university colleges offer courses of such instruction, but there are many technical schools not of university rank. At various centres also there are industrial, trade, and vocational schools of different kinds. Government agricultural colleges exist at Elsenburg and Grootfontein (Cape Province), Cedara (Natal), Glen (Orange Free State), and Potchefstroom (Transvaal), and proposals are being considered for the establishment of agricultural schools corresponding in type of pupil and length of course to secondary schools.

Comprehensive as is the system of public schools, and excellent as is the supplementary supply of municipal and private institutions of various kinds, there appears to be general agreement that all is not well with the South African educational system at the present time. The machinery functions energetically, but while some zealous educationists complain that the schools are starved financially, others find fault with the character of the education given,

and say that it is not worth the cost, though others, again, maintain that considerable economies might be effected without any sacrifice of the general standard of the schools, and even with increased efficiency.

Not long ago the Administrator of the Cape Province said that every year " one-tenth of the children are sent out to work bearing the brand of ignorance and the hall-mark of the State's neglect of duty," and hinted that a partial remedy might be found in the abolition of the school boards, a menace which immediately evoked warm protest from a public already impatient of undue centralization and bureaucratic control. The spokesman of a representative deputation of the Dutch clergy which conferred with the then Prime Minister on the subject just before stated that owing to the insufficient funds at the disposal of the Provincial Councils between 6,000 and 7,000 children received no education at all, since there were no schools for them, while the grants for the training of teachers had been so curtailed that the number of students in the training colleges had been reduced far below that needed to meet future requirements. General Smuts gave no consolation to his interviewers on the score of finance, but he added his own authority to the common complaint that the education given by the South African schools is " too intellectual in character and not sufficiently practical." He has also repeatedly expressed doubt whether for the present large expenditure on education the nation is receiving full value.

On the other hand, that high authority, Dr. Viljoen, while claiming that " the basic structure " of the national system of education is " well and soundly laid," recently admitted that " if there is one thing from which education is definitely suffering in South Africa it is ' overitis.' We are over-administered, over-controlled, over-legislated, over-regulated, and certainly over-examined." Since these words were spoken the Cape Education Department has decided to reduce the examinations.

South Africans are severe critics of themselves and their own shortcomings, and on that account alone these indictments should be accepted only with considerable reservations. A good deal of the current criticism is, of course, utterly uninformed and therefore wide of the mark. For example,

I have seen the lower rate of increase of the European population of the Union between 1911 and 1921 seriously attributed to the alleged deficiencies of the school system. The people who talk such nonsense might seem never to have heard that the Empire was at war for over four of those years and that their own country was in the thick of it, losing some thousands of men in the prime of life, implying lower marriage and birth rates, while immigration was entirely suspended.

All sorts of reforms have been proposed, though until there is more general assent as to where the fundamental defects of the existing sytem, if any, lie their applicability and value must obviously be uncertain. The most radical change suggested is the transference of the primary and secondary schools from the Provincial Councils to a State Department. Those who favour this measure base their attitude on the proved inefficiency of the present divided system of management, with its lack of uniformity in standards and methods, and the varying degree of zeal and enterprise shown by the provincial authorities and minor local authorities. Perhaps they minimize the importance of the fact that such a system of centralization was deliberately rejected when the constitution was drawn up sixteen years ago. It is also worthy of consideration that the large measure of decentralization which was introduced in England when the County Councils were entrusted with wide educational functions has been completely justified by the results—a proof that, given sufficiently strong powers of control at the centre, the principle of devolution is theoretically sound. As has been stated already a compromise has been found by which the Union will take over all vocational and industrial education, leaving to the provinces primary and secondary schools and the training of teachers.

The public in general is exercised by grave doubts whether the system of education is proving sufficiently adapted to the special conditions and needs of the country and of the new generation. There are educationists of the first rank who share these doubts, and complain that excessive emphasis is laid on matriculation and the academic *cachet* even in the case of youths who have neither hope nor idea

of entering the learned professions or such branches of the State service as presume a high scholastic qualification. Every South African secondary pupil, boy or girl, is presumed to carry a degree, or at least a matriculation certificate, in his or her school satchel. The lamentable thing is that so small proportion of the matriculated and university-crammed students are able to show anything more substantial at the close of their school or college careers.

It is estimated that 32,000 European children leave school every year. The great majority of these, coming from the elementary schools, are presumably absorbed sooner or later in trades, industries, and miscellaneous occupations. Nevertheless, there is a considerable remnant of young people, who, after carrying their higher education as far as the matriculation stage and even the university, look in vain for employment, though in most cases domestic circumstances make it absolutely necessary.

Can it be true that South Africa is over-educating the rising generation and is creating for itself, as Germany has done, an intellectual *proletariat?* The question is not one that can be lightly put aside. It has been estimated that, relatively to its population, the country spends more *per capita* on education—elementary, secondary, and university—than some of the most advanced of European countries. In South Africa there are in proportion to the White population four times as many students in the universities as in Holland, the likeliest if not the only comparable European country. Professor R. H. Compton, of the Capetown University, spoke recently of the "appalling output of graduates for the size of the country," and complained that the South African universities were "regarded not so much as seats of learning as centres of teaching," and had become merely "degree factories," with the result that "we (the teachers) are obsessed by our students, their numbers and their railway fares, their need for getting degrees, diplomas, and appointments. We consider the material interests of our students, and try to get them degrees as quickly and as cheaply as possible."

Ambitious high schools boast of their 90 and 95 per cent. of matriculation passes, and such an evidence of zeal in the cause of education is for a young country a legitimate source

of pride. But then comes the old question—" wherefore this waste ? " For waste it is if education is not gained for its own sake, but for the sake of the rewards which it is believed to offer, yet which are not at the end forthcoming. A divine discontent is the incentive of all progress, but that same discontent must make academic success but Dead Sea fruit, bitter and unsatisfying, if it leaves the scholar full of head but empty of body and pocket. Wordsworth's ideal of " high thinking and plain living," consecrated as it was by his own experience, is fine ; but even the plainest living cost something always, and to-day it costs a good deal.

General Smuts, who has a habit of hitting nails squarely on the head, told his farmer friends some time ago that the country was producing too many commodities that the world did not want. If matriculated schoolboys may be spoken of without disrespect as commodities, his words equally apply to them. From that standpoint the problem lends itself to one of two solutions—either the supply will have to be reduced or the demand increased. Of these alternatives the latter is infinitely preferable, but it raises questions which will occupy us more particularly later, and pre-eminently the questions of industrial development and the relations between the White and Native races.

Sufficient has been said to show that the educational system of South Africa is on its trial. In a sense it may be said to have been on its trial ever since it took its present form. Built up in the main upon British, or to be exact on English, principles, by eager men who brought to their task, with great ability, the traditions and mental outlook of the English public schools and older universities, it has emphasized to excess—for the country and its special economic conditions—literary studies, examinations, and degrees. It has even adopted the characteristic English institution of prize-giving.

The English reader will also have discerned before now that the controversies which beat about the subject of education in South Africa do not differ greatly from those with which we have long been familiar at home, and which likewise exercise some Continental nations. When the question is probed to the bottom the basic issue is seen to be the eternal one of the true purpose of education. Should

the aim be merely to furnish youth with such data of information as will fit him and her for the bread-and-butter vocations which they will be likely to follow? Or should it be the cultivation of character and the equipment of the individual for a life of reason on the highest attainable plane? It is obvious that concentration upon the first of these aims can leave little time for thought of the second, but the pursuit of the second need not involve disregard of the practical functions which every man and woman must be ready and prepared to fulfil as units in the social system. More or less the two aims are, in fact, everywhere combined, and society could not exist were it otherwise. The problem is one of balance, proportion, and method, and it is nowhere insoluble.

In seeking their own solution South Africans will have to pay more serious and systematic attention to the actual conditions of their country, instead of complacently ignoring patent facts and persistently blundering on in the dark. The present position is broadly this. The legal, medical and most other learned professions are full; the Civil Service is, by all accounts, over-stocked; the scholastic profession offers a certain number of openings every year, but they form but a negligible percentage of the scholastic output; and there is little demand for commercial clerks except for replacements. The only deficiency is in workers who are not afraid or ashamed to use their hands and rise above the silly prejudice against "Kaffir work."

It is a common and urgent complaint that comparatively few South African boys are willing nowadays to enter commercial occupations, beginning at the bottom of the ladder, while farmers will tell you that their sons are no longer ready as formerly to follow agriculture, because it is in a very real sense a "whole-time job," and a difficult one at that, but prefer to migrate to the towns, there to seek lighter and more "genteel" employments. Manual work in general is at a discount amongst young Europeans in South Africa, yet in the creation of a higher esteem for such work lies the great if not only hope of that large economic development which can alone establish the security of the white man and his civilization, for which everybody professes to be eager yet which few people are prepared to advance

by personal sacrifice. At present it is hardly too much to say that the rural schools of South Africa educate their children to leave the land and the countryside, though it is not certain that our own schools of the same type do differently.

Clearly if the schools are to do the best for the country some sort of compromise, in the direction of adaptation to local conditions, will be necessary. What might be possible in the primary schools is the introduction of distinctly vocational subjects when the higher standards are reached, or, alternatively and by preference, the full primary course might be followed by a purely vocational course designed to afford suitable preparation for careers probably already chosen. There are zealous educationists who, believing that the hope of the country lies in more education rather than less, would keep boys if not girls in continuation schools until they had either passed their eighteenth year or the eighth standard, unless they had entered a good trade at sixteen.

Even Dr. Viljoen, idealist though he is, would try to counteract the drift to the towns by a radical " ruralization of the rural schools." He would have such schools give to their pupils a taste for country life by encouraging them to take interest in nature study, the life of flora and fauna, school gardening, and the like, all efforts being intended to create a bias in favour of agricultural pursuits. Boys who decided to follow agriculture would on leaving the elementary school be passed on to an agricultural school for a time, there to qualify for farm management on their own account or for others, or placed on training farms conducted in conjunction with Government irrigation settlements. And yet Dr. Viljoen is undoubtedly conscious of the danger of a too exclusively vocational bias, which is that it might tend to convert the schools into what he is the last man in South Africa who would wish to see them—mere teaching centres, instead of centres of intellectual light and nurseries of character.

Already private experiments are being made on the lines of Dr. Viljoen's farm training scheme. Such an experiment is that which has just been inaugurated at Claremont, near Capetown, by the Salesian Fathers as a branch of their educational work amongst the poorer classes of that city. This is a farm school, at which boys of a suitable type are taken for a three years' course of theoretical and practical

instruction in general agricultural and horticultural work and methods, the object being to turn out young men capable of either farming on their own account or acting as managers or foremen on large farms.

In the secondary schools, with their longer course and wider and theoretically more flexible curricula, specialization and individualization should be easier. There regard might be paid to the careers contemplated, if not from the beginning, at least from an early stage, and not merely when it was a question of peremptorily choosing broadly between science and classics—e.g., according as the careers were to be urban or rural, and if the former whether in professions or in commercial or industrial life, and giving to the instruction a suitable bias accordingly.

Perhaps the present overplus of matriculated youths might be checked by raising the standard of matriculation, by giving to the present diploma only the value of a leaving certificate, as is the case in the Transvaal already, by discouraging the idea of following on to the university as a matter of course, and by limiting that prospect to those who are prepared to comply with a special and more difficult qualification. In the universities themselves more attention might be given to science, in preparation for the situation which will arise when South Africa makes up its mind, as it soon must do, to enter upon a bold policy of industrial development. At present its industries, such as they are, look for protection to tariffs, but therein lies at the most a precarious security, with little hope of any large and permanent expansion. The best defence of industry lies in science and scientific methods, since these afford protection all round, where the metal helmet of a tariff at best protects at one point only.

Nevertheless, any compromise which lowered unduly the general standard of education, or tended to debase the value of education in public esteem, would be dangerous. In South Africa every White man's question involves as its complement a Black man's question. In spite of much European indifference and hostility to their intellectual welfare, the Coloured and Native people are being better educated every year, and their eagerness for knowledge, though at present it can be satisfied within only very narrow



NATIVE MINE WORKERS



KAFFIR MEDICINE MARKET, DURBAN

limits, is perhaps in the ranks of labour greater than that of the Whites. Any prolonged slackness and stagnation in educational effort on the part of the latter, therefore, would inevitably play into the hands of the Coloured majority of the population, and might make its ultimate domination in South Africa not merely possible but morally certain.

While public opinion on this subject is congealing it may be an encouragement, or at least a consolation, to South Africans to know that, though British statesmen and educationists have for over half a century been debating the question what should be taught in the schools called of the people, and how it should be taught, they are as far from agreement as ever, so that almost every successive Government has dipped the elementary and secondary school system anew in the crucible, not to melt but only to freshen it, and has declared, as it contemplated the shining result, that now at last the ideal had been achieved.

First the School Boards enthroned general—very general—knowledge in place of the "grand old fortifying curriculum" of the masses, the Three R's, which, together with the pugilistic athletics of cobbled town street and rural common, had enabled them in the past to win for British fame such battles as were not won on classical Eton's playing-fields. Next science was bidden to tell into the schoolboy's rapt ears its magic tale. Then a smattering of a modern language (French for preference) and even a pinch of Latinity were added to give balance. Later followed the cult of the sound body in the sound mind, and physical training (recommended by all sorts of foreign names) for the individual and eugenics for the race were introduced. Later still manual instruction came to be recognized as a thing still more needful; and to-day there is a growing body of school reformers who declare that the world went very well before 1870, that all progress made since the Forster Act has been progress backwards in the crab's way, and that the future prosperity of England (Scotland is another matter) depends on her quickly re-embracing the saving discipline of the "Three R's." So at the centre of the Empire the cause of educational reform moves in a circle, vicious or otherwise, and new confirmation is given to the old proverb that everything comes round sooner or later to them who wait.

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CHAPTER VIII

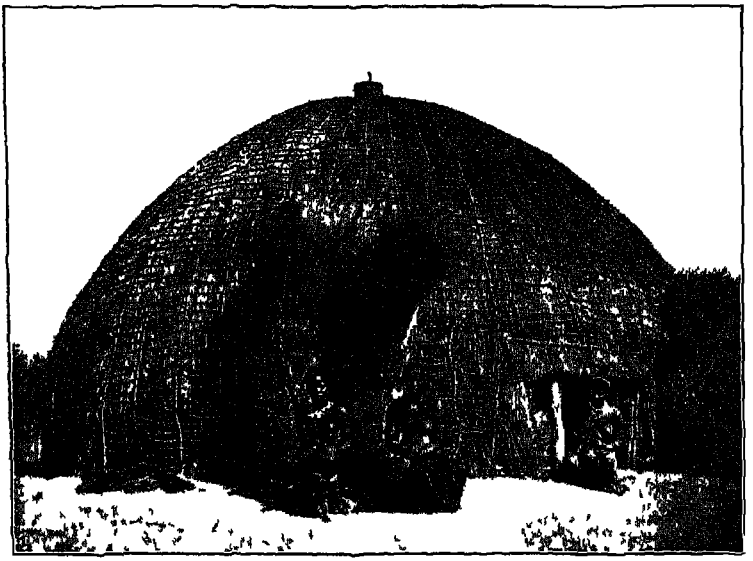
THE NATIVE

AFTER so much that is pleasant to remember and say, it is time to speak of the dark under-world of South African life. It is dark in a double sense, since it is the world of the Native and Coloured races. It is as unfortunate for the Natives as for us that they have to be judged in the main by what the White man sees and says of them rather than by what they say of themselves. For they have no serious literature, and there are comparatively few influential spokesmen of colour who are able to hold the public ear. The consequence is that any view of them has to be, essentially, an outside view. Who can see truly and see whole the mind of his neighbour, even of his nearest friend? How much more difficult is it to understand and interpret the thoughts of people of another nation! But how impossible to penetrate far the mental and spiritual arcana of races whose world of thought, in so far as it is native to themselves, has so few points of intimate contact with that of civilized societies!

The Native is more interesting, and certainly more picturesque, in his natural habitat, which is the open country, than in the towns, where he still looks incongruous and out of place. Innumerable Native *kraals* (properly collections of huts rather than single ones) of the traditional type are still scattered over the veld in all parts of the country—in the outlying districts of the more sophisticated Cape Province equally with those of the Transvaal or of Zululand. The *kraal* is usually of beehive shape, the wall being constructed of wickerwork strung to stout poles or bamboos, and the roof, which may be either of mushroom shape or rise to an apex like a cupola, is thatched with reeds or long coarse grass. A Zulu or Swazi beehive hut is from six to nine feet high with a circumference of thirty feet and upwards. Often the *kraal* of this type gives place to-day to a low square erection, with walls of rough bricks, hand-made and sun-baked, and roof of boarding, corrugated iron,



NATIVE VILLAGE



NATIVE HUT, BEEHIVE TYPE

or thatch. In either case there is seldom more than one opening, which serves for door, window, and chimney, and inside and outside these habitations are apt to be squalid and even fatally insanitary. Of furniture there is practically none, and the eating and drinking utensils are of the fewest and simplest. The baking is usually done outside, often in a sort of community oven for convenience —a simple structure made of well-rammed earth, hardened and baked by use, or one of the large forsaken ant-hills which dot the veld in some places may be turned to the purpose.

From any one of these *kraals* a whole colony will turn out as the motoring traveller passes by—father, wife or wives, as the case may be, girls (hardly to be distinguished from the mothers), piccanins, odd looking lumps of black flesh, whose most obvious token of humanity are the vivacious, sparkling eyes, which stand out of their dusky faces like large white marbles. Only the scantiest clothing is worn in the country districts, and the piccanins run about stark naked in all weathers; yet seldom does the Native woman, attired in little more than a short under-skirt or loin cloth and her natural modesty, show signs of embarrassment as she passes or is passed by a White stranger.

The womenfolk of the *kraal* are mere instruments of labour, existing for the sake of husband or father, yet time and custom would appear to have made the yoke tolerable. On the farms of Europeans the position of the Native women living in their employers' huts or bothies, or their own *kraals*, is much the same. As a rule where their husbands work they are expected to work, too, and their children as soon as old enough. In some districts the Natives cultivate in their *kraals* simple handicrafts, affording scope for the display of a somewhat rude imagination and artistry, in the form of carved wood and even ivory articles, plaited goods of many kinds, wire and other light metal work, bead and glass ornaments, and the like.

Tribal organization and cohesion are still strong, and tribal law and rule common, and in general the authorities endeavour to conserve the best features of all, even in some directions discreetly stretching a point in favour of institutions and practices out of harmony with European notions

rather than incur unknown risks by forcibly suppressing them. Thus while the position of the Native populations in the urban districts is that of people who have to a large extent passed outside the jurisdiction of the tribal chiefs, with its essentially wholesome sanctions and restraints, yet have not assimilated the laws and usages of their new masters, in the country districts Native tradition and custom retain great vitality and profoundly affect the life of the Black people, though here, too, European contact and example are exerting a disruptive influence. Nowhere is the tribal system stronger than in Zululand and the Transvaal; but in the Cape Province and Natal proper the tendency is more and more towards individualism.

Polygamy is common, except in the case of those who accept the Christian faith, and the custom is being allowed slowly to exhaust itself, as it is doing under pressure of economic conditions, which now make a plurality of wives a luxury beyond all but the relatively well-to-do. In this matter the chiefs claim a large latitude, and the last census report mentions one chief with 51 wives, one with 79, and one with 110, the last named having 93 children. The number of a man's wives is a rough index of material status, for if a native "boy" has two or three of them it means that he has been able to give a corresponding number of cattle by way of marriage gifts and is still in possession of stock sufficient to keep his wives in full work for himself.

This marriage gift, known as *lobolo*, is one of the most universal and cherished of tribal customs. English fathers have been known to value their sons and daughters as assets and liabilities respectively. In the Native household that order is reversed, for not only, as has been said, is labour the special privilege of the female members but a daughter is a potential source of gain to her parent, in virtue of the marriage dowry payable to him by the son-in-law. This consideration takes the form of cattle, the number depending upon the prospective husband's herds, and the gift is theoretically regarded as compensation for the loss which a father sustains by being deprived of his daughter's services. At the same time it is assumed that part of the gift will go in payment of the very moderate supply of blankets, attire, and ornaments which the bride will take

with her to the new *kraal*, and one cow at least may contribute to the plenitude of the marriage feast. Often a Native "boy" has to work hard and long in order to earn money wherewith to buy the *lobolo* and obtain the wife of his desire, but having married he transfers the onus of labour to her, and takes life more easily for the future.

Europeans sometimes speak of *lobolo* as implying marriage by purchase, but the Natives resent the imputation, and the unprejudiced, objective observer will probably regard the custom as rather more than less defensible than the custom of heiress-hunting as practised in some highly civilized countries. In further defence of the recipient of *lobolo* it may be pleaded that the gift is not in all cases absolute, for it may be returnable in the event of the wife deserting her husband, or giving cause for being put away, and this is also the case in some tribes if she dies and is not replaced by another daughter of the same household; while in the event of his own unfaithfulness the husband loses both wife and gift. In the event of a father's death the eldest son assumes the responsibility of assisting his brothers and sisters to marry in due course.

Human nature in essence is everywhere pretty much the same. Speaking still of marriage, the Native youth who is disposed to take the step is very conscious of the advantage of having a wife who owns a little land, and round a maid so recommended suitors swarm like bees round a honey-pot. The girl herself has no less an eye to the main chance, and she will not allow age to be a drawback in a suitor if he is well endowed with cattle, even Afrikanders of low degree. Better still she likes a husband who owns a plough, for machine ploughing is a man's business. Zulu girls of good class "come out" at the right age just like Europeans, and the occasion is one of much conviviality, and as a rule a prelude to early marriage, an event much desired by impoverished fathers, by reason of the gift of cattle.

The spirit of tribal unity is still very strong, and though the caste spirit as it is known in India is absent marriage between members of different tribes, while it occurs, is not regarded with favour. There are also social distinctions and gradations amongst the Natives which, though they may appear to the European trivial or ludicrous, are to

them very real. That the son of a chief should be expected to marry a girl of the same rank is natural; but parity of social status, as measured by repute in the tribe and material wealth, is considered almost as much in Native as in European life, and in the larger Native locations indiscriminate social intercourse is unknown. Perhaps the Kaffirs come nearest to the caste idea with their prejudice against eating with people not of their own or their clan name. The men of the Xosa tribe do not eat green vegetables, which they regard as women's fare, nor do the women eat certain parts of meat, as being food for men only.

It is inevitable, where the jurisprudence of the White man has impinged upon the more or less unstable edifice of Native traditional law, that the latter has had to give way, yet while tribal law and restraints have inevitably lost much of their old force, and are gradually losing more, it would be a mistake to suppose that they have everywhere broken down. Yet the present position is anomalous and confusing, for while Native law and custom are codified in Natal, fully recognized in the Transkei district of the Cape Province and in British Bechuanaland, and recognized to a limited extent in the Transvaal and Ciskei, they are not recognized at all in the Cape Province proper or the Orange Free State Province. In Natal and Zululand, indeed, every Native comes under the Native code automatically unless he formally contracts out, as he may do in virtue of educational qualifications.

In many parts of the country a species of rule by chief is maintained by the Government. To a recognized paramount chief is assigned jurisdiction over such a sphere of influence as tribal tradition sanctions, and within it he is expected to keep his "subjects" in order. Above him is, of course, the European administrator, to whom there is a right of appeal in all matters of uncertainty or dispute. Interference with Native ideas of justice and equity calls for the greatest circumspection, and this is in fact shown, for it is recognized that a chief's decision which may appear strange and dubious to Europeans is bound to present itself in a different aspect to the Natives. Where land is held by a tribe in common it is vested in the paramount chief as trustee, yet though he should not alienate it he sometimes

does. The chief claims the right to make levies on his subjects for tribal and even personal purposes, and tribute is sometimes paid to him in the form of marriageable daughters, whom he duly assigns to husbands, retaining for himself the *lobolo* of cattle due from the bridegrooms.

Paramount chiefs like to consider their office and dignity as hereditary, but the claim is not recognized by the authorities for obvious reasons. As late as last year (1924) the claim of a Native to be chief of a tribe by hereditary right was rejected by the Supreme Court at Pretoria, which laid it down that such a chief derives his power, not from a right of succession or the will of his tribe, but entirely in virtue of appointment by the Government.

The chiefs are tenacious of their status and jealous of their rights as tribal rulers, and many of them still succeed in asserting both with firmness and great dignity. A disturbing influence has set in, however, owing to the practice of young Natives seeking work in the mines and the towns. There the old tribal attachments and respect for tradition often become weakened; contact with Europeans and European ideas inflates the emancipated youth with a sense of superiority to the simple people at home, and in his eagerness to wear the White man's shoes he is disposed to disown the old tribal associations.

As an illustration of the deterioration of Native sentiment the following recent episode may be quoted from a Johannesburg newspaper:

> "Solomon Dinizulu, a Zulu chief of the Royal blood, had a very rowdy reception at Klipspruit location, where he went, by invitation, to hear the grievances of the inhabitants. He finally refused to listen to the complaints of so disrespectful a gathering. Solomon arrived by motor-car, wearing a blue uniform and peaked cap. Sleeves, collar, trousers and cap were liberally braided with gold, and over the shoulder he wore a broad band of blue ribbon, with gold tassel. A personal bodyguard was a Native with a rifle and a bandolier, and he was also escorted by two mounted police.
>
> "When he took his seat in a large armchair pandemonium arose. The Royal salute was drowned in screams and shouts, and it was a quarter of an hour before silence was obtained. Solomon, in telling the Natives that he could not listen to so disrespectful a gathering, asked them how

> they could expect the Government to listen to them if they did not treat him with respect. They must respect the Government if they wanted wrongs righted."

By way of contrast I may mention that a large employer of Native labour in the Cape Province told me that whenever his supply ran low, and there was difficulty in covering his needs locally, he applied to the Native chief, and always with success. (It should perhaps be added that this wise business man took care to keep on good terms with the chief, by remembering his partiality for occasional presents.) Moreover, when the chief visited his "subjects" he was invariably well received. The Natives of both sexes all gathered round him bare-headed, salaaming in their graceful way, and quietly listened to all he had to say. His own comportment was marked by great dignity and a vivid consciousness of authority, while theirs was characterized by perfect respect, yet an entire absence of servility.

In the Native character there is still much rank paganism, and superstitions of all kinds exercise a baneful influence over the backward tribes of the remoter interior, as yet hardly touched by religious and civilizing influences. The belief in magic and in spirits, who have power to work weal or woe at will, is very strong, and the witch doctor is a potent and uncanny figure in Native life. Like more advanced races they believe in survival after death, and also in reincarnation.

Nowhere is superstition more common or its influence more malign than in Zululand. The Zulu's special form of credulity, however, is a partiality for religious impostors, a weakness not unknown to some nominally civilized communities. A crank or a fanatic has only to turn up suddenly in some out-of-the-way Native village in long clerical coat of ancient design, and proclaim that he is a Messiah, or the forerunner of one, and he is sure of a following until he has decamped with the collection bag. I observe that the latest Zulu prophet, who claimed to be in daily communication with the angelic host, was unceremoniously despatched by the authorities to a mental specialist. Every year such impostors appear, invariably bringing messages from the spirit world, a sign that in the emotional and spiritual life of this fine and still not spoiled race there

are empty spaces still waiting to be filled by people and influences of the right or the wrong kind.

The Native labourer of the mines and the towns is a different character altogether, and with him what follows will principally be concerned. Into the industrial maelstrom he either plunges of his own accord or is swept by the broad broom of the labour recruiting agent. His is the drudgery of labour—the unskilled and menial "Kaffir work" which White men look down upon as common and unclean in South Africa, though men quite as good as they do it all their lives in Europe. It is estimated that the Bantu races form nearly one-third and the Coloured people of all types (the Bantu included) form just over one-half of the urban population. But a further large section of the Natives who do not actually live in towns has been urbanized in the sense that the attachment to the land and land employment has been weakened by intermittent employment in industrial work.

On the whole these industrial labourers are an attractive, docile, and tractable people, good-natured, loyal in so far as the idea of loyalty is developed in the Native character, and accepting their position of subordination with no apparent sign of discontent, a fact which may be attributed in some degree to their present position of helplessness and their consciousness of dependence on the White man's favour.

"A man's attire, and excessive laughter, and gait, show what he is," says the wise writer of Ecclesiasticus, and tried by this test the Native of all ages is still a child. When he can afford it he is inordinately fond of dress, for though imitative in a high degree he imitates without discrimination or taste, and this leads to incongruous effects. The spectacle of black "boys" stalking along busy, workaday streets wearing all sorts of European attire—coats of black cloth, gaily-coloured cotton waistcoats, and shorts or plus-fours of some other material, with soft caps or hats of felt, velvet, or straw—is grotesque in the extreme.

Compared with such caricatures the unsophisticated, bare-footed, and hatless Native, newly come from the *kraal* on the far-away countryside, wrapped in his blanket, rug, or bath towel, or whatever the single ample flowing

robe may be, is dignity personified. Many an urban labourer continues faithful to his beloved red, yellow, drab, or multi-coloured blanket long after he has become a fixture in the town and has saved money enough to buy more elaborate clothing. The parade to and fro of Coloured people clad in these garments, which they carry thrown loosely over their shoulders, and manipulate with Italian grace, gives a picturesque effect to the streets of Johannesburg in the evening hours preceding curfew. Sooner or later, however, the lure of the shop windows, the example of their fellows, and the desire to ape the European wean them from the blanket cult, and the time may come when it will linger only in the *kraals* of Basutoland.

On the other hand, the poor Natives of the "down-and-out" type seem always to find their way into cast-off European clothes which look as if, after having served two generations of occupants, they had been turned inside-out, and shoes or boots, if worn at all, are sure to be out of heel. Here it should be noted, however, that even if a Native possesses a good pair of boots it is not certain that he will use them. He may carry them about with him slung over his shoulders, as much to save wear and tear as to impress other less fortunate "boys" with his wealth.

The women and girls are naturally at least as fond of dress as the men, but their taste appears to find more satisfaction in colour than in material. They favour, perhaps because of their cheapness—though I can speak only of the summer months—flimsy cotton fabrics, and little of them. While motoring in the country it is a shock to see a black girl attired in a white petticoat, a yellow shawl, and a sash radiant with all the colours of the rainbow, disappear in a mud-walled cabin, exceeding in squalor anything that used to exist in the Irish bog-land.

A child-like love of ornament is equally characteristic of both sexes. They wear ear-rings and bracelets of gold or other metal, ivory or beads, and the women necklaces in addition. I have seen Native "boys," evidently of the *jeunesse dorée* type, with wrists and forearms decked three inches deep with metal bangles, and wearing heavy gold ear-rings to boot. Anklets and nose-rings are also common, not everywhere but evidently according to local or tribal

custom. And all such decoration may go with bare legs and feet, and perhaps holes in the very scanty clothing.

Curiously enough it was not at Capetown or yet Johannesburg but at Pretoria that I saw Native character and costume in greatest variety. It was a Sunday afternoon, and groups of young Natives—said to be Basutos for the most part—streamed into the city from the locations outside and elsewhere, and literally took possession of the streets, the more as the heat kept the Europeans indoors. They seemed to have nothing to do, nor wish to do anything except gossip, chat, and joke hilariously. They were well-grown specimens of a fine race. The young men were tall and good-looking, dressed in all sorts of jackets and long-tailed coats, with under-garments in every variety known to the tailor; and while many were well and even foppishly shod, it was as common as not for a suit of excellent clothes to end in a pair of bare feet. The women and girls walked to and fro with springy gait, chattering like parrots with endless gesticulation, their supple and graceful bodies clad in blouses and skirts of light and cheap textures, in glaring colour combinations which to a male eye seemed sometimes bizarre and incongruous, their shapely legs bare from the knees, except where white canvas shoes or high-laced boots were worn. Amongst the females head-dress was entirely absent; amongst the males it ranged from bowlers which might have been fashionable thirty years ago to Vienna beavers and English straw hats of the latest pattern.

Coming to more intimate matters, the Natives are a very emotional and excitable people, and this trait expresses itself in many ways, both good and bad. Their fondness for music and dancing amounts to a passion. They sing well, and the voices of the Native girls sound to European ears remarkably melodious and refined. I was told that the Native Choir of the Cape Native College gives really excellent concerts in the Capetown City Hall, which delight large audiences chiefly composed of Coloured people, but including also a considerable section of well-disposed Europeans. Somewhere I heard or read of Native domestic servants of a specially musical turn who were accustomed to while away the time by playing Handel, Mozart, and other classical composers, though I give this story, as I took it,

on faith. They are just like children in the eagerness with which they rush into the streets at the first notes of a brass band, which they would follow to the next town if they could. They sing in rhythmical cadence while engaged in gangs on outdoor work, and probably give a larger output by so doing.

The Native system of harmonization is different from ours, the African "octave" having seventeen notes, and the difference will always stamp the pianoforte, with its incapacity for delicate tones, as a hopelessly inadequate instrument for reproducing Native melodies faithfully. In any case the pianoforte is at present quite beyond the Native's ambition, and he has to resort to less elaborate substitutes. His favourite instrument, when he can afford it, is the concertina, but in lieu of it he finds endless pleasure, if not equally boisterous melody, in the humble mouth harmonica and Jew's harp. If I were engaged in the small musical instrument trade I think I should seek fortune—confident that I should find it—by covering the African Continent with thousands of agents selling millions of mouth-organs a year to the Natives.

Poor though he is, and used to work-days that seem never to end, the Native throws himself with light-hearted gaiety into the enjoyments of the many public holidays which are ordained in South Africa. Such a holiday is New Year's Day and it chanced that I spent it in a pleasant little market town in the Cape Midlands. The European population appeared to observe the day quietly and at home, but for the Natives it was a time of carnival, and it was interesting to watch the whole-hearted zest with which these true children of nature threw themselves into the enjoyment of their freedom, suggesting that play was more natural to their tastes and instincts than work. The countryside had poured a black throng into the town, and all day long it held high festival. As early as six o'clock the streets were alive with processions of Native "boys," dressed in coloured costumes, led by bands and music, in which every variety of instrument was represented. Once again the veritable "nigger troupe" which delighted children and some adults forty or fifty years ago, before weak imitations were manufactured by the aid of burnt cork and fluffy wigs, was in

living evidence. Bystanders looked on good-humouredly, and gave "tickies" (3d.) or coppers when the hat went round. Groups of merry girls, too, went arm in arm up and down the street by the hour, chattering and singing; they were clad in flimsy but gaily-coloured cotton frocks, with short sleeves, which the better displayed the gold bangles at the wrists, and all were hatless, and some shoeless as well. At one time a score or more of these girls, indulging in the graceful gesticulations in which the mercurial Native excels, sang a melodious part-song in perfect tune and time.

Outside the town a wide stretch of "drift," that had known no running water for months, seemed to do service that day as a public park for the entire Native population, and in it and on the banks of the stream course hundreds of black folk of all ages played games or lolled in the hot sunshine in indolent ease. It was all *naïf* and childlike, but very humanly refreshing, and one recalled the words of "Faust" as he surveyed the village *fête*:

> "From chambers damp
> Of poor, mean houses, from consuming toil
> Laborious, from the workyard and the shop,
> From the imprisonment of walls and roofs
> And the oppression of conspiring streets,
> All are abroad, all happy in the sun."

Native speakers and preachers are very eloquent, though too long-winded, like most politicians who possess the dangerous gift of oratory. Children amongst children, their discourse abounds in homely parable, metaphor, and simile, just like the verse of the early English poets when our literature, too, was in its infancy. These illustrations are usually taken from nature and common life, and when enforced by emotional appeal the effect is said to be irresistible. I heard, without, of course, understanding, several Native preachers, and the rapt faces and the tense atmosphere were evidence that their hearers were under the influence of deep feeling. I copy from a South African newspaper a picture of a Native pastor haranguing an audience during the late electioneering campaign:

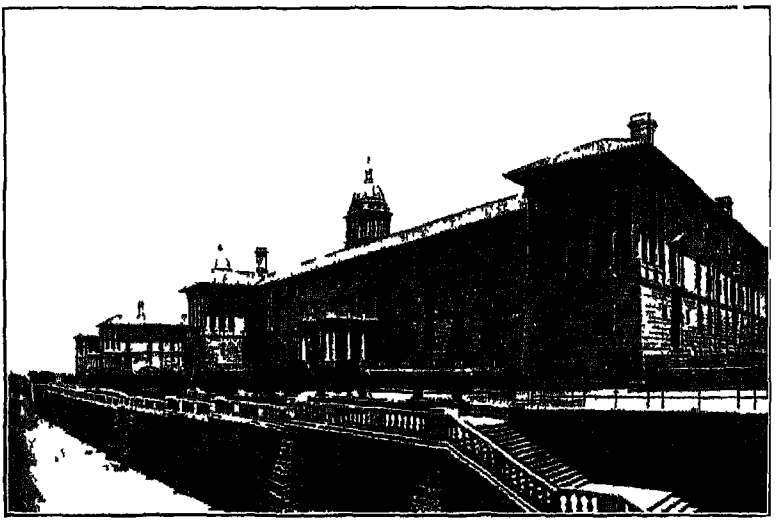
> "He was a master of dramatic art. He would walk in the direction of the candidates and then turn on the audience and walk in their direction. Meanwhile, he was

gesticulating, intoning, shouting, and whispering. An educated Native from the Transkei told me that the speaker was telling his fellows that 'when a dog burns its tail once it is an accident, but when he burns it a second time it is the dog's own fault.' He applied the metaphor to politics, and pointed the moral in favour of the party led by General Smuts. He then smacked his right wrist with his left hand and placed his hand to his back as if in pain and spoke of the chains and the whips that had chafed and scourged his fellows in the dark days of the past; he urged everyone to vote for the man who had always been a friend of the Natives. He was loudly cheered at the end of a remarkable performance. The White men were deeply impressed."

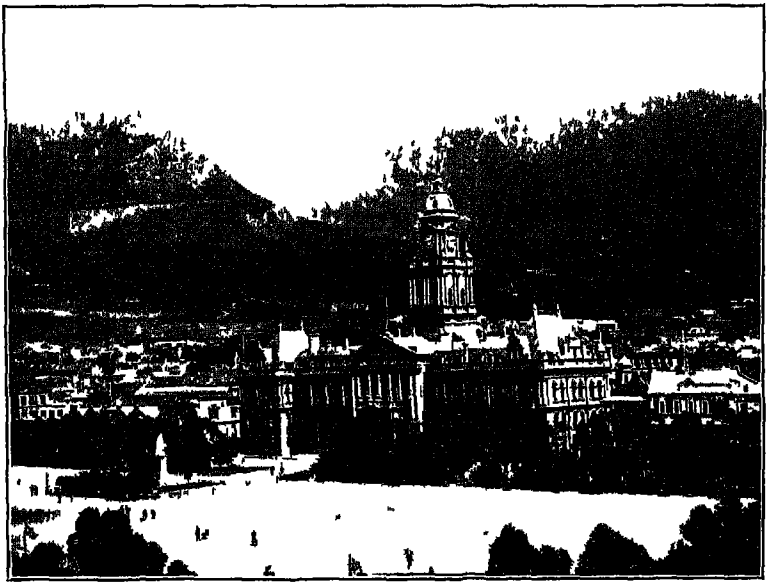
It is interesting to know that this meeting of Blacks ended at midnight to the singing of the National Anthem.

But the Native is far from being a summary of human virtues and excellencies. He has faults and weaknesses in plenty—some natural to him, others acquired. It is a much debated question how far his contact with European civilization has been beneficial to him. True, he has learned much that is good from such contact, but inasmuch as he has chiefly been influenced by White men of the lower and lowest class and by observation of their habits one effect has been to confirm his old vices and add to their number. In the course of a recent lecture on the economic aspects of the Native problem Professor E. H. Brookes, of Pretoria, said that he had come to the conclusion that European influence upon the Natives, while a blessing to them in the sphere of agriculture, had proved "a blighting curse" in the sphere of industry, and that it was a blunder to bring the Native into the modern industrial system at all. He added, "Before gold and diamonds came to dazzle our eyes, our Native policy was, if not unselfish at least not dangerous to the Native, but now it required a most drastic overhauling." These words may not be in the Johannesburg spirit, but they are brave, true, and needed saying.

Bearing in mind its influence upon the unsophisticated Blacks, Mr. Merriman once spoke of Johannesburg as a "criminal university," and reporting on a visit of investigation made to Johannesburg in 1921 the Native Affairs Commission brought the following terrible indictment against the social order which has grown up in that city:



Union Buildings, Pretoria



City Hall, Capetown

> "At this place the Commission felt that it was approaching the Native question in all its potential possibilities for good or evil. The vast congeries of organized labour; the uncoordinated Native life of a large city—raw Natives from the hinterland of civilization and also at their elbow educated Natives with the veneer of an old world civilization upon them; decent men and women living in decent homes, and also dwellers in slums so disgraceful and immoral that the thought of them murdered sleep; the complete absence of tribal life so much a part of their old organization, so many shut doors to progress and to uplift—these things impressed the Commission as nothing else in its journeys had done."

Even in the more sequestered parts of pastoral South Africa, where Native life still retains much of its pristine simplicity, the germs of degeneration have been sown. It is largely from these regions—Zululand, Basutoland, the Transkei, and others—that the mining industry recruits its underground labour, and it is a deplorable, though perhaps an inevitable, fact that together with the earnings which the Natives take home after their six or eight months of drudgery in the mines they take also habits and influences derived from urban associations which react prejudicially upon the old tribal and social life. Working on farm and veld and left alone, the Native, though by no means the paragon of virtue he is sometimes painted, lives a tolerably clean life, since he is there in his natural surroundings and his associates are mainly those of his own order. Planted in the mining areas and amid the hurly-burly of town life he finds himself in alien surroundings; he is carried hither and thither by a conflict of forces and influences which he cannot resist, and is apt to throw off all restraint; and having once lost his bearings he easily begins to drift towards the downward slope which inevitably leads to demoralization, a process far more speedy in the case of the Black than the White.*

*It would be easy to substantiate these conclusions—which would not be disputed on the spot—by abundant evidence of unimpugnable authorities. Thus in his book on "The Education of the South African Native" (1917), Dr. Loram quotes the words of Mr. C. J. Levey, formerly Resident Magistrate in Tembuland and the Transkei, as follows: "From Johannesburg they (the Natives) go back impoverished in wealth and health, and usually moral degenerates, and from their influence flow the physical degeneration as well as the growing uneasiness among raw Natives who have not left their kraal. It is responsible for the growing criminality and the systematic undermining of the best traditions, not only of the Native kraals, but also of respect for the White man's authority, and loss of faith in his good intentions"—(p. 10, note).

It is one of the greatest evils of their urban life that the Natives, whether engaged in industrial or domestic service, have few if any social resources of their own, so that their hours of leisure are apt to be empty and monotonous or worse. Having as a rule no respectable places of recreation to resort to, they crowd the streets all the evening, lolling the time away in idleness until the curfew hour strikes, when they trudge off to their inhospitable lodgings, there to sleep on board or sacking until the dawn of another day calls them again to the old dreary round of duty. The low-class "jazz halls" of the Coloured people's quarters in Durban, with their night-long orgies of drinking, gambling, indecent dancing, and immorality, illustrate the depths of degradation to which the Natives, and in this case Asiatics of both sexes, fall when left to their own devices. When I was at Durban a leading local journal published a luried description of the wild life led in these places, and the writer asserted that more crimes of violence are committed in and about these dens of vice than figure in the police court records. Happily in some of the larger towns—e.g., Capetown, Johannesburg, Pretoria, and latterly Durban itself—good work is done by religious and philanthropic organizations by the provision of clubs and social centres, and of such efforts there can hardly be too many.

It is often said that the Native labourer does not love work—as all Europeans labourers do, of course, and never so much as since the Great War—but is naturally lazy and disinclined to steady and systematic exertion. It would be absurd to claim that his is on the whole a strenuous nature, and that he literally aches for work. Staying in a country market town you may see any forenoon a group of a dozen Black "boys" squatting in the sun, cigarettes in mouths, before one of the stores, waiting for jobs, and, you suspect, hoping that they will never come; and passing by a few hours later you will find them all still there, in the self-same posture of drowsy indolence, evidently well contented that no "baas" has turned up from the farm out yonder, to disturb their peace. Yet great injustice would be done by any broad generalization which failed to take account of the fact that the Native has to do, not the work of his choice, but just that which the European

trade unions assign to him; and how many of us would like compulsion of that kind?

Let us, however, in judging the Native in this matter, look at his standpoint. There is a story of a Hindoo servant, who, when convicted of cowardice, nonplussed his European accuser with the retort, "There are other virtues besides courage." And there are social virtues besides industry, which may not, after all, be the pick of the bunch. Nothing in the Native's history and antecedents, individual or tribal, prepared him for the strenuous life which is presupposed by the modern industrial system. His traditional business was fighting, and tame field and domestic labour was usually assigned to his women folk, as it is to-day. At most in his natural condition and environment he worked to live, and the thought of living to work never occurred to him. So time had for him no value independently of the needs of the moment. A child of nature, he inevitably fell into the ways of nature, who never hurries and, even in South Africa, may sleep for whole months at a time. Why should we wonder if the Native, whose wants are still so few, fails to show a consuming desire to expend his energies in exertion which to his untutored mind must often seem irrational and purposeless? Further, the idea of striving to emerge from the condition into which he was born is alien to the Bantu tribal tradition and philosophy of life. Status is given by birth, so that as the Native is born socially so he is destined to remain: that at least was the accepted doctrine before European influence broke down the old sentiment of quiescence and stolid content.

But this is by no means all, or even the best, that can be said for the Native. The truth is that he does not need one half of the apologies which benevolently disposed defenders are in the habit of advancing on his behalf. A general accusation of indolence is absolutely unjustifiable—so much so as to be ludicrous. After all, the important matter is not whether a man loves work but whether he does it, and does it well. Tried by this test the Native confutes his critics by his daily life. He does the hardest kind of work, and mostly that alone. He carries the entire mining industry upon his shoulders. He works the 85,000 European farms of the country besides his own. All the navvy work con-

nected with the construction of railway and harbour, irrigation, and similar undertakings coming under the definition of "civil engineering," with road and street making, and outdoor labour in general, is done by the Natives, recruited voluntarily and without any pressure beyond the economic pressure of need or, perhaps more consciously, by the attraction of relatively "good money" and the thought of what that money will do for them when they put down pick and shovel and return blithe-hearted and no longer with empty pockets to their far-away home in Zululand, Basutoland, and elsewhere.

In all such work the Native is capable of remarkable endurance. I have seen hundreds of stalwart Blacks as naked as Adam after his fall hewing rocks and loading wagons under a scorching midsummer sun on a Transvaal hillside, all to a rhythmical drone like the hum of distant machinery, with almost incredible speed and never a moment's rest or stretching of the limbs. Later at Port Elizabeth I visited a fruit packing factory where most of the unskilled work is done by Natives of both sexes. The "boys" were handling great weights of canned goods and rushing their sack-carts to and fro between packing-house and railway siding at frantic speed, so that to stand in the line of action meant imminent danger. I said to the manager, "It is easy to see that your 'boys' are paid by piece." "Not a bit of it," he replied, "all work here is paid for by time." And what were the rates paid for this hustling energy? Not two shillings an hour, which White workmen might have claimed, but four shillings a day. No ca-canny there, and strikes unknown, but fair wages as Natives esteem them, and good, honest work in return!

On the land, tending his own farm, the Native lives a far less onerous life, and that is why he likes to get back to it after a not too long spell of labour in the towns. For not only does he expect nature to do her part of the work, but, as has been said, he takes good care that his wife or wives, as the case may be, do most of what remains.

It is no business of mine to idealize the Native, but his faults should be viewed in the right proportion. Not once did I meet an employer of Natives, whether in factory, on farm, or in domestic service, who did not admit that his

"boys" responded readily to considerate treatment, and in such circumstances proved zealous—as zeal goes with Natives—efficient, and often devoted servants. So I come to the conclusion that in fulfilling his destiny in society the Native will, in the long processes of time, follow the conventional order of civilization, which is, first, indolence slowly giving way under economic pressure to industry; then, after a period of hard work and acquisitive enterprise, industry gradually reverting, under the influence of success and repletion, to indolence, now dignified by the more refined name of cultured leisure.

That he is not truthful, as children of nature never are, must be admitted, though here, again, it should be said in his favour that his proneness to exaggeration is often innocent, being simply the expression of a fertile imagination and a desire to please. Nor can it be maintained that honesty is a conspicuous virtue of urban Native servants. They are very fond of gifts (*bonsellas*) and receive them freely, for no trifle is too insignificant to be beneath their notice. This characteristic often leads to cupidity, and even encourages a Native to anticipate the possession of articles which might have found their way to his miscellaneous store in the ordinary course of events by the will of master or mistress. The Native invariably receives gifts in both hands cupped together, a habit equally prevalent in other parts of Africa and characteristic of some Eastern races. I have heard various explanations of the custom, some far fetched, but I hazard the hypothesis that it arose in the custom of giving the Native grain for food, which is obviously more easily received with two hands than one.

Among his more serious faults is a fondness for quarrelling, which may be attributed as much to his excitable temperament as to his warlike traditions. If a tribal fray is in progress he does not even stop to ask the proverbial Irishman's question, "Is this a private fight, or can anyone join in?" but plunges into the *mêlée* with a lavish use of his knobkerry, and sees it through to the bitter end before he begins to count his scars. I quote from the newspapers the following illustrative incident, because a little before its occurrence I spent some time in the locality named and saw the Natives

in question at work; and navvies finer in physique or more industrious never built an English reservoir:

> "A serious fight took place at the canal construction camp at Rynheath (Graaff-Reinet) between Kaffirs and Fingoes, armed with 'kerries. Police were summoned, but before the Natives were quicted there were several broken heads and three of the participants had to be sent to hospital. The ancient antipathy between the two Native races was the cause of the trouble."

Quarrels are, indeed, so frequent and so easily fomented where members of different tribes congregate in numbers, that at Johannesburg the Natives are often relieved of their sticks before they are allowed to enter the railway carriages as a precaution against trouble and delay. At Maritzburg local regulations even prescribe the maximum thickness of the sticks which Natives may carry, and any infraction of the law, if detected, leads to arrest and fine or imprisonment. Of late the Native has taken to a more vicious substitute in the shape of clasp-knife, in the use of which he shows himself far more adept than is consistent with public safety. "Knifing" has, in fact, become one of the most common of Native crimes on the Rand and not rarely these stabbing affrays have fatal results.

Drink is the Native's greatest enemy and if it could be kept entirely out of his way he would be a far more peaceful and acceptable neighbour for the White population. Kept out of temptation he has little inclination to indulgence; but if the craving has once been created there is no stilling it. In most parts of the country the sale of intoxicating liquors to Natives is forbidden, yet there is much illicit traffic both in beer and spirits. He is allowed to drink a very mildly alcoholic beverage known as "Kaffir beer," which is often both brewed for and sold to him by solicitous municipal authorities, but if he can anyhow obtain something stronger he will, and when under the influence of drink he loses control of himself and is a public terror. Apart from crimes committed in a condition of stupefaction, however, the Native often, owing to his emotional temperament, runs his neck into the hangman's noose with frivolous precipitancy under the impulse of sexual passion, anger, or strong resentment.

Gambling is another of his vices, and in the mining districts week-end dice and card parties are common amongst the less law-abiding of the Coloured population. These parties meet in out-of-the-way parts of slum areas,and by means of well-placed outposts are usually able to elude the vigilance of the police.

The fascination which fair members of the opposite sex seem to have for Coloured men, like the less comprehensible attraction which these men sometimes have for European girls of a certain social class, is notorious, and the South African Native's illicit admiration of White women takes many objectionable and even criminal forms. A single issue of a Johannesburg newspaper contained four separate illustrations of the kind, together with the intimation that "assaults on White women by Natives have been alarmingly frequent of late." On the other hand, people sympathetic to the Coloured people, and with a wide knowledge of their life and character, give the Natives in general a good reputation in this respect, and while admitting that sexual crimes against White women are committed maintain that the number is exaggerated, and that the Press pays little attention to the crimes of the same kind committed by White men of the baser sort against Coloured women. The subject is not one to be lingered on, though a visitor to South Africa cannot fail to understand that the evils here hinted at need both to be watched carefully and handled rigorously. Incidentally I heard repeatedly that nothing had contributed more to lessen the old respect of the Natives for White women than the use of Black soldiers in the European War, particularly by France in her own special war on Germany after the conclusion of peace. It is unfortunately not the only illustration of evil being reaped because of the evil seed sown.

One of the commonest strictures upon Natives of both sexes which you hear is that they never show gratitude and indeed lack the instinct; while together with this absence of a sense of gratitude, they are credited with a particularly strong sense of justice, subjectively of course, in that they know what is due to themselves and expect it, yet are supposed to lack any consciousness of obligation to deal justly with others.

As to the Native's ingratitude, you are often told that kindness is wasted on him, since any exhibition of generosity is accepted as a proof that he has been defrauded of some just right before, and the belief makes him for ever afterwards suspicious, sullen, and greedy. Hence those who take this low view of Native character contend that it is folly to increase a "boy's" wages voluntarily; it should only be done when pressed for, and then with apparent reluctance, with a view to letting him believe that he has won in a game of wits and extorted extra pay from you against your will. By so acting you are said to convince the Native, by a complicated process of logic which I confess inability to follow, that you are a just man. Human nature can be very subtle, and the motives of human action very complex, but it will probably occur to most plain minds that to carry psychological or pseudo-psychological theories to this extent in dealing with Natives is to try quite unnecessarily to go wrong. And even did this danger not exist, such a method of treating the Native is a singular way of educating him, and instilling into his mind the instinct of conduct.

In truth far too much is made of the alleged ingratitude of the Native, as though he were alone in exhibiting this ungracious characteristic; the fact being that every illustration of the stupid and raw "boy's" insensibility to kindness which is cited in support of the accusation has its counterpart amongst civilized people who are neither stupid nor raw. The Native may not be profuse in his feelings of appreciation for what the European does for him, but that he lacks the capacity and the will to be thankful when thanks are justly due I do not believe. There is much in their past treatment which must convince the more advanced and reflective Natives that little or nothing is done for or given to them beyond their right, and if exuberant gratitude is lacking why should it be expected? Should they go on their knees in devout thankfulness every time they creep into their hovels and hutments at the close of day and gather round the poultry-yard meal? Perhaps these things excite no strong feelings of resentment, since few of them have ever experienced anything better, but they certainly cannot excite the reverse.

The other generalization about the Native's strong sense of justice is, perhaps, more justifiable, though it is worthy of note that what appears chiefly to convince Europeans that the Native is essentially a just man is his readiness to admit his own shortcomings, and to accept the punishment which his master may deem appropriate to his offences.

I put the two issues to the judgment of one who during the Great War served several years in East Africa (British, German, Belgian, and Portuguese), in part under General Smuts, with a view to a comparison of his wider experience with my own, and this was his opinion : *

> " Gratitude is one of the moral qualities which is among the latest to be developed in civilization, and, I think, is associated with a high regard for human life. The Native is callous about life and suffering, and is less susceptible to pain than the White man. I doubt if he displays much gratitude towards his own kind. His attitude towards the White man is different, because he is anxious to please one from whom he expects benefits. But how seldom is gratitude disinterested in white races ! In general the attitude of the Native towards the white man is difficult to analyse because the relation is not one of equality. There are numerous instances of fidelity and self-sacrifice on the part of the black man on behalf of the white ; every hunter has had experience of that. The Native also expresses thanks for a gift by speech and conduct (gesture) similar to a white man. He has a decided sense of personal justice, i.e., he complains of a wrong done to him, and demands recompense. But socially he is little capable of combining forces in order to obtain reform. I speak now of the Native of the bush, as the sophisticated town-dwellers form only a tithe of the population."

When all has been said on both sides, may it not be assumed that we do not sufficiently allow for the possibility that the Native's ideas of gratitude, and also his ways of showing it, may be altogether different from ours ? Is the perception of the average European so keen and delicate that he is capable of reading Native character correctly, and even if he were capable how often does he give himself the infinite trouble needed to do it ? A world of difference, in *naturel*, *psyche*, custom, standards of value, divides the White and Black races ; and if the question be asked, " How far do they understand each other ? " is not the best answer

* My son, W. S. Dawson, M.A., M.D. (Oxon), M.R.C.P. (Lond.), D.P.M.

contained in a second question, "How far do White men and women understand each other, or even try to do?" In both cases the success of the test is governed by the condition laid down by that acute and benevolent philosopher Joseph Joubert, "Les hommes ne sont pas justes qu'envers ceux qu'ils aiment."

Friends in South Africa have told me of "boys" who have served them with unfaltering fidelity for twenty years and longer, and of others who, after long service, have refused to leave their "bosses" when circumstances made separation necessary. The historic example of this fidelity, of course, is that of the five Native bearers who, when David Livingstone died on May 1, 1873, in the interior of this same Africa, bore the embalmed body of the beloved master, with his papers and instruments, through jungle, and over mountain and river, right across the Continent to the far-off Coast. No one will convince me that the instinct of gratitude is absent from natures capable of such deep personal attachment. And if conspicuously present in many Natives, as it is, why absent in others, if not because the evoking conditions are wanting?

The experience of Native administration would appear to be to this effect. When the tribesfolk feel that they are sympathetically treated and that the hand of authority rests kindly upon them they are the most grateful people in the world. Take a quaint address which was sent only last year by the Native residents of a district in Basutoland to a departing Commissioner:

> "During the time you have been with us," ran this very human document, "you have gained for yourself the coveted name by which the father of this nation, Chief Moshesh, was called on account of his actions, and that name is 'Koahela.' Chief, when we come to consider our deeds, we must admit that you merited the name 'Koahela.' You did not deal unkindly with us by using your authority harshly, but you led us along and gently covered us, so to speak, as a hen covereth her chickens. For this reason, Chief, we deeply deplore your departure amongst us, the more so because we do not know whether our father who is to succeed you will be a 'Koahela' as you were to us. Therefore we pray you, Chief, to fully explain to him what we are, our weaknesses and shortcomings. We further pray you to hand over to him the cradle in which you carried

> us, as we had already become accustomed to it, so that he may carry us in it that we may not feel uncomfortable."

The work of Native administration in South Africa is something more than an affair of beer and skittles, but such appreciation as this should bring ample compensation to any man whose heart is in the right place, and alone it disproves the too facile judgment of the Native as indifferent to kindness and ungrateful.

Take him for all in all, the Native is just as much a bundle of virtues and vices as the white man. Perhaps the most remarkable social characteristic of this highly emotional creature, who but yesterday was in the stage of the woad-dyed Briton or Celt, is his normal respect for order, discipline, and legality. That trait cannot have been acquired from the Europeans, and must be attributed to tribal tradition and a strength and stability of character native to him, in spite of the ages of war and violence which immediately preceded his appearance on the stage of European history. The one bright spot in the gold miners' strike on the Rand in the early part of 1922, was the steadfastness of the Native labourers, who exercised complete restraint and never once broke the peace, even when suffering brutal treatment at the hands of lawless ruffians. Referring to the episode in his report for that year, the Johannesburg Superintendent of Locations said of the Western Native Township: "During the dark days of March, the (Native) residents of the township had a very trying time indeed, as fighting was carried on all around them, but, in spite of the bombardments, the conduct of the residents was such that the police did not have cause to arrest a single resident for even a trivial crime."

Are the Natives as happy as most Europeans say, or as unhappy as some of their own spokesmen would have us believe? I have already referred to a speech made early last year (1924) by General Smuts wherein he asserted that the only happy man in South Africa was the Black man. I recall the passage in detail since it elicited a reply:

> "My impression is very clear," he said, "that the only happy man in Africa is the black man. We Whites are thoroughly unhappy. We are actuated either by the spirit of gain, the spirit of self-improvement, or by a divine dis-

> content, or whatever you may care to call it. We are always dissatisfied. The Black man has an entirely different mentality. If you have travelled over the African continent as I have done, and seen him under the most difficult and dangerous conditions, it is possible that you will agree with me that the Black man is essentially happy, and has a beautiful temperament—a temperament which, I think, is one of the finest assets in the world. He is made for happiness and for enjoyment. He is not troubled very much by those inner problems that trouble us. Day by day, even after a hard day's grinding toil, give him a good square meal, and until midnight you hear him sing and dance."

Commenting on this tribute to his race, a spokesman of the Black population promptly objected in the Press:

> "The Native to-day is a most unhappy man. Cruel laws have changed him. By nature he is the happiest man in the world, but the hardships under which he suffers are changing him daily. In a short space of time he will have so changed that the White man will say that the Native is the most unhappy and discontented man in the world. Cruel laws make bad citizens. Just laws make good citizens."

Yet there is, perhaps, no irreconcilable contradiction between the two statements, since both postulate happiness as natural to the Natives, and the vast mass of them still live *in statu infantiae*. They have cares, but these are physical, and physical wants when satisfied exist no longer; while the absence of the faculty of anticipation, which comes with years, relieves the Native of many a shadow of coming anxiety. I do not think that sufficient justice is being done to the Native, but that is because I think of justice from the European and—is it arrogant to say it?—the British standpoint. Yet that the Natives to any large extent are conscious of being unjustly treated may be very questionable. The burdens of life lie lightly upon them, and though their happiness is of different quality and content from that of the European it is for them real and hitherto has sufficed.

Sooner or later the shades of the prison-house will close over their careless spirits, and with the "inner problems" which come with eating of the tree of knowledge, and clearer perceptions of right and wrong, there will come also, together with the good days, the evil ones, bringing no pleasure. In short, the spirit and the moods of childhood,

and therewith childhood's insensibility to the harsh realities of life, will remain to the Natives just so long as they feel themselves to be children, and no longer. What follows will be the penalty that civilization, which means in essence knowledge and experience of life, exacts from all the children of men, irrespective of race, colour, and clime.

The position of the Coloured person, by which is meant here the half-caste, is another matter altogether. No more tragic spectacle exists in human life than this child of misfortune and uncertain destiny, through whose pathetic, mournful eyes, set in a visage dark as Erebus and Night, the soul seems often to look out with vague, unsatisfied longing, as upon a world in which it has no place. For the Coloured man—let it be said in great pity—is a flaw in creation, called into being not by divine design but human perversity, something yet nothing, neither Black nor White, but a terrible compromise between the two. Coloured women may or may not take life quite as lightly as, superficially, they seem to do; but of the men I affirm that in all my travels in South Africa I do not remember to have seen a single one smile.

All that has been said professes to give only an outside view of the Native, and I wonder what proportion of Europeans would claim to know what is really inside the cup. Frankly I confess my own ignorance. One of the many vivid impressions of the Native which lingers in my memory is that of his absolutely inscrutable countenance. Catch the face in complete repose: it is as impenetrable, cryptic, mute as that of an Oriental, Japanese or Chinaman, telling you absolutely nothing, not because there is nothing to tell, but because the door to the soul is closed and you are left outside on the threshold. One wonders how far this restraint is instinctive, how far due to the consciousness that Black and White live in different worlds and think with different minds, just as they speak in different tongues.

There was a delightful and singularly intelligent old Native porter at the hotel of a country town where I passed some time, and I grew to like and respect him for his quietness, patience, courtesy, readiness to oblige, and withal his natural dignity. He never smiled, and much as I wanted and tried, I never succeeded in drawing from him a single

expression of subjective opinion, a single revelation of his character, a single reflexion of the self behind the keen, thoughtful eyes. I asked questions, many of them, and he answered them promptly, never going beyond yea or nay, however, when a monosyllable served; while in between the talks there were long silences, during which we looked at each other, equally mystified, I doubt not. One of these intervals I ended with the pointed question, "What are you thinking of, Moses?" There was no movement of the features as, without turning his gaze away from mine, he simply answered "Mister!" One wonders whether the European reveals any more of his inner self to the Native's critical gaze, and if not whether the reason is that our perceptions and intuitions are fundamentally different in quality.

The question of the Native's mental capacity is one upon which I heard a variety of opinion, naturally of unequal value. At the one extreme are those who hold that the limitations from which the Native suffers are very definite and rigid, and impose an insurmountable obstacle to his advance beyond a certain moderate distance. At the other extreme are those who believe that no limitations exist, and that there is nothing in the constitution of the Native's mind and character that need prevent him from becoming in course of time the equal of the European, not in every single faculty, but on balance of all faculties.

Those who adopt this view commonly admit that the Native is rather imitative than original and creative, as children usually are in an early stage, and that his reasoning powers are not yet highly developed, so that he fails to appreciate the nexus between cause and effect; yet they come back in the end to the conclusion that there can be no such thing as absolute "mental saturation" in his ability to imbibe instruction and knowledge. Teachers assured me that at school the Native child makes quick progress up to a certain point, then tends to slow down, though not to stop, and that he has strong points as well as weak ones; thus while he may not excel in arithmetic and is slower in thinking than the European child, he is good at expression and talks volubly, and though apt to lack imagination he loves reading and has a fair share of common sense.

But all such comparisons of mental traits apply in large

degree to the children of the most civilized races, and they lend little or no support to the theory of a general mental inferiority. Moreover, it is to be remembered that the Native has hitherto had little chance of showing of what he is capable, for in the matter of education he has been treated not merely ungenerously but cruelly.* The vital question is not what the Native boy and girl are to-day, but what they will become when their capacities have free and fair play. Dr. Loram, basing his conclusions largely on missionary testimony, though also upon the results of his own observation and tests, writes, "The Native is considerably inferior to the European, but there is no evidence that this inferiority will be permanent." † I am compelled to state that, so far as my eyes and ears informed me, there appears to be less readiness on the part of the Dutch than of the British to admit the Native's capacity for progress or to encourage him to emulation. How far this may be due to inherited prejudices or the result of a larger or a different kind of experience I am not prepared to say.

At Grahamstown I had the opportunity of hearing the opinions on this subject of Sir Thomas Graham. Speaking with his wide experience as a Judge, he said that he had formed the definite conviction that there was no substantial difference in natural ability between the White and the Black. In illustration of this statement he told an interesting story. At Port Elizabeth a short time before he had tried an action, arising out of a labour dispute, in which the principal witness on one side was the Native secretary of an organization representing 14,000 Bantu workers. This man was highly intelligent and gave his evidence with the utmost clearness and confidence; though he had a large number of intricate figures and details to deal with he never hesitated a moment or made a single mistake. After the trial the Judge called the man to him and ascertained that he came from Nyasaland. "That alone," added the Judge, "was a remarkable thing—a Native coming down from Nyasaland and taking charge of an organization of Coloured and Native people in South Africa, and this man had been educated from a state of semi-savagery in a single generation."

* See Chapter XIX, pp. 368–76.
† "The Education of the South African Native" (1917), pp. 224-5.

Instances of the same kind are not uncommon. At a recent meeting of the Capetown Science Association a teacher with many years' experience in England, and later in the Cape Province and Rhodesia (Mr. V. G. Teychenne), comparing the aptitudes of European, Dutch, Oriental, and Bantu children whom he had taught, asserted that "with the same teaching there was no perceptible difference in any of these races," and he added that one of the best lectures he had ever heard was given without notes to a conference of teachers at Bloemfontein by a full-blooded Mochuana who had been trained in Edinburgh.

While I was in South Africa a thrill ran through the ranks of the Native *intelligensia* when it was announced that another Mochuana from Kimberley, a student of Bantu race, educated at the South African Native College at Fort Hare, stood high up on the B.A. pass list of the University of South Africa, being the first Bantu to graduate there, while another Fort Hare Native student had taken the Arts Diploma, the equivalent of the same degree. More lately, I read in a Cape newspaper an account of a visit which the writer had paid to a famous Native doctor in his retreat in the Transvaal. This man, by name Makokotele, is a deformed dwarf of fifty-six years, with a head of normal size, but for body a mere lump of flesh with shapeless elongations for feet, and he has never once stood upright, nor can he properly sit, for he is without back-bone. Yet this physical abnormality has a keen intellect and his knowledge of anatomy and herbalism is said to be remarkable.

> "Judged by the standard of Native life," wrote his visitor, "Makokotele has the mind of the super-normal man, and he is one of the half-dozen instances in the world of the conquest of mind over utter physical disabilities. For Makokotele is a medical practitioner of repute who has followed his profession with much profit. Had he been European and not Bantu I have little doubt that he would have carved his way through the hospital wards as a student of some notable University."

Phenomena (if, with compunction, a convenient word may be misused) like these force on one's mind at times the question whether, after all, we are justified in looking down on the Natives—for, whatever we may say and think that we think, we do look down on them—as interesting but

somewhat pitiable members of races and tribes still in their first infancy, and suggest rather that the true line of approach to the question of Native development may be to regard them as adults of arrested mental growth. In ordinary Western life we occasionally come across the so-called "infant prodigy," usually an unhealthy psychological freak, but his significance pales in comparison with the real prodigies of Native mind and character which constantly come to light. The human race has doubtless a simian ancestry, but never did a man emerge abruptly from a tribe of monkeys. May not the fact that time after time Natives of great, outstanding intellectual power suddenly spring from semi-savage antecedents and environment be explained by the hypothesis that behind such men, in the blood, in the race, is a complex of highly developed traits, mental, spiritual and moral, whose roots lie in a distant and unrecorded past?

The progressive spirit of a nation or a race may be tested in different ways, but perhaps the most elementary test is the existence or absence of an active desire for improvement—the consciousness of aspirations which present conditions do not satisfy, with purposive effort to realize them. Tried by that test the Natives of South Africa who have come into contact with European life and thought owing to residence in the towns are singularly progressive. The intelligent Native wants to be the equal of the White. He knows and sees every day how great is the gulf which divides the races, and he chafes against his disadvantages. The great mistake which he often makes is in attaching excessive importance to external things, and sinking his own individuality by mechanically aping the White man in such little matters as habits and dress; though herein he merely betrays the same instinct which leads other children to wear parental clothes, in order to "look like" father or mother. What he does not yet understand is that the real line of division is made not by colour alone, nor yet by race itself, but by the differences and idiosyncrasies which belong to the inner and invisible life, and it is these that will longest, and perhaps permanently, keep the Europeans and the non-Europeans of South Africa apart and in different worlds.

CHAPTER IX

TYPES OF SCENERY

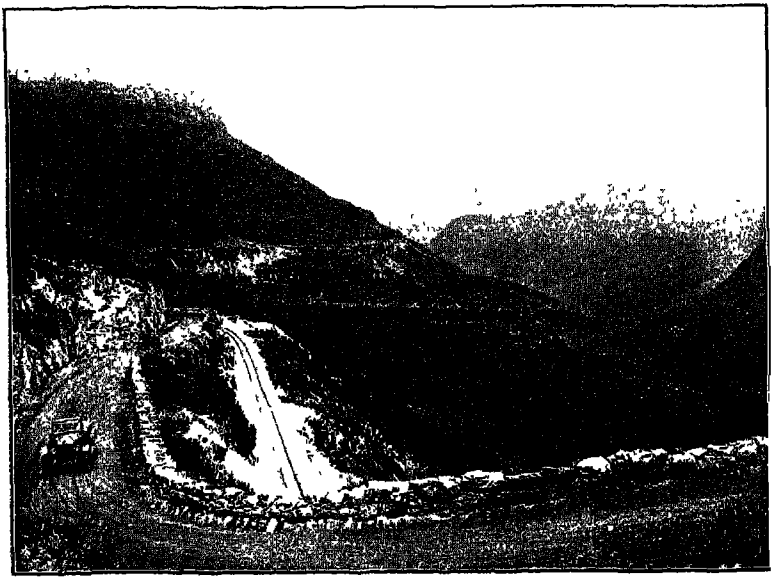
JUST as human beings cover themselves with texture and fabric in the form of clothing, so nature veils the nakedness of the crude, unmade earth with hill and valley, prairie and woodland—in South Africa with veld and scrub and rocky *kopjes*—and we call the vesture scenery. Carlyle, in the forgotten "Sartor Resartus," may have overdone his philosophy of clothes and their language, but it is by scenery than the spirit of the earth speaks most directly to the spirit of man. Unless you listen to, and are able to hear, that voice you will not know South Africa, or enter into the subtle atmosphere of the country. In dealing with this aspect of my subject I wish to lay down for myself very definite limitations, and to make only such a reference to the distinctive and typical scenery of South Africa as may stimulate the curiosity and expectations of others.

Perhaps nine out of ten South Africans would place high on the list of their country's natural attractions the noble *massif* of the Table Mountain in the Cape Province,* the Lootsberg, Hex River, Sir Lowry, Zwert Bergen, and Van Reenan Passes, the Drakensberg (Dragon Mountains), with the Tugela River and the Gorges in the same, the less grand and rugged Drakenstein Mountains, the unique Karroo, the Great Umgeni Falls near Hawick, the Knysna Forest, the Cango Caves near Oudtshoorn, and the Sabie Game Reserves. The method of concentration proposed, however, would wipe out most of this list, for mountains and valleys, passes and ravines, waterfalls and grottoes, however impressive after their kind, are nature's common gifts of grandeur and beauty to the earth, and they are in no wise distinctive of South Africa. Yet that country has, together with many striking natural features and objects which our own and other lands possess in equal quality,

* South Africa has two other Table Mountains, one in Natal and the other in Orange Free State Province, but that overlooking Cape Town, though not the highest, rises to the greatest height from its base.



View at George (Cape)



The Montagu Pass, near George (Cape)

others that are peculiar to itself, and it is these that specially interest and captivate the discriminating visitor who wishes to see, not everything, but that which is rarest and most characteristic. No time need be ill spent in South Africa by the traveller who approaches nature not as a fair ground or a show place, but devoutly, humbled by the knowledge, born of past experiences, of her wonderful power to bring man into

> "That blessed mood
> In which the burthen of the mystery,
> In which the heavy and the weary weight
> Of all this unintelligible world
> Is lightened . . .
> While with an eye made quiet by the power
> Of harmony and the deep power of joy
> We see into the life of things."*

Let it be said at once that there is nothing of the Dutch landscape gardening design about South African scenery, and when you are away from the lowlands there is little to remind you of what you have left behind in the homeland. Not here may you look for cool, leafy lanes where roses, pink and crimson, nod neighbourly from one bank to golden honeysuckle on the other, and violets and anemones whisper modest confidences in the shade; nor for hayfields set in hedges white and fragrant in spring and glowing with myriads of red berries in autumn; nor for any of those gracious sylvan scenes to which, in more sentimental days, Royal Academy painters used to apply names like "Where the quiet waters meet," or "Soft shadows fall upon the tranquil land," or, when determined that the spectator should rise to the full height of their great argument, solid strophes from Wordsworth, Shelley, or Tennyson.

The outstanding features of South African landscape are neither quaintness nor mere loveliness, though in one place or another both exist, but rather strength, virility, boldness, grandeur, all on the large scale; yet combined with these a wild, passionate, primitive beauty, akin to the physical beauty of many of the still half-savage Natives who live in their reed-thatched kraals on lonely veld and mountain-side, far from the home of the White man. If you would carry away true impressions and recollections of South Africa you

* Wordsworth's "Ode" (Tintern Abbey).

must seek them in the great lonely spaces—in the vast table-lands stretching from horizon to horizon over unnumbered miles of bush and scrub, their surface torn by rocky water-courses and deep gullies; in the grim expanses of desert land upon which the sun broods month after month until all verdure is burned away and the ground is cracked like the sides of a crater; or among the crags and mountains which confine these solitary and pathless wastes, their sides covered with gaunt cacti, stretching out their ugly, weird and many-jointed limbs like créatures of a goblin world.

Only leave thus the lowlands behind, and you pass into a country of unknown and unimagined character, whose fascination holds you bound as by some power of magic too strong to resist and too subtle to explain. There nature, exulting in her rude elemental strength, seems to cry aloud her scorn and defiance of all human things. For men and women, their little lives, their puny efforts and fitful passions, their ebbs and flows of the fluid and unstable thing called civilization—these all come and go, while she remains for ever, unchanged and unchanging, her own master and ours. Nor, when travelling through or living in the Karroo, must you miss the strange impelling glamour of the sky at dawn or the pyrotechny of eventide, when the sun sinks below the far horizon amid a riot of wild and weird colour, such as on canvas might be ridiculed as the whim of a distorted imagination.

All such aspects of nature, so typical of South Africa, may be seen superficially at the expense of little physical effort, though justice can only be done to them by a near and extended acquaintance. Much very fine highland scenery the traveller will see anyhow, for the railways, being unable to penetrate the mountains, have had to climb up and over them. Capetown is an ideal starting point for anyone who wishes to make a circuit of the country, and by intersecting it to visit the capitals and cities of the interior. Most travellers do, in fact, land at this handsome and cheerful city, and, glad to be on stable earth again, they usually elect to sojourn there for a time. From Capetown can be explored with ease the beauties of the Peninsula and its coast-line. The visitor will probably climb to one or more of the dozen summits of the Table Mountain if he

can, but in any event he will include in his itinerary the circuit of the gigantic mass and the famous Marine Drive, the Corniche of the country.

While, however, Capetown makes a fit vestibule for South Africa, the noble halls and rooms of the mansion lie behind. The journey north to Johannesburg introduces you at once and with ease, since railway travelling is singularly comfortable, to scenery and to aspects of life of a kind which you will see again and again in the course of your further travels, yet always with equal or greater interest. For a time nature presents herself in the softer moods. There are the fruit-growing districts of Paarl, Wellington, and the beautiful Hex Valley, among the most fecund in South Africa, where grapes, peaches, plums, and apricots are grown in great profusion. As you advance into the uplands the scenery becomes wilder, and here and there green oases on bleak hillsides recall the little "intakes" won from the moorland by hard toil in many a highland region of North and West Yorkshire.

Now your eye, turned upward to the sky-line, rests on jagged hills and crags ending in pointed summits, now on a succession of steep-sided cones with tops as flat as the Equator, that look as though their apexes had been sheared clean off with a scythe. Up in the hills there baboons and jackals thrive and multiply, the latter causing the farmer on the veld much trouble and loss. The vegetation alone proclaims this to be a sub-tropical region—witness the clumps of aromatic eucalyptus, the cacti and aloes, and various wild fruit bushes. You are entering an arid country, yet here and there at the lower levels the presence of mimosa trees and patches of green turf betokens springs, and where these are you will see farmsteads nestling amid gums and pines, citrus groves, or maize fields, their neat white or yellow walls and trim little gardens suggesting comfort and order, while near by are boreholes and windmills to work them.

A resolute farmer in a dry-land country can do much with even a borehole, but, nature assisting, he can perform miracles if a stream, even of the periodic kind, runs through his estate and he can keep a reservoir supplied by occasional inrushes of flood water. Such an arrangement makes all

the difference between five acres to a sheep or five sheep to an acre. While his neighbour's cattle are parching his own have water to drink; his furrows are irrigated where the other's have to wait for rain, which may come this month, next month, or not until too late; and from his lucerne fields he can take six or eight cuttings in a year.

Every turn of the railway's sinuous course, as it threads in and out of the valleys, ever climbing, reveals some new aspect or peculiarity of the landscape. Tracing a narrow pathway across the veld far below, and then up the slope of the opposite hill, you see a dwelling hitherto hidden and indistinguishable; it seems but a mile or two miles away, but your Dutch fellow-traveller and mentor assures you that it is not a yard less than eight or ten. So clear and transparent is the rarefied atmosphere of this mistless and sun-dried land.

At long intervals there are little settlements, and one of them is clearly growing, for you notice several Black labourers doing hodman's work for a bricklayer, who is building a rude shanty—a "poor White," you are told, and judging from the craftsmanship a very poor one. You hope dutifully that the dwelling is for himself, and not for a Rural District Council. Near these settlements are clusters of Native kraals—mean huts mud-walled and thatched, each consisting of a single room with an opening serving at once for door and window, while in the foreground the dusky figures of women of all ages and in all degrees of undress, are clustered, with a troop of bullet-headed piccanins, stark naked.

All the afternoon you have been climbing upward, ever upward, the train now threading gorges whose steep sides are covered to their crests with boulders, doubling sharp corners, darting through tunnels, now passing empty river courses and bone-dry drifts or fords; and every hour the scenery becomes more wild and more barren, nature more crude and unfinished, more South African. In some places you see on the veld a succession of ant-hills of extraordinary size. At times they are said to be as high as a man, though the largest I came across measured about three feet either way. Cut through, a section shows the structure to be honeycombed with chambers, walls, and endless passages.

Often these ant-hills are so firmly cemented that when hollowed out they serve the Natives as efficient ovens and last a long time. At last the day is nearly spent; a film of vapour draws over the land in the west and north, behind which in the far distance the mountains are seen to rise spectrally, only their sharp crests standing clear against the sky, while deepening shadows fill the near combes and hollows. Groups of Native labourers are trudging slowly kraal-ward across the veld, and as the train draws up at a wayside halt you notice a Black father who is cycling home with his naked, bulbous piccanin perched upon his knee; arrived at the door of his hut he proudly lifts the grotesque little creature to the ground and disappears with him inside.

Evening draws in; clouds fall upon the hill crests like shrouds of snow; a soft pink haze obscures the valley at your feet, and you recall the valleys of romantic Donegal at the close of a quiet summer afternoon. Soon the pink is streaked with purple and indigo as the sun sinks lower and lower: then just before its plunge below the horizon there is a sudden fierce, flame-like flare of gold, deepening to orange, rose and crimson; and after that the dark. For this sudden and abrupt transition from light to dusk, and more swiftly still from dusk to all-enveloping gloom, your sea voyage had already prepared you, but here, on land, in the region of mountains and valleys, the effect is enhanced. Now from far away on the hill-side comes the light of Kaffir fires; and the noise of laughter and jesting and the notes of the mouth harmonica tell of rude kraals whose inhabitants are gathered round the evening meal, enjoying in care-free indolence the one leisurely hour in the day which is theirs.

> "For, after all, his labour is
> What gives a poor man's food its zest,
> And makes his bed a bed of rest."

This first journey by rail will have strongly impressed the traveller with the large part which the Dutch colonists took in the early settlement of the Cape. For the greater proportion of the place-names are Dutch, and no little ingenuity has been exercised in their choice. In general topographical names are common in South Africa, and

Brackenfel, Sodendal, Welgelegen, and many names ending in "fontein" (spring), "vlei" (hollow), "spruit" (streamlet), "kloof" (ravine), and "kraal" tell their own tales. The "fontein" group is particularly large, each name a memorial of the trekking settlers' habit first of resting their oxen and later of establishing their homes in the neighbourhood of permanent water. Typical examples are Kraalfontein, Driefontein, and Vierfontein. Many names, again, are taken from fauna and flora, present or past, such as Hartebeest, Wildebeeste (chamois), Tigerkloof, Jackalspan, and Luipaardsvlei; or Orchard, Acacia, Bloemhof, Gumtree, and De Dooms. Historical episodes and figures are recalled by names like Botha, De Wet, Du Toit, Krugers, Huguenot, Glencoe, and those of many governors and administrators, Dutch and British. There are English place names by the score, like Westminster, Dover, Richmond, Nottingham, Worcester, Wigton, and Camelford, with Continental names like Utrecht, Brussels, Christiania, Frankfort, and Marseilles. Biblical names are naturally common; besides the Beth- group, which is fairly complete, there are Hebron, Hermon, Rama, and, not without significance, Mara, all names chosen doubtless for their ancient meanings. Classical names are rarer, but among others there are Hercules, Jupiter, Ceres, Pan, and Elysium; there are also oddities like Bantams, Sjambok, and Lilliput, and euphonious native names like Mahosi, Maritzani, Magopella and a hundred more; while a few witness to the Dutchman's chivalrous habit of sharing honour with his wife, Stellenbosch, Graaff-Reinet and Swellendam being compounded names having this origin.

You awake early next morning to the noise of the train still grinding on its upward way. You are above the 4,000 feet level, with far higher still to go, and downs as well as ups to negotiate by way of variation. As soon as it is sufficiently light you look out of the window, eager to gaze upon some new sight, to greet some new surprise. You are not disappointed, for an altogether different environment now confronts you. You are traversing a vast plateau, bare, desolate, and desert-like, flanked at a distance by gaunt hills on either side. You are in the Karroo, and the knowledge sends you into the mood of expectancy. "The

Karroo!" says your communicative friend of the next *coupé* when you join him later on the corridor, on better observation bent. "The Karroo!" is on everyone's lips, as though it had been discovered for the first time.

Day breaks between four and five, and the faint mist which has hung over the land now creeps slowly up the hill-sides, and lingers there for a while, as if loth to obey the invisible force which is beckoning it upward; then the sun appears above the horizon, trailing robes of glory, and the vapours pass away as before the wave of a magic wand, leaving the atmosphere golden and transparent. No song of bird has greeted the oncoming day, but far away at the base of the hills a thin column of smoke rises from a Native kraal in token that the call of duty has been heard. Work for the farmer begins early in summer time, and before five o'clock coffee-drinking is over and the whole mechanism of the farm is in full motion; out on the veld Blacks are stumping the bush, herding the sheep, or doing nothing at all in the graceful way they have of practising that art. White faces look out from the doors of wayside shielings—the homes of plate-layers, or farm foremen, maybe—as the train slowly steams by. And so for hours you follow this new landscape, already foreshadowed by its prototype of yesterday, until at Kimberley the outer western edge of the Karroo is reached, and thereafter you enter again upon the more or less normal veld of the South African highland.

What the Karroo really is, what are its characteristic features and the impressions which it makes upon the minds of oversea travellers and South Africans alike who have the Karroo taste and temperament, must be told in greater detail later. For myself the outlines, the atmosphere and spirit of that strange, sombre, austere yet singularly up-lifting landscape still haunt the memory like the plaintive chords of a Chopin Nocturne.

But the aspect of South Africa is never the same for a long time, for in scenery as in so much else this is a land of contrasts. Take as another illustration the panorama unfolded by the railway journey from Pretoria to Bloem-fontein, capital of the former Orange Free State. It is a journey of some three hundred miles; it begins and leaves you at the same high altitude of 4,500 feet; it reveals no

startling surprises; yet it carries you through very typical veld country and scenes. Much of the Free State is like parts of the Karroo, but its predominant features are the great flat stretches of grassland, for the most part almost treeless, and often parched, yet seasonally yielding excellent pasturage. The northern area is famous for its maize, the staple grain of South Africa, which here gives a higher yield to the acre than is reached in any other part of the Union.

The country through which you pass is given over to extensive grazing farms—there is no place for small holders here. Little of the land is artificially irrigated, or apparently irrigable except by borehole water, for the streams are few; but cattle and sheep roam the solitary expanses. The landscape cannot be otherwise described than as monotonous. Even the clumps of trees which rise here and there seem only the more to emphasize the mournful aspect of the surrounding veld. No place to be lost in, is this. You wonder, as the eye scans the empty country in every direction, whether you have not at last reached the veritable "back of beyond." There is nothing wrong with the soil, for it is rich and deep, and the railway track runs at times through cuttings which show fifteen feet of it; all that is wanting is water, and that lack turns potential gardens into desert.

The more one sees of this country the more he is impressed by the appalling waste that seems inherent in the cosmic scheme of things. That beneficent nature whom most men love, many dodder about, and some make poems to, after the barren time wasted in woeful ballads to their mistresses' eyebrows—how grudging and niggardly she is in some places, while so lavish and improvident in others; how futile in so many of her methods, how irrational and unconscionably foolish she can be! Talk of favouritism! —her ways are full of it. Hard mother of men—for one child that she rears with tender care, she drags up a dozen with worse than Spartan rigour. Here in South Africa she piles upon aching human shoulders a load of work and anxiety which often proves too heavy to be borne, and struggling man sinks under it. Within the Union as a whole are millions upon millions of acres of land yielding a sparse

penurious herbage, which yet with due moisture would blossom like the rose.

Nor is drought the farmer's greatest handicap, though it is the most permanent. Every now and then the locusts come and eat his crops to the ground. It was in approaching Bloemfontein that I had a first sight of a locust swarm, and it is a spectacle which must be seen if one is to understand what the visitations of these pests mean for agriculture. As the train swept on those of us who were ever on the look-out for some new thing suddenly sighted ahead a dark patch on the sky resembling a cloud of dense brown dust, and evidently moving towards us. The strangers wondered, but not so the natives of the country, for immediately the cry of "Locusts!" echoed along the corridors. It was indeed a swarm on the wing—a desolating army, seeking fresh fields for attack and conquest before nightfall. The swarm was passing at a high rate of speed, now flying so low that the undermost battalions seemed almost to touch the veld, now rising to a height of from thirty to fifty feet. The main mass took several minutes to pass, leaving a long faint cloud of straggling weaklings, those nearest to us perfectly distinguishable, to catch it up at leisure. Some onlookers estimated the length of the swarm at eight miles.

These locust swarms settle at sundown, and if attacked on the ground they may be effectively disposed of. Left alone, they will clear of verdure every yard they occupy; acres of mealies will be eaten down to the soil before flight is renewed at sunrise. The swarms usually travel with the wind, but when the air is still they are said to take an easterly direction. Woe be to you if, in motoring along the veld, you run into a low-flying swarm. You will be overwhelmed and blinded by a mass of crawling and struggling insects, and as likely as not your car will be arrested or find its way into the nearest dyke.

Returning to Bloemfontein some time later from Natal I saw a different aspect of the Free State. Beyond Bethlehem, well over the border, you are in a typically Dutch country. It is a high table-land which for two hundred miles never falls below the 5,000 feet level and reaches the maximum at nearly 6,000, dropping to 4,500 feet at Bloemfontein. Here are lovely stretches of green pasture and rich arable

land, with butts of rock on the horizon, but the region is practically treeless, like so much more of the province. It is an exceptionally healthy country, for the high summer temperature is made pleasant by the elevation, and though the winters are severe and trying I was assured that newcomers, if able to bear up until they are acclimatized, thrive and wish for no better climate. Candour requires me to add that a young Dutchman who was my fellow traveller part of the way did his best to dispel this rosy picture. He was the only son of a large farmer of the province, was studying science at one of the colleges, and was on the way to his home somewhere in the interior. We talked about agriculture, and he did not disguise his decision not to take over the paternal farm, though a prosperous career was open to him there for the mere acceptance. Life, he said, was too hard on the land; there was freedom—yes, but everybody did not love isolation with the Kaffirs; and while the summers were good enough the winters were an infliction. So, to conclude, he was well out of it. A stranger has no right to pronounce judgment in such a matter, but one cannot help reflecting that this was not the spirit of the pioneers who brought South Africa into the ways of civilization.

One of the most interesting railway runs I remember was that from the Free State to Pietermaritzburg and Durban, not in this case because it was specially suggestive of South Africa, but rather because it was not. From Johannesburg in the north it is a steady and gentle glissade for a good half of the way, except for a rapid drop between Glencoe and Ladysmith, but in the last forty miles or so before Maritzburg there is a descent of 2,200 feet, made at the rate of sixty feet a mile. All the way the train seems to indulge in a veritable gambol, negotiating sharp curves and corners with agile skill, never rashly but keeping its strength well in hand, until it finally reaches the Natal capital by a succession of leaps and bounds, in a descent which is like a cascade of motion. This descent begins an hour before you reach the city, which already you have seen at a distance of fifteen miles away when you looked southward from a point twelve hundred feet higher. A half-way house between the high veld and Durban and the Bay, Byron's well-known lines seem to describe its situation exactly:

"The mountains look on Marathon,
And Marathon looks on the sea."

Approaching Natal by this route you are impressed by the increasing freshness and fertility of the country, and even before you cross the border there comes over you that home-from-home feeling which an Englishman is apt to experience in travelling through the interior of the old duchy of Holstein. No sooner do you enter the province than the Englishry of the landscape and skies is apparent, and you understand also why Natal calls herself, and is called by the rest of the Union, the "garden province." The great sweeps of verdant country, broken by little valleys and hollows, and dotted by woodland and prosperous-looking farmsteads, the red-roofed villages, the herds of well-favoured kine grazing lazily in the pastures, the fields of waving yellow corn, the smiling gardens rich with their crops of maturing fruit—all these sights proclaim the England of Devon, of Sussex, and Kent.

Here are real trees, stalwart old fellows akin to the ages, and no longer the ubiquitous stunted mimosa characteristic of the dry Karroo. Here is real green grass, lush as mealie tops, and with the substance and softness of a pile carpet, instead of the dull drab scrub. Here is no home for the baboons and jackals of the veld upland—in these glades and dingles nymphs and fauns play, Pan tunes his pipes, and fairies dance to music never heard by human ear. It is a most delectable country, and one recalls, no longer with surprise, how irresistible was its attraction for the barbaric Zulu invaders who were wont to raid downward across the northern borders before the coming of the Pax Britannica:

"The mountain sheep were sweeter,
But the valley sheep were fatter,
So they thought it would be meeter
To carry off the latter."

To make the illusion more complete, just before I reached Pietermaritzburg on the race to the Indian Ocean, the landscape suddenly "underwent a sea change," for we ran into a bank of cloud.

As regards its European population, too, Natal is far and away the most British of the four provinces of the Union; the English form the majority, though the Scottish section

of the community is very large. Nowhere in South Africa, indeed, is the feeling of attachment to the old country so personal and intimate as here; for the colony of Natal is bone of Britain's bone and flesh of its flesh in a way and to a degree that cannot be said of the Cape Province, in whose settlement and development the Dutch race played so much larger a part.

Much of the country north of Estcourt is *terra sacra* for both British and Dutch. Names like Colenso, the Tugela, Ladysmith, Spion Kop and many more stand at the head of chapters in national and imperial history which are written in blood and tears; seldom are the little villages and hamlets hereabouts attractive, but to many of them there cling memories never to be outlived; while here and there, on the open heath, are tree-girdled enclosures within which little white gravestones rise. For you are passing here through the scenes of the last great struggle that reft in twain the European population of South Africa, yet gave to the country political unity, and made out of rival races a nation which will one day stand out strong and proudly self-conscious, the undisputed master of a great destiny.

One other delightful travel memory must be recalled, and it takes us to a part of the country which has likewise in many ways a special affinity with the homeland. One of South Africa's show places, in the better sense, is the George district, situated a little north-east of Mossel Bay, in the south of the Cape Province, and several miles from the coast. I was bidden repeatedly not to miss it, and glad I was that the injunction was heeded. It is a charming corner of the country, fair and fertile, and from the standpoint of those who love gardens and a quiet life singularly attractive, while George itself is an exceptionally select community, not in any silly snobbish sense, but none the less in a very real one. The journey to George was made from Port Elizabeth on the eastward side. A little inland from that port is the largest pineapple orchard in the country and perhaps in the world—that of Langholm, near Bathurst. It belongs to a company in which British shareholders are largely interested. Between Grahamstown and Alicedale a number of wagon loads of pineapples from this orchard were hitched to our train, and in the heat of a close and clammy afternoon

the refreshing aroma was very welcome. I visited the estate in company with a Government official and we were shown round by the manager. Some thousand acres of land are under pines, and as fruit-plucking and despatching were in full swing the spectacle was both animating and picturesque. The former operation is done by Native women and girls, and the latter solely by Native "boys," but all showed equal agility Nearly the whole of the crop, as well as pines bought from neighbouring growers, is canned at the company's well-equipped factory at Port Elizabeth. On the way to George we also passed the large fruit plantation of the Hougham-Abraham Syndicate, a section of the Great Fish River irrigation scheme, under which some 30,000 acres of land, on a river frontage of 117 miles, and now producing little, will be put under permanent water.

From Port Elizabeth to George is a distance of little more than three hundred miles, but it involves a night journey of nine hours, since the track climbs from the sea level to a height of 2,700 feet, only to drop again to zero on the other side. Before the ascent you pass through boundless tracts of country given up to the cactus and aloe, yet otherwise serving no evident purpose in the economic scheme of things beyond providing road and rail space to enable people to get away to more habitable regions. Yet the soil is rich and fertile, needing only water to be made highly productive. Oudtshoorn, the great centre of the ostrich-feather growing industry, has learned that lesson, for by the judicious conservation and distribution of all the water within reach it has established prosperous dairying and fruit industries, and has grown from being a negligible dorp into a large and handsome town.

After Oudtshoorn, which is reached in the early hours, you begin the crossing of the Outeniquas mountains by the Montagu Pass. The ascent is interesting more because of the illustrations which it affords of engineering triumphs, won in face of immense difficulties, than of the scenery, since this, though wild in parts—for we are here just on the outer southern fringe of the Karroo—is surpassed in many places. Arrived on the crest of the mountains, however, the scene changes to one of real grandeur and rugged charm. Soon George is seen, a splash of white in the distant valley,

but some miles of rocky fastnesses and a succession of deep defiles had still to be traversed before we reached the level country far beyond the town, and thence steamed backward to the station. The descent of 1,300 feet, all in the course of a dozen miles, was an unmixed joy. Mist and cloud still lay in the mountain clefts awaiting the sun's call. The track creeps its slow and wary way now along precipitous valley walls, now through cuttings in the solid rock. You are here in the primordially sublime in scenery—around you are glorious cliffs, whose sides are scarred, seamed and scoured as by titanic hands, while at your feet are dark ravines of unknown depth. Imagine the nearer peaks and prominences capped with snow, and a higher background of mountain crests rising against the sky-line, and there would be high alpine scenery at its best.

Advanced as was the season, the flora in these altitudes was beautiful to English eyes, though I was too late to see the recurrent summer glory of mountain sides red with flowers, or those arum lilies which are "mown down like bracken" of which I heard when down in the valley. It was here that I saw for the first time in South Africa real heather—great stretches of it, as it grows on the English and Scottish moorlands. At last the well-wooded plain lay stretched out before us in all its fresh beauty—a gracious vista as of a land of promise, goodly and fair, and grateful to the eye.

George, so called after the third and best of the Hanoverian succession, is claimed to be one of the most English of South African towns. Ecclesiastically it is a city, since it is the seat of a bishopric, though the one Anglican church is smaller than that of an average English village. There are other little towns of the Union—educational centres like Grahamstown, Stellenbosch, and King William's Town, for example—which may offer superior intellectual attractions, but I recall none that has in a greater degree the air of quiet dignity and perfect serenity to be found at George. Its lovely setting, genial climate, large gardens—real flower gardens, not kail patches—noble avenues of old oaks, river scenery, nearness to the sea, and not least the hospitable welcome which its British homes offer to British visitors amply establish its charm and justify its popularity. The

district around has a sub-tropical vegetation—citrus fruits and figs grow luxuriantly in the orchards—yet without the extreme heat of a sub-tropical climate, an advantage due to the tempering sea breezes. It has also a rainfall adequate to the needs of agriculture and all kinds of fruit culture, and neither frost nor hail occurs to blast the orchardist's hopes at the critical fruiting season. It is from George also that you make the delightful motor ride to the picturesque "Wilderness"—though scenery more unlike a wilderness could not be imagined—and Knysna, with its old-world beauty, its river, and its primeval forest. And the moral of this story is that the man or woman who could not live happily at George can hardly deserve to live at all.

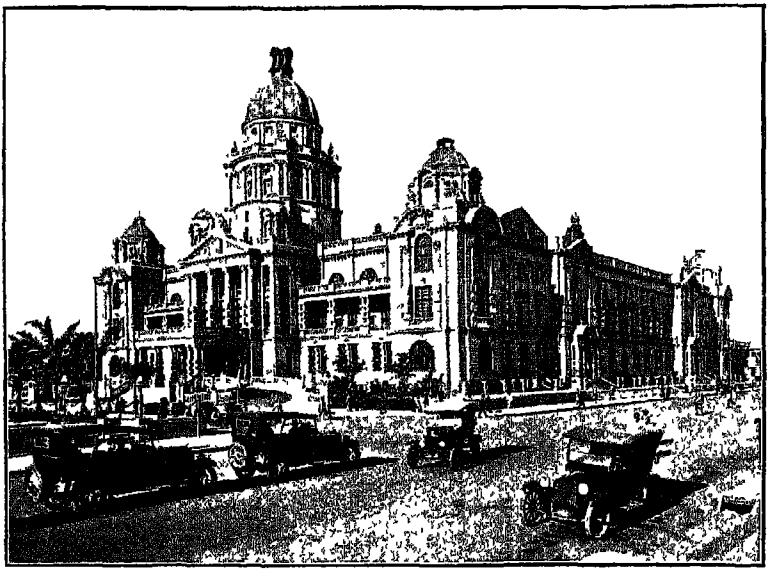
Such are some of the more typical and recurrent aspects of South African landscape. Memory pictures of the kind, however, though vivid in the mind which retains them, can give to others at best but a faint idea of the reality. To be rightly understood and appreciated South African scenery must be seen, for no words can reproduce the essence of scenery, which is ethereal. Art comes nearer to success, and for this reason it is a happy circumstance that South Africa is building up a school of gifted painters who, with a loyalty to their art no less faithful than their loyalty to their native land, are doing much to make known to the English-speaking world its scenic attractions. Mr. Gwelo Goodman may be taken as their representative, and the notable exhibition of his works which received so much deserved attention in London last summer, and later in the provinces, enabled multitudes who had never visited the country to realize in some degree the wonderful charm, the infinite variety, and with it the unique individuality of its scenery; while those who already knew the country in some measure must have found their impressions deepened and their memories quickened, and have experienced again the old thrills of delighted surprise, as they looked upon scenes visited and scenes unvisited yet known by type—upon his landscapes and sandscapes, his sea vistas and rock pieces, his old Dutch houses and gardens and courtyards, where sunshine and shadow, playing hide and seek among leafy trees and high gables, make an exquisite chiaroscuro.

I do not pretend to have seen all Mr. Goodman's colours

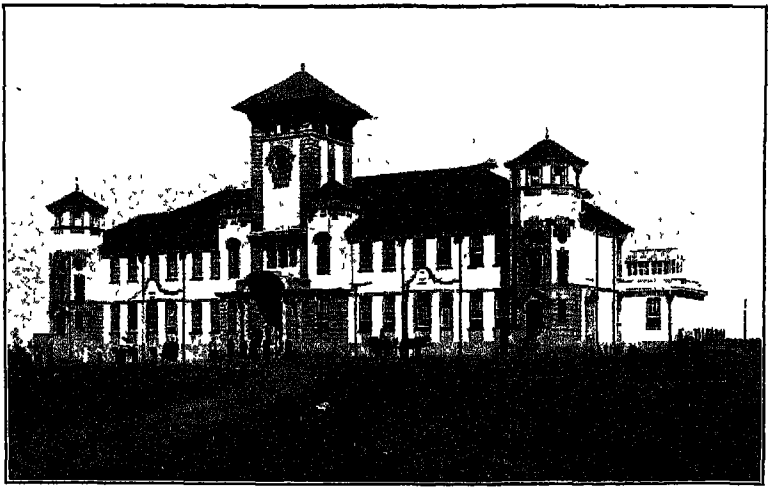
in such intensity—the Böcklin-like ultramarines of his water and skies, the vivid greens of his trees and lawns, the burning reds of his roofs ,and the fiery radiance of his marvellous sun effects, but I am very sure that he has; and for my misfortune I humbly accept the rebuke administered once in similar circumstances to an incredulous critic by Turner—was it Turner, or the other fellow?—"Don't you wish you had?" For if at times his colours seem to run riot on the canvas, it is because they do the same in nature, the supreme rebel, who imposes law upon us human creatures inexorably, yet herself knows no rule.

If without impertinence I dare give Goodman a hint, it is that he should keep to variety, and not be tempted to specialize on any one feature of South African landscape, for that way lies often the risk of mere mechanical portraiture or picture-manufacturing of the monotonous replica order. Besides his wonderful knowledge of and true eye for colour—colour in nature and the colour and mixing of pigments—his art has a singularly wide range, so that for choice of subjects the entire phantasmagoria of the sub-continent is before him. Above all, when indiscriminate admirers describe him as either "a" or "the" "painter of Empire" let him turn away from temptation and refuse to paralyse his art by responding to political flattery, which is cheap and often nasty. The empire of art is of the spirit and of the heart.

In thus singling out a few aspects of South African landscape which seemed to me specially true to type, nothing could be further from my mind than to create the impression that all the scenery is of this sort and that nothing else is deserving of attention. So far is that from being the case that if the visitor to South Africa travels solely for scenery and plenty of it, he has simply to pick and choose at will from an inexhaustible repertory. If, for example, he is a mountaineer, and has time and has made preparations for adventures far afield under all sorts of primitive conditions, he will seek the Drakensberg, dividing Natal from Basutoland and the Orange Free State on the west. Here are the high alps of the sub-continent, three peaks being over 10,000 feet, viz., Giant's Castle, Cathkin Peak, and Mont-aux-Sources, and presenting opportunities worthy of the



DURBAN TOWN HALL



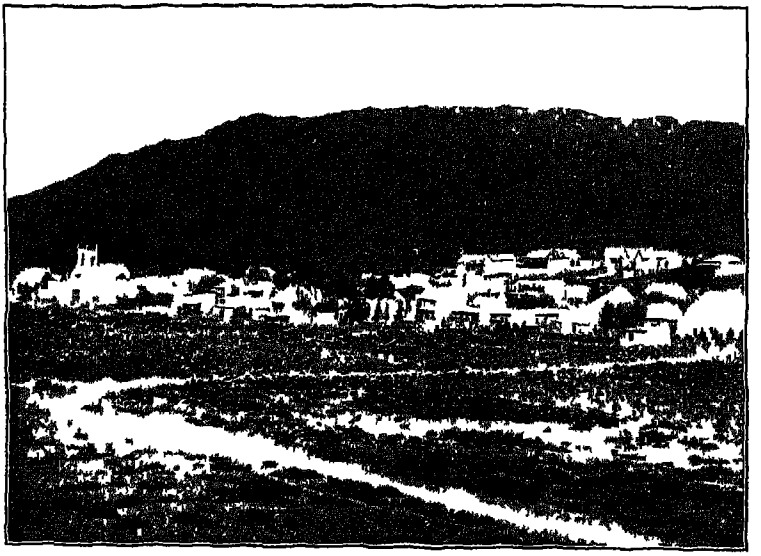
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most intrepid climber. The cragsman pure and simple has a wide choice in the western part of the Cape Province, and small-scale climbs are practicable in the Karroo *passim*. Occasionally in the winter even the devotee of alpine sports can, with the aid of a motor-car, live within easy reach of tracts of ice and snow, and freely indulge his passion, whether it be that of the valorous rock scrambler or the mere tobogganer. For such travellers, and all who are concerned to see identical sights and repeat identical experiences in every country they visit, guidance is offered in abundance in the official guide-books, and to these they are referred.

By way of further capitulation to the tourist and holiday-maker let me remark that the country offers special attractions to the motorist, whose medium of locomotion enables him to see the best scenery accessible more conveniently and expeditiously than is possible in any other way, and opens to him districts which are altogether closed to most other travellers. One advantage in the motorist's favour is that South Africa has, for practical purposes, only two seasons—the wet and the dry—and that they fall broadly to the eastern and western parts of the country alternately. When rain falls in the west during the winter months, May to August, it is on the whole dry in the east and north; and when in the summer months, November to February, rain falls in the eastern and the more sub-tropical districts, the western and southern areas are enjoying their dry season. The motorist, therefore, can chase the sun at will, keeping the rain either before or behind him just as his plans require. For somewhere—and nearly everywhere—the sun is a daily and almost an hourly guest.

Sunshine and "the witchery of the soft blue sky"—these are amongst the unfailing attractions of this country, distinguishing it fundamentally and elementally from that other country, very dear but often terribly drab, where heavy leaden skies may rest upon the landscape week after week like a pall, and you never know, without consulting an illustrated calendar and changing the accompanying daily quotations from the poets, whether the season is winter, summer, autumn or spring. The motorist in South Africa will also find adventures to his heart's content.

Even the common veld roads provide an inexhaustible assortment of adventures, with possibilities of disastrous chances, accidents by flood and field, and hair-breadth escapes of all kinds; while down any one of the dozen high mountain passes he has only to scorch injudiciously in order to kill himself, with no questions asked. One of his commonest experiences will be tantalizing rather than tragic. At the close of a day's long run he may find himself in some outlandish locality, pulled up at a drift which yesterday was dry, but now is filled by a rushing torrent. As a rule, however, enquiries will discover for him a way round. This will probably mean a great loss of time, but in rural South Africa time and distance have only a relative meaning. Until the traveller, whether motorist or not, learns that lesson, he will never be able to enjoy himself as he might.



A Karroo Town Victoria West



A Kaffir Farm Middelburg District (Cape)

CHAPTER X

THE KARROO

If, visiting South Africa, you do not include the Karroo in your plan of travel you will not have really seen that country and be able to claim that you know it in any degree whatever. But what is the Karroo? The guide-books and the newspapers usually speak of it summarily as a desert, and having said that assume that all is said. Terminologically such a definition might be accepted.* To get at the real truth, however, it is necessary to go behind phrases. And first there are two Karroos, the Little or Southern and the Great or Central, with an average length of 300 and 200 miles respectively, though for present purposes they may be regarded as one. This region is thus no mere circumscribed "locality." It is a vast area, the extent of which is estimated broadly at 100,000 square miles, comprising portions of all the four provinces —the central parts of the Cape Province, much of the Orange Free State, part of the South-eastern Transvaal, and the western side of Natal. England, Wales, Scotland, and Holland could all go into the Karroo and there would still be something over.

This region comprises some of the great plains of South Africa—high plains, for their altitude ranges from 2,000 to 5,000 feet—yet its configuration presents a wide variety of feature, and one part may be utterly dissimilar from another. The traveller may form a good impression of the broad aspects of the Karroo, though not of details, and still less of its atmosphere and spirit, by observation from the train as it leisurely and stertorously drags itself up gradients of one in twenty-five or thirty at the rate of three miles an hour (when it races down on the other side of the mountain range it is another matter). He will be

* The word "Karroo" is said to have been originally a general term, used by the Hottentots, meaning "dry" or "arid," but gradually it has come to connote several regions to which this description particularly applies.

more fortunate, however, if he is able to settle for a time in one of the comfortable hotels which are to be found in all the little towns of the Karroo, making daily excursions on the veld by motor-car as the spirit moves him, for walking is out of question on account of the distances and in the summer months of the heat; and this was what I did. Let me try to communicate the result for the benefit of those who hitherto have not had this advantage, in the hope that the same enjoyment will be theirs one day.

It is impossible to picture the Karroo by means of any comparison with the landscapes to which English eyes are habituated. For comparison presupposes some degree of similarity, and here there is little in common between the two except that they have the same sun and seasons, though in different power in one case and in different order in the other. Take one aspect only. Picture vast stretches of flat country, bounded on the far horizon in every direction by eminences, ranging from what appear to be mere *kopjes* (hillocks) to real mountains, with every imaginable variety of shape, throwing many a shadow over the weary land. Sometimes the hill-sides are soft in outline, and verdant with grasses, but more commonly they are steep and rocky, here and there broken by cavernous recesses, or by deep gaps leading into smaller lateral valleys. Often the pointed and isolated *kopjes* forcibly recall the tor-land of Devon, just as the bolder landscape suggests the fell-land of Westmorland and Cumberland, for there are the same broken summits, the same sharp jagged outlines, the same valleys and ravines, the same precipitous escarpments, the same deep gullies bored out by tumultuous waters in flood time.

Yet even such local comparisons, tenable within limits, are warped by the fact that nature built the Karroo on a larger and lordlier scale. Moreover, in these rocks are neither wild goats nor conies, but plenty of baboons and jackals, with now and then leopards (loosely called by the Dutch tigers), worst enemies of the flocks, though they have also a partiality for baboons and lesser wild life. Walking on the "tops" has a new meaning when you might follow the hill and mountain crests for days and weeks together, always provided you were prepared to camp out

for much of the time, trusting your luck for food and other base material comforts.

They are wonderfully impressive, these bold aspects of nature, wild, untamed, challenging, as though the spirit of the Karroo were crying out in defiance, "Take me as I am, for so and not otherwise I was meant to be!" Those who want mere prettiness and daintiness will not find it here, for nature has had no time for such things; while the "finished and finite clod, untroubled by a spark," who for the first time sees the Karroo in its three dimensions of space, silence, and solitude, will vote it a nightmare and will not recover his equanimity until he has dined.

Owing to the contour of the land the trains, as already explained, climb into the uplands along great spiral tracks, so that much of the finest and wildest scenery of the Karroo may be seen quite comfortably from your carriage window. Often the track has been cut out of solid rock, not only to reduce distance, but to evade deep ravines, which would have been bridgable only, if at all, with difficulty and at enormous expense. Then, may be, with a sudden turn of the line there come into view glimpses of the solitary veld below, where silence broods undisturbed by human habitations. At times the soft rock, disintegrated by the influence of frost and rain, falls into regular blocks, as though hewn out of the quarry, and takes the similitude of high walls and pinnacles. In some places the rivers pour through great gorges (poorts) into the valleys at flood time with overwhelming violence, and here the scenery is often doubly wild and romantic. Or you may enter a vast amphitheatre, formed by the steeply sloping hills, covered to their shaggy brows with cactus, giving them at a distance the appearance of the terraced vineyards of the Rhine or Moselle. Little snow falls during the South African winter as a rule, but they tell you that it is otherwise in the higher parts of the bleak Karroo, and that there, in severe seasons, the snow drifts at times as high as the railway carriage floors.

Just as characteristic in its way is the scenery of the Karroo veld. The dull grey bush land may seem to be dead flat for a hundred miles in one direction and anything from ten to twenty in another. Viewing it at close quarters, however, you see how its surface is broken by dongas, spruits, and

drifts, and here and there are holes like great peat pits, or, again, sand-lined hollows which in remote times were lakes and ponds, now for ever dried up, and known as "pans." It is the plain that reveals the tragedy of the Karroo, which is its aridity. There the sun is lord and master for almost the whole of the year, and when rain comes at long intervals it usually falls in such torrents that the water pours at once from the hard-baked ground into fissures and gullies, and, carried thence into the stream-courses, is rushed away to the sea, often leaving the soil barely moistened.

Irrigation on a small scale by means of borehole and flood water does much for agriculture in the more favourable parts of the Karroo, but soil erosion and the rapid run-off of the rain make a state of drought more or less perennial. Nevertheless, little oases abound, and always seem to come into view at the right moment, just when the sight of barrenness and desolation threatens to oppress both eye and mind. It may be only a clump of pepper trees and a fringe of verdure outside, betokening the presence of a spring, or, maybe, a little farmstead nestling in its zareba of gum or fir trees, with a borehole, an orchard, perhaps of citrus, and a mealie patch hard by, and round all a strong wire fence for the protection of the stock and poultry against nightly depredators. But in either case the relief is welcome, if only for the variety which it brings to the otherwise sombre picture. Water, let me say here, can as a rule be found at a depth of fifty feet, having in that case to be pumped thirty feet or more to the surface.

If you are motoring leisurely on the veld you will now and then stop before a flock of ostriches. Just as inquisitive as you, the proud birds will throw a quick glance at you from their black, lustrous, uncanny eyes, then perhaps turn away in supercilious unconcern, in token that you are undeserving of further notice. It is unnecessary to speak here of ostrich life in general, for natural history books do it better; but bearing in mind a recent controversy in scientific and unscientific circles, let me say that though in the course of my travels I saw countless flocks of ostriches, in paddock and on open veld, not one bird obliged me by burying his head in the sand, though there was usually an abundance at his disposal, and I am inclined to think that the timorous,

head-hiding ostrich no more exists than snakes in Ireland. Whoever saw a shy ostrich? And as for courage, whoever knew a craven one? In the wastes of its natural African habitat the bird may on occasion hide his head with a view to lessening the discomfort of passing sand storms, and perhaps it is this spectacle that has given rise to a tradition of the truth of which clear confirmation does not yet appear to be forthcoming.

What I did see in South Africa, though only once, was the interesting spectacle of a male ostrich "challenging." I was being shown the ostrich paddocks of a large Karroo farm. We were outside the strong wire fence, and my companion, the farmer, drew my attention to a big bird whose wrath evidently was gradually rising. It stalked to and fro, nearing the fence as if wishful to disperse us, but withdrawing when it found its progress arrested; the great flat paws, with which the ostrich can kill a man, rose and then fell heavily; while all the time the irate animal held us with its glittering eye. Then suddenly it threw itself upon the ground, and began to make contortions with its long neck, the speed increasing every moment. It is the ostrich's way of working itself into a combative mood, and one called to mind the gyrations of the dancing dervish. So violent were these spiral movements that one might have expected to see the neck, powerful though it is, put out of joint.

Having attained the necessary degree of fury, the bird leaped to its feet again, but finding its fell purpose defeated by the wire fence it soon turned away in disgust, and joined the main body of the flock. My friend hazarded the opinion that the "challenge" is really a chivalrous characteristic of the ostrich, and is meant to give his enemy time to get out of the way. That generous view I could not endorse, but the opportunity of observing the curious habit was well worth the time spent in viewing the performance under a grilling midday sun. When the ostrich is in dangerous mood like that there is only one way of mastering him, and that is by catching his neck in a forked stick, when he becomes helpless as a babe.

That summer, as I have said, was one of terrible drought, and it proved decimating to flocks of ostriches left to graze

unwatered and uncared for on the open veld of the Karroo. Wherever possible the wretched birds cowered under shrubs out of the way of the fierce sun, but in the course of any day's ride dozens of skeletons were visible from the road, and the number out of sight can only be conjectured. One could but think that the birds would have been kept alive somehow if they had been more valuable.

And yet, in spite of its aridity, on a nearer view you see the Karroo to be the home of a prolific vegetation of sorts. For the soil which is too dry to sustain grass, needing as it does moisture both above and just below the surface, supports a profusion of flowering bush and shrub, often pleasantly aromatic, which are excellent substitutes, and redeem the reputation of the Karroo from utter reprobation in the eyes of the agriculturist. Striking its roots deep into the ground, this growth hunts for water until it is found, and drawing upward a steady supply it is able to retain life, and even a certain degree of succulence, in the worst years of drought, and if seldom entirely fails the stock. Its recuperative power is almost incredible. When the drought is long protracted it dries up, looks like withered stalks and twigs, and to all appearance is dead. But this is only one of nature's feints. No sooner does rain fall than the vegetation revives as by magic and the whole veld awakens to new life. So essentially is bush the natural growth of the Karroo in its arid state that where the land is systematically flooded the bush is said to die down, and in its place there springs a luxuriant and nutritious seed grass, enabling far more sheep to pasture on the same area.

The larger vegetation of the Karroo is prolific and varied. The bushy, yellow-flowering mimosa claims precedence everywhere, except where the prickly pear has set its aggressive foot, for the presence of this cactus means sooner or later death to most other forms of vegetation; and there are stately aloes by the hundred thousand. The latter throw up huge flower stems which may be anything from ten to fifteen feet high and as thick as either a broomstick or a telegraph pole, tapering gradually towards the top. At the end of the stem are trusses of yellow flowers which the cattle eat with avidity but would fain see at a more accessible level.

The prickly pear, which covers the hill-sides mile on mile, may be described as the bracken of the Karroo and at a distance it might be mistaken for such if you have not made a nearer acquaintance with it. It thrives on the most arid soil and is almost impossible to kill. So prolific is it that planting is unnecessary: a leaf falls to the ground and takes root without attention of any kind. In Australia it is said to have overrun and ruined millions of acres of otherwise useful land. In South Africa it used to be regarded as a nuisance, though hardly a danger, and it has hitherto been possible to check its inroads. Of late, however, its utility as a food for stock has been proved. When of mature growth it bears a profusion of fruit, in clusters of long fleshy pods, which are ripe when yellow, following pretty flowers, yellow or pink. The fruit is vitiated by the large quantity of pips which it contains, while even more objectionable to the unaccustomed European are the minute hairs which cover the stems, leaves, and fruit pods, and cling to and penetrate the skin with but the slightest contact, and are difficult to extract. The Natives gather the fruit in panniers for use as food, and where it grows on a large scale it is a common complaint that so long as this resource lasts they reduce work to a minimum, or discontinue it altogether. Another use to which they put the fruit is the brewing of an intoxicating beer.

Perhaps no wonder in nature, which is all wonder, is greater than the contrast between the veld of the Karroo in drought and after the eagerly hoped-for rain has drawn out of the sullen, dried bush its hidden radiance. I have witnessed this magical change, incredible until you have actually seen the miracle happen. The time of my first sojourn on the Karroo was the fag-end of a drought almost unprecedented for duration; the farmers were in despair, the stock in many parts was at the last gasp; the bones of famished ostriches lay in little heaps blanching in the sun all over the veld, and the country looked utterly desolate and dead, except near the stream beds and water holes. No rain fell to the last hour of my stay, though the wind then changed and once or twice the sky became overcast—welcome signs to men who had almost lost hope. Several days later the drought broke in the usual violent

way; in the course of a few hours there were downpours which made up in volume for the lack of many long months. In passing through part of the country a little later I saw the veld a picture of beauty, for the whole plain was covered with flowers of exquisite hue—purple, white, carmine, yellow, for every kind of bush has its distinctive flower, glowing bright upon a carpet of green. The music of running water came up from the river beds, the mountain-sides glistened like silver, the sheep paths had given place to rivulets, quickly come and as quickly gone, kraals stood in morasses, and the roads were puddles, but nature exulted, revived and refreshed.

It is also a peculiarity of Karroo vegetation that often when the grass and bush of the veld have been dried or eaten up there is still food on the hill-tops. A farmer told me how he remembered as a youth working with his father through a livelong Christmas day carrying in their arms exhausted sheep from the arid plain to that higher ground, where grass was still to be found, and how a day in unlooked for plenty set the poor animals on their feet again.

By the sweat of his brow must the land man work and live. That is the text preached by nature everywhere, and nowhere more forcibly than in South Africa. The lesson has been learned in the Karroo, as in many other parts of the country, and in spite of all its aridity and empty spaces there is to-day much life there. Many settlements have been established in the region, and have developed in course of time into thriving communities. As a rule they will be found near the beds of rivers, whose water, when it is there, is used for irrigation and for domestic needs, so making the locality habitable and bringing under cultivation, as arable and lucerne land, market and flower gardens, large areas which formerly lay waste.

More and more irrigation, by the aid of large conservation reservoirs, is proving a Philosopher's Stone which in these regions is literally turning the dry, barren soil into gold, to the enrichment of the cultivator and through him of the community. These reservoirs are usually made by throwing concrete-built barrages or dams across river-carrying valleys in the hills, so as to impound the water to such an extent as the lie of the ground allows or the needs of the land to

be irrigated require. Already a number of works of this kind have been carried out by the Government in the Karroo, bringing into cultivation scores of thousands of acres of dry land and increasing its value, ten, twenty, and fifty fold, and new schemes are constantly being undertaken.

The soil of the Karroo, being a rich alluvial deposit, is, in fact, one of the most fertile in the country, and when systematically watered it produces crops of all kinds beyond the wildest dreams of the European agriculturist or fruit-grower. It is an exercise in credulity to witness the change which can be wrought on Karroo land by irrigation. Several times I have let the car deflect from the highway—if for courtesy's sake one may so call the rough veld road—and leaving behind for a while the endless expanse of blistering sand and pathless bush land, where no green thing, neither tree nor grass, was visible; yet entering a farmyard away down an aloe-lined by-road, I have stood within five minutes in the midst of orange trees laden with young fruits, and still a few ripe ones, nearly as large as melons, the remnant of last season's crop; while a few steps further, over the wire fence, have brought me into a vineyard where the berries hung in heavy black clusters, lusciously ripe and tempting to eye and taste. Many a small fruit grower on the Karroo, in fact, is able to make a satisfactory livelihood by a holding of several acres of good irrigated land. Such land, if well situated as to transport and social conditions is decidedly valuable, and may be cheap if bought at £100 or even more an acre. Geologists say that several hundreds of years ago the Karroo was a vast flower garden, and such it may become again under adequate irrigation.

Native life also can be viewed in various aspects in this region, where the kraal and its black occupants are in a natural setting. As you motor along the veld ways you can see at any hour of the day dusky hinds, indifferent to the fierce sun, tending their black-headed Persian sheep near sheltering mimosa trees. Now and then a tall, stalwart "boy," tramping in search of work, or getting away from it, passes you on the road, with a pan and a bag of mealie meal slung over his shoulders, and invariably with a big stick or knobkerry, which is his comfort as well as his stay.

Such is all the baggage these care-free and wantless fellows need for a journey, for at night they just lie out on the veld, and when the mealie diet becomes stale there are prickly pears for a change.

As you approach a cluster of kraals a group of naked children, surprised in their inactive and listless play, disperse at sight of the car, fearing where no fear was, and scamper in the direction of the nearest open doors. Women and girls promptly swarm out of the huts, and you wonder how they pass the long day. It cannot be in household duties, for these must be few where there are no floors to sweep, or windows to clean, or furniture to dust, and where so little preparation is needed for the evening meal when the men return home at close of day. Perhaps you cease to wonder when you come to a spruit hard by, for there you will be sure to find a bevy of Native women washing clothes. Where water of any kind, clean or dirty, either runs or stands these women seem always to be washing, and you feel inclined at times to ask what they wash and whether they wash it every day. For their men folk wear little clothing, their own attire is still more exiguous, and neither shows intimate acquaintance—to put it mildly—with lye and water (soap is dear and out of the question).

Or, again, no scene is more typical or picturesque than a string of Native women and girls trudging from market dorp to kraal, carrying on their heads, in bundle, basket, or other receptacle, loads of food and goods. Motoring one day along a hot, dusty apology for a road, far from the railway or any White community, we passed a string of half a dozen such women, who were said to be Zulus, and very handsome they were physically. The meagre attire of a short skirt brought into view the contour, symmetry, and rich colouring of their bodies, the lissomeness and delicate moulding of their limbs, and their perfect grace of movement. Tall, erect, with the suppleness of saplings, their deportment had a natural gracefulness and dignity to gain the like of which for her daughters many a European mother of the socially ambitious sort would gladly pay uncounted guineas to fashionable academies of deportment.

The Bantu women are born so, and their erect and stately gait is attributed to the immemorial practice of poising their

burdens on their heads. I accept the explanation with the remark that the weight which such a woman is able to carry in that position is amazing. One load I saw consisted of a large roll of matting, a bundle of clothing, that might have been the week's washing of a small family, with a tin pail hanging down on one side as a make-weight. Not only so, but this woman was running to catch a train. One of the Zulu women named above carried, in addition to the load on her head, a piccanin slung to her neck and waist in a shawl, the usual Native substitute for a perambulator. Occasionally you see black infants carried in this way by diminutive brothers or sisters who themselves can have but lately outgrown the perambulator stage. Here let me say that no clean-minded observer can fail to be impressed by the modesty and evident self-respect of the Native women; I can speak only as I have seen them, and throughout my journeyings I never witnessed on the part of one such woman any act or gesture suggestive of indelicacy.

On another occasion you may for variety meet or pass long spans of oxen or donkeys, ten to sixteen in number, drawing heavy lorries laden with timber and other merchandise, the Native driver walking alongside the team, cracking his long hide whip at intervals. Perhaps it is noon, and as you reach a ford you see that a "poor White" waggoner has outspanned his oxen, who are wading in the shallow pools, while beneath a shady tree he and his black "boys" are refreshing themselves—naturally apart—on biltong, bread, and pans of often-brewed tea, boiling on fires of wood.

What one misses in the Karroo, for all its singular charm, is the song of birds. You come across heavy guinea fowl, quails, wide-winged "go-away" birds, and woodland and veld birds which emit all sorts of unmusical calls unfamiliar to English ears, but not once did I hear melody from blithe spirits of the air such as haunt our English woodlands and gardens. Chancing once to remark to my Dutch driver on the absence of song birds, he demurred, and seemed to take my words as conveying a personal affront. Then a moment later he exclaimed triumphantly, "Hear that!" From a long distance across the valley came a mournful note that sounded suspiciously like that of a corncrake.

Very remarkable are the wonderful clearness and limpidity of the atmosphere and the magical tricks of colouring which sun and cloud play on mountain side and veld at dawn and again at eventide. The rarity of the air upsets one's ideas of distance. Everyone who has traversed snowfields in the high Alps has had experience of this illusion, but never have I been so far out in my guesses at distance as in the Karroo. You see mountain ranges on the horizon, and you surmise that they may be at three or four miles away, or half a dozen, to be liberal; but your companion the driver, who knows, assures you that they are twenty. Yet every feature of the far landscape is as clear and distinct as the lines of a die, only seen in miniature. From the summit of the Compassberg, a 7,800 feet high peak forming part of the Schneeuwberg range, rising to the north of Graaff-Reinet, there is a great view extending over hill and veld to the Cockscomb, near Uitenhage, in the south of the province, some twenty miles from the coast. The naked eye can bridge this astounding range of nearly 150 miles.

It is to some rare quality of the atmosphere that must be attributed the remarkable colour effects visible in the Karroo. One must live in that region, and wander over it day by day, in order to understand how little we ordinary travellers, laymen in art matters, know about colour in nature, and the lesson is a wholesome one. Sunrise, noontide and evening all have their special beauty, unlike anything known even in the most northerly part of the British Islands, though the skyscapes of the Scottish Highlands, which at times approach in their vivid colours and fantastic effects those of the Arctic Ultima Thule, afford the nearest basis for comparison. For sunshine is almost perpetual in the Karroo; seldom do the mornings open cloudy except in the rainy season; and the mist which often lies in the hollows overnight vanishes with the first appearance of the sun above the hill-tops.

Already has begun that amazing play of colour which invariably fascinates those who visit this region from Europe. As the day grows the landscape takes on ever new aspects. At high noon, when the air vibrates with the stifling heat, the sun paints with a rich orange the sandy veld, and draws out of the dormant bush its olive and



JOHANNESBURG TOWN HALL

russet-brown. I recall how once at that hour, on a heavy day of December, the hills rising behind a vast expanse of flat veld, covered with yellow-flowering shrub, were suddenly bathed in a delicate haze coloured with the purple of Scottish moorland heather, worthy of an Emperor's mantle, the combination of the two colours producing a fantastic yet entrancing effect. At such a time you forget the barrenness around you, or rather you see it transfigured and idealized.

Beauty reaches the sublime as evening draws in, and the sun, still regal in his decline, sinks amid an indescribable radiance of colouring, pink deepening to rose and rose to flaming orange and scarlet, while the ever-visible mountain masses are blurs of deep purple, their soft, dreamy lines strangely unlike the jagged edges which stood out against the sky in sharp relief a few hours before.

Just once, in the early afternoon, I was fortunate enough to see perhaps the most interesting sight presented by the Karroo and landscapes of the same kind in South Africa. Away across the plain, just where the land began to slope upward towards the horizon, there lay upon the dull, drab waste what seemed to be a sheet of blue water. The contrast of colour was too great to be mistaken: it was a mirage.

Such and of such sort are the scenes and memories which the thought of the Karroo suggests to one who has succumbed to its glamour and wizardry, and as the mind recalls them and the moods which they bring, when

> "Our noisy years seem moments in the being
> Of the eternal silence,"

the dream-pictures seem to become instinct with reality; you know that they reflect true experiences, that belong to the woof and weft of your life, and are of that better part which cannot be taken away.

Unnumbered years ago, some time in last century, I heard Fridtjof Nansen when he came to England for the first time, in order to tell new and more thrilling chapters of the heroic Arctic story, and I still remember the ardour with which he told how he "longed back" to the austere but bewitching Far North. The same "longing back" will hardly fail to come in later days to those who visit the Karroo, provided they are able to appreciate the *genius loci*.

If, however, they have no feeling for the sublime and elemental in nature they had better keep away, for the Karroo will make them unhappy. In going through my note-books of travel I have often smiled at the constant recurrence of the word "Karroo." I saw as much as was possible of that strange, haunting region in many places, yet while not enough to know it intimately—though for a European ever to claim so much would be impertinent—it was enough to add another willing victim to its subtle spell, to leave him with a hankering to go back and see and feel everything over again, albeit a desire tempered by a secret fear, remembering that the great uplifting moments of life are seldom repeated in their first intensity.

There will be people to the end of time who will persist in identifying the Karroo only with loneliness and desolation, and from their standpoint they will be right. But for the nature-lover there is in that region of barren veld, wild mountains, and chaotic rocks less loneliness than in a London crowd, and less desolation, even with the squalor of the Kaffir kraals thrown in, than in a Lancashire town slum. Sentiment, you may say—mere sentiment? Yet even if the impeachment be true, and if it be true also that no man can live on sentiment, it is no less true that sentiment adds enormously to the interest and value of life, which without it would have no more attraction and hardly more meaning for the mass of mankind than a complicated logarithm.

Tastes differ in scenery as in most other things, and because a man can only see and judge the world with his own eyes he can never know exactly how it may appear to others. Hence it might have been rash to speak of the Karroo as warmly as I have done had I not met again and again in the course of my travels people to whom it made the same appeal. Two in particular I recall, and both were cultured women, one who both painted Karroo drawings and sold them successfully, the other just a lover of this good world. With the latter I had been exchanging impressions in her Johannesburg home, and, remembering how this region is at times misunderstood and misjudged, I came eventually to the inevitable question: "And what do you think of the Karroo?" Her face lit up as for answer she took me into

an adjoining room, where upon the walls hung water colours of just such wonderful scenery as I had recently seen. Later I saw some Karroo oil paintings, but I hazard the opinion that water colour is a more natural and effective medium for the presentation of Karroo landscape.

There is a school in a Karroo town which has taken as its motto "Animos colles confirment" ("May the hills strengthen our minds.") I like that motto, and admire the taste of those who chose it; for there is only one thing in nature nobler than a hill, and it is a mountain. South Africa will never go wrong so long as its youth loves the hills and mountains and looks to them for help. For there, as here and everywhere, they are the spirit's true sanctuaries.

CHAPTER XI

CITIES AND TOWNS

To visit a young country like South Africa from England is like dropping upon Brighton or Eastbourne after wandering amid the ruined castles, priories, and moated manor houses of the Normanized hinterland. There are not, because there cannot be, any memorials of a distant past, as age counts in an older country and civilization. The Castle at Capetown, probably the oldest of all, quaint little forts like those of Durban, Bloemfontein, and Grahamstown, the delightful early Dutch homesteads with their tall gables and high-pitched roofs, and other buildings with historical associations, notable as they are as landmarks, are, after all, survivals of but yesterday. So the archæologist will do well to remember that not here can his passion be gratified, and that he will have to direct his attention to other interests, of which indeed there is nowhere any lack.

Modern though all are, however, the cities and towns have many features worthy of note and some of imitation. The usual "lay-out" of the streets and building blocks, to-day as in the past, is rectangular, and whether you like it or not it has justification in Dutch tradition; while it must be admitted that a town which has been formally planned in straight lines cannot at once change over to curves, even if it had the wish, as South African towns clearly have not as yet. Queenstown, in the Cape Province, is a notable exception, for it is laid out in hexagonal form, main roads radiating from each of the six sides of the central market square. It is said that the arrangement was adopted as a precaution against sudden Native raids. A custom likewise brought over from Holland is that of planting the streets and the main roads converging on the towns, often converting them into noble avenues of cypress, oak, gum, poplar, and other well-grown trees.

An outstanding feature of both large and small towns, adding greatly to their appearance, is the high quality of their public buildings. These are, as a rule, planned on bold, dignified, and often stately lines, betokening a local pride

and a spirit of emulation and enterprise which mean much for civic progress. The Town Halls of Capetown, Durban, and Johannesburg are the more remarkable since, unlike the imposing Town Halls of some towns, which served State purposes in the past, they have been built at the sole cost of the municipalities. Even the smallest of towns make it a point of honour to house their administrations and centralize their public life in beautiful and costly buildings, though efficient sewerage, good water supply, and perhaps other needs, with us regarded as more pressing, may in some cases have to wait as a result. An English town must be large indeed to boast of a Town Hall comparable in parts with those of Graaff-Reinet (Cape), Ladysmith (Natal), and Newcastle (Natal), with their rate-paying (i.e., European) populations of from five to two thousand. The buildings devoted to State purposes are naturally in keeping, though in its stations the Railway Administration does not always show the enterprise characteristic of it in so many other directions.

Statues and monuments commemorating national heroes, Boer and British, with wars and other historical episodes, are common even in small towns. The final defeat and destruction of the famous Zulu warrior Dingaan is thus commemorated in many places, while of the last Anglo-Boer war the two races have not infrequently separate memorials.

The streets in general are sufficiently wide, and herein there has been little lack of foresight, while in the larger towns there is much good paving, though it is perhaps singular that in a sub-tropical country, where sun glare is apt to try the eyes severely, there should be an apparent preference for the use of light-coloured stone or composition for the footways. Often there are arcades which afford welcome shelter at once from the hot summer sun and the torrential downpours of the rainy seasons. There are plenty of spacious squares, and every town has one central square, often dominated by the Dutch Reformed Church, which, if modern, is sure to be a fine building of handsome proportions.

On the other hand, it must strike a visitor as anomalous that having, as will be shown later, so much land at disposal, many municipalities should not have planned their towns on more generous and imaginative lines. There has really been no systematic planning of any kind, unless building

streets mechanically in monotonous rows, chess-board fashion, always adding further rows as more houses are needed, can be called planning. Only in recent years has the zone system been introduced here and there on a tentative scale.

Capetown, so attractive in many ways, is yet a flagrant illustration of a city, commanding one of the most beautiful sites in the world, which has been built regardless of any rational principle, being allowed simply to grow as and where it would. Whether it be the fault of past city fathers or architects, or both, great opportunities have been lost for ever owing to the want of imagination and the artistic eye which would have seen in the lower reaches of Table Mountain magnificent scope for plan and design. As it is, estate developers and builders have been allowed to carry up the terrific slope long straight roads, with never a break, and to run therefrom absurd little arteries right and left, like adits shot into a hill-side. Any wise regard for æsthetic considerations, not to speak of convenience of access and the economical use of the ground, would have suggested the method of Durban in the planning of its beautiful Berea, or that which Johannesburg has adopted with so much success in the laying out of suburban areas with equally awkward gradients. Apart from the general ugliness of straight lines, which nature abhors, roads following bold, sweeping curves would have allowed of the planning of the mountain side as a complete unity, to the great advantage of the landscape and the obvious comfort of those living or having business to transact upon the sharp inclines.

Capetown has architectural defects of other kinds. A famous hyper-æsthete used to say that flowers should not be arranged but allowed to "occur," and that is how houses have hitherto been built in this noble city. Even now speculative and private builders seem to dump their bungalows as and where they like, with no regard for the *tout ensemble* of the place, or for other builders who will come after them. One result is that Capetown has already unsightly and squalid districts which look suspiciously like slums, and are indeed so called, though slum is a word which should never have been allowed admission into the vocabulary of South African local government. I read while there an apologist's plea that there are far worse slums in

many English towns than in Capetown. But in Capetown there exists no excuse for slums at all. Its very situation was nature's solemn call to the town builders of the past to do and allow nothing base or mean that could spoil her wonderful handiwork.

It must be said to the credit of many towns that they show great enterprise in making the most of their scenic advantages. Where a town is embowered amid wooded hills the Mountain Drive, often a difficult and costly piece of engineering work, is a common feature. Johannesburg has its Munro Drive instead, while Capetown has, in addition to a Mountain Drive, a Marine Drive—a hundred-mile revel of mingled grandeur and beauty of mountain and woodland, cliff and coastline, river and sea.

One of the greatest charms of South Africa are its delightful small towns, of which our own country has no true counterpart. There is a whole galaxy of them—quiet, select, and dignified, offering, in spite of their limited populations of a few or only several thousands of Whites, conveniences and amenities, both social and cultural, such as would only be expected in English towns of large size, and often do not exist in these. If as illustrations I mention particularly Grahamstown and King William's Town, it is because they are famous educational centres, and are strongly British in population. Grahamstown, called "the city of saints," possibly because its churches and schools have between them ten or a dozen saints as patrons, is almost equally divided between English and Scots, for there are few Dutch, and a municipal official told me that he did not receive a Dutch letter once in twelve months. Built in that casual, higgledy-piggledy, orderly-disordered way in which we delight in the home country, the very sight of it convinces an Englishman that here he will be among his own people. The situation is beautiful, for tree-covered hills surround it, and on every hand are gardens and orchards. Here also, for exception, the spacious main street, like an old-fashioned English "town gate," is dominated by the Anglican cathedral.

Often these little towns are the business centres of large agricultural districts, and an early morning market for the sale of the farm produce is almost invariable, greatly

to the advantage of the residents, who are thus able to obtain supplies without paying intermediary profits. There is no mistaking the prominent place which agriculture occupies in the minds of the local tradespeople. Whatever a man's business may be, be he a china merchant, a draper, or a jeweller, it is as likely as not that an assortment of spades, forks and mattocks will be displayed for sale before his shop front, these representing a side-line of enterprise that can be trusted to bring grist to his mill at all times. For people who constitutionally prefer life at gentle pressure, or who, having lived a busy life, wish to live henceforth a quiet one, and simultaneously need to stretch out their means to the fullest extent practicable, these charming little towns must have a strong attraction.

Passing from the general to particular aspects of South Africans towns and town life, it may meet the reader's expectations if I add impressions of several representative towns, including the capitals, whose names are most familiar to British ears, only reserving Bloemfontein for a separate chapter as typifying in a striking way the South African theory and practice of municipal government.

It has been a strong conviction of mine, ever since it fell to me to breathe for a time the hate-laden and miasmal atmosphere of Paris during a critical phase of the Peace Conference, that only small towns should be chosen for political capitals. I made the suggestion at that time that the comfortable little grand duchy of Luxemburg should be bought out, lock, stock, and barrel, and be made, as neutral, international territory, the home of the League of Nations for all time; but while Geneva may not have been a bad choice except geographically, it is absolutely certain that Paris would have been the very worst. The difficulty about the small-town capital is, of course, how to keep it small. Nevertheless, of South Africa's four old State and now provincial capitals all but one (Capetown) would still rank with us as decidedly small, and in two of the provinces the capitals are not their largest towns.

Capetown is metropolitan in a double sense, as the principal city of the province of Cape Colony and the legislative capital of the Union. It is also in a marked degree cosmopolitan, since it is South Africa's human clearing-house.

Not only are all the races and most of the tribes who enter into the multifarious population of the Union represented here, but at Capetown more than anywhere else the passing guests from all parts of the world rub shoulders before moving up-country and again when homeward bound. Built at the foot of the majestic Table Mountain range, with a noble bay in the foreground, it occupies a site of supreme beauty. Whether you look upward to the heights or, ascending above the plain, turn your gaze seaward to the exquisite expanse of blue water and glistening white shoreland, with the city spread out at your feet, like Genoa viewed from the hills behind it, the scene is equally entrancing, and you feel that you need be in no haste to explore further this mysterious country, for here is enjoyment sufficient for the present. Recently I read that Capetown was of opinion that "the time was ripe" for carrying a railway to the top of the Table Mountain. May a well-wisher suggest that the time will never be ripe for an act of vandalism of that kind?

The town itself has a gay, cheerful, almost festive aspect, as though its inhabitants were not yet certain whether fortune would be best assured by making their town a pleasure resort or a great commercial port. Hitherto they have tried to make the most of both worlds, but that policy is seldom successful in the long run, and sooner or later the bias will need to go one way or the other. Perhaps a variation of the motto of Bremen, another great sea town, may be opportune, "Vivere necesse est, ludere non est necesse." In structure as in population the town is at once British and Dutch, in that while the appearance of its business streets, excepting only the arcades, is that of any large English town, its domestic architecture in general conforms to the traditional Dutch type, characteristic of no part of South Africa so strongly as of the "historic Cape."

Adderley, St. George's, and Darling Streets rank as the principal business arteries, though the first and most imposing of them might be disposed to resent any associates, as Whistler did when someone coupled him and Velasquez as the greatest of painters—"But why Velasquez?" Of Adderley Street I am inclined to say in the restrained language of the schoolboy, who means always far more

than he says, that it is really not half-bad, though many, if asked to admire it, would perversely look not around but either behind or before, on other and less transitory glories. For the view either seaward or landward from the point whence gallant Governor van Riebeeck, who planted Dutchdom at the Cape, gazes in effigy upon the city which he began to build two and three quarter centuries ago, is very impressive.

Away from the business quarter the houses are mostly of the bungalow sort, and built of stuccoed brick, with a little more corrugated iron about the roofs and verandahs than may please the æsthetic eye, but barring and, if you can, forgetting the materials the general effect is good. The nearer slopes of the mountain, the Orangezicht and Gardens districts, are covered with attractive villas in great diversity of design, each embowered in its ample garden. With greater justification than some English towns which claim the distinction, Capetown might well be called a real garden city. Dry, sterile, and unpromising as the soil on the mountain side may appear to be, nothing seems to daunt the garden planner, and vegetation once established grows luxuriantly. On a summer day the East India Company's Gardens are a source of sheer joy, and, given a place not in the sun, but out of it, you might sit there for hours in indolent and dreamy content.

At the Cape Peninsula two oceans meet, or one greater ocean divides. The coast on the Atlantic or Table Bay side shelters attractive suburbs like Sea Point, Clifton, and Camps Bay, while on the Indian Ocean or False Bay side are Muizenberg, St. James, Fish Hoek, and Kalk Bay. In such seaside places, easy of access, the prosperous professional men and merchants of Capetown are more and more setting up their homes. You can reach the nearest of them by a tram-ride along a delightful mountain road which, beginning in the centre of the town, winds in and out, upon the broken contour of the slope, ever ascending until at the crest wonderful vistas of seascape open to the view, and almost you think you can hear the gentle lapping of the waves upon the enchanted shore hundreds of feet below.

Like all South African towns Capetown is rich in noble public buildings. The Houses of Parliament, Government House, and the City Hall are the most imposing, but there

is a multitude of *prope accedit's*. Of buildings historical as age goes there are few. The most notable of sacred buildings are the Dutch Reformed Church, a plain, almost square structure, very Dutch in the severity of its outlines and absence of ornamentation, with a ceiling of enormous span, and a beautifully carved pulpit, and the new Anglican Cathedral of St. George. Away from the city, on the mountain side, is Groote Schuur, once the home of Mr. Cecil Rhodes, and now that of the Prime Minister of the day, with the Rhodes Memorial near at hand. Part of the large and beautiful park is occupied by a fine collection of native fauna, and the new university is to be built here at the cost of over a million pounds.

As a place of resort Capetown enjoys great popularity. Everybody goes there at one time or another for business or pleasure, mostly the latter, and many people go as often as possible, and no wonder. It is brimful of attractions, not merely for the conventional holiday folk, but for people of taste and culture, who are not proof against the seductions of art galleries, museums, and libraries. It has good theatres and an opera house, and in season excellent music is provided by the Cape Orchestra, which enjoys a national reputation. The climate also is agreeable, the record of sunshine is almost unique, and owing to the gradients of the town site, residents are able to choose between a wide range of temperature, the mean being no higher than that of the French Riviera. It is true that the frequent visits of a wild south-east wind, which is the particular thorn in the flesh of Capetown people, sent to buffet them, rules out much outside evening recreation in the Peninsula; but this disadvantage has to be accepted, like the Table Mountain, as the permanency it is, and borne philosophically. They call this wind "the Doctor," and his medicine is nauseous.

Impressed by the manifold charms and salubrity of Capetown and its surroundings one can only wonder that so many South African mining magnates and other rich men, when satiated with this world's goods, should choose to end their days in the depressing gloom and deadly monotony of Park Lane or its other London equivalents, instead of remaining in the beautiful country which has given them wealth, leisure, and health.

The administrative capital is Pretoria. Like many other towns it was a fruit of the Great Trek of Boer history which led to the founding first of the Orange Free State and then of the Transvaal republic, and from the first President of the latter, Martinus Wessels Pretorius, it took its name. Thirty years ago it had a population of only twelve thousand —six thousand of each colour. To-day the Europeans number over 45,000 against under 29,000 Coloured people, though of the latter few live in the town proper. It is a large town as South African towns go, but still sufficiently small for those who like to combine the best of the country with the unmistakable advantages of urban life.

Pretoria draws like a magnet, and in the memories of all who have been there it must stand apart as a place which nature and the art and craft of man have united to dower with beauty, grace, and dignity. It is a wide-spreading garden city of white-walled and red-tiled houses, planted upon a rich red earth, and embosomed in tree-clad hills of moderate height. The rectangular plan of the town is, of course, unoriginal, but its principal streets are handsome avenues of well-grown trees. Most of the houses are of the usual one-storey type, but in the more select residential districts on the outskirts, the two-storey villa, dominating a trim garden, is asserting itself. Of these districts Arcadia, Sunnyside, Brooklyn, and Bryntirion are delightful, though the memory of the quiet of a perfect Sunday morning ravished in one of them by brazen gramophones, broadcasting at open windows a medley of Italian opera tit-bits, American jazz music, and Hymns Ancient and Modern, is painful even yet.

Business life is more or less concentrated in one long street, having several short offshoots or annexes. In the centre of the town is the spacious Square, overlooked by the noble Palace of Justice, the old Randzaal where the Transvaal Parliament met in pre-union days (now the home of the Provincial Council), and the fine Post Office. It may be doubtful whether any other public square equally imposing and dignified exists in the whole of South Africa. Other noteworthy buildings are the New Museum, stately in its severely classical lines, and the Railway Station A Town Hall is soon to come, a regally gorgeous

one, to cost the little matter of a quarter of a million pounds. The Anglican Cathedral is at present hidden away in a side street, and its quiet dignity will be better appreciated when that part of the city is developed.

The great architectural feature of Pretoria, however, is the grandiose pile, known as the Union Buildings, which majestically crowns Meintjes Kop, and so commands the entire valley in which the city lies. Brunel is said to have built his bridges as monuments to Brunel. I do not suggest that this was the idea of Herbert Baker, but a monument to him as their architect, the Union Buildings, which consist in the main of a vast complex of administrative offices, are and ever will be. The main block is built in crescent form and at the ends stand, as though guarding the Capitol, gigantic Pretorian Guards in the form of tall towers which dominate the entire structure. A park-like garden, worthy to rank with many a small-scale botanical garden, surrounds the great pile, and looking forward from the hill the red-tiled houses of sylvan Pretoria are seen nestling comfortably amid their bright greencry, reminding one of some German forest town like Eisenach, Goslar, or Freiburg. So delectable are the Union official's surroundings in this unique haunt of bureaucracy as to suggest a suspicion that more poetry may be written in the Union Buildings than can be good for the despatch of public business.* One wonders if simple old Paul Kruger, the "grand old man" of Transvaal history, Anton Vanwouw's noble statue of whom stands in Prince's Park, would have been quite happy in this regal place.

From the residential standpoint Pretoria offers exceptional educational advantages. The Transvaal University College is here; there are a large State library, a natural history museum, the best collection of indigenous fauna in the country, beautiful parks and gardens, public facilities for sports and games of all kinds, and a climate to be grateful for; while the nature lover has a large choice of attractive scenery within easy reach. Enthusiasts in Pretoria's praise maintain that it is a town wherein to feel well and enjoy life to the full, while critics say that it is growing too pro-

* The office hours are from 8.30 to 4.30 in summer and from 9.0 to 5.0 in winter, with a single interval at midday.

gressive and is taking to hustling ways. I agree with the enthusiasts, and doubt whether the tranquil atmosphere of the old days will ever disappear entirely.

Long shall I retain memories of Pietermaritzburg (or Maritzburg, as it is usually called for short) as of a singularly charming town, bright and radiant as a bride, and apparelled like a king's daughter. Heavy rain had cleared the air, which had in consequence the remarkable transparency which you look for on the high plateau, and the landscape around was passing fair to look upon. For Maritzburg is delightfully situated at an elevation of over 2,000 feet amongst the hills, with forest and woodland on the sky-line in almost every direction. It has also a Table Mountain of its own—no giant, like that of Capetown, but not to be despised.

Although it has only 20,000 European inhabitants it is the capital and administrative centre of the province of Natal, from whose coast it is seventy miles distant, a primacy which Durban, with its far larger population and wealth, may be said to accept with a magnanimous good grace. Here we are fairly within the Asiatic sphere of influence. Of the non-European population of some 18,000 fully one-third are Indians, over one-half are Natives, and the remnant Coloured persons mostly enjoying European civil privileges. Eighty years ago the town consisted of about 120 houses, a court-house, and a little church. It is now one of the stateliest cities in the Union, adorned by many noble public buildings, handsome residences, wide planted streets and spacious squares, lovely parks and gardens, a multitude of churches and schools, and it has all the resources and conveniences of a highly developed urban life.

The aspect of the streets is most impressive. The Provincial Council Buildings, the old Colonial Office, the Town Hall (a £100,000 investment), the Law Court, Post Office, and several of the Colleges are structures which would adorn any European capital; and statues and monuments in excellent taste abound. Maritzburg, indeed, like Pretoria, Bloemfontein, and other South African towns of medium size, strongly reminds one of the charming and ornate "residences," each with its full complement of Governmental and other administrative buildings, in which the minor German Sovereigns held state in the dull but happier

days which preceded the Great War. Or, to come home, you have here all the quiet and dignity of a small English cathedral town, with less of its deadly dullness and somnolence. Not the least of the attractions are the Botanical Gardens and the parks, one of which, the Alexandra, ranks with the finest in the country.

Maritzburg is a town of many colleges and schools for both sexes, at the head being the Natal University College, young but well equipped and thoroughly alive. Other resources of culture are the Natural History Museum, the Government School of Art, the Municipal Art Gallery, and the Public Library; while the unique Voortrekkers' Museum affords an interesting epitome of the history of Natal's settlement.

In spite of its fine architectural parts, however, the town retains something of the earlier simplicity. There are picturesque little buildings and quiet corners in unnoticed streets, and its life generally is marked by oddities which soon catch the eye of the oversea visitor. There are streets within a stone's throw of the Town Hall where grass flourishes unmolested; and you are whirled from one end of the town to the other in rickshaws, at 25 per cent. of the cost of taxi-cabs and 250 per cent. of the excitement, by agile, clean-limbed, wierdly clad and befeathered Zulus, who in the evening will sleep in native kraals and villages away in the environs.

Nearly every South African town has, if not the best climate in the Union, at least some meteorological peculiarity that is held to distinguish it favourably from its rivals. Maritzburg occasionally experiences extreme rigour in winter and a baking heat in summer, but its mean annual temperature, if relatively high, is exceptionally equable. So it is that official status, schools, social resources, and climate, together with relatively low house rents, have combined to make this little capital a favourite residential centre, and its high reputation in this respect is not likely to be shaken.

In 1923 Durban rounded off a century of eventful life, and its devoted citizens excelled themselves in their determination to honour worthily so notable an event. They did well, for theirs is no mean city, and its history enshrines much that is best in the character of the British peoples who gave it birth and to-day give so clear and unmistakable an

impress to its life. For years both before and after the foundation of the city the history of Natal was one of feud and warfare, first with the Zulus, led by their great chiefs Tshaka and Dingaan, and then between British and Dutch, and it was 1843 before British sovereignty was firmly and permanently established. When eleven years later Durban became an incorporated town it had a White population of 1,200; to-day its European inhabitants number 57,000, and there are in addition 48,000 Asiatics and 41,000 Natives and other Coloured people. What the presence of so large an Oriental population means for the province is shown in a separate chapter. The great majority of the Natives are Zulus of a good type, happy-go-lucky, tractable, contented when fairly treated, and on the whole very intelligent.

Architecturally the city has been improved beyond recognition within living memory. The finest of its public buildings is the new Town Hall, whose high dome is a conspicuous landmark for miles around. The old Town Hall, built in Corinthian style, and now serving as the Central Post Office, is a worthy neighbour. The Law Courts and several of the churches and clubs are likewise handsome structures. The monuments and memorials are many, and each represents some outstanding episode in the history of Durban or Natal. One of the most interesting is the pretty equestrian statue to the memory of the gallant transport rider Dick King, who, when the local garrison was beleaguered by the Dutch in 1842, made his famous ride of six hundred miles to Grahamstown in quest of reinforcements. Within a month from his departure a relief force arrived by sea; the siege was raised, the Dutch withdrew, and from that time Natal remained a British colony.

Education is well provided for, from the lowest rung of the ladder to the highest, and the interests of culture are also furthered by library, art gallery, and museum. Love of good music has long been characteristic of Durban, and its municipal orchestra has a high reputation. Outdoor life is assiduously cultivated, and the town is rich in fine parks, gardens, sports fields, and recreation grounds. There is also a large botanical garden, containing a fine collection of tropical and sub-tropical trees, shrubs and plants.

There is about Durban a bewitching atmosphere of which

every visitor is said to be conscious; opportunities for pleasure and relaxation are numberless; the climate is sunny and for the greater part of the year very genial, evoking light-heartedness and an "all's well with the world" feeling even when the temperature is far higher than you would have it for choice. But, above all, the Durbanois themselves are a genial, cheery folk, who like to be happy and to see other people the same; and if only the Asiatic menace disappeared there would seldom be shadow upon their sky. They are also a prosperous community; they live well in comfortable homes, allow themselves all legitimate indulgences, though not in a frivolously improvident way, and almost they take a pride in the fact that theirs is one of the dearest towns in the country to live in, being third after Pretoria and Johannesburg, since it attests a high level of material well-being and spending power.

The favourite residential quarter is a hill-side a mile inland known as the Berea, and a more beautiful situation exists nowhere, for rising to a height of 600 feet it commands an enchanting view of the sea and the surrounding country. Here hundreds of charming villas, not very large for the most part, but large enough for people who pass as much of their time as possible out of doors, rise tier above tier, to the crown of the eminence. The great majority of them are of the conventional bungalow type, though here, too, the two-storey house is becoming popular, and each stands in a spacious garden. In Natal you are in the region of tropical fruits—pineapple, citrus, pawpaw, mango, and banana—tropical trees, palms, and grasses, with everywhere rare and luxuriant flowers whose dazzling colours and subtle scents suggest an oriental environment. The gardens of the Berea are a feast of beauty in summer. If I mention the cannas the reason is that they seem to have found in Natal a specially congenial home; nowhere have I seen specimens so tall and stately, with flowers so regal in colour, as at Maritzburg and Durban.

Like Capetown Durban appears to be still in two minds as to the lines which its future progress shall follow. Shall it appeal to a leisurely and monied class of visitors, or stake its fortunes more substantially than ever on industry and trade? Probably it will keep to the two-stringed bow,

for both are sound strings, one as reliable as the other. Its mercantile progress has been remarkable, though due quite as much to enterprise as to position and opportunity. Less than half a century ago, when the fathers of the swart and sinewy Zulus who now draw the local rickshaws, were still the dread of the entire colony, Durban was practically harbourless: now it is a great port splendidly equipped in every detail. Perhaps nine out of ten readers of these pages will read with surprise that its harbour has a larger wharfage, more cranes, tugs, and warehouse accommodation than Capetown, and that though naturally more passengers land at Capetown, Durban handles a far greater bulk of cargo.

Yet while doing so much for commerce, Durban has shown unsurpassed enterprise in developing its natural advantages as a health and pleasure resort. Twenty years ago what is now known as Ocean Beach was a stretch of bare sand, neither useful nor ornamental. At great expense it has been converted into the finest sea front in South Africa, with open-air swimming baths, and on the foreshore beautiful promenades, gardens, and lawns, enticing paths, and terraced swards, with nowhere any trace of vulgar garishness to spoil the effect of a skilfully designed enterprise. Similarly, where now a fine promenade, known as the Victoria Embankment, overlooks the bay, there used to be a dreary waste of swamp and sand. Durban has only one season and that is all the year. It is in the winter months, between May and September, however, that wealth, leisure, and fashion chiefly congregate here for high festival. In high summer the humid heat is apt to be enervating, but in winter it is neither cold nor hot, but just comfortable, and bathing in the sun in the warm water of the Indian Ocean is at its best. In spite of all that the municipal authorities have done for the beautification and development of the city in the interest of visitors and of its own inhabitants, their ambitions are still unsatisfied, and when I was there they were applying to borrow a million and a half sterling for further improvements of many kinds.

To Johannesburg I come in the mood of penitence, wishful to offer fruits meet therefor. There is in circulation a large coloured map published by the Surveyor-General's

Office at Pretoria on which, if you did not know the exact location of Johannesburg, you would hardly find it except by scanning the sheet inch by inch with a microscope. The names of little towns with a few thousand inhabitants and of dorps with a few hundred challenge attention; but Johannesburg, with its three hundred thousand, has to be hunted for. Do the authorities take the metropolis of the Rand seriously, or merely as a joke? Do they know it, or have they only heard rumours of its existence? The curious structure there which serves as a railway station is another evidence of this singular disregard, for as you alight you might almost think you were at Oxford. If I were the first citizen of the Golden City I should want to consider whether some practical protest in the way of passive resistance or "direct action" might not help to break down this supercilious attitude of officialdom towards the most wonderful achievement in South Africa.

You may arrive at Johannesburg in a spirit of mere curiosity or, if you are a superior person, of mild condescension. Stay on for a time, which need not be long, and you recognize that you are in the presence of a monument of human effort, courage, and enterprise. I confess to having taken with me to Johannesburg a familiar and capacious carpet bag full of hoary prejudices, convinced that these prejudices would be confirmed and enlarged. What really happened was that I left behind both the prejudices and the carpet bag, having found the one to be just as hopelessly old-fashioned as the other, and brought away instead a quite new set of impressions. Even now I cannot say that I like Johannesburg as a "subject," shall I say, just as—to take a violent analogy—I may not admire as "subjects" some of the fat burgomasters, red-nosed waggoners, and stodgy peasants who figure in so much seventeenth-century Dutch portrait and *genre* painting. But in art not the subject but the execution is the thing; and as a work of human ingenuity Johannesburg, with its gold-getters, White and Black, its slime dumps, and the flotsam and jetsam of humanity which drifts always where money is, is just as much a masterpiece as any work of Teniers, Frans Hals, or Ostade.

To grow out of a prejudice is a humbling but also an educative and edifying experience, and to undergo the

transformation of feeling, the change of attitude, which results from coming into direct contact with this wonderful city, after having known it hitherto only at second-hand by report, is such an experience. All ideas of condescension disappear, and you are surprised that you have ever entertained them, and will perhaps be prepared to deny on oath that you did; while in their place comes wonder at the very bigness of this thing called the Rand, the bigness of the men who have made it, the grandiose lines on which they have thought and wrought, with even a sentimental interest in the romance of which this chapter of South African history is full. Whatever may be the future vicissitudes of Johannesburg, I am convinced that, given the same race of men as in the past, they will pull it through, for long before the gold mines have become exhausted they will have dutifully underpinned their city's foundations, and thereby made its prosperity secure for another and a longer lease of life. For even stronger than Johannesburg's will to be rich is its will to live.

When in 1886 the farm land upon which Johannesburg stands was "proclaimed" as a public digging, the locality was a drab spot in a sparsely populated expanse of rough veld, three hundred miles from the nearest railway track. Listening to the call of gold, fortune-seekers in thousands suddenly engaged in a wild rush to the latest Dorado. More land was opened out and more diggers came from every point of the compass and from far distant lands and seas. The typical miners' camp of dirt and desolation, of noise and noisomeness, was built up out of wooden boxes, tin cans, and tent canvas. As mining became systematized more settled and more civilized conditions were established, and in due time a township was formed and an organized community sprang up. To-day Johannesburg is an imposing city of nearly 300,000 inhabitants, more than half of them Whites, and far away the busiest and wealthiest in South Africa. Those building "stands" or sites which originally were to be had for a couple of pounds have now a value of hundreds of thousands, and £100 a square yard is a moderate price for a good position on one of the better business streets. To-day the municipal district has an area of 82 square miles, is made up of 130 townships, many of them six and eight

miles from the centre of the city, and within the area are 800 miles of streets and roads.

Of this great city gold is the vital element, and people talk and think of it all day long. The trade and commerce not only of the Transvaal but of the whole country oscillate with the prosperity or depression of the gold mining industry; a large part of the income of the community is derived directly or indirectly from the mines; the railways, the posts and telegraphs, the national Treasury itself would languish if they languished. There is never any need to cut the card pack at Johannesburg, for gold is trumps all the time.

It is an imposing city, rather overwhelming in the impression of force and hustling activity which it makes on the visitor, though the settled inhabitants are no doubt acclimatized to the tense psychic atmosphere. It is not exactly the place to which to go for a rest cure, though a month or two of it might stimulate neurasthenic *malades imaginaires* into something resembling energy. Some of the streets have, architecturally, a rather motley aspect, in that original buildings of simple design and unpretentious size rise dwarf-like and apologetic beneath the shadow of great structures every square yard of whose façades proclaims aloud prosperity and opulence. All the main streets, however, like Eloff, Commissioner, Pritchard, President, Market, Fox, and Simmonds Streets, are lined with blocks of business buildings which would be a credit to the largest of European cities.

The great Corner House, whence the mines are controlled and where the gains are counted and the dividends distributed, typifies the staple industry of the district, just as the equally massive Stahlhof of Düsseldorf stands for the iron and steel industry of the German Rhineland, or used to do; but the finest of the public buildings are the Town Hall and Municipal Offices, the Law Court, the Post Office, the Hospital, and the Medical Research Institute. The existing University building is not impressive, but its successor, now in course of erection on the outskirts, will be so in a marked degree. The pride, patriotism, and liberality of the citizens have called into existence a large and excellent system of schools and colleges, and on the intellectual side must also be named the public library

and art gallery. The municipal authority is a remarkably enterprising body and spends prodigally on improvements of all kinds. As the British form a large section of the population, and they notoriously have a fixed dislike of dying prematurely, much of this outlay is incurred on behalf of efficient water and sewerage services and the care of public health generally.

Social life is assiduously cultivated here, and no visitor need be dull, given a certain degree of adaptability and tastes not unduly fastidious, at least for the time being. There is good music and drama in season, for the concert and theatre directors are not slow to supplement much excellent native talent by that of "star" artists from oversea—sometimes rising stars and sometimes setting ones—when the higher prices which follow never detract from crowded houses, for whether their fortunes are up or down Johannesburgers will not forgo their pleasures. The local Musical and Philharmonic Societies give excellent concerts periodically, and the recitals of the municipal organist in the Town Hall deserve their popularity. There are excellent residential Clubs, notably the Rand Club, which is a sort of open house for reputable visitors, the Union Club, the Country Club, and the Automobile Club, the last situated in beautiful park-like grounds at Killarney. The Yorkshire and Lancashire, Scottish, and Welsh communities have social societies of their own, and the annual Burns celebration draws an eager audience to a concert in the Town Hall, where honour is done to the bard by cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer (or their modern equivalents), and bagpipe. The city is rich in parks of all kinds, ranging in size from 200 acres downwards—Joubert, Eckstein, and Ellis parks would excel anywhere in the world—and there is generous provision for recreation. Racing, golf, tennis, cricket, football, bowling, swimming, motoring, and cycling all have their organizations and centres, the municipality providing not a few of the latter.

Some people have eyes, but see not, for I read somewhere the reproach against Johannesburg that it has no garden suburbs. The fact is that the entire periphery, far out into the open country, is a region of garden suburbs, attractive

enough, both architecturally and horticulturally, to satisfy the most exacting standards. These suburbs are graded according to social, or more accurately material, position, and they differ greatly in scale of beauty and luxury, but great skill and excellent taste have been exercised in developing the possibilities of the environs to the best effect. The bungalow type of dwelling predominates, the pleasant Dutch *stoep* being, of course, ubiquitous; but I observed little of the questionable bizarre abnormalities of style which so often spoil, and bring well-deserved disrepute upon, certain of London's blatant Philistias. The gardens, too, favoured by a summer temperature which forces everything that has life into bud and bloom, display a rare prodigality of growth and rich colouring.

The rapidity with which these suburban villas and gardens spring into existence is a marvel. One day you see a steep, barren hill-side, out of which excavators are digging boulders or quarrying road material; pass that way a few weeks later, and above the hill-side, now levelled and turfed, a house has climbed six feet high, and the surrounding ground is already being laid out as a garden in readiness for the future tenant, who, in shirt sleeves and jackboots, is probably directing or, more likely, impeding the critical operation. The summer visitor to Johannesburg will find it a continual source of delight to motor through the garden townships *extra muros*, with their stately avenues of conifers, aromatic gums, and wattles, their belts of natural forest, their busy golf courses and playing fields, and above all their pretty and many styled homesteads, radiant with the brilliant red or purple of the bougainvillia, their rose-embowered *stoeps*, their gay, terraced gardens, sun-baked rockeries, shady arbours, and spreading lawns. The Johannesburger may or may not be as materialistic as he is often painted, but he dearly loves a garden, and when that can be said of either man or woman they are on the direct way that leads, still by many steps, to perfection.

There is no question about the high pressure of life on the Rand, and nowhere have I seen more grey-headed old men except in Germany, where men impoverish their hair by constant close cropping. Nevertheless, I would like to strike a blow at a common belief which I am sure is

superstitious. Again and again I was told that the city's elevation and the resulting exhilaration were treacherous to elderly people, and all whose hearts were not fitted with a compensation balance, and that while it was true that the Johannesburger lived merrily he died prematurely unless he migrated betimes before the inevitable heart trouble began. "A man never knows he is ill until he is dying—the air is so bracing that it keeps him going to the last." "You see a man on the street one day, apparently well and hearty, and to-morrow you miss him—he has passed away in the night." Such and of such sort were the doleful stories told to me so often and so impressively that I ended by disbelieving them. Then one Sunday afternoon, having no particular appointment, the odd idea occurred to me of consulting the testimony of the tombstones in the public cemetery, and there I took the age records of row after row of them. While engaged in this cheerful occupation an official came up to me and learning my business politely offered to facilitate it. Together, therefore, we began to examine the cemetery registers, and the sight of frequently recurring 70's, 80's, and 90's, together with my own records, confirmed my suspicion that the erratic Johannesburg heart, like the "economic man" of the early political economists, is a myth, and that whether the gods love the Johannesburgers or not, they do not as a rule die young.* At the same time it is probably a safe rule that Johannesburg as a place of residence is just as good for weak lungs as it is not good for abnormally weak hearts. It is simply a matter of the altitude and ability to bear it.

In spite of what I may have thought in past uninformed days I confess to a warm feeling towards Johannesburg, in part, perhaps, because it receives in general so many more kicks than halfpence. It has faults, but then it has so much human nature, and its preoccupations do not tend to encourage life at the highest level. I am not going to preach, but there is no harm in giving out a text for someone

* The Census Report for 1921, since published, shows that the numbers of Europeans at different ages were as follows in Johannesburg and Pretoria (fairly comparable in altitude) per 1,000 of the population: at 50-54 years, 49 and 46 respectively; 55-59, 31 and 30; 60-64, 21 and 18; 65-69, 13 and 12; 70 and over, 11 and 12; 21 and over, 575 and 586. The figures for Capetown and Durban, on the sea, are progressively more favourable beyond age 54.

else to preach from if he will. It is that story which we all learned in our youth of how one Atalanta, stooping down to clutch the golden bawbles, lost the race. The uncharitable —like the Publican of the parable—may say to Johannesburg *De te fabula!* But myths embody universal experiences, truths, and lessons, and that is why the moral of this myth is meant, not only for Johannesburg but for all of us, for all bawbles are not made of gold.

If at the end of these reflexions upon different aspects of South African town life the reader is left wondering where it would be pleasantest to live in that country, his position will only be my own. Just as Johnson said that though he could not say what was poetry he could say what was not poetry, so am I able to say, without a moment's hesitation, where I should not wish to live. For example, I could not live in ——, and I would not stay twenty-four hours in ——. But to choose between the towns spoken of in this chapter and others favourably named elsewhere is another matter. Comparing their attractions, I can feel sure that I should like to live at Capetown, so as to be able to ascend to a summit of the Table Mountain once a week, and have the delights of the Peninsula to feast upon for the rest of the time; but then I am equally certain that I could settle happily in Durban and never wish to change. Pretoria holds you powerfully, and once there I should similarly want to stay; though I can fancy that Johannesburg would be ideal for odd week-ends, and dull, heavy days when one wants to forget things. Bloemfontein lies a little off the track, and, moreover, it is somehow associated in my mind with strenuous-lifers, and it also lacks hills, whence come many of life's best helps and lifts, but otherwise it has great charm. Maritzburg may not be exactly as lively as Capetown, but it is a picture of beauty, and I should certainly wish to spend part of my time there.

So one might continue indefinitely, without getting nearer to a decision. In such a predicament a safe rule of political life comes to the rescue. When you are not sure for which of the candidates you should vote, yet have a conscience, bidding you do your duty like a good citizen, the safe thing is to vote for all and so make sure that your voting paper is spoiled; but if you have no conscience you simply do not vote at all.

CHAPTER XII

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

To students of local government, and particularly those who are able to compare the practice of foreign countries, it is a standing wonder that the large municipal bodies of Great Britain should tolerate so patiently the crippled and truncated system under which they are expected to adminster the affairs of populous and ever-growing cities and towns. In visiting all the capitals and other towns, large and small, of South Africa, it was a revelation to me to find how much the youngest of the Dominions can teach us in relation both to the theory and the practice of town government, while the experience forcibly brought home to me anew our unhealthy deference to tradition and convention.

The broad basis of the South African system of municipal administration is British, to the extent that the governing authorities work under enabling laws. Their powers, however, are frequently extended by Ordinances which can be obtained at little expense and as a rule with tolerable expedition from the Provincial Councils and Administrators, without that frivolous and tantalizing manipulation of red tape which obstructs our own local authorities at every turn. For the rest, much in the system is indigenous, the result of experience, though features of the rating system have been borrowed from the United States and one capital town in particular has clearly benefited in several directions by German example.

Supplementing what was said in an earlier chapter about the Central Government, it should be explained here that the administrative authorities intermediate between the Central Government and the urban and rural districts are the Provincial Councils, one for each province. The principal functions assigned to these Councils by the Act of Union are the control of primary and secondary education, the maintenance of roads and bridges, and the establishment, maintenance and management of hospitals and certain charitable institutions, fish and game preservation, and the

supervision of the municipal and other local government bodies. Further powers have been given to them by statute, including the administration of libraries, museums, art galleries, and botanic gardens (with certain exceptions), cemeteries, casual wards, the Labour Colonies Act (in the Cape Province), the regulation of shop hours, and the distribution of poor relief.

A Provincial Council has the same number of members as the province has representatives in the House of Assembly, with a minimum of twenty-five (i.e., in Natal and the Orange Free State); the electors are identical with the parliamentary electors, and the electoral divisions are also the same, except in Natal and the Free State. The councils are elected for three years and members receive an allowance of £120 a year, subject to deductions for absences. For each province there is an Administrator, appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council—in effect by the Government—who is its chief executive officer and holds office for five years. Broadly he corresponds to the Chief President of a Prussian province. In theory his power is considerable, though the extent to which he uses it depends largely upon the strength of his personality. The office of Administrator is one of the plums of the public service, and seeing that there are only four plums of that kind it is an esteemed delicacy.

The chief source of the Council's revenue consists of grants made by the Central Government, and these they supplement variously by a surtax upon the municipal property tax, amusement, racing and totalisator, unearned increment, auction, dog, liquor, wheel, and special education taxes, motor, trading, and vocational licences, transfer duties, and Native pass and other fees. The Cape Council introduced a turn-over tax, but owing to its unpopularity and alleged unequal incidence it had to be abandoned, while the Transvaal Council similarly tried and repealed a house tax and a direct tax on bachelors. At the present time the Councils are unable to make ends meet, and are faced by the alternatives of injudicious economies, some curtailment of their functions, or a further invasion of the taxing powers of the minor governing bodies, a step which would not increase their popularity.

One great advantage of the control of local government authorities by the Provincial Councils is that additional

powers, and ameliorations and adjustments generally, called for by changing conditions, are more easily obtained than would be the case if in every emergency legislative sanction had to be sought. As a rule a municipal ordinance for any given purpose can be obtained within eight weeks, and the cost is negligible.

Incorporation is granted more readily than in England and is independent of a population limit. Many of the municipalities have populations of under 2,000 and even 1,000. Indeed, in two of the provinces, the Transvaal and the Free State, there is no intermediate local authority between the Village Council and the Municipal Council, though Local Boards interpose in the Cape and Natal provinces, and the Cape has also Divisional Councils. The Town Councils and their Mayors are chosen pretty much as at home, but there are no aldermen. No hard and fast rule governs the number of members. Thus Johannesburg has 36, Capetown 42, a number which it is proposed to reduce to 28, Durban 18, Pietermaritzburg 16, Pretoria 15, and Bloemfontein 13. Members have not been paid hitherto, as in the case of the Provincial Councils, but last year a provincial ordinance was sanctioned in the Transvaal sanctioning payment. The right was first exercised at Potchefstroom, but the Johannesburg Town Council, which is a princely spender, at once followed suit with the decision to pay salaries of £200 a year, with £100 extra to chairmen of standing committees.

One is invariably impressed by the large extent of the municipal area, some of the incorporated districts being rather like small counties than townships. This peculiarity of South African municipalities is doubtless due in large measure to the pastoral character of the early urban communities, and to the fact that they were often established in sparsely populated Native territories, of which the Government, such as it then was, claimed control and right of disposal. For example, the administrative area of Capetown, with a total population, European, Coloured and Native, of 206,000, is 60 square miles, and it has 290 miles of streets and roads; that of Johannesburg (combined population 293,000) is 82 square miles, with 770 miles of streets and roads; that of Pretoria (population 94,000), 40 square

miles, with 180 miles of streets and roads; that of Pietermaritzburg (population 32,000), 42 square miles, with 130 miles of streets and roads; while Krugersdorp, a rising town on the Rand (population 42,000), has an administrative area of 90 square miles, with 60 miles of streets and roads.

It is in the development of its system of rating, however, that South African towns have most definitely forsaken British example and gone their own way. The basis of local rating is not our vicious one of the rental value, but the full value of the property assessed. In most towns land and buildings are both rated, in some only sites, while in others there is a differential rate as between sites and buildings or "improvements," buildings being in such a case taxed at a lower rate. Where buildings are rated no deduction is allowed for repairs, and unoccupied dwellings pay the full rate. At Johannesburg, as in other towns on the Rand, the assessment is of site values only, all "improvements" being ignored; with the proviso that the official valuation may not exceed the value of the property in the open market. This method of rating has been chosen as affording encouragement to industry, which in consequence is not directly rated either on buildings and machinery, the effect being, of course, to relieve industrial and commercial properties somewhat at the expense of residential. Crown, Government, Church, charity, and school property is exempted from local taxation, and over one fifth of the valuation of Capetown enjoys this immunity, which is one against which municipal authorities increasingly chafe.

The rates are paid variously by the owner or the occupier, but usually by the owner, who recoups himself in the rent. In Durban the tenant is responsible for the rent in the first instance, but in case of his default the owner is liable, and the method of recovery is by "direct action" of a very summary kind. There are no second and third demands and no dunning on the doorstep, and not even a civil action is necessary before distraint takes effect. Where a house-owner is liable for rates and neglects to pay them the tenant may be required to pay his rent to the municipal collector until the arrears with costs have been liquidated, and if rates due, with interest thereon, have not been paid for a period of three years or more the Supreme Court may

authorize the sale of the property by public auction in satisfaction of the debt.

There are special rates or charges for water, refuse removal, and sewerage where the water-borne system is not in force, as is still generally the case in all but the larger towns. In addition revenue is received from trading and other licences, various fees and dues, as well as from trading enterprises. The property tax varies between the extremes 1¾d. and 4d. in the pound where site and building are taxed equally, between 3d. and 7d. where only the site is taxed, and where different rates are charged between 4d. and 9d. on sites and between ½d. and 5d. on buildings. There are a few small municipalities which are able to cover their expenditure by income from town estate.

The questions of incidence and comparison of rates are too complicated for summary discussion. As, however, the rates from a levy of so many pence in the pound of the valuation—usually 3d. or 4d. where building and site are both rated—the valuation of a house makes possible a fairly accurate estimate of what its tenant contributes towards the cost of local administration in any given town, even though the owner should pay in the first instance. Thus the amounts of rates (general and water together) payable in Durban when I was there were as follows for houses of different values : £600, £11 5s. ; £700, £13 2s. 6d. ; £800, £15 ; £900, £16 17s. 6d. ; and £1,000, £18 15s. The average for all the houses of the town was £15, while the payment *per capita* of the European population was £6 12s. In the smaller towns local taxation in South Africa may appear high from the English standpoint, though no comparison is tenable or should be made unless the services rendered in each case are taken into account.

Not all the features of the South African local rating system will appeal to British house owners or occupiers, and while our system of rating on rents is probably regarded by most people as inequitable, the system of rating immovable estate has the disadvantage that, unlike a local income tax, it leaves untouched the absurd anomaly that a large proportion of the adult inhabitants of a town are able to enjoy the full benefits of public expenditure without any direct contribution to the rates.

Something may be said for the practice of throwing the burden of the rates in the first instance upon the owner, as having usually broader shoulders than the occupier, leaving him to adjust the rent as he might be able. Broadly the arrangement also expresses the just principle that owners should make some direct contribution to the public expenditure which augments the value of house property and therewith increases rents. Such a liability could hardly fail to enlist their influence against extravagance, while in this country it would alleviate the financial straits in which industrial towns are apt to find themselves placed in times of industrial depression.*

On the other hand, the rating of unoccupied property, at least without important limitations, will appear to many people open to objection. Further, where land and improvements are rated together in one assessment it happens that a house, even though burnt down, continues to be rated until a revision of the assessment takes effect. In Capetown the valuation of a house which used to be accepted was the sum which it might be expected to fetch if offered by auction ; it is now the amount which it has cost the owner, and this basis of rating entails real hardship when, owing to unfavourable building gradients or other special difficulties, the cost of a house is abnormally high.

The summary procedure adopted in the case of defaulting ratepayers is much criticized, though it is defended by municipal administrators on the ground that a town's business has to be carried on, and that if one ratepayer fails to pay his due others have to pay so much more. On principle the plan of fixing a rigid time limit for payment of rates has its recommendations, since as any English town treasurer will admit the majority of those who delay their payments as long as they dare are not, in normal times, the people who cannot pay but those who will not part with their money.

At Durban I heard the complaint that in order to escape the rates there was an increasing tendency for people of the type who accept the principle of rights without respon-

* It was stated in the House of Commons on August 4th, 1924, that half the tenants in Middlesborough had not paid the rates due on March 31st, and that 101,000 were in arrears, also that in Sheffield the arrears of rate amounted in 1923 to £520,000, and that during the preceding three years 112,000 summonses for non-payment of rates (one for every six of the ratepayers) had been issued in that town.

sibilities to live outside the incorporated area, while using Durban daily as a place in which to work and make money. In such a case a town has the matter in its own hands, for the obvious remedy is the incorporation of the dormitory suburbs.

Another interesting characteristic of South African municipalities is the large area of town land or commonage. In this respect most municipalities of any age and consequence have benefited greatly. The practice of conferring upon a new municipality on its incorporation what may be called a dowry in land, by way of hostage to fortune, appears to have been followed by the Governments of all the former States. Thus, in spite of wholesale alienations in the course of years, Pretoria has still an estate of 18,000 acres, with a value of £250,000, Bloemfontein one of about the same area and value, and Pietermaritzburg one of 27,000 acres; Grahamstown owns over 21,000 acres; while the little market town of Graaff-Reinet, in the Cape Midlands, with its population of 4,500 Europeans, owns 45,000 acres. The original idea of the land dowry may have been to ensure ample grazing and arable land for the use of the inhabitants, but the town founders of those days built better than they knew, and their foresight has proved an untold blessing to many communities, whose tasks of administration have been extraordinarily facilitated as a result. The rule applies that no public land may be sold without being offered to open competition, though when it is desired to dispose of land for special purposes ways and means of so doing are easily found. Further, the proceeds of land sales must be employed in public works and improvements. Towns, can, of course, freely use the land for their own purposes, and many—among them Pretoria, Bloemfontein, and Maritzburg—are putting large areas under forest, an enterprise which is found to be very profitable. In 1922 Durban owned land to the value of £1,691,000, and the alienations of the previous year represented the sum of £45,500, £5,200 being the value of sites given for educational and philanthropic purposes.

With several notable exceptions the usual public utility services, like water, gas, electric light, and tramways, are in municipal hands, though the trading activities of most towns go much further than this. Some towns, amongst

them Durban and Bloemfontein, have never adopted gas illumination, but passed direct from oil and candles to electric light. Bloemfontein and one smaller town have adopted the trackless motor-bus in preference to tramways. Maritzburg obtains from its own quarries the stone used for macadam; it supplies householders with firewood from the public forests; and like Durban it brews beer for the Natives, so regulating both the strength and quantity in which it is supplied to these thirsty customers. Durban is the only South African town in which the telephone is a municipal service. This local monopoly it was able to retain when the telephones passed under State control, and the financial results have proved highly gratifying. Few towns are without public or subscription libraries and reading-rooms.

Several large towns have excellent zoological gardens, and many towns, even of small size, have botanical gardens which, besides serving the purpose of public parks, preserve representative collections of indigenous trees, encourage an interest in arboriculture, are used for demonstration lessons by the schools, and provide nurseries for municipalities which engage in forestry on commercial principles. Nevertheless, several of the little towns of several thousand inhabitants which I visited did not appear to have sufficient money to spend on these gardens, though South Africans are not the only people who try to keep white elephants in back-yards.

Liberal expenditure is everywhere incurred in the provision of facilities for outdoor sports and games. This provision invariably includes, besides parks, fields for cricket and football, and often tennis courts, croquet grounds, bowling greens, and golf courses in addition. There is no great amount of municipal activity in musical matters beyond the provision of band music in the parks and recreation grounds, which is common, but Capetown has for long subsidized an efficient and popular orchestra, and Durban and Johannesburg are now organizing orchestras as municipal institutions.

In the larger and better governed towns public health is excellently cared for, in most others only passably. The water is usually obtained from springs or from rivers where perennial supplies are available, filtration being here needful, but there are also towns which have still

to rely on rain water. Great attention is paid nowadays to social welfare work and most of the larger towns maintain dispensaries, clinics of various kinds, and day nurseries for the poor, and employ medical visitors and nursing staffs, while philanthropic agencies are liberally assisted financially. For, unlike English local authorities, which, unless they take the bit into their teeth, only spend what the law and the official auditors are good enough to allow, South African municipalities can do pretty much as they like with their own money. Thus in a recent year the miscellaneous benefactions of the Durban Town Council reached a total of £15,760, the recipients including hospitals, rescue homes, shelters, orphanages, soup kitchens, child welfare agencies, and seaside funds. One reason for devoting so much money to benevolence may be that there is as yet no Poor Law in South Africa. The hospital system, for which the Provincial Councils are chiefly responsible, is fairly efficient so far as it goes, but in many parts of the country more hospitals are needed.

The provision of public baths, wash-houses, and laundries (the use of the last two being generally compulsory), ranks as a sanitary measure of the first importance in South Africa, and even towns of a thousand European families have these services. A strong reason for the municipalization of the laundry business is the risk of disease which is inseparable from washing in Native quarters, since this work is done entirely by Black labour, so that the public wash-house may be regarded as a species of health insurance even more than a measure of public convenience.

Public abattoirs are also fairly general, and in some towns, like Durban and Johannesburg, all meat after being dressed is sold by auction on the spot to the local butchers and retailers, with the result that the farmers benefit by the resulting competition and the public by the more equal distribution of supplies. Capetown is about to adopt the same arrangement. In relation to food it may be noted that most towns and even little "dorps" of one or two thousand inhabitants have their daily morning markets, held in buildings or public squares, where housewives obtain at first hand their supplies of farm produce, fruit and vegetables, and so cut out the middlemen.

Control of so much land has enabled the towns to reduce the difficulties of the housing problem by building small dwellings without having to purchase sites and by assisting private individuals to acquire their own homes. For example, the City Council of Capetown, besides building small dwellings which it lets to its employees at moderate rents, has an assisted housing scheme under which workmen receive liberal advances at 5 per cent. interest, subject to the condition that from 50 to 75 per cent. of the price of the site must first be paid. The loans are payable within 20 years. Durban and Bloemfontein also build houses and lend money for the same purpose. As has been said already, industrial development is in the air in South Africa, and coast towns and towns otherwise favourably situated for transport are now freely offering on favourable terms land, water, and electric power to factories and other industrial concerns.

In all towns as much of the citizens' savings as possible is mobilized for public use, and the local loans are invariably very popular. Following the example of Birmingham and the far older example of German towns, Durban now proposes to establish a municipal bank for the double purpose of tapping more effectually local savings which at present go largely to Government institutions—the Post Office Savings Bank and the Union Loan Certificates—and at the same time borrowing more cheaply. It is estimated that the people of Durban save £400,000 a year and that at least one half of this amount would be deposited at interest in a municipal bank were it established. In spite of, or because of, their many-sided activities and enterprise, the balance sheets of South African municipalities usually show handsome surpluses, those of several large towns ranging from one to several million pounds. In many cases the trading undertakings alone represent assets in excess of all outstanding liabilities.

While praising all the good features of South African town government, however, candour requires an important reservation. The municipalities everywhere are wonderfully enterprising, often doing things which no English towns of corresponding size and rateable capacity would dream of doing, but not seldom external appearances and matters of secondary importance are preferred at the

expense of the primary and most vital consideration, which is public health. There are towns with beautiful and costly public halls, botanical gardens, excellent libraries, and many other resources of culture, which yet lack both adequate water supplies and proper systems of sewerage.

I cannot do better than illustrate what has been said on the question of local government by reference to Bloemfontein as affording an excellent example of progressive and forward-looking municipal enterprise. There it was a pleasure to meet a Town Clerk who had not only worked out a rational theory of urban government, but had succeeded, with the encouragement and support of an enlightened Town Council, in carrying his ideas a long way into effect. In specially mentioning Mr. J. P. Logan, the official in question, who went to South Africa from London, I do not presume to institute invidious comparisons between Bloemfontein and other South African cities, still less between their municipal administrators. Rather is this town singled out as exemplifying a far wider conception of local government than has yet been grasped, in practice at least, in our own country.

Bloemfontein was, of course, the capital of the Orange Free State in the old days, as it is now the capital of the Province which perpetuates the familiar name, and it is also the judicial capital of the country. In consequence of the Union in 1910 two of the four capitals were required to renounce much of their political and administrative importance, but each of them received a share in the new honours and privileges which had to be distributed. Bloemfontein, though situated in the very heart of the country, failed to be chosen as the capital, but it was given the Supreme Court of Appeal, and was made the centre for the instruction of the Defence Force. Wisely the city now determined to rely more than before upon its own energies and resources, and in so doing to leave nothing to chance. A new era of development and progress did, indeed, open for it at that time. It is now a town of some 19,000 European and 20,000 Native inhabitants; it is well built, intersected by beautiful avenues, and adorned by a full complement of the stately buildings which are the pride of all South African towns.

Standing on Naval Hill the onlooker surveys a vast plain, every square yard of which, in every direction, is or was municipal property. Here is one of the secrets of Bloemfontein's prosperity. When granted about 1860 its land dowry had an area of 27,000 acres, comprising the entire periphery of the town within a radius of several miles, except in one direction. I heard the interesting story of its purchase. It is said that when the town was incorporated the Government commissioned a trusted agent, experienced in land purchase transactions, to buy land on its behalf largely and cheaply, and that when his commission was completed he returned home disappointed and disgruntled, complaining that the nature of his business had leaked out, with the result that ill-considered profiteers had inflated the price, so that for this little shire of territory he had had to pay the inordinate figure of £250. A striking illustration of how expensive a town's development may be for itself was related to me. Only on the north side did Bloemfontein lack a reserve of municipal land. Long before it had reached the boundary of its estate in that direction the opportunity occurred of buying 2,000 acres of land there for the small sum of £800, but the wish of some of the far-seeing members of the Town Council was frustrated. Five years later the Council was compelled to buy half the land in question, and then for £10,000.

Since that time land sites for all sorts of purposes have been sold, given, or lent to the value of about a quarter of a million pounds, all the money received therefrom being expended on public improvements; but the 18,000 acres which remain have an estimated value of at least the same sum. The major part of the land is available for town extensions, including sites for commercial and industrial works, these being as a rule adjacent to the railway, and recreative and other miscellaneous purposes. For some time factories have been relegated to a special industrial area outside the town proper. A large acreage is also set apart at convenient points as grazing camps, for the use of which rents are received. Land is sold on a freehold or a leasehold basis. When sold for building purposes it is subject to the condition that erection shall be begun within twelve months, for there can be no holding of land for a

rise in value at Bloemfontein. In default, rates must be paid not only on the land but also on the value of the house which should have been built.

A student of municipal government cannot be long in the town before he recognizes that there is in operation here an administrative system which has been thought out and systematically built up, in most un-English fashion, on definite sociological principles. It is true that these principles have not been carried to any logical extreme, and in their application there is nothing that savours of the crude Communism of Hyde Park Corner oratory; yet within the limits that have proved practicable they may be said to represent a serious attempt to express local government in terms of social service and betterment. Broadly, the Bloemfontein conception of municipal government is that a Town Council is not an impersonal "authority" set above or outside the community, but a condensation, an epitome of the community itself; hence that its policy and actions should be a faithful expression of the needs and aspirations of the citizens. A Town Council should regard itself as an agency of helpfulness, doing things in virtue of its collective power and resources which the individual citizen cannot efficiently or advantageously do for himself. Mr. Logan's view is that municipal policy should be directed towards two main aims: (1) to increase the productive resources and stimulate the productive activities of the community, with a view to extended commercial relations with other communities outside, and (2) to promote the efficiency of the general body of citizens, not only as men and women but as units in the economic system.

A municipality may achieve the first of these objects (*a*) by performing services and providing conveniences "in bulk" wherever these things can be done better and more economically by one hand than by many, so releasing a vast amount of individual energy and capital for more profitable employment in other directions; and also (*b*) by controlling the land, in virtue of public ownership, with a view to ruling out speculation, keeping down the cost of sites, and to that extent minimizing the tribute paid by productive enterprise to money capital in the form of rent, leaving so much more capital in the hands of the

men who build houses and factories, construct and employ machinery, and develop the agricultural and pastoral resources of the country, and by so doing create new wealth instead of merely accumulating it.

The second object is to be achieved by the pursuance of a bold and well-considered policy of social welfare, by which the life of the citizens is kept at a high level, both physically and intellectually—a policy covering a wide range of activity, e.g., efficient sanitation, housing, facilities for sport and recreation, hospital service, education, including technical training, etc.

Such are the theory and the ideal. How far are they translated into practice? From the economic standpoint municipal policy at Bloemfontein is governed by the idea of making the way plain for wealth-producing trade and industry, and one way of doing this is to relieve the wealth producers of functions which impede their proper function and are not worth their while. For example, Bloemfontein provides water, electricity, and transport, and why? Because these enterprises, though so necessary, are not directly wealth-creating. Let business men devote their talents and capital to production, leaving the mere mechanism of social life in public hands. It is significant of the municipality's concern for the encouragement of business of all kinds that no trade licence fees are levied here, as in many South African towns. Mr. Logan himself is in favour of rating on land only, as at Johannesburg, but though Bloemfontein has not yet got as far as that the change will come in time.

Other trading enterprises carried on by the municipality are cold storage works, a cattle market, stone quarries and sandpits, and brick and tile works; like Doncaster Bloemfontein owns the local racecourse, though it does not appear to make as much money by it; and until recently it ran a picture-house, called by the more refined name of bioscope in South Africa. It has also obtained power to keep a pawnshop, and intends to exercise it as soon as the necessary arrangements have been made.

The possession of so much land has enabled the town to engage in forestry on a commercial scale. Around the town are a number of plantations of various size, all municipal property and yielding good revenue, while the large municipal

nurseries supply ornamental and other trees free to institutions and organizations of a public character (schools, sports clubs, etc.), and to private individuals at a low price, the idea being to cover the country with as much vegetation as possible in the interest of rainfall as well as for profit. Some two million trees, largely pines and gums, have been planted on town lands, and it is estimated that in ten or twelve years' time their value will exceed the town's debt, already amply covered by income-producing assets.

Coming to measures of social welfare, we shall see that here again Bloemfontein goes far beyond the conventional limits of municipal concern for the public health. The water supply is derived from the Modder River, and though it is said to be extracted in the form of a yellow soup, after a fourfold treatment it reaches the public in a condition of excellent purity. As to sanitation Bloemfontein makes the claim—which I am in a position neither to accept nor dispute—that it is the only town in South Africa that is fully sewered on modern principles, and it has never grudged the outlay of a quarter of a million pounds expended upon the work. The sewage fertilizes the municipal farms and orchards, in area 100 acres. There is a public wash-house and steam laundry, the washing being done by Native servants, who here work in sanitary conditions and under due control.

The utmost care is taken to ensure the purity of the meat supply. No meat may be sold to the public which has not passed through the municipal abattoir and there been killed under supervision, examined by an expert, duly certified as fit for human consumption, and finally kept in cold storage for twenty-four hours. There are municipal regulations imposing on butchers the duty of exercising the utmost cleanliness in the handling of meat, and so far does solicitude for the public health go that the town supplies the butchers' boys with smocks free, and both repairs and washes them without charge. Farm produce, fruit, vegetables, and other food-stuffs are retailed under perfect hygienic conditions in commodious morning markets, at which housewives are able to obtain a large part of their supplies direct from the producers, to the great relief of their purses. Bloemfontein has, in fact, lower retail food prices than any other of the nine larger towns of the Union

for which official returns are periodically published. It is now proposed to enter the dairying business with a view to supplying pure milk in the special interest of infant life.

In the use made of its land reserves, great importance is attached to the physical welfare of the community. Health and pleasure are promoted by a lavish provision of parks, gardens, including botanical and zoological gardens, and sport and recreation grounds of all kinds. The aim has been to meet, as far as possible, the special tastes and needs of all classes and ages. There are municipal cricket and football fields for the stalwarts, tennis courts for the devotees of mild athletics, croquet courts for those of the gentler sex who are not too modern to play an old-fashioned game, and boating in one of the parks for the nautically-minded; there are two golf courses, one at each end of the town, and the railway men have a course for themselves, likewise on town land; while bowling greens (eight of them) are at the disposal of the rotund, if not too stiff-jointed. A closed swimming bath of noble proportions, said to be the largest in the country, to which are attached cubicle baths of various kinds, is a great source of enjoyment to frequenters of both sexes.

Special attention is paid to the interests of youth. Bloemfontein is a town of clubs, and the largest and most distinctive of them is known as the Ramblers' Club. Here the young folk of both sexes are able to consort, engage in indoor and outdoor games, hold their reunions, and in general cultivate on neutral ground and in pleasant surroundings the social side of life. Not only did the municipality dedicate a large acreage of land to this novel institution, but it guaranteed a loan of £26,000 needed for building and equipping it. Surrounding the handsome and spacious club buildings are cricket, football, and hockey fields, a golf course, tennis and croquet courts, bowling greens, and a miniature rifle range; while inside are a number of billiard tables, smoking, reading and writing rooms, a library, a refreshment room, a drawing room with piano for the special use of lady members, and a theatre, concert and dancing hall. The club was popular from the first and it pays its way; a membership of 800 is convincing evidence that it fills a useful place in the social life of the town.

That Bloemfontein, as the monopolist landlord of the district, should be in the van of housing reform was to be expected. The municipality has spent over £40,000 in building small houses for its workmen, and it lends money to builders and individual householders for the same purpose. More than £600,000 has been advanced in this way, and so far without loss. It has also established on its estate a settlement for ex-soldiers. Other social welfare work includes the maintenance of a corps of lady visitors —"Sisters of the Poor," shall we call them?—including one with medical qualifications, an excellent nursing service, and a *crèche*.

That all these activities and agencies have reacted beneficently upon public health will be readily believed. It is easy to juggle with statistics, and it would be unjustifiable to attach too great importance to crude records of mortality. Nevertheless, there must be significance in the fact that while twenty years ago the general death rate, taking a mean of three years (1903–5), was 13 per 1,000 inhabitants and the infant mortality 177 per 1,000 of all born, the corresponding means for the three past years were 8 and 68.

After physical welfare comes mental and intellectual—the healthy mind in the healthy body. In South Africa education, as we have seen, is the affair of the Provincial Councils, local committees assisting in the management of the schools. But if a municipality cannot directly educate the rising generation it can assist in the work by providing sites and playing fields for schools and colleges, and this Bloemfontein does generously. To the Grey College, for example, it gave a spacious site, together with 300 acres for a campus and sports fields. The town's concern for the religious and moral welfare of the community is evidenced in the same way. Sites for churches and philanthropic purposes are invariably granted free, no distinction being made between the various confessions and denominations. I observe that the land grants and concessions made during a recent year included sites given or leased free for a Native church, for schools, for a hospital, for golf grounds, and for an institute for the deaf, mute, and blind. Money grants are also given with a free hand in support of social, educational, religious, and philanthropic organizations and

objects, the total of thirty donations of this kind made in a single year being between £6,000 and £7,000.

Enough will have been said to establish the claim that in its various activities and invasions of spheres of action which in this country are usually left to private initiative the Town Council of Bloemfontein is ruled by the idea of service and helpfulness, as vital factors in municipal development. It is satisfactory to be able to say that the community cordially approves the progressive policy carried on on its behalf, and, in spite of the cost, is ready to wait patiently for results. For not all the town's trading enterprises are profit-making. What is lost in one direction, however, is gained in another: thus the large profit made on the public market more than covers the deficit on the public baths, the housing scheme, the Native wash-house, as well as the non-gainful expenditure on social welfare in the narrower sense. The trackless trams regularly show a heavy deficit, but they are continued by the express wish of the community, which finds compensation for the loss in the convenience offered, not the least valuable feature of which is the cheap and efficient service for scholars.

Nor has the Native population failed to benefit by the progressive spirit which animates local government at Bloemfontein. The Orange Free State is one of the provinces in which the Native and Coloured peoples do not, to speak mildly, enjoy an excess of liberty, and where the Asiatics in particular give no trouble, since they are seldom allowed to cross the border and then as a rule only for temporary purposes. The Native Location, however, is in many ways a model of what such an institution should be. Compared with the ill-favoured shacks and shanties in which the Blacks herd in some locations the well-built cottages of the Native village here are palatial. The location occupies a large area outside the town, and is sufficiently segregated to make the Natives an independent community, and it was opened five years ago. Here some 15,000 people are housed, not luxuriously, but in simple comfort and above all with a proper regard for health and decency. Beforetime the Natives were quartered in all sorts of localities in and about the town, and apart from the incidental sanitary evils there was no possibility of exercising

the necessary control over them. The new location having been laid out, the first difficulty was to induce the Natives to abandon their old haunts and make a fresh start in more civilized conditions, for most of them, like the Irish cottars of thirty years ago, had come to love the dirt and grime of their wretched cabins as a part of themselves. Directly the "best families" removed, however, the rest cheerfully followed. For let it be noted that there are subtle gradations of rank and social precedence among Blacks as among Whites, and a dusky Mrs. Vere de Vere is no more ready to consort with a humble Mrs. Wiggins than is her English counterpart; and the example of the upper ten or hundred, as the case may be, is law to the imitative multitude.

At the location building "stands" or sites are let at a nominal sum, and the Native and his wife and family themselves run up their cottage, usually of rough bricks, the town supplying the necessary materials. The cottages are of plain structure, but real doors and windows are general, which is not the rule elsewhere. Inevitably there is a certain monotony about the long rows of low-roofed dwellings, though here and there are touches of colour, and some of the residents have made a brave attempt to imitate the White man's *stoep*. Each household has an allotment of one-eighth of an acre, on which to grow mealies for necessity and potatoes for luxury. Further, 2,000 acres of adjacent land, with stock kraals, are assigned to the cattle, sheep, and donkeys which the Natives everywhere are so fond of keeping.

Practically the location is organized and equipped as a self-contained community. There are shops and stores, an open market, a public hall for social, educational and other gatherings, including concerts and dances, a hostel for bachelor residents and visitors, a picture house, swimming baths, a dispensary, religious meeting-houses, though not separate ones for all the Native churches, or forty or fifty would be needed—one for the "Church of God Scientist" and another for "Zion of the Revelation"—cricket and football fields, tennis courts, and croquet grounds; and soon the town intends to provide a closed market for meat and farm produce. Water is supplied at every street corner, and the location is electrically lighted throughout. In short Bloemfontein has created a Native quarter so

excellent and exemplary that Capetown has tempted away its location superintendent.

The location and the Native quarters generally are administered by a separate department of the Municipal Council, in conjunction with a European staff, assisted by Native employees. A large amount of capital, which will never be recovered, has been expended on the town's locations at one time or another, but the present cost of upkeep and management is about covered by the revenue received from the Natives in the form of rents and pass and licence fees. The Coloured people (half-castes) number only a thousand or so, and for them, too, a small location is provided.

Sound business methods are followed in the management of all public enterprises, and nothing is wasted that can be turned into money or put to use. Thus a modern destructor consumes the town's refuse, and in so doing generates both power and light for the wash-house, abattoir, and other public purposes, and also yields by-products of marketable value. In connexion with the abattoir there is a plant for the utilization of offal, bones, etc., which are converted into condensed meat, fertilizers, and what not. Even the " clinkers " raked out of the furnaces go to make concrete. The electrical department undertakes general work and repairs of any kind in its line, from the installation of a power and light service to the mending of a laundry iron ; the motorist whose car has broken down outside the town has only to send a call by the nearest telephone and a municipal electrician with a bag of tools is on the spot in a few minutes.

Again, the funds employed in financing builders are kept continually circulating, every new advance implying more building and a further addition, larger or smaller, to the town, with a consequent increase of its property valuation and its revenue from the rates. The proceeds of the sale of timber and of trees produced in the nurseries is applied in extending the area of afforestation. If the town were able to use in relief of the rates the income derived from the sale of land the ratepayer would be in clover. The whole of it, however, is expended on new and beneficial public works, and up to the present time a capital of £223,000 had been invested in this way.

The financial position of the municipality is distinctly favourable. It has trading and revenue-yielding enterprises to the value of £966,000, and other assets to the value of £978,000, with sinking and depreciation funds of £454,000, so that in spite of a debt of one and a quarter million pounds, it is over a million pounds to the good as a going concern. In South Africa as at home municipal expenditure has increased greatly since the fateful year 1914, yet I learned that at Bloemfontein the rates are now only 13 per cent. higher than ten years ago. Many English towns would be grateful for an equally favourable experience.

In ending this review let me recall a significant episode in the virulent epidemic of influenza which visited a part of the country in the later months of 1918. Bloemfontein was one of the towns which suffered most severely, but the community's necessity was the Town Council's opportunity. When, owing to the ravages of the epidemic, the great mass of the inhabitants were helpless, when the life of the town was threatened with paralysis, and there seemed a fear that in the absence of extraordinary measures disease might run riot to the bitter end, the Council stepped into the breach, set up a sort of *ad hoc* Soviet system, and added to its already multifarious activities the organization of the medical and nursing service and of the food supply. A body of 800 enthusiastic workers gathered round the resourceful Town Clerk and his loyal associates of the municipal corps. They fed the entire community; they saw that doctors and nurses were available for every stricken household; they buried the victims of disease, of whom there were 600 Europeans and 900 Natives from first to last; and each morning every house in the town was visited in order to ascertain its bill of health and its special needs. Hearing of what was going on, the local Member of Parliament, who is to-day the Union Prime Minister, went down to his home in the Centre City and "did his bit" as one of the indomitable band of mercy. After the epidemic had subsided in the town, the rural district had its turn, and the same workers and machinery performed again the same services, under more difficult conditions. Sovietism of that sort might, in emergencies, be more than tolerable.

If in speaking of Bloemfontein's administration I end

as I began with a reference to the Town Clerk, it is because he has been the moving spirit in the ambitious work which has been done and in the laying of foundations for still greater developments in the future. Mr. Logan possesses the true civic spirit in a high and uncommon degree. For him a Town Council is no mere piece of machinery; it is the community organized for common service. And because it is a living organism it must ever be in flux, ever adaptive, ever ready to meet changing needs with changing forms, new demands with new resources, ever reflecting the plastic mind, the progressive aspirations and morality of society as it struggles onward towards the still far-off ideal of which Mazzini spoke as "the great and beautiful ensign of democracy"—"the progress of all through all, under the leadership of the best and wisest." Hence his eye is directed always to the future and the next step, and the fresh calls which to-morrow and the day after to-morrow will assuredly bring.

And all that Bloemfontein achieves is to Mr. Logan quite natural and matter-of-course. To him the question is not how came these things to be, but why should they not be —how could it be otherwise? When you express surprise at the recital of the many conveniences and amenities provided by the Town Council for the citizens, he quietly stops you with, "But why? We (the Council) are the citizens—it is all done for ourselves." Tell him that the policy of making free grants of land to schools, boys' and girls' clubs, and any other institution or agency that serves the welfare of the young, shows a generous spirit, and he answers, "Not at all—they are our own children—it is really only a family matter." Is it not true and right, this view of the municipality as a larger household, and its administration as the ordained civic agency of mutual helpfulness, when we trouble to think about it? But how few of us, our minds enslaved by effete traditions and imposing misconceptions, have grasped an idea so obvious, rational, and fruitful. The physical atmosphere of Bloemfontein, situated on the windswept high veld at a height of 4,600 feet, is exceptionally bracing; but I found its civic atmosphere the most stimulating I had ever experienced.

CHAPTER XIII

THE COLOUR BAR

CHEAP Native labour is the curse of South Africa. I put the postulate at the head of this chapter purposely, in the hope that it may shock my friends across the seas, though in doubt whether it will shock them as much as it should. The status of the Native in the labour market in a large part of the country—in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State altogether, and elsewhere in a modified degree—is determined by the "colour bar." The same principle of discrimination is applied in other directions, however, though not with equal rigour. In the Dutch States the Natives travel in separate railway carriages, of a type which recalls the time, over half a century ago, when English railway companies still used open carriages for excursionists, and if roofed took care to advertise the fact; they have also their own ticket offices; but they are not allowed to travel on the street cars at all. They and the half-castes may staff the hotels from top to bottom and from back to front, but as for entering public places of refreshment or pleasure as guests—let them only try and then see what will happen. By way of comparison, it is worthy of remark that on the railways of the American Union, even in the Southern States, the Negroes have their own waiting-rooms and in separate buffets are served the same food as the Whites if they are willing to pay for it, while in tramcars generally they are allowed to sit at the rear, or the front if the Whites select the reverse position. The American Negro, in fact, can do a hundred things denied to the South African Native, and in a large number of cases not want of ability or fitness but merely colour is the reason of the latter's disparagement. Even in parts of North America the relations between Whites and Blacks are far from ideal, yet at least they are human—relations between man and man, not between man and a being to whom are ascribed merely the nature and status of a superior animal.

Local regulations still exist in many towns forbidding

Natives to use the causeways, but the prohibition is gradually falling into desuetude, and there are towns where the Native is disposed to claim rather more than his fair share of spaces which should be reserved for free traffic. While I was at Johannesburg a mild newspaper controversy had arisen over an attempt of the Town Council to close to Natives one of the most attractive of the public parks, and while many citizens were contesting the action as ungenerous some were urging the authorities to extend the embargo to other public places of resort specially used by Europeans. In the two Dutch provinces, indeed, the notice "For Europeans" meets you on every hand—a sign that the colour bar is observed in these provinces far more rigorously than in the Cape or Natal.

But discriminations attributable to æsthetic and sanitary considerations, though also to prejudice, have nothing in common with the colour bar in industry, and it is with this that the present chapter is concerned. By the dictate of no law except that of the European trade unions, Native labour in half the country is broadly excluded from all the skilled occupations, and, by way of compensation, is assigned a practical though uncovenanted monopoly of the unskilled drudgery of industry. The chief exceptions to the rule occur in the Cape Province, which is the most advanced in regard to the political treatment of the Natives and the Coloured people, and to a less degree in Natal. In these provinces both are to-day found in many of the semi-skilled trades, and particularly in some of the building trades.

The colour bar, as so enforced, is the sign and symbol of a system of pure economic domination. It stamps the Coloured population as an inferior and subordinate element in the community; ignoring all such tests of personal and civic merit as character and capacity, it determines the Coloured man's deserts, social status, and right to earn a decent or—to use a word which is continually on the lips of the European workmen and their leaders—"civilized" livelihood, by the one factor of the colour of his skin. The effect is to place a stigma on five millions of human beings whose right to inhabit South Africa is as good as or better than that of the great majority of the Europeans, and to doom a large and increasing part of them to a life

of poverty and degradation from which they cannot at present even hope to emerge.

Sir William Beaumont, speaking as chairman of a Government Committee appointed in connexion with the Native Land Act of 1913, said, "Apart from moral obligations, the colour bar is a direct violation of the most elementary economic principles, and for that reason alone could not fail to be harmful to the State and the individual. The White labourer, in attempting to conserve what he conceives to be his own interests, is repressing the rights of the Natives."

Yet, as I have said, for the colour bar as so defined and enforced there is no sanction in the constitution or in law. This was made indisputably clear by a judgment of the Supreme Court of the Transvaal promulgated so late as December, 1923. The Government had issued a regulation under the Mines Act of 1911 providing that machinery should be in charge of "a competent shiftsman" and that in the Transvaal and Orange Free State provinces such shiftsmen should be Whites. The Magistrate of Johannesburg having acquitted a mine manager on a charge of employing a Native to control an electric locomotive, finding that the regulation was *ultra vires*, because unreasonable and not applying to all classes alike, the Attorney General appealed to the Supreme Court against this judgment. The Court supported the Magistrate's finding on the ground that the enabling Act did not discriminate between the White and Black races, and declared the impugned regulation to be "*prima facie* repugnant to the law of the land," and "unreasonable and even capricious and arbitrary."

The decision has an important bearing upon the legal status of the Native labourer, however it may affect actual labour conditions in the immediate future, for it should make it impossible that the existing denial to him of the right to do skilled work, hitherto reserved by the White workman for himself, can receive statutory or judicial sanction.* But equally the decision was an act of emancipation for the mine owners, for it formally denied the claim of the trade unions of a right to dictate

* Nevertheless, a Bill gazetted while this book is passing through the press proposes to legalize the "colour bar."

who should and should not be employed in any given capacity in the mines, and in the abstract gave the mine owners an entirely free hand in the matter—a liberty and a discretion which, it may be taken for granted, they will for a long time exercise with extreme caution.

It may be recalled that this is the third occasion in recent years that an important Act which discriminated against the Natives has on appeal been declared to be *ultra vires*, and the fact that the two earlier ones related to their civil status in other relations makes the circumstance more rather than less significant. It is perhaps rather surprising that the validity of the traffic and other discriminations in force in some places has not been tested in the same way.

Wherever you may be in South Africa, whether in town or country, you see that the entire load of menial labour rests upon the shoulders of the Natives, who as a rule earn but the scantiest pittance, which does little more than keep flesh and bones together, and for the rest allows of no expenditure upon the comforts or even the bare decencies of family life. In industry, agriculture, domestic service, and every other sphere of "common labour," the Black "boy" fills the *rôle* of universal drudge. The latest official industrial census (1921–2) showed that the manufacturing industries of the country employed nearly 111,000 non-Europeans, as compared with only 60,000 Europeans, and that the sum of the wages paid to the latter was thrice as large as that paid to the former, representing a ratio of average pay of five and a half to one, though in many trades the disparity was twice as great. In the gold mining industry the ratio of Coloured to White labour was ten to one and in agriculture it was about eight to one. With few exceptions these non-Europeans were engaged in unskilled labour, though unquestionably a large proportion of them were qualified to do semi-skilled and even skilled work, and were only prevented by the colour bar.

The actual rates of Native wages differ greatly according to industry and locality, but those usually paid to unskilled workers in the principal industrial areas range between 2s. 6d. and 4s. a day, or 5s. in the Cape Peninsula, figures which should be judged in conjunction with the

common claim that a White artisan cannot bring up his family respectably under a pound a day. The wages of Coloured workers other than Natives engaged underground in the Witwatersrand gold mines are in general one-fifth, and those of Native workers less than one-tenth (say 2s. a day), of those paid to the Europeans, even when the value of food and lodging is taken into account.

On farms and ranches the Natives of the locality do all but the skilled and other work requiring a more than average intelligence and degree of trustworthiness, and they are paid either in money and food or in money only, primitive lodging in the shape of a hut being assigned to them where they have not kraals of their own to go to. Where food is supplied the money wages range from 15s. to 20s. a month, together with rations of mealie meal and meat. Where the remuneration is in money only a wage of from 30s. to 40s. a month is paid, though little perquisites may be given *ex gratiâ*.

Whatever the Native's inadequacy as a farm labourer may be, his wages are well earned, for if married his wife and children are expected to help where and as they can, so much more food being supplied in return, and there is no limit to his work, beyond that imposed by conditions of light. A large farmer said to me of his Native "boys," "We get twelve or fourteen hours out of them." That way of looking at the Native—as an instrument of labour from which as much effort as possible can be obtained in return for what is almost invariably only a stable ration of food—seems to me dangerous. But the Native labourers are marvellously patient, and in the more backward minds scarcely a glimmering idea of rights and claims seems yet to have appeared. The questions which present themselves to impartial observers, however, are—how long will their unnatural patience last and how long ought it to last?

While claiming very emphatically that the Black man must not presume to contest the White man's claim to monopolize the skilled trades on pain of trouble, labour leaders will tell you that they entertain no colour prejudice against the Native as a cheap unskilled labourer. It is a cheap sort of magnanimity. In practice the attitude of the European trade unions is dictated solely by regard for the

assumed interests of the White workers, and in the event of disputes with the employers no regard whatever is paid to the Native workers, who are thrown out of work with complete indifference to the consequences for them. Thus during a strike in the building trade in Johannesburg several years ago the Whites called out the Black unskilled labourers, though they were not members of the White unions or allowed to be such, and left them to starve. Though large contributions from other labour organizations all over the country flowed into the trade union coffers in support of the strike, not a penny of the money went to the Natives, who had to be relieved by public subscription.

Influenced by self-interest several of the stronger trade unions have of late years favoured the admission of Coloured men to membership, though with no idea of sacrificing any of their well-established prerogatives. Rather, the consideration which has led to this change of attitude has been the hope of exercising some control upon Native and Coloured competition from the wages standpoint and of defeating the alleged desire of the employers to uproot the principle of "labour solidarity," to which the trade unions pay lip service but in practice are untrue, and so to divide the White and Black sections of the labour army into hostile camps, to the advantage of the "common enemy," the capitalist.

Some years ago the late Mr. Keir Hardie made a political tour of investigation in South Africa, and with his instinct for even-handed justice and his habit of straight and plain speaking he told his European colleagues that the only solution of the labour problem of South Africa was the adoption of the principle of equal pay for equal work, with no discrimination of race or colour. That was pure labour doctrine of the international solidarity sort, logically applied, but it was meat too strong for the digestions of Johannesburg, and Keir Hardie's candour was not for a long time forgiven him.

To-day there are labour leaders who are quite prepared to receive Coloured people into their unions on the principle of equal pay for equal work, but subject to the condition that they shall adopt a standard of living corresponding to that of the European workman. Obviously, however, the latter condition must block the way, for it is as hopeless

to force a higher level of material aspiration upon communities or even individuals as to force upon them a higher level of thought.

Nowhere is the colour bar enforced so drastically, or the fear of the Native as a competitor in the skilled trades so great, as in the gold mining industry on the Rand. At the present time the number of White workers employed in the mines is between 17,500 and 18,000, while the number of Coloured labourers ranges from 170,000 to 185,000. The White trade unions care little where the Native labourers come from and even less what they are paid, so long as the mine owners do not alter the numerical ratio to the prejudice of the Europeans, and against any movement or indication of the kind they are constantly *en vedette*.

It is only the far-sighted among their leaders who appear to recognize that White labour will only be able to maintain its ground in the long run on condition of working harmoniously together with Coloured labour. Its present privilege rests on prescription, and because there is behind it no legal sanction, such men know, though they may not confess it, that so long as South Africa continues to be mainly an agricultural country and industry is in its first beginnings, labour can never hope to dictate national policy in such a matter. Actuated not by any sense of justice but by regard for self-interest even the Mine Workers' Union now shows signs of a change of heart, at least to the extent of being no longer as hostile as formerly to the acceptance of Coloured members. It is evident, however, that a concession of that kind can have no attraction, because no practical value, for the Natives so long as the colour bar continues, and this there is as yet no intention or thought of modifying.

The attitude of the Native workers, in sympathy with their character, is a waiting attitude; they look on patiently, and meanwhile try to advance their interests in their own unaggressive ways. They are not, in fact, eager to enter the European organizations, understanding well that they would only be tolerated and not welcomed, and that where the invitation is held out to them even now it is not in their interest but in that of the Whites. They know, too, that time is on their side and they feel that, having lived under the colour bar so long, a little more experience of the same

kind cannot greatly matter. Further, though they may understand little about the economics of the Labour movement, they are intelligent enough to see that they would never be given equal status as members of White trade unions except on condition of demanding the White wages rates, and they fear with some justification that where European employers had to choose between White and Black labour at equal cost public opinion, if not their own interest, would usually compel them to choose the former. And behind these scruples, at the back of the Native's mind, is a deep distrust of the White labourer and his leaders, a distrust born of painful experience and easy to understand and justify. It is this distrust that has made the Native so little responsive to outside efforts to induce him to organize, and has caused him in that matter to apply a colour bar of his own and follow the lead of men of his own race.

Compared with their numbers, however, there is as yet little organization amongst the Native labourers, though in the larger towns the movement is progressing. The strongest of their societies is the Commercial Workers' Union of South Africa, but it claimed recently to have no larger a membership than 15,000. It is an organization of a somewhat ambitious character, whose leaders believe in the policy of demanding for Native workers a good deal more than they can hope to obtain for a long time. It is understood to be influenced and subsidized by the powerful Black organization in the United States, and its leaders naturally imbibe the advanced views regarding Native rights which are current in that country and are obviously less out of place there than in South Africa, where the Native in general stands on a much lower level of civilization.

How indisposed the organization is to accept as final the Native's present inferior status may be judged from several resolutions adopted at its annual conference in February, 1924. One declared that "the time has now arrived to recognize the necessity of contesting provincial and municipal elections in the Cape Province as direct representatives of the African workers," and instructed the Union's secretariate to put forward intelligent and experienced members of the organization as candidates wherever possible. Another

resolution affirmed "the right of every workman of whatever colour he may be to an income sufficient to enable him to maintain his family in civilized comfort, in Christian decency and citizenship, in physical efficiency and in material comfort and the social amenity of his respective class or community," and called upon the Government to introduce a Bill in the House of Assembly providing for a general minimum rate of pay for every African adult male and female worker in every sphere of industry. A third resolution called for the formation of a comprehensive federation to embrace all Native labour in the Union of South Africa, the adjacent Imperial Protectorates, and Rhodesia. It may be added that the Union has already had separate representation at the Geneva International Labour Conferences.

It is evident, therefore, that the Native workers, while suffering much, have also learned much from their White masters. On the Rand contact with the Europeans has even taught them the value of the strike, for in 1920 over 70,000 of the unskilled mine workers laid down tools together on a demand for higher wages, a daring act hitherto without parallel in the history of Native labour in South Africa. Strictly speaking, they have no right to strike, but when the full kettle boils it overflows. Quite recently (1924) five hundred Natives engaged on a grain elevator in course of erection at Capetown suddenly struck work for an increase of their pay, on the ground of the risk to life involved, as shown by a recent fatal accident. To most people it was a new revelation of the Native's mind that he should assess the value of life and limb in money. The incident was but a fresh illustration of the awakening amongst aboriginal races throughout the world of a consciousness of individuality, and of their conviction that the Black no less than the White man is responsible first to himself for the use he makes of his life.

While speaking frankly on this question of the colour bar and its harsh effects, I would once more ask my readers at home to remember their habitual scorn of the Publican in a certain parable of Holy Writ. In essence the attitude of White labour towards the Native population in South Africa is only a reflection of the attitude of skilled labour to unskilled in Europe. The *élite* of the working class, for all its fine doctrines of liberty, equality and fraternity, has never

countenanced any invasion of its privileged position. Labour professes intolerance of class privilege, but in its own ranks the class spirit is no less strong, and far more unkind, because more unnatural, than in other classes of society.* It is, of course, human and comprehensible that any class of men should be concerned to maintain its own position and standards. On a long view, however, identity of interest exists between skilled and unskilled labour, but labour and its organizations seldom take long views. What skilled labour has never had the intelligence to perceive is that its greatest enemy is not the class above but the class below itself; both act like magnets, but the "draw" of the one is strongly upward, while that of the other is still more strongly downward. And for the sake of those of us who are Publicans and have never suspected it, it may be worth while to add that the colour bar is, after all, only another phase of a universal social alienation, in which the spiritual gulf between intellect and ignorance is perhaps more mischievous and disruptive than the merely material antagonism between wealth and poverty, even at its worst.

There is, however, another and a more general aspect of the Native labour question, and it is the unhealthy influence which is exerted on the White worker by his unnatural relation to the unskilled Coloured man. The relation is virtually one of master or "boss" to a servant and inferior. To make it clear that this is not an uninformed view, I quote some words from the official Year Book of the South African Union (1920-21) which, in referring to the Natives, says, "As the result of the presence of this large section of workers the position of the White worker has been limited to a considerable degree to the more highly remunerated lines of the skilled trades or to the work of supervising, overlooking, and controlling the unskilled labourers who are employed in practically every industry or agricultural

* While this book is being written *The Times* (June 11th, 1924) contains a report of an address given by the president of the annual conference of the National Federation of Colliery Enginemen, etc., held in London on June 10th, 1924, wherein "he criticized the action of the Miners' Federation in regard to the recent settlement, declaring that the lowest paid workers had been sacrificed, and that had it not been for the National Federation these workers would still have been on starvation wages," and Mr. Brailsford is reported as writing of the "feud between skilled and unskilled" in the English trade union movement.

operation in the Union" (p. 289). It is a relation between the two races which runs through every department of national life. Everywhere you see signs and illustrations of this spirit of ascendancy and domination. It is learnt by the child, and, strengthened in his formative years, it becomes part of his nature and accompanies him through life. The Bishop of Pretoria, speaking recently on the Native question, told how he had seen a small boy drop his cap in the street and call a Native to pick it up. I heard also of a White boy who regularly went to school with a Native servant following behind him, carrying his books. In the economic sphere the "boss" spirit is intensified by the cheapness of Native labour. And because this labour is cheap it is used improvidently, and improvidence is demoralizing.

Asking a trade unionist artisan recently engaged on a small household repair why he had brought an assistant with him, seeing that there was no bag of tools to carry and the work only occupied half an hour or so, he replied that he "had to do," for he explained that if his "mate" had stayed behind he would have had nothing to do. Such an attitude reveals a curiously elementary conception of industrial organization, yet South Africa acts quite similarly, though with various applications of its own. There, because Native labourers cost so little, they are employed in numbers altogether out of proportion to the work to be done, while the skilled White workman, assuming a foremanly status and dignity, directs operations and as far as possible confines his attention to that function and his pipe.

The gas man is, of course, White, but he takes round with him a Native to open doors and meter lids. The turncock is also a White, but a Black "boy" must carry his key, dutifully fix it, and turn it round where and when told to do. Your smoking chimney needs to be cleaned, and you call in the European master sweep. In due course he visits your house in company with two or three Blacks, whom he instructs, and then leaves in charge. In the course of sweeping (I am relating an actual instance as it was told to me) the masonry is disturbed, with the result that the chimney smokes worse than before. There is another call on the master sweep, another visit by him and his Black "boys," and further tinkering at the chimney, in which bricks had

been loosened, followed, after a respectable interval, by a bill for fifteen shillings. No doubt all the time charged for was "put in"—but what a time! And why should it have been necessary?

Staying in a pleasant new hotel on the Coast, whose common-room opened by a series of high arches upon a large piazza overlooking the sea, I asked if this exposed arrangement were not an invitation to nocturnal intrusions. "Oh, no," was the answer, "there are always a dozen 'boys' about all night." But the labour of human beings, even of unskilled "boys," should never be as cheap as that, and when it is used wastefully, someone, who is not the employer, has to pay the bill, with reactions in this direction and that. I have seen ten Blacks working on a garden lawn where more than two men would have been in each other's way in England. Even the British-born housewife of very restricted resources employs a "boy" for work which she would never dream of having done for her "at home." But "Jim Fish," as he is called, only costs a shilling or so a day, and at that cost it is flattering to be a "boss," even if on a small scale.

How the operation of the "colour bar" may affect the public purse may be shown by an illustration, not without a humorous side, related by Mr. M. S. Evans, in his book "Black and White in South East Africa":

> "In a certain South African town a petition was sent in to the Corporation by the painters of the town, protesting against the custom of allowing Natives to paint the electric tram posts. A report was called for and sent in. The report pointed out that although the painting of the lower part of the posts was simply unskilled work, merely daubing the paint on a plain surface, the upper part was more intricate and involved a certain amount of danger to the workmen from the electric current. If was decided to allow the Black men to continue to undertake the somewhat dangerous but more skilled work at the top of the poles, at his low rate of pay, the White operator to have the safe and unskilled work at the bottom at skilled labour prices" (pp. 232-3).

Goods and services of many kinds are often said to be dear in South Africa. Of course, they are, and must be. Where two or three men do one man's work the cost is bound to be excessive. Again and again I was shown small

bungalows which before the War had cost from £1,500 upwards, yet which would then have been dear in this country at two-thirds of the price. No doubt the high rates of wages for skilled work explain the disparity in part, but I am confident that the prodigal use of Native labour effort and its reflex influence on the White workman are the principal causes. It is probable that the unemployment of Europeans from which South Africa has now so long suffered may be attributed to the same cause; for when commodities are dear consumption falls, and when consumers do not buy production decreases in sympathy.

All through the industrial system, all through social life, the fallacy of the cheapness of Native labour exercises its baneful influence, on the one hand leading to a wilful waste of energy, time, and money, all at the expense of the consumer, and on the other hand diminishing the efficiency of the White workman himself. For the fact that there is an unlimited amount of cheap Native labour to which unskilled and menial work can be assigned has the effect of causing the European worker to look with contempt upon all functions which do not happen to fit in with his high ideas of dignity as "Kaffir's work," and often of encouraging in him a disinclination to put his back into work of any kind.

But, again, in the measure that the European falls into slack ways the Native inevitably deteriorates under his example. And because of the dependence of the former upon the latter it is the Black man and not the White who sets the pace, and it is a slow pace, often far too slow for a young country which has still to "make good." Altogether it is a vicious reversal of the proper order, and one productive of great and cumulative harm to the body politic.

That these are not merely an outside observer's rash conclusions may be proved once more by public utterances to the same effect in South Africa which I noted while there and have noted since. Not long ago Sir Abe Bailey, a member of the House of Assembly, whose frequent irrelevancies and die-hard futilities alternate with much excellent common-sense, roundly asserted in that place that "the majority of the people in this country are inefficient"; Professor E. H. Brookes, of Pretoria, speaking at a conference on social questions, asserted that one of the alarming

features of the country's economic life is "the inefficiency of the workers, both White and Black"; Mr. J. W. Peirson, K.C., is reported as saying that "the present system of demanding a train of Native assistants in every job, big or small, is undoubtedly responsible for some existing unemployment"; while the Bishop of Pretoria, standing outside controversy, said on a recent occasion:

> "They looked at the Native question, and said: 'What a nasty problem!' But the Native was only half the problem, and perhaps the one half was as nasty as the other. So much Native labour made for laziness and 'drift' among the Whites, and he wondered whether the White man was going to maintain his standard in diligence when he was brought up in the 'Call Jim!' habit."

Upon the interesting yet difficult question whether Native labour, measured by efficiency or output, is really cheap I will only say that, while anything like an inductive examination of the question was impossible, it was not long before I formed the opinion that however it may be with agriculture, which has to work with the seasons, adapting itself to their vagaries, and in which celerity is possible only within narrow limits, in industry Native labour, when compared with the far higher paid unskilled labour of Europe, is not in reality as cheap as is commonly supposed, and often is very dear. The result of my own observations was repeatedly confirmed by large and small employers from practical experience. The fact is that, while Native labour may appear cheap, it is only because those who squander it do not keep honest accounts of their business dealings, and work out the question in all its consequences and implications.

It is no exaggeration to say that it is the fate of the Blacks to be economically exploited by Whites all round, from the agricultural employer who pays his "boys" a bare subsistence wage, to the trade unionist who assigns to them the lowest place in the labour market and dares them on their peril to seek or aspire to a higher. Richard Cobden said on one occasion, "It would be very monstrous indeed in the moral government of the world if one class of the community could permanently benefit at the expense of the misery and suffering of the rest." But it cannot benefit, for the action, inter-action, and reaction of class

upon class, and individual upon individual, alone prevent it. South Africa has deliberately kept its great army of Native labourers on a low level of civilization in the interest of cheapness, and the policy is proving a fallacious and suicidal policy.

Indeed, many thoughtful people maintain that the gravamen of the Native problem in South Africa is the future not of the Black man, but of the indolent and degenerate White. The White man will only keep ahead of the Black so long as his brains and morals are ahead; and both will need to be a longer way ahead in future than they have been in the past. But many European workers are fast asleep, low in intellectual status, and devoid of ambition for themselves or their children, whom they are not even concerned to educate or allow to be educated. Meanwhile, the Native is steadily pressing on, bent, whether consciously or not, on securing the reversion of the White man's place and privileges.

All sorts of handicaps are now against the Native in his competition with the European, but they will count but little in the long run as compared with the qualities and capacities which may prove to be common to both. When some years ago a well-known Minister told an audience of White miners that the day would come when the Coloured man would reach their status, both industrially and politically, he was almost howled into silence. That day is still far distant, yet it is safe to predict that if for a generation the European workman were to go back, as he may, while the Coloured man continued to go forward, as he inevitably will, the two would change places: the White man would be found in the windowless hovel of the location or nowhere, while the Native, more industrious than ever, would be living in his smart little villa in the garden suburb.

Already it is a striking and sinister fact that in the Cape Province the Coloured people by sheer capacity are more and more crowding out the less efficient Whites from the semi-skilled trades, so that in the engineering trades there, for instance, the French half-castes are said to be paid higher wages than Whites. Nothing is more remarkable than the steady invasion by the Natives of that province of spheres of work which not long ago were entirely closed

to them, and the fact that even socially the colour bar is being steadily and imperceptibly pushed aside. It was stated recently in a Dutch newspaper published at Capetown that White workmen are there marrying Coloured girls in increasing numbers, in preference to those of European race, who were said to be spoiled by the "boss" spirit imbibed in their homes.

If the White workman would only overcome the "Kaffir work" prejudice, based on the silly notion, which exists in no other country, that any work that is not "skilled" is beneath his dignity, the danger to which he is exposed might be averted. It cannot be that he resents the proximity of the Native, for though he will not work side by side with him he is ready enough to "boss" him. Nor is the common plea tenable that the sub-tropical climate necessarily makes all the heavier kinds of work impossible for White men. Of course, there are in South Africa many "places in the sun" which in high summer are desperately hot, but away from the coast the bold altitudes and the bracing air everywhere so far temper the heat as to make the climate one in which Europeans can both live healthily and work comfortably, while in most parts the temperature is delightful all the year round. It is not that the White man cannot, but that he will not, do anything approximating menial work, and he will not do it because the Native is supposed to have tainted it, and because that much enduring drudge can be put to such work at half a crown a day and his mealies.

Here I leave a highly controversial subject, after saying much that may be distasteful to some of my oversea friends, yet some things which I am convinced greatly needed to be said. It must be clearly understood, however, that no general indictment of the White workman is here made or intended. In South Africa as everywhere there are good and less good in every class and section of society, and if the capacity of the skilled workmen of the Union to do fine and enduring work, when brain and conscience are both put into the task, was never known and appreciated before in this country, the remarkable artistry of the goods displayed in the furniture and leather trades sections of the South African exhibit at Wembley, to mention only two notable examples, must have proved it once for all.

CHAPTER XIV

THE GOLD MINES

LONG before you reach Johannesburg, your eye is caught by a succession of slight eminences glistening white in the distance, and imagination translates you to the rolling billows of snow that cap the higher Alps. As you come nearer, the surface of these hillocks, which at first looked smooth and rounded, seems in many places to be broken into deep fissures and crater-like orifices. Then the glamour fades away when you find that what you have been looking at so intently and admiring are the prosaic "dumps" of the gold mines. These castles in the air have been built out of the vast masses of slime which accumulate as the result of pulverizing, pulping, and chemically treating (in the final process by a cyanide solution) the rock raised from the mines by a hundred thousand Black labourers at the rate of half a million tons a week.

It is a great business, this mining of the precious metal on the Rand, though perhaps not for all people alike an inspiring one, or one that means much directly to their daily life. Even if you find it impossible, with the best will in the world, to generate any sort of enthusiasm for the Rand, you must at least pay tribute to its staple industry as a marvellous achievement of human thought, will, and ingenuity.

The quest of gold may be one lower in spiritual value than that of the San Graal which fired the imagination of the mediæval knights. But everybody wants gold, and it is a curious reflexion that not a few of the people who want it most, or at least appear to amass most of it, are probably, when everything is said, better men than some of the knights of the Round Table, who were not all Sir Galahads, by any means. All people are alike in valuing influence, and I met several in South Africa, as I have met more in other countries, who only wanted gold—or at least said so—because it gave them influence, and was the quickest means of gaining it.

And the adventure and romance of this great industry—what a story it will be when it comes to be told fully and worthily! One day I passed a pleasant time in a hospitable Johannesburg home whose fortunes are closely linked with this great industry, and round the table and afterwards many interesting stories and incidents of the early gold digging days were told by men who had lived through the time and knew the principal actors in the drama of Johannesburg's rise out of the earth, as it were, ready made and armed for the battle of life, like Minerva. Several of the stories were about Rhodes, Beit, and other well-known South African pioneers. One was to the effect that early in the rush Rhodes let go for a paltry sum an option on two farms which later, when gold began to be dug from the soil, proved to be worth millions. The story sounded rather unlike Cecil Rhodes, though those who discussed him agreed that he was not a genius as a mere money-maker and in *finance trusted the judgment of others more than his own.*

The *technique* of gold-mining has been described so often that I shall not be blamed if in the following pages the more human aspects of the industry are specially dwelt upon. The first discovery of gold was made in 1868 by Karl Mauch, the German explorer, and it occurred near the Olifants River. Several other finds in different areas were made between that date and 1885, when the romantic history of the Rand began. In the following year Johannesburg was founded on gold mines, and its progress has never ceased from that day to the present. On the Witwatersrand ("White Water Ridge"), stretching sixty miles from Randfontein on the west to Springs on the east, of which Johannesburg is the metropolis, gold to the value of £762 mill. sterling, or over 95 per cent. of the aggregate output of South Africa, had been produced to the end of 1923. Even now, after forty years' working, the output of the Rand has an annual value of £40 mill., which is more than the combined yield of the rest of the world and is 70 per cent. of the yield of the British Empire. Sixteen of the eighteen leading gold mines in the world, including the richest of all, are in South Africa, the other two being in Canada.

In this great industry the State has a very substantial

stake. The Transvaal, while a republic, was saved from insolvency by the opening up of the gold-fields of the Rand, and since then the mines have helped the country over many a stiff stile and much boggy ground. It is fair to remember that if the gold mines seem to make large profits they pay in taxes three times as much as before Union, though President Kruger was not supposed to deal indulgently with them. Besides receiving a large revenue from the mines in the form of direct and indirect taxation, the State owns valuable mines and mining claims on the Far East Rand. These properties it wisely allows adventurous companies to develop and work, on a leasehold basis, receiving a share of the profits—a method which combines profitable returns with entire absence of capital risks. The most important joint enterprise of the kind is the Government Gold-Mining Areas (Modderfontein) Consolidated, Limited, better known as the " State Mines," formed in 1910, the terms of whose lease required it to expend £1,400,000 on the development of the property. Without any initial loss or investment on its part, the Government has received four and three-quarter millions pounds as its share of the profits since 1915, when the mine entered the paying stage, the share for 1923 exceeding a million sterling. A number of other companies, similarly working State properties, contribute about a quarter of a million pounds to the Treasury. Altogether the Government receives from the mines in taxes, licences and profits between two and three million pounds a year. It was estimated by the Inland Revenue Department in 1918 that of the total revenue of the Government 39 per cent. was contributed directly or indirectly by the gold mines, 11 per cent. by other mining industries, and 25 per cent. by agriculture, though it is unlikely that these ratios now hold good.

The Rand is on the whole a low-grade mining area, the " grade " being the amount of gold contained in a given amount of ore mined. The average yield for the whole reef is a little over 6½ dwts. per ton, but there are mines with the high record of 11 dwts. and others which give no more than 3 and 4 dwts. per ton, though at the late price of gold such mines yielded a fair profit, and with reduced costs of working might always do so. If, however, the gold deposits

are not as a rule rich, their uniformity and even distribution is unique, with the result that mining is greatly facilitated and the costs of production are to that extent favourable.

When the main reef was first discovered it could be worked above ground on a spot now to be located in the centre of Johannesburg. To-day gold is raised from an average depth of a mile, and soon the Village Deep and City Deep mines, near that town, will be working at a depth of a mile and a third. The reef, in fact, runs in places to a depth of nearly two miles. As showing the amazing ramifications of the subterranean works it may be stated that three thousand miles of tunnels (main shafts and drives, cross cuts, etc. for development only) have been excavated on the Rand since 1887, and this length is increased at the rate of 160 miles a year. It is a strong point in favour of deep level mining here, however, that the temperature rises at the slow rate of one degree for every 250 feet, which is only one fourth of the normal ratio.

It is a mistake to suppose that a gold mine has available a definite and calculable amount of profitably workable ore, and that all that has to be done is to get out this ore as long as it lasts and extract the gold content at convenience. Rather, the raw material of any mine is just so much ore as will pay for the working when gold stands at least at the normal price of £4 5s. for the fine ounce. It follows that a rise or fall in working costs, however caused, reduces or increases the amount of ore that can be successfully worked. It follows equally, however, that an increase in the market price of gold, owing to abnormal conditions such have now obtained for a long time,* may either act as a stimulus to greater output, in part at higher working costs, or, if output and costs continue as before, yield to the operating companies a bonus for distribution as part of dividend.

In order to keep working costs down to the lowest practicable level, therefore, machinery of the most modern and efficient kind obtainable is used for every operation possible; electric power, obtained from large central generating stations, is used; and there has been a large concentration of enter-

* The highest price reached by gold since 1914 was £6 7s. 6d. per fine ounce. At the end of December, 1924, it had fallen to £4 8s. 2d.

prises with a view to economic working and administration. Great importance is attached to research in every direction, and to the combination of science and practical skill is largely due the fact that nowhere in the world has the technology of mining come nearer to perfection than on the Rand. The improved methods of underground working, of crushing the ore, and particularly of extracting the gold content, of which no less than 96 per cent. is now recovered, have also brought the mines to a high state of financial efficiency. Mining operations are likewise greatly assisted by the absence of serious metallurgical or water difficulties, the nearness of coalfields, the existence of abundant and cheap electrical power, and the fact that the industry has at command an almost unlimited supply of Black labour for unskilled work, both underground and at the surface. So vast are the operations of the mines that an extra penny a ton of ore or more in working costs means a reduced or an increased expenditure of over £100,000 a year.

A large proportion of the gold mines were failures from the beginning, and still more passed through a trying period of failure and difficulty before reaching the profit stage. Practically the industry is a gamble from beginning to end. Shareholders, investing in good time, may have found themselves partners in mines which, after paying dividends of 50 per cent. for a generation, have on being wound up, owing to exhaustion, paid back in full the original capital; while others have sunk their money in enterprises hopeless from the first and have never received a penny of return. The Simmer Deep Mine was producing gold for twelve years (1908 to 1920) without any dividend for the shareholders, though eight and a half million pounds had been expended on capital account and in working costs. The Randfontein Central Company has paid out in the same way £19 mill. sterling since it last paid a dividend; and the East Rand Proprietory Mines Company has similarly expended £12 mill. without any return to the shareholders.

To-day the rate of interest returned, greatly as it varies, is on the average very moderate. Professor R. A. Lehfeldt Professor of Economics at the Witwatersrand University, has estimated, on an ingenious method of calculation, that the profits yielded by the whole of the Rand gold mines over

a period of fourteen years (1907–1921) gave a return of no more than £6 4s. per cent. He says justly, "The yield of the mines is certainly not a high one, considering the erratic nature of the investment, some companies being very rich, and others failures. Actually mining shares are usually dealt with on the Stock Exchanges on a basis of something like a 10 per cent. yield, and investments in real estate and industrial companies in South Africa probably bring in nearly as much." *

While, however, shareholders have lost vast sums of money in the purchase and development of mines, the original owners and the promoters of companies have often made fortunes out of their financial operations, in part at the expense of too ready investors. For a long time, however, there has been little of the old willingness to put money into new ventures, partly because of the risk involved, even in the most favourable circumstances, and partly because the opening of a new mine nowadays involves an almost fabulous expenditure of capital. One of the leading and most respected authorities on gold-mining on the Rand assured me that in modern deep-level mining the capital which must be expended in developing areas containing, say, 500 and 2,000 claims (each 450 by 150 feet) averages £3,000 and £1,750 a claim respectively, representing an initial investment of one and a half or three and a half millions sterling. Early in 1923 the Government invited tenders for a lease of 2,650 claims on the Geduld East area, but no offer was made. The cost of opening the mine and bringing it to the operating stage was alone estimated at £1,850,000, independently of the accumulation of interest during some years of non-productiveness, and no group of capitalists could be found hopeful or speculative enough to face the risk involved.

All sorts of estimates of the gold ore reserves of the Rand and the effective life of the mining industry, as determined by the possible mining depth and the profit

* Article in the *Journal* of the Chemical, Metallurgical, and Mining Society of South Africa for January, 1923. In illustration of the variable fortunes of gold mines it may be stated that the same issue of *The Times* in March, 1925, reported the Crown Mines, Ltd., as paying a dividend for 1924 of 80 per cent. (against 67½ per cent. for 1923), and the East Rand Proprietary Mines as paying for the same year one of 3¾ per cent., "the first since 1916."

margin over working costs, have been put forward. These estimates value the future production at from £325 mill. to £1,234 mill., but the estimate accepted by the Transvaal Chamber of Mines is a profit-yielding production of 550 million tons of ore, costing £500 mill. to work, while the Government Mining Engineer places the output at but little more. So uncertain and unreliable, however, are the data, and so conflicting are the influences which encourage actual or feigned optimism or pessimism on this subject, that serious conclusions are impossible. For years, indeed, the mining industry has been declared to be doomed and slowly dying, yet at the present time its output has a larger value than ever before. Many well-known mines have repeatedly been reported as on the point of exhaustion, yet somehow or other just before the crisis came the inevitable miracle happened, and they still figure to-day in the mining lists of the Stock Exchange at quite respectable figures.

At the present time the greatest and most successful activity is on the East Rand, where the prospects are brightest, though some of the Central Rand companies have discovered unsuspected reefs or "bands" which may prolong the lives of mines hitherto believed to be approaching the stage of exhaustion. Important developments are expected on the Far Eastern Rand as soon as the stringency of money has relaxed, and the spirit of adventure has been whetted anew.

It was fortunate for the Rand that the clever men who manage the gold-mines seized the opportunity which was presented by the recent period of depression to submit the industry to a drastic process known in Germany by the expressive word "Sanierung" (*sanare*). The skilled work in and about the mines is done entirely by White labour, and the unskilled by Natives, a fact which makes the former a relatively small minority. Before the great strike—commonly spoken of in South Africa as a revolution—of 1922, which, in spite of all pretences, was really fought around the main question who were to control the mines, the companies' officials, as trustees for the shareholders, or the European workers, there had unquestionably been much illegitimate and harassing interference with the management by the trade unions, with the result of weakened

authority and diminished efficiency in working. The evidence given before and accepted by the Mining Industry Board, which was appointed after the strike to consider various issues raised thereby, proved this to the hilt, the Board reporting that it was " essential to the proper working of the mines that these abuses should be terminated and that the authority of the managers should be restored." The result of the dispute was to reinstate the companies in the effective possession of their property, and to improve the entire position of the mining industry, both technically and commercially.

The immediate loss sustained by the companies was very great, but they soon recouped themselves by reduced working costs. Not only were the wages of the White workmen reduced, but important economies in White labour were effected. In regard to the latter point, too, the Mining Industry Board came to the conclusion, " We are quite satisfied upon the evidence that prior to the strike there was a considerable number of redundant and inefficient men employed on the mines." There is, in fact, general agreement that to-day more and better work is being done all round than ever before at less cost to the mine owners. A year ago the position of the White workmen was materially improved by the assignment to them of a percentage of the gold premium, on a sliding scale basis, a welcome concession, though one of diminishing value, since the more the price of gold tends to fall to the normal figure the more the premium will likewise fall. At a recent meeting of the Chamber of Mines the president stated that in every class of European work the average amount earned in 1923 was higher than in 1914, and in some cases much higher, the increase being 14 per cent. for all employees together, officials excluded, an increase somewhat below that in the cost of living since 1914. I am bound to say in fairness to the White workers that most of the opinions I heard at Johannesburg were to the effect that, owing to the high cost of living, their wages in many cases barely sufficed to cover their needs.

It is contended that the industry never stood on a sounder basis than now, and in view of the eagerness of the leading commercial countries of the world to return to a gold basis,

it is possible that it will be able to count on a fairly long run of good fortune, given only the absence of labour disputes. For the present there is, perhaps, no less a disposition to resort to strikes in South Africa than elsewhere, and to that extent the sacrifice of the poor Surrey ironworker who not long ago put his head under an improvised descending hammer, out of chagrin that he could no longer do his work, would appear to have been in vain. An intelligent jury declared the poor fellow to be insane, whereas the truth probably was that he was too sane for a mad world which wastes its precious time and substance in industrial and international quarrels which never lead to a clear decision or pay their bare costs on either side. The principle of peace at any price is nowhere more unpopular than on the Rand. Like live volcanoes, the mining centres are practically in constant ferment; the surface of industrial life may for a time appear to be quiescent, but below are hidden fires, ready to burst forth at any time on cause given or supposed. How far there is fault on one side or the other I do not presume to say, though the tension is unmistakable.

Familiarity with gold, even in a crude form, might seem to breed contempt of its value. Certainly the nonchalance with which the miners' trade union from time to time springs upon the Chamber of Mines wages demands running into millions sterling suggests a belief on their part that all the ore that is brought to the surface represents so much clear profit to the shareholders. For example, a quite recent demand was for a 20 per cent. increase of wages, to be retrospective as from March, 1922. It is startling to know what this demand meant. The back-pay to be made up for a period of two years and a half would have represented the little sum of three and a half million pounds, meaning an immediate fat bonus of nearly £200 a head for all the White employees; while the future addition to the wages bill, on the basis of a 20 per cent. increase, came to one and a half million pounds a year, reducing the mean yield on the working capital employed in the mines from 6 to under 5 per cent.—no very attractive return for an investment so precarious. The Natives, on the other hand, take what is given to them, seldom striking or seriously complaining,

which may be variously judged as a good or a bad trait in their character according to one's way of looking at the Native and his place in society.

At the end of 1923 the mines on the Rand employed 17,760 Europeans and 179,000 Coloured labourers, nearly one half of the former having been born in the United Kingdom. Just after the Boer War the ratio was one European to four Natives. The average remuneration of the White workers was £393 for the year, equal to £7 11s. 2d. a week; but the highest paid men, working on contract, easily earn 30s. a shift, representing a possible net yearly income of say £450 a year. The average yearly pay of the Native workers in the same year was £28 in money, equal to 10s. 9d. a week, increased by 2s. 11d., the cost of their food (at 5d. a day, which is the companies' estimate), and also by the cost of lodging and medical services, which would probably be covered by a few coppers a week (since one penny a head *per mensem* represents £40,000 *per annum*), making an inclusive weekly wage of, say, 14s. The normal work-day is eight hours.

Judged by English ideas the wages paid to White workers, though lower than several years ago, may seem comfortably high, though to be set against them are high rents in towns and a high cost of living generally, and the fact that frugality and providence are never conspicuous in well-paid mining communities. But the mine companies also do much welfare work for their White employees at great cost. In many cases houses are let to them at rents much lower than would have to be paid for equal accommodation and inferior amenities in the adjacent towns. It is maintained that the normal mine house let at £5 10s. a month—a low rent for an artisan's house in a large South African town—would cost from 50 to 100 per cent. more elsewhere. Liberal holidays are given to all Europeans, the duration varying with the length of service, and full pay up to 20s. a day is allowed for all work-days, as it is for Good Friday and Christmas Day. Thus surface workers have an annual leave of fourteen consecutive days and underground workers from fourteen to twenty-eight consecutive days. Not only so, but absence from work owing to sickness or accident up to a period of three months counts towards annual leave.

Many of the mines make generous provision for recreation, both indoor and outdoor, run mess rooms, provide libraries and reading rooms, and give free medical service to entire families. Food and other household necessaries are supplied at cost price from co-operative stores, saving the consumers 20 per cent. as compared with the prices paid to private tradesmen. A very useful activity of the Chamber of Mines is the joint management and maintenance with the Government of two training schools for miners, the course of instruction lasting two years, during which the youths are paid on a rising scale from 4s. 3d. to 5s. a day with bonuses for good work. At the end of the course work is found for the apprentices at not less than 16s. 8d. a day, representing a commencing income of over £250 a year.

A beneficent work is done in coping with the insidious disease of silicosis, or miners' phthisis, due to the settling upon the lungs of underground workers of the hard silicious dust which is liberated in the process of mining. Not only is work in the mines restricted to men with a clear bill of health, but no measure approved by medical science is neglected that can diminish the risk of the disease, conduce to a cure, or ameliorate the condition of its victims. Not only so, but liberal compensation is paid to sufferers and to their dependants in the event of death. The mines contribute in the aggregate £800,000 a year to the compensation fund.

Of the Native labourers the majority, as a rule about 60 per cent., are recruited from various parts of the Union, and consist largely of "boys" from the Transkei—Tembos, Fingos, and Pondos—Basutos, Swazis, Zambesi "boys," and to a less extent Zulus, who are valued, but do not favour the mines, and Cape "boys," who are said to be too wise to undertake any but the pleasantest part of the miner's essentially unpleasant work.

For a long time a standing army of from 70,000 to 76,000 Natives has been recruited for the mines in Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique), whence most of the labour used in the coal mines also comes. For many reasons the mine companies prefer the Portuguese Natives. Taken raw from primitive life and surroundings, they are found to be easier to manage than Natives who have been for some time in contact with Europeans and their civilization; the fact

that they are indentured on a rigid contract alone makes them specially amenable to discipline; while they work in the mines for a period of eighteen months on the average before returning to their homes, against an average of eight months in the case of the British South African Native. It is also held to be a strong point in favour of the Portuguese Natives that they spend 80 per cent. of their earnings on the Rand, while the other Natives spend only 20 per cent. locally and send or take the rest to their homes, which are often outside the Union, though in British territories, like Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland, where it is invested in land and live stock.

While a considerable number of Native labourers from the Union offer themselves to the mines voluntarily, the majority are obtained by recruiting agents, some of whom would appear to need greater oversight, statutory or otherwise, than they now receive. In engaging Portuguese labourers, however, the mine companies do their own recruiting.

The treatment of the Native workers, like that of the Whites, is humane and considerate, and while it may be said that self-interest alone would dictate the wisdom of such a policy, it would be ungenerous to doubt that the mine companies do recognize a real responsibility towards their army of Blacks, a large proportion of whom come to the mines fresh from their distant kraals, simple in habits and mind, and to a large extent unfamiliar with the ways of European civilization. They live in compounds as comfortable and sanitary as such places can be made; their food is both varied and ample, comparing more than favourably with the rations given to Native labourers in farm employment, and probably much better than they would or could procure if left to "find themselves"; their health is cared for in every practicable way, and they are looked after in well-equipped hospitals in times of sickness. Much is also done for them in the way of facilities for sport and recreation, bioscope shows and dances being among their favourite diversions.

The general mortality rate and the rates for pneumonia and tuberculosis, the diseases to which they are particularly liable, are high, but all have fallen satisfactorily during the

last few years. Similarly everything possible is done to minimize the risk of accidents and to alleviate the consequences. The mines have their own mutual company for insurance against accidents, and besides paying compensation promptly this company provides free expert surgical and medical treatment together with the services of a leading Johannesburg consultant when required. In fine, it is common fairness to the much criticized mine companies to say that they honestly try to deal fairly with their employees, whether White or Black.

If I might offer a suggestion on the æsthetic side it is that the mining companies, without waiting to be prodded by the local authorities, would do well to imitate what has been done in the Black Country at home, whose slag heaps and ugly arid expanses are being systematically grassed over and planted with trees and shrubs. At Wednesbury a beautiful park, bright with shrubberies and flower parterres, has risen upon the site of mine devastation and wreckage. Moreover, these works of improvement are providing a livelihood for the local unemployed.

The industry is conducted by men of marked capacity and unequalled experience, who, if there is anything still to be learned about their business, lose no time in learning it, even if they have to travel the world over. It controls inexhaustible resources, has a very efficient mechanism of publicity, powerful auxiliaries in its shareholders' lists and the Press, strong voices in Parliament, as well as spokesmen in the home country who vigilantly look after its interests. The most powerful commercial organization on the Rand, and indeed in South Africa, is the Transvaal Chamber of Mines, which controls the industry in the name of the associated companies and by co-operative action is able to represent and defend their interests with an efficacy which would be impossible if every company were to do its own fighting.

The Chamber as such has no proprietary interest in the mines, but it practically controls the industry in every detail. It formulates and directs the commercial policy of the mines, being both buyer and seller, in the latter capacity acting as a clearing house for the disposal of output and the distribution of revenue; it determines also technical policy with a view to efficient and profitable working;

it regulates relations with the employees of all grades; and it acts as the medium of communication between the mining companies and the Government and the outer world. Above all, it acts as a convenient buffer between the companies and mining houses and the public, the trade unions, and the critics of the gold-mining interest generally, receiving at times many hard knocks yet with impervious indifference, knowing the strength of its position and the fact that a large part of the wealth of the country is behind it.

While I was in South Africa the custodians of the gold-mining industry were vigilantly following the endeavours of a little school of political economists in England to upset the gold standard in favour of a regulated inconvertible paper currency, a change which would mean ruin for that industry, and for a long time economic and financial confusion for the whole country. But the dangerous tricks which have been played with currencies of late will act as a warning against any revolutionary measure of that kind, and the desperate endeavours of bankrupt States to get back to the pre-War gold standard are an augury of good fortune for the Rand.

While thus recognizing the important place which the gold-mining industry fills in the life of South Africa, and ignoring as paltry the common aspersions of rapacity, profiteering, and the like which are the usual arguments of the social convulsionist, I must quarrel with the industry on several matters. First, it is too arrogant and domineering *vis-à-vis* the Government and the country generally. The Chamber of Mines and its Gold Producers' Committee are continually protesting that they stand outside politics, yet they lecture the Government, with a freedom which with us would be deemed both impolitic and indecorous, on its duty to leave the industry alone, while their constant protests against alleged excessive taxation are an evidence of much misplaced zeal. During the late election, for example, the Chamber of Mines issued an elaborate pronunciamento expounding its theory of fiscal policy, and "warning off" political parties which might be disposed to interfere with the mining industry. A good deal of the contents of the document was timely and well put, yet its publication as a whole would have been impossible in

England, or if published would have evoked widespread public protest as an attempt to exercise undue influence in State affairs, and would have been resented by any Government worthy of acting as the trustees of the general interests of the community.

When it is possible for a single industry to say, as was said on its behalf at the luncheon given in October, 1924, by the Chamber of Mines to the British Empire Parliamentary Delegation—the least desirable occasion for political speeches which could have been chosen—that "*the mining industry desired* to live in peace and harmony with the Government and people," one may form a fair idea of the power which that industry believes itself to wield, whether it really possesses it or not. If such patronizing words are justifiable at all they should come from the Government of the country, and should not be possible in the mouth of any commercial organization.

Last year all sorts of predatory designs were predicted as the certain result of the return to power of any other party than one. We know well in our own country that these things do not happen ; and it says much for the growing maturity of political opinion in South Africa that the electors refused to be stampeded by shock or terror. As for the industry's abstention from partisanship, the Johannesburg correspondent of a leading English newspaper wrote home, during the election : "It becomes clearer daily that the belief that the gold-mining industry would maintain an attitude of 'strict neutrality' in connexion with the elections did injustice to the industry and its leaders. It is true that the industry employs men of diverse nationalities and political creeds, is non-racial, and *in ordinary circumstances* is non-political, but the industry cannot be indifferent to the vital issues dividing the South African Party from the Nationalist-Labour Pact, in both national and economic spheres." *

An industry which allied itself on any pretext whatever with a single party could not justly complain if its fortunes oscillated with those of the party of its choice. The Nation-

* *The Times*, May 9th, 1924. Two days later the editor of the *Financier* advised holders of South African mining shares "not to allow themselves to be stampeded into selling," since however the election resulted there could be no cause for anxiety.

alist leader was contented with merely repudiating the sinister intentions gratuitously attributed to him, but Colonel Creswell, speaking for the Labour Party, carried the fight into his opponents' camp when he told them: "If you close down the mines without good reason—and we will take care you have not good reason—very well, we will take measures to see that those mines are worked." This warning of a contingent course of action, which would have been incumbent on any decent Government in the circumstances postulated, had the effect of checking slander and reassuring the public.

One of the most sensible things said on this subject came from the eminently sensible chairman of the large and wealthy Crown Mines Company, Mr. Samuel Evans, when deprecating a proposal to make a larger distribution to the shareholders from the reserves, in view of the possibility of the Pact being returned to power. "It will be ruinous," he said, "for a big mine to take it for granted that something is going to happen. We have to go on with our work on the supposition that whatever Government comes in is going to act reasonably." That is the only sane and safe attitude for commercial companies anywhere and at all times. To threaten Governments and parties or even to presume to dictate to them is to invite and deserve retaliation.

It is often said, by way of discrediting what is vaguely called State Socialism, that economic undertakings run by Governments cannot be kept free from political influences, with baneful results for the State and national life. But if that be so, there is all the greater reason why private enterprises following economic ends pure and simple should eschew politics and political partisanship in any form, and take their chance at the hands of the tax gatherer like all good citizens. I confess that if I were a Union Minister of Finance I should be inclined to give an extra turn to the tax screw—not a vicious turn, but just a little one, by way of admonition—every time the Chairman of the Chamber of Mines or any other official spokesman of the industry had the audacity to tell me all about my work and how I should do it.

Let me point these remarks by a true story of the ways of the taxing authority in Prussia, as told to me many years

ago. My informant, an Englishman engaged professionally in that country, became liable to income tax and he received a demand in due course. He appealed, declaring, with greater vigour of language than was discreet, that the demand was excessive. The result was an increased assessment, with tax in proportion. Again he appealed, this time with terminological extravagances which, though natural, were still more injudicious. His assessment and tax were further increased. Now he wisely retired from the unequal encounter, and duly paid up. The moral of the story is that in dealing with tax collectors it is usually wise to let well alone, and keep a civil tongue.

Again, far too much the mine companies regard themselves as the be-all and end-all of South Africa, and this attitude is resented by others. Their owners and shareholders have a just right to equitable treatment, like the owners and shareholders of other enterprises, and anything in the nature of spoliation would be as immoral in South Africa as in Great Britain. None the less, it is not an altogether happy position for that country that its greatest industry produces a commodity indispensable, indeed, yet not circulating freely through the community, but lying outside the normal range of social demand. There does not and cannot exist, therefore, between gold producers and the rest of the population the same perceptible community of interest which the latter would admit in the case of the manufacturer or the agriculturist, upon whom it is conscious of a greater direct dependence; and this disadvantage is accentuated by the fact that the gold-mining industry, because in so few hands and of limited extent, is a monopolist industry.

The mining companies seem at times to go out of their way to make it clear that their attitude towards labour, wages rates, and economic questions generally is necessarily different from that of other employers, and this creates prejudice against them. Quite recently the chairman of one of the largest Rand mining companies betrayed his consciousness of this different relationship and attitude when he said:

> "At the present moment the mining industry is doing particularly well, because we have a premium on gold. But

that is an entirely temporary condition, and if you were to work upon that, and in consequence of your doing so gave to all your working people a higher wage, what would be the effect? You would be inducing them to spend more money."

But spending more is just what the manufacturer wants his workpeople, as part of the public, to do, and what to American manufacturers in particular is one of the strongest inducements for keeping wages at a high level; since they know that the money comes back to industry, by being expended on the thousand and one commodities and utilities which make up the sum total of a civilized life. But workmen do not buy gold, and the world has learned since 1914 that it is quite possible, even though inconvenient, to carry on without it.

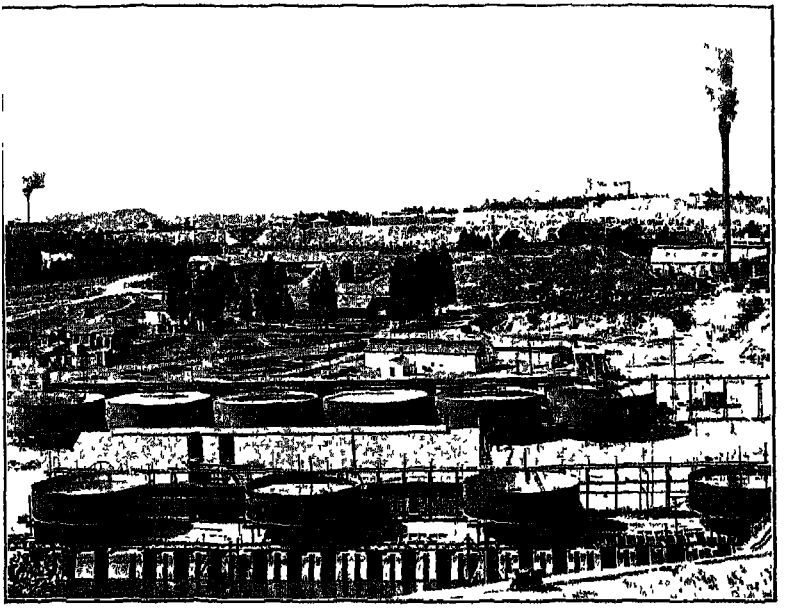
Not greed, conscious or unconscious, but a natural attitude of alienation, not necessarily selfish, due to the absence of common ground, explains the indifference of many people to the interests of the gold-mining industry, and for this indifference the leaders of the industry are not free from responsibility. So it happens that when the mine owners gloomily predict that, at the standard price of gold, half the Rand would be shut down if working costs were increased beyond the present level there is a disposition to believe that they are, if not romancing, indulging in apprehensions which they know to be only half real. The *argumentum ad terrorem* can be carried too far, and when it is unduly pressed the unconvinced are only made the more reflective and curious, and one of the questions which most puzzles them is, how came the mine millionaires into existence? Like Topsy, they "growed," no doubt, but how and in what conditions?

The policy of the mining companies on the colour question is also open to very grave criticism. "Of course," they say, "we want South Africa to be a White man's country, but——" Whatever the form of words which from time to time complete the sentence they mean that no help must be expected from them. But do they really want South Africa to be a White man's country? Such a wish is unreal anywhere unless it is expressed in actions, and the policy pursued by the men who control the gold-mining industry is entirely inconsistent with that ideal, and if pursued with

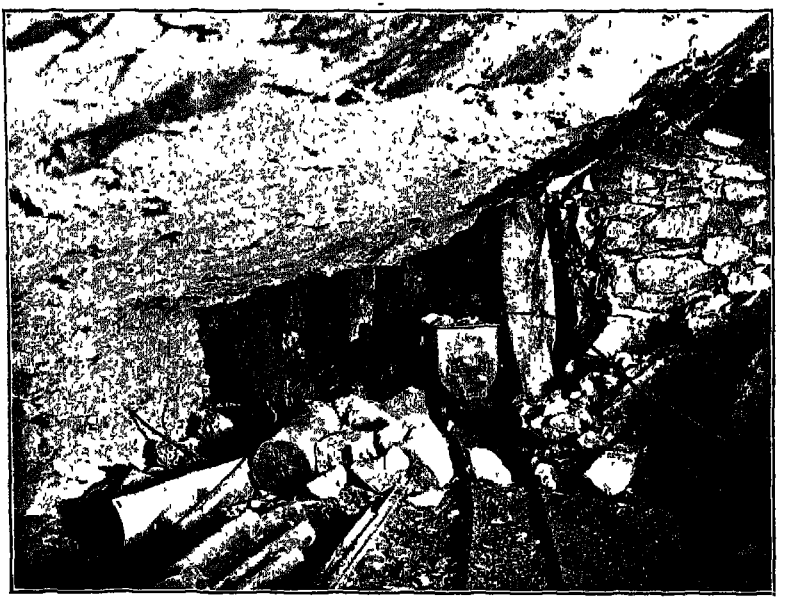
the freedom which they demand would destroy any hope of European civilization holding its own either permanently or for long in the sub-continent. Virtually that policy is expressed in the well-known words attributed to the Pompadour— "Après nous le déluge!"

It is one of the greatest evils of mining for the precious minerals that those who apply themselves to the task do it like people demented, as though their main object were to exhaust the supply with the utmost possible speed. Whatever happens to South Africa decades or generations hence, so runs the assumption, the mines must be kept going at full power to-day, and to that end the companies must be able to employ, and if necessary import, as much cheap Black labour as they like, though it is the considered aim of the Government, public authorities, and many private employers to reduce rather than increase the use of such labour, so as to strengthen the menaced White minority of the population. But if, as is admitted, gold-mining will before long begin to decline, and eventually reach the stage of exhaustion, why not slow down at once, and so prolong the life of the mines and make so much later and more gradual the ultimate collapse?

A sharp little controversy which took place during the recent election between General Smuts and the principal spokesman of the Chamber of Mines would appear to suggest that the mining companies are not above a little hedging on this delicate subject when it seems politic. General Smuts contended that when he went to the rescue of the gold mines during the crisis of 1922, when red ruin and the eclipse of law threatened the Rand, he concluded with the leaders of the industry what is known in diplomatic language as a "gentleman's agreement," undocumented but none the less formal, under which he was given a definite promise that if the industry were put on its feet and assured settled conditions great developments would be taken in hand which would enable the mines to absorb even more than the number of White workers who might be temporarily displaced in consequence of the settlement. The Chamber of Mines denied that any such promise was given, though it admitted having "emphasized the fact that every reduction of working costs would tend to the



GOLD MINING: GENERAL VIEW (JOHANNESBURG)



GOLD MINING: UNDERGROUND WORKINGS (JOHANNESBURG)

increased development of the industry." Ignoring the personal question of a conflict of evidence, it can hardly be unjust to conclude that neither the interests of the White workers nor the ideal of a White South Africa specially influenced the mining companies then or influence them now.

It certainly seemed a glaring inconsistency while I was at Johannesburg that the gold mines were full of plump Black labourers, largely imported from a foreign country, while on the Rand, between Randfontein and Springs, tens of thousands of White mechanics, artisans, and general workers were reported to be unemployed and many of them destitute.

Without playing with such words as "patriotic" and "unpatriotic" it may be said with moderation and truth that the Native policy now pursued by the mine owners does not make for the permanent good of the country, while it is adding incalculably to the difficulty of preventing the complete "industrialization" of the indigenous Blacks, the effects of which, judged by all present indications, would be little less than a calamity. For what does the system of South African Native labour recruitment for the mines mean? It means that in order to keep the contingent at the normal figure of about 170,000 men, the majority of whom remain at the mines only eight months at a time, there is a constant flow and ebb of Native labour from and back to the land, so that a large part of the adult males there are sooner or later initiated into town life, while the entire Native population is in some measure influenced, not always or invariably for good. For most of these labourers return to their rural homes changed men, their lives disturbed, their ideas unsettled, their natural feeling of contentment dispelled, their satisfaction with primitive conditions destroyed; and in proportion to the transformation thus undergone disappears the hope of preserving the better features of tribal organization and life, which is so much to be desired.

It is also a matter for regret that in pursuing their Black labour policy the mining companies openly appeal to the egoism of the agriculturists, whom they flatter as associates in the continued exploitation of the Natives in preference to the larger employment of Europeans. One of the objects

of the latest *apologia* of the Chamber of Mines, entitled "The Gold of the Rand," is to win the support of the farmers even by fomenting their existing hostility to manufacturing industry. Thus, after giving facts and figures to prove that the industrial population created by the mines of the Rand is a source of great wealth to agriculture, since the mines have "presented opportunities to the farmers such as had never previously entered within the range of their vision," it tells the farmers that they

> "would be well advised to remember that one of the chief causes of depression in the agricultural industry all the world over is to be found in the fact that during recent years what is termed the equipoise in industrial wealth, as between town and country, has been largely destroyed because of the great increases in labour wages in the towns and on the railways, etc. . . . The equilibrium between urban wages and rural earnings has been upset to the overwhelming advantage of the town workers and to the disadvantage of agriculturists and pastoralists"

Plain-thinking minds will hardly be disposed to discriminate between this attempt to set town and country by the ears and the ordinary incitations to class jealousy and friction which are indulged in by fervid "professional agitators" under the walls of the Johannesburg Town Hall every Sunday evening, weather permitting. The only difference is that while the "professional agitator" is concerned, in his clumsy way, to advance the level of labour and its wages, the reasoning of the Chamber of Mines is intended to have the opposite effect.

The suggestion that the Government is apt to maintain undesirable relations with the gold-mining industry has already been mentioned and rebutted. None the less, it is not good that any Government should be dependent for so large a part of its revenue upon a single industry, however free from irregularity the relations between the two may be. Such a dependence is bound to give, perhaps unconsciously, a bias to fiscal and other policy in certain directions, and when the industry is so strong and dominant that it dares to tell the Executive that it can give or withhold its friendship and support at will, the situation cannot be regarded as a natural or a healthy one. To say this is not, of course, to suggest that the industry should be relieved

of taxation, but it might be well if its contribution to the revenue were earmarked for a different use than that to which it is now put.

In my opinion a great mistake has been made in exacting tribute from the gold-mines for merely revenue purposes; but the policy of the Transvaal Government was inherited by the Union Government and it exists unchanged to the present day. Statesmen, taking a long view, would have sacrificed immediate convenience and, regarding as a happy windfall money coming from a more or less fugitive source, would have sunk the whole of it in permanent works of national development, which would have borne rich fruit in due season. Taken out of the earth, this money should in the main have gone back into the earth, fructifying in countless ways the agricultural and pastoral industries, marked out as South Africa's supreme key industries for all time, bringing vast tracts of arid land under water and therewith bountiful cultivation, and giving to South Africa that leading place amongst the great sources of the world's food supplies which remains still to be wrested from vigorous rivals.

With the residue great things might have been done long before now for the expansion of manufacturing and other industries which is so essential as the country's second line of advance. In these ways there might have been provided a possibility of home and livelihood for the thousands and hundreds of thousands of settlers whom the country so sadly needs yet at present cannot get, and could not at once employ even if it had them. Then also the prospect of the gold mines being exhausted, as from the commercial standpoint they will be eventually, would not have caused one-tenth of the anxiety which the bare anticipation of it now occasions, for gold-mining would have been from the first a progressively more subordinate factor in the country's economic life and prosperity, instead of holding the dominating position which belongs to it to-day.

At present South Africa is developing its gold mines intensively and its agricultural resources extensively, and the order is altogether wrong and should be reversed. A limited source of natural wealth like a mine should be conserved, since the more you get out the less remains, whereas it is a law of nature that whatever a man takes out

of the land he can put back and so receive again, and that this process can be continued in indefinite sequence.

There may still be time to make good the want of past foresight and to prepare for the time when the gold-mining industry will cease to be the convenient milch cow which it is to-day. South Africans justifiably boast of their low State taxation, and happy is the country which can, like theirs, claim to be practically free from external debt. Low taxation, however, is only a relative advantage. It would be good policy and an excellent form of insurance, which would pay handsomely, to bear a heavier burden of present taxation for the sake of the future, by setting aside part and even most of the money which is derived in various ways from the gold-mining industry for investment in carefully planned works of national development. For example, £800,000 a year so ear-marked for twenty years would meet the interest at five per cent. and redemption charges in respect of a loan of ten millions sterling, available for such works of development, and it is a safe assumption that at the end of the period the State would have created new values far in excess of the money so expended.

In no direction could enterprise be exercised more wisely and profitably than in the purchase by the State for irrigation tracts of land now contributing little or nothing to the wealth or convenience of the community. In that way there might be created in course of time a magnificent national patrimony which would contribute greatly to ensure the country's future prosperity and make life easier for coming generations.

Had this been done on a systematic plan years ago there would have been no need for the continual call for more money for agricultural development and the invariable reply that no money exists, for the work would have been done and the country would have been in full enjoyment of the fruits of it. Directly the yield of the gold-mines becomes uncertain the nation will recognize, with a gratitude it has never felt before, that the greatest and most enduring, the sempiternal, source of national wealth and well-being for their country is the land. Meanwhile, all delay in grasping this fact and shaping public policy in accordance with it involves an accumulating yet preventable loss and injury.

CHAPTER XV

AGRICULTURAL ASPECTS

A MAN may be fairly familiar with systems and conditions of farming in Great Britain, yet when he begins to take stock of South African agriculture he soon finds himself in uncharted waters, and it takes time before he finds his bearings. In a sub-tropical country like the Union almost everything that relates to the cultivation of the soil is in some degree different—climate, the seasons, the rain incidence, the crops that can be grown to greatest advantage, the methods of growing them, and the labour systems. Climate is the governing factor, and most other peculiarities follow from it. As compared with Europe the order of the seasons is reversed; though on the high plateaux there is no clear seasonal demarcation, and there the year may be more accurately divided into a long summer and an equally long but graduated winter.

The rainfall is also very unevenly distributed, both locally and seasonally. The average annual fall for the whole Union is about 19 inches, but the general range is from 5 inches to 35 inches, ignoring a coastal belt of Natal and other smaller areas, where the fall reaches and even exceeds 70 inches. Usually rain falls tumultuously, often in deluges which in this country would not soon be forgotten. In the three largest provinces there are districts where normally a fall does not occur more than ten or twelve times in the course of the year, though on the average one day in five or six brings rain. Natal has both the heaviest fall and on the whole the largest number of rainy days. In the west of the Cape Province the principal rainy season falls to winter, while in the rest of the country most rain falls in February and March.

It will be understood how the reversal of the seasons and the different incidence of the rainfall together imply for agricultural settlers from Europe a complete readjustment of the land operations to which they have been habituated. Yet one of the greatest worries of even the native-born

farmer's life in most parts of the country is due to the long successions of rainless days and the constant dread of drought, which in South Africa means not merely abnormally dry weather but a degree of aridity which often brings suffering, emaciation, and even death to farm stock. Weather conversation takes a new and more intelligent meaning in a country where so much depends upon the fall of rain in due season. On one occasion, in a time of acute drought, I passed a day in motoring about an agricultural district with a local landowner, and every time we passed one of his acquaintances there was a halt while the two studied the heavens together, and compared forecasts of the immediate future. When at last the long hoped-for change in the wind came and later the first great drops fell, foretelling full boreholes, tanks, and storage reservoirs, and the sound of running water in the stream courses, rejoicing and unspoken gratitude were general.

Take, again, the type of farmer and the size of the farms. South Africa, though predominantly an agricultural country, and destined by nature to remain so, has not a peasantry comparable to that of Holland or Denmark, or the unindustrialized States of Germany, by which is meant a class of small farmers living on their own land and selling their surplus produce to markets close at hand. Holdings are still large, though they tend to become smaller, for the scantiness of population, the small number of large towns, and comparatively speaking of towns of even moderate size, the inadequate means of communication, and the long distances which often divide the farmer from even possible markets have hitherto made small culture on any extensive scale impossible.

In the old Cape settlement days, the Boer farmers were all pioneers; the whole country lay before them, and they could divide the land between them. They chose the best grazing areas wherever they were to be found, as a rule near wells or other permanent water, and dug themselves in, building first makeshift timber houses, forming kraals for the nightly herding of their stock, and bartering with each other and the nearest communities as they sprang up. Unruly Natives, who resented intrusion and disturbance, they could pacify by the summary process of the

flint gun and the *sjambok*. Where the hand of administrative authority, whether of their own race or the hated English, bore hardly on them, and threatened them with too much civilization, they struck their tents and trekked across another river or mountain range to some unappropriated spot to north or east, where they could still command unlimited pasturage and might hope to be left to themselves, at least for a time. In those days the farmer thought in hundreds of thousands of acres, though of such a property only a small part was farmed in any sense whatever, the bulk being simply staked and held, or indifferently used as rough pasturage. By family partition these unwieldy estates were broken up, though marriage often augmented the heritage both of elder and younger sons, since in South Africa land weds land, as in England money weds money.

The big farmer of the old type, owning his fifty thousand acres of land, for the most part "dry," is no longer as common as formerly, but he can still be met with, particularly in the Dutch provinces. I heard of a Dutch landowner even in the Cape Province who still owns about 100,000 acres in several places, while on one large farm which I visited in that province there were fifty miles of fence, besides ten miles of heavy jackal fencing. Where such estates have not descended from distant days in the same family they were probably bought at a time when a five-pound note could be exchanged any day for several hundred acres of veld. I call to mind one large farm, rough pasture for the most part, which was bought over two generations ago by the head of the British family now in possession at the price of under a shilling an acre. Such land can still be bought at any figure from four or five shillings an acre upwards, though its cheapness is invariably accompanied by disadvantages of one kind or another—absence of water, malarial situation, distance from the railway, and so on—which make transactions of the kind dubious wisdom.

In general the time for great bargains and quick fortunes in land is over, except in the case of astute companies and syndicates able to buy rough land by the hundred square miles for the purpose of development and resale. Land of good quality which cost half a crown an acre a generation

ago, and has been kept under cultivation or stock, may have increased in value in the interval from ten to twenty-fold, and if now under irrigation far more. No general rule as to price can, however, be laid down. Averaging the prices recently asked for eight stock and agricultural farms in the Cape Midlands, several of them described as netted, with an aggregate acreage of 54,800 acres, the valuation worked out at 16s. an acre. All these farms were said to be within eleven miles of towns.

No system of farming is justifiable in any country under which land fails to do its duty not merely to the owner but the community. Owing to the comparative cheapness of land extensive farming is still very common in South Africa, but it is seldom efficient, and a young country should not be able to afford wastage of the kind. More and more, however, the importance of the intensive system of agriculture is being recognized. Now that the farmer is limited to the holding to which he has a legal title, and there are no longer great expanses of veld to be appropriated by the mere device of taking out the boundary posts at one place and hammering them in at another, wealth has to be sought in other ways. Crops can be increased, however, though land cannot, and when the land does not yield enough it can be made to do so by putting it under more efficient cultivation.

The day of high farming has come. Denmark and Holland both had to solve their agricultural problems in that way, and so must South Africa. The application of science both to animal and field husbandry, irrigation, vocational instruction in the rural school, fostering in the young of the land instinct which is inherent in all healthy natures, the agricultural college and training farm, co-operation, the improvement of roads and the multiplication of railways, the opening up of markets, the extension of export facilities, and withal hard work—in these directions lies the great hope for South Africa's agricultural prosperity, and it is a hope that can be realized. But intensive farming will bring in its train the small and medium holder, particularly where the land is brought into higher profit by means of schemes of irrigation, the cost of which, when carried out by the State, may represent an addition to the

original value of the land as rough pasture of £20 an acre and often far more.

Although there are yet plenty of old-fashioned Boer farmers left, progress is in the air, and everywhere ancient ways and institutions are giving place to modern. You may see in the cornfields scythes and sickles, but also up-to-date Canadian harvesters; in one place Native labourers are laboriously beating out the grain with old-time flails, while elsewhere the steam thresher, in the hands of a skilled White mechanic, keeps half a dozen Black men feeding it and hurrying away the straw.

On the veld roads you will pass waggons drawn by six to a dozen span of slow-going oxen, mules or donkeys, but even as you are still watching and admiring the agility with which the Black teamster cracks his twelve or twenty foot whip a Buick motor car will dash by, as if to call you to remembrance of present days. In many an outlying district as yet not invaded by the railway the heavy post-cart still fills a useful place, as a medium of transport as well as a carrier of letters and newspapers, but the country is already intersected by twelve thousand miles of steel track, and at least twice a day the silence of the inmost solitudes of the wild Karroo is broken by the laboured breathing of struggling engines and the shrill call of the steam whistle. Motoring has given a great stimulus to the making of more and better roads. In the days when time had far less value than even now the half-tented ox-waggon served as the "ship of the veld," and if it sank too deep in the mud to be dragged out the same day it could always be recovered the next, or the next after that. Now the roads have to serve all kinds of traffic, and no risks are taken, so that they need to be made and kept accordingly. Thus in every direction signs of improvement and of the modern spirit are visible.

Oxen, mules, and donkeys are variously used for draught in rural districts, according to locality and circumstances, and ten, twelve, and fourteen spans are common, though whether the increase of numbers beyond a much smaller figure than fourteen is accompanied by anything like a proportionate increase of effective traction power might be an interesting point for scientific minds. The ox still

holds its own as a trek beast on the big rough veld farm, but it is useless, or a nuisance, on ploughed and irrigated land, and there the lighter-footed mule is employed by preference. The horse still does his share of work about the farm, and in addition takes the farmer and his wife to market and church in Cape cart or some other nondescript vehicle of dateless age, where means and the roads have not allowed the motor car to replace him. The donkey is held in far higher esteem than in Europe, though his special recommendation is rather cheapness than tractive capacity. Often the small farmer, poor in everything else in life, is rich in the number of his asses, which he can buy in the off-season at any figure between five and fifteen shillings a head.

To give an idea of the place which agriculture occupies in the national economy, there were in the country in 1921 more than 81,000 occupied farms and holdings of different kinds, with an area of nearly 200 million acres, besides 5,000 unoccupied farms with an area of 24½ million acres. Of the aggregate area thirteen million acres were systematically cultivated, ten and a third million acres being under agricultural crops, a quarter of a million under fruit, half a million under timber, and one and three quarter millions fallow.

From the standpoint of agriculture the characteristic of South Africa which most impresses the visitor making his first acquaintance with the country is the great range of its husbandry. There is hardly any product of the soil that cannot be grown not merely creditably but as a profitable article of commerce, while horses, cattle, sheep, and goats make a total of more than fifty millions. The principal cereal of the country is maize, for the growing of which no parts of the world offer more favourable conditions than exist in many large areas of the Union. The great maize-producing zones are in the northern part of the Orange Free State province, the southern part of the Transvaal, and a coastal belt of the Cape and Natal from East London upward, though the grain is grown to some extent all over the Union. As maize or mealies is the staple food of the Native population, the home demand from that source alone, on an estimated consumption of four-fifths of a

pound a head *per diem*, is equal to some 700,000 tons a year. There is, however, a large and increasing export.

Soil and climate are less suitable for wheat, of which barely three-quarters of the home requirements are grown in the country. The yield per acre also is very low, viz., about ten bushels on the average, comparing with 29 bushels in England and 38 bushels in Scotland (1919). Great attention is now being given to lucerne, or alfalfa, as feed for stock, and it is specially recommended as one of the best lines for small irrigation farms, owing to the heavy crops yielded, from five to eight cuttings a year being common. Other forage crops largely grown are oats, rye, barley, and teff. I was told that a settler who takes up grain growing in the right district can often buy bare land outright for one year's rent, rates, and taxes upon a corresponding area, with homestead, in England.

Sugar has been produced for over two generations in Natal, and latterly in Zululand, but hitherto the industry has remained concentrated in comparatively few hands. The crop produced in 1923 was under a quarter of a million tons. Not pressed by competition and enjoying tariff protection the industry flourishes, and large profits are made by the older planters and plantation companies. Much of the new sugar land in Zululand is held under Government concessions, and larger areas of similar land are being opened out and new railways built in the same territory in the interest of sugar cane and cotton growing.

For the moment, however, special attention is being given to cotton, though wisdom dictates a policy of cautious enterprise. Zululand and the low veld of the Eastern Transvaal have hitherto been assumed to be the natural home of the cotton plant, and prior to the era of irrigation it was in fact, chiefly cultivated in those districts. Latterly experiments have proved that other large areas, including some parts of the Cape Province, are equally suitable for cotton growing. About the capabilities of Zululand as a cotton growing area, however, there can be no doubt. The obstacle in the way is the unhealthiness of the best districts, for in these malaria rages, and for Europeans to settle under existing conditions would often be to seek not fortune but early death.

Hitherto cotton growing, like some other branches of agriculture, has been carried on half-heartedly, and the total crop for 1924 was only estimated at some 7,000 bales of 500 lb., which is not one-half per cent. of Great Britain's yearly requirements, of which three-quarters now come from the United States. Yet the potentialities of the Union as a cotton producing country are very great, for the area of suitable land is variously estimated at from two to seven million acres, and at present not 20,000 acres are under the crop. Colonel Reitz, the late Minister for Lands, who took great interest in cotton growing while in office, went so far as to say, " If cotton proves as big a thing as we hope, it may be as important to us as the gold mines." It has been estimated that two million acres put under cotton—and South Africa eventually could do even better than that—would give a crop valued at forty millions sterling, assuming an average yield of half a bale or 250 lb. of lint an acre at the price of 1s. 8d. a lb.

Tobacco is grown in large quantities on the slopes of the Magaliesberg and in the Potgietersrust district, both in the Transvaal, in the Oudtshoorn and other districts of the Cape Province, and in parts of the Free State and Natal Province. It is essentially a smallholders' industry, for cultivation is a fairly straightforward matter, entailing no great expense beyond the cost of labour—which as a rule means the maintenance of the farmer and his family—and in the past, favoured by reasonable prices and equitable taxation, it has maintained a large population in comfort, though not affluence. One of the oldest centres of the industry is the Rustenburg district of Transvaal, which I visited. It is a fine tract of country, with rich deep soil, luxuriant grazing land, and much timber. There are here many English and Scottish farmers and fruit growers, who told me that they had no reason for complaint, but from the tobacco growers I heard doleful stories. Indeed, the well-known Hartley tobacco manufacturing firm, over whose fine orchards at Magaliesberg I was shown, has discontinued the cultivation of the leaf and buys all its supplies from the farmers, concentrating attention upon the factory. The visitor from England learns with a pleasant shock that South African pipe tobacco of good quality—

somewhat strong, though far from rank—can be bought anywhere in the country at a fifth of the London price.

The Government, many municipalities, and more individual landowners are doing much to develop the timber resources of the country, both as a commercial investment and as a measure of drought insurance by the prevention of erosion. The entire area of indigenous forests was estimated in 1921 at over eight million acres, of which 778,000 acres were dense or true forest and 6,714,000 acres scrub or dwarf forest, while the area of plantations, chiefly gums, wattles, conifers, and poplars, was 559,000 acres. This aggregate, though apparently large, represents less than 3 per cent. of the surface of the country, a proportion comparing with from 50 to 70 per cent. in the various territories forming Russia, 26 per cent. in Germany, and 25 per cent. in the United States. In the past there has been much improvident destruction of timber both by axe and fire, and it is only in recent years that the importance of afforestation has been recognized. The State Forest Department is now increasing the production of timber by the systematic planting of suitable trees. The method adopted is that of afforestation settlements, of which there are now many, the early ones having been organized for the employment of "poor Whites." The planted area under the Forest Department exceeds 90,000 acres, and it is being increased at the rate of 6,000 acres a year.

The accommodating climate of South Africa is perhaps most strikingly exemplified by the variety of the fruits grown in different districts. The number of fruit trees in the country is estimated at fifteen millions. Not only are all our English fruits grown successfully, but I have visited farms where in the adjoining orchards oranges, lemons, grape-fruit, figs, naartjes, pomegranates, peaches, apricots, mulberries, and grapes of perfect quality were growing luxuriantly together with the apples, pears, cherries, quinces, and bush fruit of our own gardens. Other fruits in common cultivation in the sub-tropical districts are pineapples, bananas, custard apples, mangoes, avocada pears, Cape gooseberries, grenadillas, limes, paw-paws, and olives. In favour of the home country, however, it should be added that no apples or pears excel the English products

in flavour. Orange groves normally come into profitable bearing five or six years after planting—this is the testimony of actual growers—and yield progressively larger crops for half a century and longer. Several citrus growers told me that they were getting one and two boxes a tree in young orchards, and I saw one patriarchal tree which had yielded the record crop of 5,000 fruits in a single season. Latterly dried fruit has been exported in increasing quantities, and when assisted by preferential duties it is expected that the trade with Great Britain will soon assume large proportions.

Fruit growing goes back to the earliest settlement of the Cape, but it has only been carried on extensively since the later years of last century, when Mr. Cecil Rhodes, Mr. J. X. Merriman, Mr. Pickstone, and others gave an impetus to the industry, and horticulturists began to look beyond the home market to the export trade. With many fruits in common, each of the four provinces has its specialities. The Cape Province—the home *par excellence* of the soft fruits—easily takes the lead, however, and districts like the Hex Valley, Stellenbosch, Ceres, Graaff-Reinet, and districts lying near to the south coast are famous for grapes, peaches, pears, citrus, and other fruits. The wine industry, whose history in Cape Colony goes back over two centuries, has of late years been under a cloud, but the passing of remedial legislation early in 1924 is said to be already restoring healthier and more prosperous conditions.

Natal produces many sub-tropical fruits, particularly pineapples and bananas, while the Transvaal is making a name for itself as a producer of citrus fruits, and one of its great orange estates, Zebediela, not far from Potgietersrust, which is largely owned by British investors, has over half a million trees, planted at the rate of 100 to the acre. I visited this estate, which is being developed by a Johannesburg corporation, and saw the large irrigation works, including three storage reservoirs, which have been constructed without Government assistance of any kind at a cost of over £300,000.

The large fruit farms apart, fruit growing is essentially a business for the small or medium holder, cultivating irrigated land on intensive principles. As an example of

what a smallholder can do I was shown at Graaff-Reinet, in the Cape Midlands, an orchard of five or six acres of irrigated land which produced for market 60,000 lb. of black and white grapes, besides a quantity of other fruit, and had enabled the owner to make a good livelihood, to give his children a good education, bringing them into responsible positions in life, to improve his holding, and to accumulate savings.

Good fruit land is neither rare nor dear, and as a rule it pays to buy the best where other conditions are favourable. The Union Government's horticulturists value virgin and unimproved but irrigable land suitable for orange growing at from £20 to £50 an acre, and place the cost of preparing and planting the ground at a further £15, making together from £35 to £65 an acre, without fencing. Apple, pear, and stone fruit land costs less, but the returns are also smaller. Land in full bearing is naturally worth far more.

Animal husbandry comprises all the various enterprises of dairy farming, sheep and goat breeding for wool as well as for slaughter, the breeding of pedigree stock, particularly cattle and sheep, pig breeding for bacon, and poultry keeping for the egg export trade, and all but one occupy a high place. The most popular breed of cattle is the Dutch Friesland, which has been acclimatized in South Africa for half a century, though of late years the Ayrshire has enjoyed great favour, and after these come the Shorthorn and Jersey. The slow-going Dutch farmer, however, still retains his old fancy for Afrikander cattle, an indigenous breed, which thrives on the roughest veld land and seems insusceptible to drought. Herefords are being increasingly bred for the beef industry, and are gradually pushing out the low-grade "scrub" cattle. The total number of cattle in the Union is estimated at over nine millions, and there are believed to be five million more in the adjacent British territories.

Sheep breeding for wool is the oldest, and still remains the largest and most important branch of agriculture. To-day attention is concentrated upon the production of Merino wool, which is the agricultural equivalent of the gold mine. It is estimated, indeed, that between 1860 and

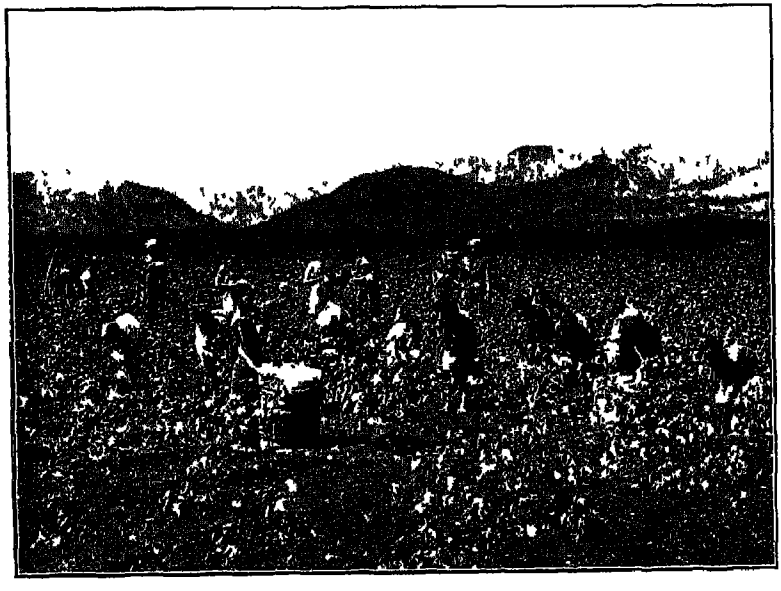
1922 wool yielded a value equal to that yielded by the gold mines from 1889 to the same date. In 1922 the number of woolled sheep in the Union was estimated at twenty-six millions, and that of other sheep at five and a half millions, South Africa being thus the fourth largest sheep-producing country in the world. Almost the whole of the wool is exported, chiefly to Great Britain, little being manufactured at home. Mr. E. Granville, a well-known agricultural authority, has written, "Sheep farming has created more homes in South Africa, and has produced finer homesteads and a higher standard of comfort than any other branch of farming," and the claim is probably not exaggerated. Not only so, but the wool industry is on the up-grade, and at present appears to offer great prospects. Land suitable for sheep farming exists to the extent of millions of acres; all that it needs are more flocks and the men to manage them. Wool experts predict that the time will come when South Africa will have for sale a clip worth thirty millions a year. The quality is excellent and hardly to be beaten, the markets are waiting, and the price, though it may fall, is likely to remain very remunerative for a long time.

At the time of my visit breeders of Merino wool were having exceptionally prosperous times, and never in living memory had the Port Elizabeth wool market been so busy. Clips of superior quality were fetching as much as 2s. 6d. and 3s. a pound, which made an average fleece almost as valuable as the sheep itself in normal times. A Cape stock broker said to me one day, "Not long ago I gave —— (mentioning a neighbouring farmer), a thousand pounds." Noticing my surprise, he proceeded to explain that he had sold him a thousand sheep for a pound each, and they had on average returned that sum a head by the first clip. Some of the most successful wool farmers and pedigree stock breeders of South Africa are Scotsmen, a fact which is perhaps not more the effect than the cause of the prosperity of this industry.

Mohair growers have not shared equally in the good fortune which has of late fallen to the Merino sheep farmers, with the result that many of them have parted with their goats and restocked their land with sheep as the surest money-makers of the veld. Both sheep and goats thrive



A Cape Fruit Farm



Cotton Picking in the Eastern Transvaal

well on the bush and shrub of the Cape Karroo veld, the goats naturally being more at home on hilly ground.

No prettier pastoral scene can be imagined than that presented by the homing of the white-fleeced sheep in the evening hours. One such sight lingers in my memory. It was that of a flock, which must have numbered thousands, defiling out of a distant valley, over which the shadows were already falling. On it came, apparently in single file, moving slowly forward on the far hill-side like an endless procession of surpliced priests, and never straying from the accustomed track, though of human direction or control there was no sign. Whence the flock came and whither it was going it was too far to see, for the scene must have been enacted six or eight miles away. But the nightly kraaling of the sheep, which on the old Boer farms used to be universal, and in the days of open veld grazing necessary, is gradually falling into desuetude, as fencing against four-footed depredators becomes more common. It entailed a great waste of land owing to the constant treading to and fro, and it was destructive of good condition to the animals which had to make a long pilgrimage twice a day. Not long ago the Union Drought Investigation Commission came to the conclusion that if the paddock system were generally introduced in sheep farming the value of the national wool output would be increased by ten million pounds.

From sheep to pigs is like a descent to bathos, and happily little need be said on the latter subject, for the entire production of bacon in the Union is no more than is handled by a single large Danish factory. Here South Africa has not even marked time, but gone back. Great Britain buys from abroad bacon and ham to the value of fifty millions a year, yet hardly any from South Africa. The fact is not surprising, since it is only a proof of British discrimination. My own acquaintance with bacon was confined to occasional and apprehensive trials at long intervals (I speak, of course, of hotels), while friends in whispered confidences repeatedly told me that it was their invariable practice to buy only the imported article. Why South African bacon as now produced should be exported, unless to get rid of it, is a mystery. A short time ago the

Union Board of Trade and Industries inquired into the condition of the bacon industry, and reported that pig breeding in South Africa was still "in a very elementary stage." The emphasis might even be made stronger. If this industry is to succeed it will have to make its own market, and this can only be done by breeding animals which will produce a uniform product of high quality capable of competing with the progressive countries which now command the trade. At present neither the animals, nor the factories, nor the methods that will bring success appear to exist.

Poultry breeding with a view to the production of eggs for export has made great progress of late years, and the future of this young industry appears to be bright. Several years ago South African eggs enjoyed a dubious reputation in the English market. Then the Government, on pressure from the Poultry Association and with its co-operation, took up the question of export; legislation was speedily passed determining the size and quality of eggs that might be sent abroad; poultrymen were visited, advised, and organized; arrangements for grading, packing and cold storage were made; and the result was success. While less than ten years ago the greater part of the country's egg supply came from abroad, eggs are now exported, chiefly from the Cape Province, to the number of over twenty millions a year. The cost of the necessary machinery of organization, collection, inspection, and the rest is covered by a levy on the exports. I heard of a group of settlers on a certain portion of the Sundays River, in the Cape Province, who, having fallen on evil days owing to adverse agricultural conditions, were set on their feet as soon as they began to produce eggs on the co-operative principle.

The ostrich feather industry cannot be passed over, since the bird himself is too assertive and imperious. To have seen him at close quarters, not only in the domesticated paddock but in his natural home, the open veld, where he roams in undisputed dignity, an absolute monarch of the wide expanses—and he looks it, every inch of him—is to have seen one of the most fascinating of South African country sights. Unfortunately for the ostrich farmer, however, the beautiful feathers taken from the bird no longer

enjoy, at least for the present, the vogue which used to be theirs, and the ostrich has depreciated in consequence. Thirty years ago full-grown birds were worth £50 and £60, and month-old chicks as much as £5, while the feathers yielded as much as £20 a bird. Now good birds can be had for £3 and if a cutting yields £1 or so, the farmer has to be satisfied, ruefully though he surveys the quantity of exquisite plumes which has to be sacrificed at so sorry a price. It is probable, however, that the industry may be suffering from the absence of co-operative action in marketing, for stories were told me about the profits intercepted by London middlemen which, but for their source, would have seemed incredible. The result of the prevailing depression in the feather trade is that farms which in the good old times carried from 500 to 1,000 birds now run fifty or fewer—only so many, in fact, as are necessary to keep up the stock.

Wonderful specimen feathers were produced at some of the Cape farms which I visited for the purpose of exciting my admiration, and I saw the Wembley exhibit before it was despatched to London. Birds which contribute such objects of beauty to the science or art of feminine dress and adornment cannot remain permanently in the background, and the ostrich-breeding industry, whatever its present difficulties, need have no fear of extinction.

This is the place for a more extended reference to the important place filled in the rural life and industry of South Africa by Native labour. When the first Dutch pioneer, the gallant Dutchman Johan van Riebeeck, landed at the Cape full of large ideas, he planned its development on purely agricultural lines, and in order to facilitate that development he was prepared to import Chinese labourers in indefinite number to do the drudgery of farm work The Chinese were kept out, but at an early date slaves were imported from nearer sources, and eventually the burden of heavy labour was placed on the shoulders of the Native Blacks, who gradually sank almost to the status of serfs. Practically all the field work is still done by Natives, their women folk and their children. Visiting farms and estates in variety in all the provinces, I had many opportunities for a close view of labourers at their tasks. They are of many tribes, and while the members of some tribes keep

together very jealously farmers sometimes prefer to have "boys" of different tribes, as they find that a certain amount of emulation results. The last occupational census showed that the Natives and other Coloured persons employed on the farms of the country numbered 434,000 (313,000 males and 121,000 females), a figure which presumably disregards children, while the White farm workers numbered only 54,000. Cheapness, as cheapness is reckoned in money value, is the explanation of this fact, inevitable in view of past developments, but menacing to the country's future, since the Black farm labourer is a far more serious argument and obstacle against the ideal of a White South Africa than the Black factory or mine worker.

Wages are paid either in money or in money and food, the more usual method. Where wages are in money only they range, for men, from 2s. to 3s. a day, rations in this case being sometimes sold at cost as a matter of convenience. Where rations are part of the wages from 15s. to 20s. a month is paid in money. Women as a rule receive two-thirds of these rates or less. I was told in one place that the "Red" Kaffirs from Kaffraria, the least exacting of labourers, were "ready" to work there for 10s. a month in money and a weekly ration of 21 lb. of mealies (valued at 1s. 6d.) with skimmed milk. If a "boy" is married it is usual to assert a lien upon the labour of the entire family—man, wife, sons and daughters, who can all be engaged for several pounds a month with food rations. The food varies from a daily or weekly ration of mealies to one approaching the more liberal regimen provided in the mine compounds. The value of a normal single ration will be about 3s. a week, increased by a shilling or so if meat is included. Skimmed milk and wood are sometimes added. Recently a Cape Commissioner of Police recommended farmers to give a weekly ration consisting of 18 to 20 lb. of mealie meal or Boer meal, 7 lb. of meat, 1 lb. of sugar, and ¼-lb. of coffee, the value of which would be about 4s.

The Native labourers with their families usually live on the farm in rude wooden huts or shanties, either provided for them or built by them of sods, wood, and thatch supplied by the farmer. The Black domestic servants, who receive

10s. a month in money and are found in food and clothing, likewise sleep in these rough quarters. Squatting by Natives is only allowed in exceptional cases, and a special law now regulates the practice, which had led to much abuse. In the Free State the Native will only engage himself for a few months at a time, often alternating land work with a spell at the mines, or devoting the rest of the year to his own little farm, which means in most cases a long and restful holiday, since his wife is also his labourer.

Both systems of payment have their friends alike among masters and men. To the former the dual method is more satisfactory, since it offers some sort of guarantee that the labourer will be kept in a "fit" state, and will not stint himself and his family in his eagerness to save and put his money in farm stock, a practice conducive to the purloining of food, even to the extent of sheep stealing. Where a liberal ration is supplied it is supposed to cover the needs of the labourer and his family. Discussing this method of payment with a Cape farmer in a large way, my acquaintance was minded to make a calculation, with the result that he learned for the first time, to his great surprise, that in supplying food rations to eleven "boys" he was supporting also the wives of six or seven of them and their children to the number of about forty, the size of the families ranging from two to ten.

A few "poor White" and Coloured labourers were employed on this estate at £3 a month, with a piece of land and a decent cottage, and to them were entrusted the more responsible work and operations—overseeing, the care and working of machinery, and the like. All the men, White, Coloured, and Black, worked side by side, but the employer required the Natives to address a White worker as "master." He held that the secret of amicable relations with Native workers lies in maintaining the difference between the races which exists without being made, and he regarded it as a mistake on the part of many Dutch farmers that in their dealings with the Natives they failed to observe this principle, and encourage the familiarity which proverbially breeds contempt on one side or the other. To the Native the employer is always "Baas" (boss), but in some parts of the Cape the Coloured man

still addresses him as "Sire," a survival of the French "Sicur," which he possibly learned long ago from the Huguenots.

In generalizing on the Native's efficiency as a farm labourer it is usual to approach the subject negatively, and then work back to the best that can be said on the other side. The average Native certainly has a wonderful capacity for carelessness and blundering. To him gates are meant to be left open, fences to be broken down, cattle to be allowed to stray just where for their well-being they ought not to go, veld bushes to be burnt, and machinery, if he is permitted to touch it, to be put out of order as soon and effectually as possible. While I was wandering over a farm in the Transvaal with its owner, word came that a valuable ox had fallen dead after a surfeit in a lucerne meadow. It was not the first occurrence of the kind, and my companion simply remarked "That 'boy' (he meant 'That gate') again!" But the Native can be more original than that. I heard of a farmer who, having occasion to send some hundreds of sheep to pasturage some distance away, directed the Native herdsman in charge to mix a quantity of log ash (a sort of lye or bush ash) with the salt and give it to the flock. By mistake the "boy" gave arsenate of soda instead, with the result that scores of carcases lay stiff on the veld the following morning. On the other hand, many of the farm "boys" show an intelligence and trustworthiness which leave little to be desired, and earn for them the respect and confidence of their employers accordingly.

Admitting the Native's faults, however, is he entirely to blame? Often as I listened to recitals of his shortcomings it was with a feeling that the narrator was really piling up an indictment against himself. For in a large degree it is the White employer who makes the Native what he is, or at least who is to blame for not sufficiently trying to make of him something better. If a European farmer makes up his mind that his "boys" are "no good," they will be "no good," and that to the end of the chapter. I am convinced that the principal reason why so many of them fail to attain to any praiseworthy degree of efficiency is the absence of any effort on the employer's part to train

them, an omission often due to mere indifference, but often from a fear of doing anything inconsistent with the European's duty of keeping the Black man in his place. Here the maxim "Like master like man" emphatically holds true. If the master is negligent, the servant will inevitably be the same, only more so.

Another class of labourers on the large farms are the "poor Whites," though their number is rapidly decreasing owing to the preference given by the farmers to the cheaper Natives, for whom also he has not to build houses fit for human beings. The truth is that though the community deluges the "poor Whites" with pity, it has not pity enough either to cease tolerating the economic conditions which are daily swelling their numbers or to make resolute and sustained efforts, needing sacrifice, to lift them out of their hapless condition. I have spoken of this class as a survival of the old Boer patriarchal system. Several causes have contributed to create it. One potent factor was the continuous sub-division of farms, originally of great extent, into holdings of ever-diminishing size where a property was divided on the death of the head of the family. Often this process was carried so far that the share falling to an individual legatee came to represent no more than one or one-half per cent. of the original area—say, fifty or a hundred acres of poor land, where the farm was originally worked as a single unit of ten or twenty thousand—offering to the otherwise impecunious owner no possibility of an independent livelihood. When at last the descendants became altogether landless they sank to the position of "bywoners," or mere hangers-on to the ancestral homesteads, or any others whose owners were willing to lend them, in return for labour, a house and ground enough for a little stock. If that dependent life was not open to them they drifted to the towns, settled in the cheapest and meanest quarters there, and lived by whatever odd employment they could pick up. So they came by the name "poor Whites."

The war of 1899–1902 greatly worsened the condition of the "bywoners" and the farming classes generally owing to the destruction of so many farm-houses, the ruin of their owners and occupiers, and the chaos into which

the agricultural industry fell in the Dutch States. Thence resulted a great dislocation and shifting of the rural population, and the final disintegration of the old patriarchal system, under which fathers, sons, and sons' sons with their dependants often lived together, on a sort of tribal or clan basis, on farms sometimes as large as townships.

Apart from the refusal of farmers in general to employ "poor Whites" when Natives are available at a fraction of the cost, the most effectual feeders of the class at the present time are its own mental and physical deterioration and the disadvantage to which this exposes them in the labour market. Medical authorities have stated that from 30 to 40 per cent. of the "poor Whites" must be regarded as mentally enfeebled. In the unskilled labour market they cannot successfully compete in capacity or zest for work with the sturdy and vigorous Native labourer, who can live on next to nothing, and to whom half a crown a day is comparative wealth. The most difficult class of "poor Whites" to deal with are those who have inherited, together with their shiftlessness and dislike of exertion on principle, the European's traditional disdain of "Kaffir work." Such men will deliberately sink, with their eyes open to the fate that threatens them, rather than seize the rope held out to them by solicitous agencies ready to offer them unskilled employment, the only kind of which they are capable.

All sorts of measures have been tried in the hope of staying the downward course of this class, and checking its further growth, but seldom with great or permanent success. Relief works have been started, but they have almost invariably left the "poor Whites" further weakened in character and no better off in pocket than before. Agricultural settlements have been established, first by the Dutch Reformed Church, which has always zealously recognized its responsibility to these weaker brethren, and latterly by the Government; and while some of these have been attended with moderate success, and still exist, others have proved disastrous failures.

While staying at the pretty little town of George, between Mossel Bay and Knysna, I had the opportunity of visiting one of the Government settlements—the forestry settle-

ment of Jonkersberg, dating from after the Boer War. Here are settled some 150 Dutch families, representing a total population of about 700. The men are all engaged in afforesting and thereafter tending a large area of hilly country within working distance of their homes. If paid by time they receive 6s. a day in money, with a cottage and about half an acre of ground, also free schooling and medical attendance. I was told that when working by contract good men can earn £10 a month and second-grade men £7 and £8, which is more than is earned by unskilled White or Coloured labourers in the nearest towns.

It is unlikely that the problem will be solved by any single measure. As is the degree of deterioration and incapacity, so must be the methods of treating it, and from this standpoint two broad classes may be distinguished. For the "poor Whites" who are not yet to be regarded as belonging to the submerged class settlement on small irrigation holdings, or engagement with farmers on what is known as the "share" system, might well supplement the present remedial experiments. The Government has at command much good irrigated land, or land that will soon be irrigable, particularly in the Transvaal, on which a large number of small-holders could be settled as tenants at will or leaseholders, while the "share" system is already in operation in three of the provinces on many large farms which are in part worked by "share" families, in number varying from ten to a hundred. Virtually it is our old friend the French system of *métayage*, represented in Germany by the equally old or older system of *Teilbau*, and known in Canada to-day as the "share milking." Under it a farmer allots to each of his partners an area of land not too small to yield, with good cultivation, a return satisfactory to both parties, nor yet too large to be efficiently managed, together with a house or other lodging, and implements, seed, manure, etc., according to requirements. The net profits are divided according to agreement, one-half or two-thirds usually going to the cultivator.

The principal defect of the system, now as when John Stuart Mill expounded and commended it in relation to France, is that under it the minor partner is a partner not in the farm but only in the produce which it yields, with

the result that he does not enjoy the sense of proprietorship, he cannot claim a share in the capital value of improvements which may be due to his labour and skill, and he has no assurance of security and permanence.

Latterly a body of public-spirited men, mostly Dutch, formed the Van Riebeeck Memorial Settlement Society in order to carry out experiments on what are known in Europe as " home colonization " lines, and primarily with a view to alleviating the problem of the " poor Whites " by getting these unfortunates back to the land, though a collateral object is to attract suitable agricultural immigrants from overseas. It is a genuine national as distinguished from Nationalist organization, and is sponsored by influential South Africans of all political parties and of none.

For " poor Whites " of the lower class the best stimulus would be a systematic course of training for farm life, varying from that of the school farm to that of disciplinary labour colonies of the German, Belgian, or Swiss type. Nevertheless, after everything that is practicable has been done for the adult generation in these ways, the only hope of entirely exterminating the " poor White " class lies in the better care, education, and training of the children. To this work, therefore, much earnest effort is being directed both by the Government and the Dutch Reformed Church in connexion with their settlements, and the schools attached to these give training in trades and handicrafts, so as to enable boys who do not remain on the land to find useful employment in the towns.

If South Africa is favoured by climate in many ways, it has to pay for its privileges. The principal handicaps of the agriculturist, yet also his most potent incentives to resolution and endeavour, next to self-interest, are drought, hailstorms, and the various pests which attack farm or flock, chief among them the locust. The degree to which these sources of annoyance and loss impede successful farming varies greatly, and happily they are for the most part localized and periodic. On the whole it is probable that their seriousness relatively to the magnitude of the agricultural industry is usually over-stated. No doubt the most lurid pictures that could be drawn of drought

and hail, of locusts and other field pests, would fit episodes that happened at some time at some spot somewhere in the vast Union; but as generalizations they would be untrue.

To say this is not to make light of the farmer's risks and losses. In the year 1920–21 drought and diseases took a toll of 3½ million sheep and lambs, 440,000 cattle, 89,000 horses, mules and asses, 480,000 goats, 270,000 kids, 66,000 pigs, and 45,000 ostriches, and it would be a moderate estimate to put the value of this stock at seven and a half-millions sterling. But what about farmers' losses in Great Britain? It is impossible to compare like with like, for drought is not exactly an evil which perplexes the British farmer. As to plagues of another kind, however, the president of the agricultural section of the British Association, at the Toronto meeting in August, 1924, estimated the damage done to crops by pests in this country at "at least ten per cent. of the total value of the crops," or "about £12 mill. a year." * Drought, however, is an evil due less to insufficient rainfall than to the irregularity in the rainfall incidence to which attention has already been called, and when the worst that is deserved has been said of the drought plague, the hopeful fact remains that by working with nature, correcting her vagaries, and otherwise exercising intelligent foresight, by such measures as water conservation, irrigation, the use of silos, and the more extensive cultivation of drought-resisting fodder-crops, the farmer could do far more than now to protect himself against embarrassment and loss. And if South Africa has chosen to go "dry" Great Britain still persists in remaining "wet," which may in certain circumstances be an equal evil.

Of late greater attention has been given to an aid which nature gives to the farmer in time of drought in the prickly pear, a plant of the cactus order which flourishes on the driest veld and hill-side, and owing to the succulence of its fleshy leaves provides cattle with both food and water. The value attached to the shrub is now so great

* I must add that I have failed to ascertain on what authority the speaker based these figures. An enquiry addressed to the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries elicited the reply that "the Ministry is not aware of any sufficient evidence which would enable such an estimate to be either confirmed or denied."

that whereas it used to be mown down indiscriminately and gathered in heaps to rot and serve as manure, large breadths of it are now cultivated in dry districts to serve as a "standby" in the event of drought. I saw many such on farms in the Cape Midlands, and, my visit falling to a time of particularly severe drought, not a few of the farmers said, in the language of despair, that they had "nearly come to the cactus." A spineless variety has now been produced at the Government Experimental Stations and it is being largely planted.

Then there is the locust pest. I do not throw doubt upon the locust swarms, for I have seen them, nor do I dispute the ravages they perpetrate, for I have witnessed crops of mealies and lucerne cut down to the ground by their voracious onslaught. Here again, however, it is desirable to take the true measure of the facts. The locust pest is bad enough, yet not so desperately bad as it is often painted: agriculture suffers from it, *eppur si muove!* Further, locusts are not altogether undiscriminating in their depredations, in that they have a habit of taking the best before they condescend to touch the second-best. Thus they appear to prefer good grass to mealies, and even when attacking mealies they will leave lucerne for the next meal. It is said that they once had a prejudice against peas and beans. Now few green growths, each in the order of merit, come amiss to them: they have become, in fact, what gardeners call gross feeders. Only the hard foliage of some fruit trees, like citrus, fails to attract them.

The stories of vast swarms overspreading a whole province and occupying days in their flight past a given point must be accepted with more than the proverbial grain of salt, though the often related incident of great branches of trees breaking under the weight of locusts is perfectly credible. Having read a particularly flamboyant story of a locust visitation in a very remote district of the Transvaal and the marvellous feats attributed by the wonderful insects, I wrote in curiosity to the nearest Magistrate, asking for confirmation or otherwise of the narrative. The reply showed that it had proved impossible to identify this particular swarm, but some of the information given on the ways of the locust in general is so interesting and also

trustworthy that it deserves reproduction, names being omitted:

> "That this particular swarm was twelve miles wide is rather improbable, if the width is reckoned while in flight. That any swarm took five days to pass is certainly an exaggeration, as a swarm in flight, to my personal knowledge, travels 30 miles a day. A swarm is reported as being of immense dimensions because the observer does not note that it drifts backwards and forwards, or to one side or the other. Large swarms hang about an area for days at a time; their lines of flight are deflected by variations of wind.
>
> "The immense weight of the insects when roosting is incredible to those who have not seen a swarm at rest for the night. I have myself picked up a cushion of solid locust from the ground on a wet night. I dipped my hands wrist-deep into the mass, and brought up a solid block with my hands about ten inches apart. I have seen large branches broken by the weight of the roosting swarms. It is by no means improbable that branches of seven inches in diameter were snapped, because certain trees have a very large spread of foliage to the branches, are not of very tough fibre, and are frequently injured by the boring of white ants (termites) and other insects."

It is, however, an ill wind that blows good to no one, and both the farmers and the Natives have begun to turn the locusts to profitable account. The former have found that locusts make a good food for cattle, pigs, and poultry, and large quantities are dried in the sun for this purpose, while the Natives eat the insects, cooked, and are fond of the diet. It is even said that White people of superfine tastes have developed a liking for baked locusts when sufficiently deluged with pungent sauce.*

Perhaps the worst enemies of the fruit crops are the hailstorms which sometimes visit districts otherwise specially favourable to fruit growing. These visitations must not be confounded with the mild patter of frozen pellets which represent hailstorms in this country. South African hailstones are often as large as pigeon eggs and sometimes as large as cricket balls, and their fall can be terribly devastating. I saw ruined vineyards and mealie and tomato patches where the fruit had been literally hacked off by hail and the stems lay broken and prostrate on the ground. In one

* John the Baptist's partial diet of locusts was, of course, approved by the Mosaic law as expounded in the Book of Leviticus.

case the storm had beaten for itself a track a dozen yards wide; outside this area no harm had been done, but within it not a stem or stalk had been left standing. Stories of specially violent hailstorms live as legends in the memories of old inhabitants. Such was the storm which visited Pretoria in 1878, when ice covered the ground to the depth of six or seven inches and drifts of it to the depth of several feet, individual stones having a diameter of eight inches and weighing one and two pounds. I was at Pretoria several days after Christmas Day of 1923, when a hailstorm worthy of remembrance occurred. Hailstones literally as large as cricket balls, and weighing a pound, fell in quantity, and the effects of the visitation were still visible in ruined tile roofs, acres of broken windows, and devastated gardens; while the English church was for the time being put out of service as unsafe, owing to its shattered roof. In such visitations, which happily are very rare, sheep and goats out on the unprotected veld are killed by the hundred.

Then there is the vermin of the veld. The variety is happily decreasing, though it is interesting to observe that in a district of the Cape Midlands—an area far more domesticated than most parts of the other provinces—there were killed in 1923 a total of over 2,600 jackals, baboons lynxes, wild cats, and misseljaar cats, besides a few eagles. This work of destruction is done for the most part by poor Europeans and Coloured people in return for bonuses, the amount of which depends upon the size and degree of noisomeness of the animal. In the past far more than now farmers suffered serious losses from jackals, but the practice of paddocking the flocks and herds and of fencing-in the entire grazing area of a farm has enormously reduced the risk of depredations. Fencing has, in fact, paid for itself wherever erected. I heard of one large Cape sheep-breeder who had expended some hundreds of pounds on vermin-proof fencing and as a result obtained an immediate average increase of two pounds in weight a fleece, which went a long way towards covering the outlay in one season.

South African agriculture has recently passed through a very bad time. Drought, locusts, and in some directions a sudden fall in prices have played havoc with bank balances, brought many industrious and deserving farmers to ruin

or the verge of it, and induced an outburst of pessimism such as has not been witnessed for many years. Having visited all the four provinces I am bound to say that discouragement and depression were very prevalent and so far as I could judge very real. There comes a point in the struggle against adverse odds when, under the pressure of accumulating difficulties, the faith and fortitude of even the most valorous spirit will falter, and such a point had been reached in the case of hundreds of farmers.

A successful farmer, who worked several thousand acres of his own land, and had been practically engaged in the business of agriculture for over half a century, assured me, as a sign of the prevailing distress, that not 75 per cent. of the farmers were making a clear profit of a pound a day (what would English farmers say to that?), though of course many of the minority were, like himself, doing as well as ever, particularly if their capital was well invested in wool. As a rule the men who had been hardest hit were those who, having put their eggs into one basket had seen the bottom of that basket fall out, small-holders who had unwisely entered on the difficult business of farming without the necessary training, and farmers of the backward sort who all their lives had persisted in waiting on nature, instead of giving her a helping hand. On the other hand, I heard of many progressive English settlers who had bought out Dutch farmers and, by the introduction of modern methods, had done better than the original owners. Further, a good year usually makes up for several bad ones, and the year 1924-5 has proved quite exceptionally good.

Only once did I entertain a feeling not far removed from disgust for one of the pessimists. It was a well-to-do farmer who had amassed a fortune in good times, yet now that he supposed bad times ahead he proposed to turn his back on the country which had treated him so handsomely. After all, a deserter of that kind would hardly be missed, though one can only hope that he will not add to the superfluities of the home land.

In many cases undoubtedly the explanation of failure was attributable to inexperience and ignorance for which there was no need or excuse. I read a sensible rebuke

administered to the croakers in a South African newspaper by one who had failed in farming and was honest enough to admit the reason why.

> "We often hear," he wrote, "that farming in South Africa does not pay, and sometimes this is true. I tried it for a short time, and it didn't pay me. This is not surprising, as I had no preliminary training. My failure to achieve immediate success was probably due to my own colossal ignorance of the whole business. The moral is obvious."

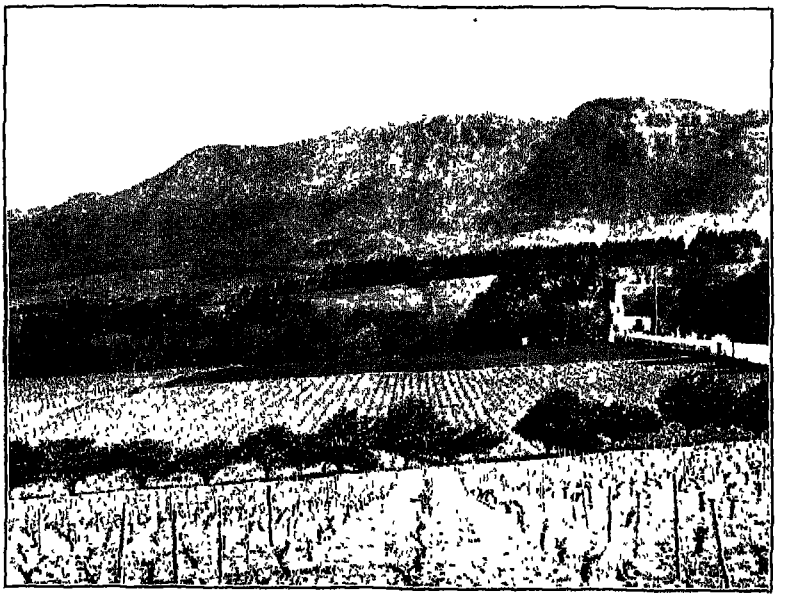
The moral is indeed obvious, but pessimists seldom heed morals. Their business is to croak, and when they cease to croak on one subject they soon begin to croak on another. The best way with them is to leave them to croak to each other.

It may be of interest to quote further from the letter which reached me from the Transvaal, since the district to which it refers had suffered severely from drought and locusts, yet had come safely through misfortune. The writer continued:

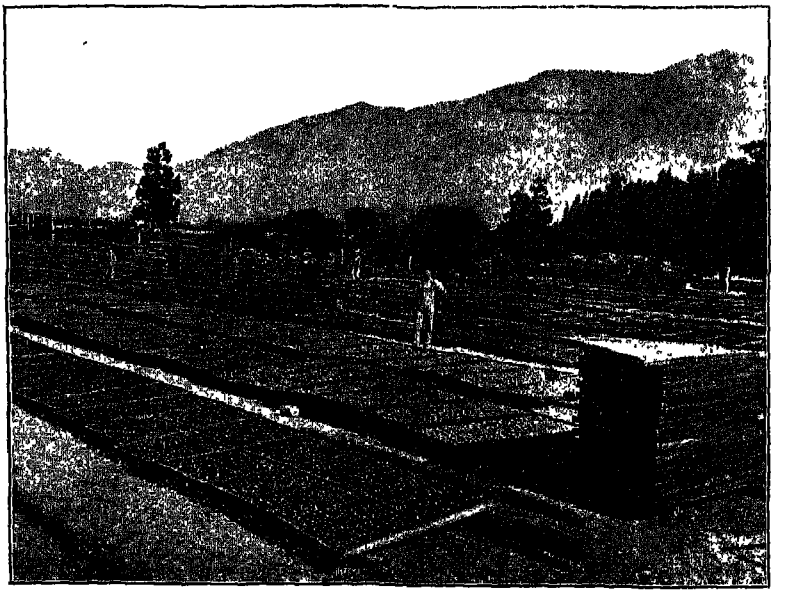
> "I have just completed a three weeks' tour of the Bushveld area of ———, and I was most agreeably surprised to find the live-stock, whether belonging to Europeans or Natives, in excellent condition. The veld grass this year has been retarded in its growth by the small and delayed rainfall, whereas in 1923 it stood thick and rank; yet the cattle this year are better than in the winter of 1923. I speak of the conditions in the Bushveld, i.e., low-lying area, and not of the High Veld. The farmers with whom I discussed what was to me a phenomenon ascribed the difference to the superior feed value of the restrained growth of the grasses, and to the greater quantity of the various acacia pods available in the Bush."

All which seems to illustrate in a striking way the recuperative capacity of the soil, and to suggest that nature is not nearly so erratic and senseless as she seems at times, but that there is a compensating balance in her clockwork, and that this piece of mechanism on the whole keeps fairly good time.

None the less, the crisis through which the country has passed is a call to take stock of things. The future cannot be as the past. Conditions and circumstances have changed in many ways and men will have to change with them, modifying and abandoning inefficient methods and practices



VINEYARD AT GROOT CONSTANTIA (CAPE)



FRUIT DRYING ON A CAPE FARM

here, adopting and assimilating new ideas there, and falling in with the spirit of progress everywhere. There is ground for the suspicion that South African agriculturists are not sufficiently eager to leave behind them the merely experimental stage. Take the two products wool and cotton, upon which the future of South African farming so largely depend. Why do not South African cotton and wool growers oftener send their sons who are intended for agriculture to England, there to acquire an accurate knowledge of what our textile industries need and will be glad to buy from the Union? If this were done there would be no need for controversy over the use of wrong methods, the production of the wrong staples, and the rest; and in that way much time and money would be saved, since there would be far less blind enterprise and wasteful exportation of produce either unsuitable or of inferior quality. A year or even two years passed at Bradford or Manchester, with their excellent technical college and university respectively, and divided between study and practical experience in a merchant's office, would be well-spent time and expense, for however good the technological knowledge acquired at home such an experience would hardly fail to fill up important gaps.

A progressive English agriculturist, of what is called in South Africa, in pointless satire, the "cheque-book" type, said to the writer not long ago, "I can always make my farm pay." The union of science with practice, spelling efficiency, was the secret, and it is everywhere a secret of successful agriculture, though not the only one. Co-operation applied in rational forms to buying and selling, dairying enterprise, pig and poultry farming, etc. is also important. The co-operative movement has not thriven in South Africa to the same extent as in some European countries, and the chief reason is the isolated life lived by so large a proportion of the farmers, though the tradition of individualism still so strong in the older generation of Afrikanders is also to blame. It is estimated that not one in ten of the farmers is interested in a co-operative undertaking of any kind, and yet the complaint that the middleman runs away with the profits is universal in every branch of farming. One may read of private adventure dairies which pay farmers

eightpence or tenpence a gallon for cream and retail it in towns not far distant at thrice this price; and yet it is just the victims of exploitation of this kind who are slowest to recognize the importance of associated enterprise. Since the Union Co-operative Societies Act came into operation two years ago, however, the co-operative movement is said to have made a new start, and wide-awake farmers are beginning to understand the value of this auxiliary.

More important for the farmer, however, than organization of such kinds is the efficient organization of his own enterprise. The great amount of talk and effort which is devoted to agricultural experiment would never have been necessary had proper attention been paid to progressive farming in the past. Many men still continue to fail simply because they try everything in turn and settle down to nothing permanently; while the prosperous ones are those who, having satisfied themselves that they are on the right track, resolutely keep to it. Such are the wool producers, the pedigree stock breeders, and the men of big enterprise generally. At the same time the recurrent droughts and pest epidemics are a reminder to the small farmer that for him safety lies in the production of several commodities for which there is a permanent and a near market. That means mixed farming, preferably on irrigated holdings of limited extent, supplemented by a sufficiency of dry pasture land upon which to run stock.

The banal question "Does farming pay?" is no more absent for a long time from the correspondence columns of the South African than from those of the British Press, and always when it is asked, it is with a presumption that the answer must necessarily be a negative one. I should prefer to put the question in another form—"Will farmers ever cease to grumble?" Farming will assuredly cease to pay when they do. All the time that farmers are complaining farms are being cultivated in ever increasing numbers, the race of agriculturists shows no sign of extinction, while its yearly contribution to the country's wealth is estimated at £60 mill. sterling, which is more than the value of the entire mineral production of the Union. Agriculture will have bad times as well as good always, but it can nowhere fail for long, and collectively it can never fail at all, because

it is the one and only key and master industry, since upon it the life of mankind in the last resort absolutely depends. Even the endemic visitations of ill-luck will be rarer in proportion as farmers so organize their business and equip themselves for the management of it as to rule out of the calculation all but the unknown risks which are beyond control.

There is an element of gambling in all agriculture, because incalculable factors enter into it, and if there is perhaps more of it in South Africa than in most countries the stakes are heavier there. Against all the farmer's liabilities must be placed magnificent assets in the climate, the exceptional fertility of much of the land, particularly that under irrigation, the unequalled choice of products and systems of cultivation, and the good prospect of success which awaits the man who unstintingly puts into his work heart, brain, and muscle. There is a maxim of the Orient to the effect that if you love the desert it will do you good, but hate it and it will undo you. Nature is not so strong in her emotions as that in South Africa, yet there, too, the homely saying, often on the lips of the North of England farmer, is true, that only if a man is kind to the land will it be kind to him. Nature who, after all, pulls the stoutest oar in all agricultural endeavour, is seldom unwilling to help the man who is prepared to help himself. It is only for the idler, the slacker, and the good-for-naught that she has no thought and no pity. It is her wise way of elbowing all such useless truck out of a world in which they have no rightful place.

CHAPTER XVI

A FIELD FOR SETTLEMENT

AN altogether misleading view would be given of South Africa as a field for agricultural settlers—and until the long overdue industrial development takes serious form few others will be wanted—if one were merely to state its area and the present ratio of population to the square mile, compare these figures with the corresponding data for advanced European countries, and then draw the conclusion that the Union could absorb untold millions of people if they would only be sensible enough to accept its invitation.

Yet, notwithstanding that a large part of the surface of the country is unsuitable for human habitation, and a further part is habitable only under harsh and trying conditions of climate and exertion, the fact remains that South Africa is still virtually virgin territory from the standpoint of White settlement, and offers to farm settlers of the right type attractions and opportunities so many and varied that a largely accelerated influx of these might long continue without danger of excess. It is, therefore, from the standpoint of agriculture that the subject of settlement will be treated in this chapter.

Let me say at the outset that all political parties in South Africa favour the immigration of those desirous of making their homes on the land. The suspicion has been current in this country that the Nationalist Party, now in power, does not favour immigration, and as I heard the same thing while in South Africa I questioned General Hertzog (the new Prime Minister) on the subject. He repudiated any hostility whatever to immigration, and said that his only reservation was that what the Government did for settlers from oversea it should do for settlers at home—a very proper stipulation, against which nothing can be said. It is also probable that the land policy of the new Ministry, as inherited from the old, will offer to oversea settlers greater encouragement than in the past in the way of training facilities and reasonable social amenities in

connexion with the development of irrigated lands under Governmental control. Over a year ago certain members of the Nationalist Party even formed a non-political association one of whose objects is to strengthen the White population by the introduction of European settlers. Hence prospective settlers need have no fear of any deflection from the policy hitherto followed, but may safely anticipate all reasonable encouragement now and later from any South African Government, whatever its political complexion.

Before Union each of the provinces administered its Crown lands and promoted settlement under its own statutes. The Land Settlement Act of 1912 introduced uniformity of practice in relation to the acquisition and disposal of Crown lands, supplementing without substituting the laws already in existence, and this Act has been amended by three later statutes (of 1917, 1920, and 1922) in the light of the experience gained and the new conditions and needs which have since arisen. Under these Acts the Minister of Lands, acting on the recommendation of the Land Board of the province concerned, is empowered to allot Crown lands and to purchase, from funds appropriated by Parliament for the purpose, privately-owned land for subdivision into suitable holdings for agricultural and pastoral purposes. In the case of Crown lands a lease is granted for five years, with the option of purchase at a price fixed at the outset, interest being paid in the meantime, and if the option is exercised the purchase price, with interest, is payable in forty half-yearly instalments. Advances may be made to allottees for the purpose of acquiring stock, equipment, and other things necessary for the development of their holdings, and permanent improvements may be made thereon by the Government and the cost added to the purchase price of the land.

On the same recommendation, the Minister may also offer publicly holdings for allotment subject to the condition that the successful applicants shall pay on allotment one-fifth of the purchase price and the balance in forty half-yearly instalments with interest.

Further, the Minister may assist settlers to acquire privately-owned agricultural land for their personal occupa-

tion, provided the purchase price does not exceed £2,000 and the settler is prepared to contribute not less than one-fifth of the sum. In this case the Ministry buys the land, at a valuation acceptable to its experts, and assumes the risk until the holder has paid off his instalments. Here likewise there is provision for advances for the purchase of farm stock and equipment up to a limit of £500, the conditions of repayment varying according to the purposes for which the advances are granted. Advances are also made for house-building, fencing, borehole construction, dipping-tanks, etc. In general the rates of interest and the periods and terms of repayment are made as convenient as possible for the lessees or owners.

During the British administration following the war of 1899–1902 several settlements of small and medium holders, many of them ex-soldiers, were established with varying success. Such were the "Milner settlers" who were set up in the Transvaal and the Free State as stock-farmers and general agriculturists. Many of these settlers of twenty years ago had to pass through a trying time, yet some of them are to-day prosperous men owning large estates. Under the Land Acts a large number of small farmers have been placed on holdings of from 20 to 30 acres, and in Zululand much Crown land has been opened up and sold in large areas for cotton growing and sugar production. In remote parts of Zululand groups of British settlers have been established and after overcoming early obstacles have developed into prosperous little communities. That territory abounds in land both fertile and cheap, the only present drawbacks being remoteness from the railway and malarial conditions. The first of these drawbacks is gradually being lessened, and even malaria proves amenable to the systematic cultivation of the soil. It is now proposed to settle small holders on portions of the State-owned lands which will be put under irrigation as soon as the Hartebeest conservation reservoir on the Crocodile river and the Olifants river scheme are completed.

As showing the extent of these settlement operations it may be stated that during the ten years from 1912 to the end of March, 1923, the Government bought land for settlement to the value, including works of development,

of £1,466,000; and from 1910 to the same date 9,424 settlers were allotted agricultural holdings with the aggregate area of nearly 22 million acres and a value of £5,973,000, 3,643 of these settlers receiving Government-purchased and Crown land and 1,357 land acquired on the contributory purchase system. The land latterly allotted as holdings was valued at about 16s. an acre in the case of Government-purchased and Crown land and £2 an acre in the case of other land. There is naturally a tendency for the price to rise steadily.

This system of Government land settlement has justified itself, though the rate of progress has not been as rapid as could have been wished. The great majority "make good," and only some seven per cent. of the leases fall in. Among the settlers who have pulled through are many aforetime "poor Whites," who began with nothing except their muscles and a will to use them. In general the small holders so assisted pay their instalments fairly well, though the Land Board never presses them unduly. In the case of Crown land allotments, if there have been bad seasons during the first five years, the leasehold period may be continued for a further five years with the same option and terms of purchase as before, and though the valuation of the property is fixed when the lease is drawn up, it may be reduced if circumstances, such as falling land values, justify a reduction. In no case does the Government make or try to make a profit out of its land transactions, though it may sometimes take over a loss rather than let deserving settlers be handicapped by it.

Nevertheless, far too little has hitherto been done to attract settlers from overseas. While before the War hundreds of thousands of migrants were crossing the ocean every year from the British Isles to the other Dominions, and still more, directly or indirectly, to the United States, South Africa made little attempt to share in this stream of home-seekers, and the wrong impression has been created that it does not want settlers. It drafts them in driblets from all points of the compass—a hundred from one country, a hundred from another, and so on—but there is no strong and steady stream of new-comers, as there should and might be if the proper inducements were offered and a policy

of immigration were pursued with vigour and enterprise. The total number of agricultural settlers—a class so sorely needed—who arrived during the five years 1918–1922 was only 3,040, an accession offset by many permanent departures; and when I was in the country skilled artisans of British birth were leaving, while the influx consisted mainly of Germans, Swedes, Lithuanians, Russians, and Letts—a varied exchange, though not altogether a superior one.

There is reason to believe that in this matter the Government has followed unduly the line of caution, and, actuated by a quite laudable reluctance to exaggerate the advantages offered by the country, has erred on the side of understatement. The consequence is that the work of attracting oversea settlers has largely fallen to land development syndicates and companies, and it has been a serious defect of the schemes launched by some of these that they have sold undeveloped land to the settler and left him to learn his job and make his way as best he might. Now the movement is all in the direction of what is called "directed close settlement," that is to say, group or community settlement, combined with systematic training on the spot in the methods of agriculture most applicable to the local conditions.

Another weakness of the Government's past settlement policy is that it has angled for money more than for men, by fixing too high the financial qualification of the desired settler, and neglecting to make such provision as would enable men in command of only modest means to take a part in the country's development. Twenty or thirty years ago it used to be said that a capital of £500 sufficed for an agricultural settler. Now he is told to have at disposal from £1,500 to £2 000. But to impose such a qualification is to shut the door in the face of many men who would make settlers of the highest social type. Granted that monied settlers are very desirable, they must be, in the nature of things, a limited class, and much more should be done to attract men who might not possess a large amount of capital, but who would bring to the country the valuable assets of character, industry, and the spirit of enterprise. It is greatly to be desired that ample room should be reserved for small holders, for they could be

obtained in large numbers if reasonable inducements were offered. Until this is done South Africa cannot hope to compete successfully for emigrants with countries which invite men with as little as £500, £250, and even no capital at all.

There are large areas of land which, if irrigated, might serve well for settlers of the Scottish crofter type—men not frightened of hard work, accustomed to battle with untamed nature, and endowed with the courage and grit which sooner or later overcome her. Only the money question stands in the way, and it should not be allowed to do. When at Capetown, during the session of Parliament, I mentioned this question to Colonel Reitz, then Minister of Lands, as I had done before in several newspaper interviews, and I was gratified to hear from him that it was both the wish and the intention of his Government to make systematic attempts to attract smaller men, answering to the small-holder type as we understand it in this country. So far, however, the new Government does not appear to have adopted any practical measures to this end, though the pressure of the "poor White" problem, in which it is known to take a special interest, may be the explanation.

Another essential condition of successful settlement schemes in future will be the adoption of what is known as the community principle. Men must no longer live segregated from their fellows, but as far as possible they should be grouped, so that they may from the beginning enjoy a sense of fellowship. The group system of settlement is not new in South Africa. It was tried a hundred years ago, when several thousands of British settlers landed in Algoa Bay, in Cape Colony, and again when after the Crimean War the British Government sent out ex-members of the German Legion, who settled near East London, in the same colony. Later the Cape Government settled a large number of men in the Cape Flats, which by their efforts were changed from barren sandy wastes into fertile market gardens; while, as has been said already, in quite recent years homogeneous groups of small holders have been placed on the land in Transvaal and elsewhere. To the many other settlements composed of immigrants of foreign nationality which have been established at different times reference was made in the first chapter.

Even from the standpoint of public finance also the "close settlement" system is the most efficient and economical, for it makes railway extensions more remunerative, by ensuring a larger revenue on a given expenditure of capital, and it lessens the outlay on public education as compared with that entailed by sparsely populated districts, where more or less inefficient schools have to be established and maintained for small and scattered communities.

A new and wider horizon has opened out for the agricultural settler in South Africa, whether native-born or from overseas, owing to the great development which has taken place in recent years in irrigation farming, and it is safe to say that the future of land settlement in that country is bound up with the extension of irrigation. This work will mean a large expenditure of money, but it will also provide a welcome and steadily increasing volume of employment, and the financial results are as certain as anything human can be. Of the area of the country now under cultivation in one way or another, estimated at thirteen million acres, it is variously computed that from three to six million acres are irrigable. At the present time over a million acres are either under irrigation or are being irrigated, two-thirds by private works and the rest by works executed by the Government. Of the possible aggregate of irrigable land, therefore, only a small portion has yet been put to full use, and South Africa will never do justice to its great potentialities until the whole of this undeveloped land has been brought under permanent water. The fact of the farmers' ever-recurring heavy losses by drought alone makes the question of irrigation one both of urgency and practical wisdom.

In the Transvaal and in the Cape Province I came across many striking evidences of what can be done by even the partial irrigation of naturally fertile land. I heard of six and eight cuttings of lucerne taken from such land in a single season, and I saw splendid crops of grapes, oranges, peaches, plums, figs, etc., all grown without fertilizers. Several farms lying a few miles north of Graaff-Reinet are convincing illustrations of successful enterprise under private systems of irrigation by the aid of flood water, and their history, if told in detail, would read like a romance. When bought by the present proprietors many years ago the land

was undeveloped and neglected, and the homesteads upon it were little more than hovels. By the construction of weirs in a tributary of the Sundays River, and of dams and boreholes, large areas were placed under permanent irrigation, and land which formerly lay under Karroo shrub consists now of rich heavy-cropping lucerne land; fine orchards in which black and white grape, peach, nectarine, plum, apricot, fig, apple, pear, orange, lemon, naartje, shaddock, pomegranate, mulberry and other fruit trees yield abundant and remunerative crops; productive vegetable gardens and extensive flower gardens; and lawns adjacent to the modern residences of the prosperous but hard-working owners. The same picture of fertility won from barrenness may be seen in almost any part of the country.

Nearly all the large schemes of irrigation, however, have been executed by the Government Irrigation Department called into existence by an Act of 1912, which owed much to Mr. J. X. Merriman, and superseded the various irrigation authorities that existed in the several provinces at the time of the Union. The principal exceptions known to me are the great Zebediela project of the African Realty Trust in the Transvaal, and the Ongers River project of the Smartt Syndicate, though there are others. The usual plan is for the owners of land on a reliable river to invite the Government to consider the adoption of a local scheme, and if the report of the experts of the Irrigation Department proves favourable, a Select Committee of the House of Assembly takes evidence and duly reports on the subject. Should it recommend favourably, a scheme is worked out in detail, an estimate of the cost made, and Parliamentary sanction is asked (and invariably given) to the execution of the works and the loan of public funds for the purpose. Ultimately the cost falls on the riparian owners in the form of a water rate, covering capital outlay and interest, and leviable over a term of forty years.

Naturally most of these schemes are situated on the larger rivers. On various parts of the Sundays River, in the Cape Province, there are the works identified with the late Mr. Kirkwood and the Strathsomers Estate Company, the Addo Land and Irrigation Company (which carried out what is known as the Selborne scheme), the Cleveland

Estate Company (superseded by the Cape Sundays River Settlement Company), and the African Irrigated Land Company, whose great enterprise at Kendrew is being organized on community lines, and will later be worked on co-operative principles; while lower down the river is the Lake Mentz scheme, affecting Uitenhage. On that river is a little town called Kirkwood after a pioneer of irrigation settlement. It is a community of 6,000 or 7,000 souls, one third of them Whites, created and deriving its livelihood entirely from the produce of land—roughly on average an acre for each inhabitant—irrigated by works constructed on the adjacent river. Twenty years ago the whole country around was bush, and where there are now hundreds of holdings there was one great sheep farm. Irrigation has brought cultivation, population, civilization, and prosperity to this as to other parts of the Karroo.

The Great Fish River Valley, in the same province, is being irrigated for a length of 180 miles by three large storage reservoirs; and there are schemes on the Olifants, Orange, Kamanassie, and smaller rivers, including the Smartt Syndicate's enterprise near De Aar. On the Olifants River 20,000 acres of good land are being irrigated, and as the Government owns two-fifths it is intended to sell or lease therefrom holdings of thirty acres, allowing for the settlement of some 250 families, while a large area is to be set apart for a model farm. In the Transvaal there are the Hartebeest scheme, already mentioned, the White River Corporation's scheme, and other works, while in the Free State the Upper Modder, Kaffir River, and Kopjes schemes are noteworthy.

Irrigation farming has been called "the highest form of agriculture," and the effect of irrigation is to greatly increase the value of the land, insomuch that it often happens that an area which before irrigation was valued at £2 or £3 an acre can be sold at any figure from £15 to £50 as soon as water is available. To this sum has to be added the yearly water rate, which may be as low as £1 or as high as £2 10s. an acre, payable for a period of forty years. It is a safe rule, however, that the value of agricultural land is just what it is worth to the man who cultivates it. In determining this figure all sorts of factors besides inherent

fertility have to be taken into account, e.g., situation in relation to the railway and markets, suitability for various forms of cultivation or only one, salubrity, social amenities, etc.

Bearing in mind the fact that irrigation farming means farming on intensive methods, irrigated farms are usually small, and experts hold that from 20 to 30 acres, supplemented by a good area of dry land for pasture, is as much as a single individual can efficiently manage. Where irrigated holdings are cultivated as fruit farms a far smaller area will often yield a handsome return, and I came across small fruit growers who throve on five or six acres of vines and miscellaneous fruits. Of course, such holders have to work hard, but so has every farmer at home who means to prosper, and it should not be forgotten that the peasant proprietor is working for himself all the time, and improving both the revenue and the capital value of his holding from year to year.

There is a growing opinion that the State should have some sort of proprietary interest in the land which it irrigates. The claim is reasonable if based on public grounds and not merely, as is commonly done, on the plea that irrigation works are carried out with public money. For the suggestion here implied, that this money takes the form of subsidies, is unfounded. Not only does the Government recover its expenditure with interest in the form of a water rate, but it protects itself by retaining the power to foreclose and if necessary sell up the owners of irrigated land in the event of default. It is true that it performs a most valuable service, but it does this not from any love of or desire to benefit the landowners, but solely in the interest of national development, and from the recognition of the fact that every settler put upon the developed land is a potential creator of national wealth, an additional source of taxation, and, if he comes from overseas, a welcome increase to the White population.

It would be an advantage in many ways if the Government were to come into irrigation schemes as a joint proprietor, but it should do so on fair terms of purchase. It should also be a condition of such a partnership that the Department of Irrigation should be bound by the estimates

on which its irrigation schemes are undertaken. At present it is not, but draws on the owners of land a blank cheque to be filled in by itself when the work is done, and at times the estimates have been very liberally exceeded.

The best policy of all would be for the Government to acquire all water rights and to buy outright all land capable of irrigation, yet now put by its owners to inadequate economic use or no use at all, and after irrigating this land, area by area, to lease or sell it to settlers just as Crown land is disposed of at the present time. As far as possible the Government should retain the freehold, but in either case the valuation should include, besides an improvement profit, the capital charge for irrigation, so that the local water rate would be confined to the costs of the upkeep and administration of the irrigation works.

The question of controlling the streams is one of increasing urgency for a country whose development is so largely dependent upon the systematic conservation and provident and equitable distribution of the uncertain water supplies; but this first step taken, the control of the land to be irrigated would follow almost inevitably. Such a large scheme of land ownership could only form part of a bold policy of national development, such as is suggested in an earlier chapter.* Considerable as would be the cost, however, it would undoubtedly pay well as a business transaction, since the Government would be placed in the position of a monopolist in regard to the most indispensable of national resources, and simultaneously the difficulties in the way of settlement would be greatly alleviated.

What the State is doing by the construction of great irrigation works is only part of the burden which it has taken on its shoulders in the interest of agriculture. And yet one hears South African farmers everywhere complaining that the Government does little or nothing for them. Whenever anything goes wrong with farming one of several things is sure to be said—either, "Let the Government set it right!" or "What is the Minister of Agriculture doing?" or "Have an Act of Parliament passed at once!" as though passing Acts of Parliament were as easy as buying postage stamps. One day unconscionable demands are made,

* See pp. 291-2.

involving the expenditure of millions of pounds, and the next day there is a chorus of complaints that taxation is heavy, which it is not, and the bureaucracy excessive, which it may be. I read in a leading South African newspaper the passage, "Why is Australia importing people, and why is South Africa exporting them? We are all convinced that this country is equal to Australia in possibilities, *therefore* the Government must be at fault." Such absence of logic is mischievous as well as childish. There are ways in which the Government might help the development of the country more energetically than it does, but the writer did not suggest and possibly did not know of any: he was simply one of the croakers.

To an outside observer it might seem that the Government does too much rather than too little both for the industrial and the agricultural community. It is almost a matter of difficulty to say what the alleged inactive, apathetic, and callous Government does not do for the farmers, short of actually working their farms for them. It sells or leases them holdings of certain kinds; a State Land Bank lends them money wherewith these can be bought, stocked, fenced, and brought into cultivable condition; and it irrigates dry land at a cost of millions of pounds, much of which will never be recovered. It maintains agricultural schools and training and experimental farms, equipped with proficient staffs and research laboratories; it is at the present moment creating at great cost a system of thirty-five elevators, located at convenient points on the railway, with great terminal elevators at Capetown and Durban, wherein to collect and store grain, so replacing the old, cumbrous, time-wasting and uneconomical method of handling grain in bags; and it covers the land with inspectors and other officers whose duty it is to guard the farmer's flocks and crops against disease and pest.

Does the farmer want implements, dipping tanks, or perhaps a borehole? The Government is prepared to lend money for the two former and to sink the borehole for him, and hand it over in going order. If the locusts come it does its best by relays of destroyers to exterminate them, or sends the farmers as many spraying machines and as

much poison as they want, if they are willing to give a hand in the task, which many are not. It sees to the careful shipping of all export produce, whether cereals or fruit, meat or eggs; its officials inspecting it before despatch, seeing it on to the boats, and never leaving it until assured that the transit arrangements are as perfect as they can be made; and the farmer has almost as much tariff protection as he likes, and much more than the consumers like.

Even the railways are put at his service on special terms, since the law requires that they shall be administered with special regard to the development of the country's economic interests. Not only does he enjoy preferential rates for the conveyance of his feeding stuffs and the produce he sends to the towns or the seaports, but road motor services are maintained in various parts of the country for the purpose of facilitating personal and goods traffic between rural communities and isolated farms and the nearest towns and railway stations. A further novel experiment just introduced by Sir William Hoy's progressive Department, with a view to solving the problem of rural transport, is the road railway. It is based on the principle that only the loaded trucks move on rails, while the tractors—converted locomotives fitted with rubber-tyred wheels—work on a hard track, except that the two front wheels run on the rails for the purpose of guidance. This system does not require heavy sleepers, and the total cost of track construction is only £1,000 a mile.

There is no need to give a detailed exposition of the methods by which State assistance of the kinds enumerated above is given, but one of the most useful may be selected as an example—the application of science to agriculture. There are five schools of agriculture and experimental stations—two in the Cape Province (Elsenburg and Grootfontein), and one each in Natal (Cedara), the Transvaal (Potchefstroom), and the Free State (Glen). While all the schools and farms cover the normal ranges of animal and field husbandry, each has special features, the object being to give to teaching and training the bias best suited to the climatic and agricultural conditions of the province which it serves. Thus the Elsenburg school specializes in fruit and viticulture, Grootfontein in sheep and wool



A Cape Ostrich Farm



Afrikander Cattle (Potchefstroom)

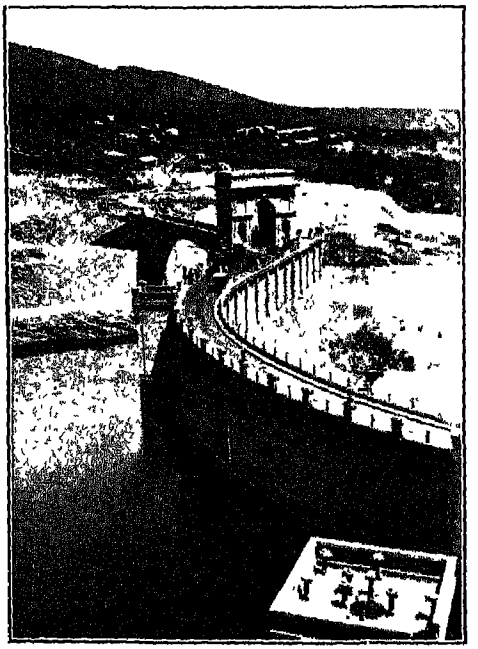
CHAPTER XVII

RIGHT AND WRONG SETTLERS

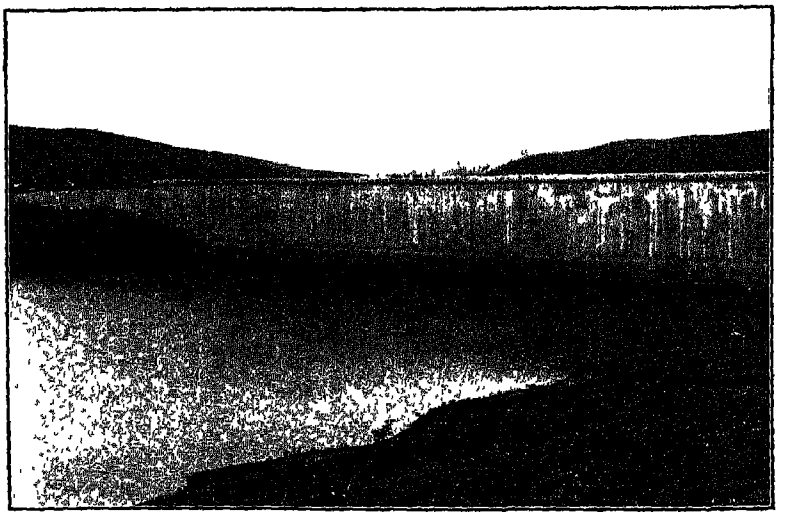
THE discussion of the agricultural aspects of South Africa cannot be better concluded than with some general words of advice and guidance which may help to a decision those readers who may be disposed now or later to seek congenial occupation on the land in that country. What will be said on this subject is the result not only of careful observation but of much exchange of opinion, and as I have neither axe nor pocket-knife to grind it may be accepted as entirely impartial and disinterested. Chiefly I shall bear in mind those on whom the years still weigh lightly, though much of what is said applies equally to others who may simply be attracted by South Africa as a pleasant country in which people of moderate means may now on the whole live more comfortably than at home.

During the Great War it was a common observation that our young men had gained a wider outlook upon life and the world, and that the return of peace would find them unwilling to fall into the old ruts and routine. A great change has undoubtedly come over the generation which furnished so large a proportion of the British armies. There is less disposition on the part of sons to follow in the paternal footsteps in the old mechanical way, less readiness to conform to hide-bound customs, less respect for time-worn traditions of all kinds, less proneness to mistake arbitrary conventions for immutable laws—in a word, less readiness to accept as permanent and binding what I may call the *the social status quo*. And while this is so of men, it holds good in much the same way of women. Not ten years but thirty or fifty divide us, mentally and in our views of life, from the England of 1914.

In one direction the expectations which were built upon the disturbing influences of the war have not been fully realized. It was confidently predicted that it would be impossible to induce the young men who during military service had become habituated to an open-air life to return



HARTEBEESTPOORT IRRIGATION DAM, NEAR PRETORIA



KAMANASSIE IRRIGATION DAM, OUDTSHOORN (CAPE)

to the humdrum professional and commercial routine, and that those whom patriotic duty took to foreign lands would chafe at their old circumscribed surroundings in the home country. There has been a large movement of settlers overseas, including ex-Service men of all kinds, but one wonders why, in these times of economic pressure, when work is so uncertain and pay often leaves so small a margin after the bare necessaries of life are met, young men of energy do not more readily seek their fortunes in one of the Dominions.

It is doubtful whether any part of the Empire offers to such men opportunities surpassing, even if they equal, those to be found in the Union of South Africa. I repeat that the country enjoys one of the best climates in the world; its agricultural resources and attractions are great and have been sufficiently discussed; life on the land is singularly congenial; the people everywhere are kind and hospitable; the standard of living is high, while taxation is low; and to crown all, South Africa has all the charm of being a new and undeveloped country, whose destiny is yet on the knees of the gods. And this country, so richly endowed by nature, is literally crying out for White population, and has room and a welcome for all who will respond to the call.

I can imagine the life of farm and veld in South Africa appealing strongly to well-mannered, clean-living youths fresh from school or college, and eager for greater freedom from time-honoured restraints—not the conventional restraints imposed by Mrs. Grundy, for that lady, one of the wisest of her sex, was mortally ill before the war broke out and died from subsequent and consequent shocks—but those inseparable from insular conditions and the cast-iron traditions of an old civilization. Let us suppose such a youth wishful to follow agriculture in the Union. If he went there with no prior training or experience, it would be two years before he could hope normally to settle down "on his own." The first of these years could not be better spent than in preparing himself at home for the new and untried life—acquiring something of a business training, if business habits do not come naturally to him, a grounding in the theory of agricultural science such as can be had at

one of the County Council Agricultural Schools and experiment centres, and so forth. An intending settler so put on his way would the more easily fall into the life awaiting him oversea. In the meantime he would have made enquiries as to the agricultural openings best suited to his tastes, and would have decided where to begin the new adventure.

The importance of prior training can, of course, be overstated just as easily as the reverse, and there are solicitous friends of the intending settler of this type who would have him train as long as two years in each country. But the young man of some education who needs to spend four mortal years in preliminary work before he can hope to be able to take over a farm and keep an orchard in order might as well make it six years and be a doctor.

Arrived in South Africa, the settler should arrange, if possible, that his training there shall be in the locality where he wishes to make his permanent abode. This question of locality involves, of course, all sorts of considerations besides the quality of the land. That of transport, for example, is so important, both from the buying and the selling standpoint, that the higher cost of land caused by proximity to a railway is worth facing; while tolerable nearness to an organized township, offering the amenities of social life, is worth paying a good deal for. Let me add that, having visited farms near little towns, and those tucked away, out of sight, in the solitary veld, I have no hesitation in saying that no man with a family, present or prospective, should contemplate a hermit's life, and no wife should be asked to share such a life unless it were altogether to her mind. It does not fall to my province to suggest where intending settlers should go or not go, and silence on that point is the more permissible since no safer guidance could be had than is offered by the Union Government's representatives in London, who are believed to be more disposed to over-caution than the reverse. Let them, however, keep clear of malarial districts.

The locality chosen, and the training in progress, it becomes necessary to decide upon the systems of farming to be followed, and here the settler may be advised not to put all his money in one bank, nor yet in too many banks, for there is risk either way. Once established, it will rest

with himself, aided by such counsel as may be at his disposal, to "make good," and given fairly favourable conditions, he should do it in reasonable time.

From what has been said already the settler will be prepared to find that the cost of establishing himself in agriculture or fruit farming may prove greater than in the old country, though, on the other hand, the prospective returns are larger. Good irrigated land is dear, and may cost him anything from £10 to £40, according as he buys it rough at first-hand or from land investment companies in a developed condition, and on the top of the capital charge comes the additional cost of irrigation, probably taking the form of a fixed water rate, running for a long period of years. "Dry" veld land, on the other hand, is as a rule very cheap, varying from one pound an acre to several pounds in the more desirable areas; but in order to make any substantial income from dry lands an extensive area and much capital are necessary, for it will probably mean sheep running on a large scale.

Further, new settlers may prefer to take up bare land and build their own houses, and that in South Africa is often a serious item owing to the distance from the towns and the high wages paid to skilled artisans, though for a time an unmarried man may make shift with a simple and inexpensive rondavel. It is still cheaper to run up a wooden shack, but that is economy at the expense of civilization, and everything that tends to make life avoidably uncomfortable and ugly is mistaken policy. Another expense where land is unenclosed is that involved by fencing, for even if a settler decides to leave this very desirable work undone the law of the country allows his neighbour to fence the joint boundaries and call on him to pay half the cost. The cost of farm stock and buildings, implements, crop cultivation, fruit-tree planting if an orchard is kept, the standing charges for maintenance, and general household expenses are other items which will have to be remembered when the settler determines the methods and the scale on which he intends to farm.

It is usually assumed in South Africa that a settler can make a good beginning in mixed farming with £1,500 of capital at his disposal, though this amount might probably

be reduced by one half if allowance is made for the opportunity of taking the advances offered by the Government on the conditions already explained. A sheep farmer, however, needs from £3,000 to £4,000, and a fruit farmer pure and simple, if he is to make a great success of his enterprise, more than this, together with a greater measure of patience and perseverance than falls to most men. Where fruit growing and general farming are carried on together £1,500 might see a man through.

More than once I was invited by newspaper callers in South Africa to give my opinion as to the kind of settlers who are not wanted in that country, but I declined on the plea that if I said anything upon so delicate a subject my proper audience would be at home. I am now going to face this task. At one of the agricultural schools I was told of a type of settler who is emphatically not desired. There came to the school one day, a young man, fresh from home, who altogether misunderstood his place in the economy of a training farm. Judging from various signs that he had to do with a milksop, his instructor decided to let him down lightly, and so, instead of setting him to clean out cattle stalls, told him that his first exercise next morning would be in the use of the hay fork. He turned up duly, wearing yellow gloves, dainty shoes, and irreproachable spats. Before the end of the week he had taken his departure. Variations of this type are by no means rare, and whether in the end they succeed or fail depends on the individual circumstances, though failure is the rule, and in any case such men are not needed.

Here let me speak at once of the "colour bar" as it applies on the normal farms. A spectacle which at first astonishes the visitor from the old country is that of sturdy young fellows, in the pink of health, walking about the farm-yard in spotlessly clean flannels and snow-white shoes. They look delightfully cool and make a striking picture, though not one that suggests to the mind the physical toil which would make ten or even two blades of corn grow where none grew before. The truth is that though there is plenty of hard work to be done on the farm White men are seldom in a hurry to do it. Even in the agricultural districts the prejudice against "Kaffir work" is all but

supreme, and the prejudice is as unreasonable there as in the towns.

One often reads, and hears it said, that "All unskilled farm work is done by the Natives; it is impossible for Europeans." Of this proposition only the first half is fully true. Much nonsense is talked about the inability of Europeans to engage in vigorous exertion in South Africa —as though Englishmen and Scotsmen at home went about swathed in cotton wadding and never put their hands to outdoor work of any kind. Yet many new-comers, having had this superstition dinned into their ears, accept it, and with it the consequences, only too readily, and by so doing commit the first mistake that leads them away from, or at least makes more difficult, the goal of success. White men *can* do such work well enough at most times if they will, but even so they must have some intelligent incentive, and this should be found in the pursuit of efficiency and pride in their calling. The intending settler will be well advised not to fall at once into the easy habit of dependence upon Native labour, or to aspire to lead the life of what is humorously called at home a "gentleman farmer." He will be wise to leave the "gentleman farmer" idea behind. If he is a gentleman, he is, and there is no more to be said. He will certainly never be less a gentleman because he becomes a working farmer, and never more so if he does not.

The existence of a large and practically inexhaustible supply of Blacks, ready to be engaged for the cost of horses' feed, with worse than horses' quarters, is a standing temptation to slackness, and the draw that way, once encouraged, is difficult to check. That is why I would impress upon the intending settler that he should not go to South Africa with the fixed idea that he cannot do outdoor work and the determination that in any event he will not. Let him at least give such work a fair trial, providing the work is worth the effort and time spent on it, having regard to other claims upon both. In that way he will save money, conserve health, strike a blow for the sound old doctrine of the dignity of labour, and remain the real master of his business and enterprise. When later, owing to the extension of operations or the application of more intensive methods, the work gets beyond his power, he will be able to call in

as much labour as he requires, and do it with a better conscience and out of a fuller pocket.

Again, let him remember that the sort of people he is going to live amongst, both British and Dutch, will not all be such as he has been accustomed to, and that the country which is to offer him a home and hospitality is their country, as South Africans, and not yet his own. He need have no difficulty at all with people of his own race if he keeps a civil tongue, acts decently, and is passably sociable. Many of his British neighbours of the old-established stock may appear to him simple and unsophisticated in habits and modes of thought, as long life in a pastoral environment is bound to make most men and women anywhere in the world; but he will find them overflowing with the very cream of human kindness, generous, open-handed, ever ready to return goodwill with interest.

It is not, however, of the British that I am specially thinking at this moment, for the way to their sympathy is already made for him if he will only follow it, but of the Dutch; and for the cultivation of good relationships with them I would most earnestly plead, remembering their difficult position and how hard it would be for a community of our own race to occupy it. Let me say at once with all emphasis that the Englishman and his wife, if the man is fortunate enough not to undertake the great adventure alone, have it entirely in their own hands to decide whether their Dutch neighbours shall prove really neighbourly or not. Frankly, I believe the decision rests far more with the wife than with her mate, and if that aspect of the question is not particularized here it is because of its delicacy and also because I am certain that any woman of fine intuition and discernment will clearly understand the part she plays in the problem before she has been many weeks in her new home. There is little fear of such a woman making mistakes; the mischief is done by those of blunt feelings and little intelligence who can neither perceive nor conceive of anything outside their own narrow mental range.

The Dutch, on the whole, may still be a somewhat backward element in the community, but they are naturally very warm-hearted, and make the best of friends when their

approaches are reciprocated in the right spirit. What they rightly resent is that supercilious affectation of superiority, colloquially known as "side," which new-comers of a certain indiscreet type are apt to parade, and when this is shown they quietly retire into their shells. Meet them on a broad human basis, however, as equals and comrades, and they are ready to prove the friends in need who are friends indeed in any and all the varied situations and emergencies incidental to life in town or country. The Boer farmer in particular, however wealthy he may be, in land, stock, and cash, is simple in his life and habits, and never arrogant or bumptious, like the spoiled and egoistic Bavarian "Grossbauer," whom many of us have met in our travels. Only the Englishman must not pretend to patronize or talk down to him, for such an attitude will at once destroy on his part any desire for further intercourse.

A wise man will also leave political controversies alone in his club talks, at least until he feels perfectly sure of his ground and of his company; for politics can wait, but his need for friendship cannot. In general he will do well not to attempt to shine as a critic. South Africa has critics enough already, and they have at least the advantage that in criticizing their own country they know what they are talking about. He should also remember that as the national customs and institutions have been evolved, as the result of experience, to meet actual conditions, and needs which have made themselves felt, it would be sheer impertinence for new-comers to expect them to be abandoned or altered because they happen to have been accustomed to something different. The good old rule, "When in Rome do as the Romans do," applies here, too, and its wisdom will become all the more apparent as time passes.

Again and again I heard of the harm done by unsympathetic and tactless British settlers, newly established, who had forgotten to purge themselves of bad manners on the voyage out. Such people, by riding rough-shod over the feelings and sentiments of the Dutch, do much to confirm and harden the prejudices of that dour race, and by so doing they render the worst possible service to the Empire of which they may believe themselves to be bright and particular ornaments.

As an example of the way in which mischief can be deliberately sought by muddle-headed people I heard, when visiting a little market town, the story of a recent arrival who had signalled his occupation of a large farm in the neighbourhood by closing, without warning or notice of any kind, a footpath which had immemorially been used by his neighbours without let or hindrance. The summary manner of this proceeding offended the local residents even more than his wish to assert what he no doubt believed to be a legal right; and no sooner was a lock affixed to the gate than it was broken, and the road traversed as before. When the irate owner warned trespassers that he would regretfully be compelled to consult an attorney they satirically advised him to consult two. What made the man's challenge all the more foolish was the fact that it was addressed to a race of pastoralists accustomed to leaving even their house doors and windows open at night. One resident of long standing, wiser than the rest, decided to talk the matter out with the rash intruder. He told him that he was making trouble from which he himself would suffer most. Had he treated his neighbours with consideration, and discussed the matter with them quietly, there would have been no friction. His "bullyragging ways," however, had turned the whole community against him, and he bade him understand that unless he descended from the high horse he would find himself boycotted. "Remember," he added by way of a parting shot, "*we can do without you, but you cannot do without us.*"

How the dispute ended I do not know, but I am sure that the moral of the story could not be better or more compactly stated than in the words just quoted. Only a hundred-fool-power bungler could be capable of such stupidity as I have instanced: a far greater danger lies in disregard of little things—the *petits soins* of social intercourse, and among these I unhesitatingly give to the need for naturalness and tact the first place.

To intending emigrant settlers on the eve of seeking fortune in the New World of South Africa I would earnestly say, "Whatever may have been your habits in the past, resolutely eschew all pretence of superiority, artificiality, and affectation, everything, in a word, that can hinder or

embarrass commerce with a naturally spontaneous and warm-hearted if unpretentious folk, who will be found ready not only to meet your advances but to go three-quarters of the way in doing it. Then you will find social life, even in narrow circles, pleasant, congenial, and if not always tenable at the high-brow level, far from bereft at any time of intelligent interest." South Africa has no use for social "airs" and "side," or any degenerate nonsense of that kind: it is a country of real men and women, not of fops and marionettes, dolls and mannikins.

Not every settler will succeed, even if by all the rules of the game he ought to do. An experienced farmer put the prospect into a formula which I reproduce, without venturing either to endorse or question it. "Of settlers who come to this country," he said, "ten per cent. will make a real success; sixty per cent. will make a fair livelihood, and the balance of thirty per cent. will prove relative failures." Perhaps most people will be disposed to think that a proportion of seven complete or tolerable successes out of ten attempts is distinctly good, and that if all the ten had remained at home the results might not have been nearly so favourable. And come prosperity or the reverse, who with a soul akin to nature will not endorse that saying of a well-known leader of the South African country party, who has never lost faith in agriculture even in its darkest hours, "There is no more glorious, free, and independent life than farm life. Even poverty on a farm is an aristocratic existence compared with poverty in a town."

Imagining the case of a settler going out to South Africa, I want to consider the probabilities of his making there a permanent home. Will he be likely really to settle, or is it possible that he will one day repent of his choice and wish to undo it? Here I disregard the class of settlers who go oversea simply in order to make money and then return, never having any idea of staying permanently, and naturally also the not very admirable little body of rich men who, after making tons of money in South Africa, systematically forsake the country, and take large houses in parts of London where their money is able to buy for them entrance into more or less fast society.

Experience obviously supplies the best answer to the

question I have put, and I affirm that in the course of my journeyings throughout the Union I never met a single British settler who proposed or wanted to return to the old country, though I questioned many a one on the subject. It was not that any such settler had a grudge against the past, but that he found the present better, and believed that the future held more in store for him than he could ever have hoped for, had he remained in Europe. They all visit the old country—"going home," they call it affectionately—if and as often as their means allow, but they are seldom sorry to be back to the sunshine, the bungalow with the rose-embowered *stoep*, and the open-air life.

Welshmen are supposed to be passionately fond of their country, and it was a Welshman who, in reply to my soundings, asserted energetically that he would never dream of returning to his land of mountains and mists. He admitted that farm life meant hard work, and I doubt whether it was giving him more than a very moderate return ; but the superb climate, the ever bright sky, the free and healthy life, and the absence of stiff and stifling conventions held him. The nearest sign of a wavering mind was shown by a Scot, occupying a comfortable position in Capetown, who had lived for many years in the country, and had just returned from a visit to the scenes of his youth. After a week or two of life under clouds the yearning for sunshine came, and he shortened his stay. "No, I would never leave South Africa," he said; yet there was a twinkle of the eye as he added, almost apologetically, "but I canna bear to see the boats go off."

Such testimonies might be multiplied indefinitely by appeal to the experience of other travellers. I will only recall that of the late Colonial Secretary, who in the course of his official visit to South Africa met many old railway men with whom he had worked in years past, and he records, "Not one of them ever said to me that he would like to go back home, though all have an affection for the old country that nothing can ever destroy. Generally speaking, South Africa has been good to them." The latter words put in a nut-shell the reason why settlers who go to South Africa almost invariably stay there.

Here I leave the subject of agriculture and settlement,

a subject so large and at the same time so fascinating that it is well worth a book to itself. While, however criticism has been passed upon settlers of the undesirable and undesired kind, I would once more recall the fine and sturdy characters which abound amongst the British agriculturists of South Africa, and the courage, endurance, and hardihood with which the representatives of both races carry on, often in depressing surroundings, the most exacting of all human pursuits. These are the true and abiding types—not only the men but the women, who have borne, and bear to-day, so large a share of the burden of life in the remote and empty spaces of this great Dominion—and no praise can exceed their just due.

You home-keeping readers, when at close of day you sit cosily at your fireside, with at call every convenience and comfort that desire and money can compass, will you not give a thought now and then to the gallant and often lonely pioneers of our race who in many a far-off outpost of Britishry in South Africa, as elsewhere, are day and night, year in and year out, keeping watch and ward over their part of the greatest realm known to history? Planted in regions wrested from barbarism and the rule of violence, they hold their lands, fertilized by hard toil wrought in an unending struggle with nature, as trustees of Civilization, as tenants in fee of Progress. There they are living and working for you, not less than for themselves. Their produce helps to feed you; their wool clothes and warms you; their gold and precious stones adorn you; their fruit pleases your taste, as their feathers delight your eye. These men and women, and not your politicians and soldiers, are the true builders of Empire, and the final arbiters of Imperial destiny. You talk often with pride and gusto of the brave deeds that won for you a Dominion upon which the sun never wholly sets. These brothers and sisters of yours are doing such deeds, without knowing it, as part of their life's daily round and common task. You can never pay your moral debt to them, but at least you can honourably acknowledge it.

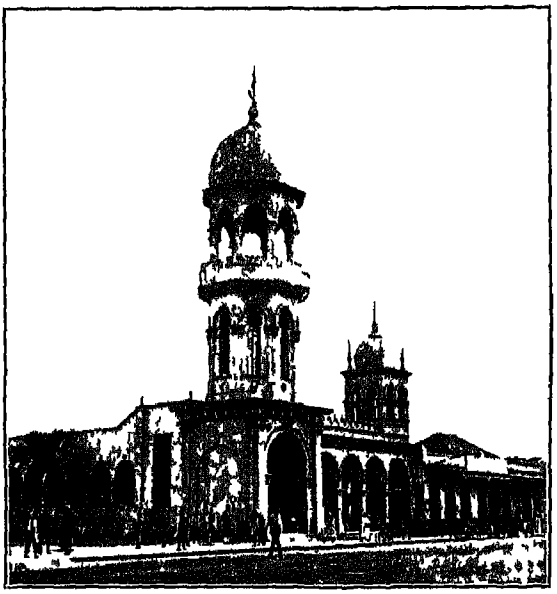
CHAPTER XVIII

THE ASIATICS

PUBLIC opinion, particularly in Natal and the Transvaal, is very acutely exercised by the question of Asiatic rivalry, and when I was in South Africa public meetings and petitions to the Legislature calling for protective measures were the order of the day. Following the passing by the Natal Provincial Council of an Ordinance proposing to withhold the municipal franchise from Asiatics in future, without prejudice to those already exercising it, the Government had introduced in the House of Assembly the abortive Class Areas Bill, whose object it was to assign to the Indians resident in the provinces named separate districts in which they would be free to reside, trade, live their life, and practise their national customs, without being a menace to the White man in his own country.

The Asiatics had not taken the threat of restrictive legislation quietly. Counter meetings of protest were being held and fighting funds formed by the Indian communities, and before I left Mrs. Sarajini Naidu was in the thick of an emotional campaign, at the end of which, though she entered the country like a lion, she ultimately left it like a lamb, having clearly informed herself better than before on both sides of the question. The Class Areas Bill, which was later withdrawn, may not have been the best solution of the Asiatic problem. Its chief significance lay in the evidence which its introduction afforded of a general conviction that something had to be done in this matter.

Let there be no mistake: the feeling on this subject amongst Europeans of every class and party is very strong. It is true that the Asiatic pressure is chiefly felt in two of the provinces, but the hostility evoked by it is universal. A few figures may help the reader to appreciate the position of the White population. In 1921 the Asiatics in the Union as a whole were estimated at 166,000, of whom—and the classification has an important bearing on certain aspects of the question—97,000 were males against only 69,000 females, while about 60 per cent. were unmarried or widowed.



INDIAN MOSQUE AT DURBAN



INDIAN JEWELLERS, DURBAN

Of these Asiatics 161,000 (97 per cent.) were Indians, and of these again 142,000 (88 per cent.) were resident in Natal, an alien element actually exceeding in number the entire European population (137,000), already confronted by a Bantu, mixed, and other Coloured population of 1,151,000. While during the thirty years 1891–1921 the total population of Natal increased by 162 per cent., and the European population by 194 per cent., the Asiatics increased by 243 per cent., leaving the Europeans behind by a majority of 4,000. Next in the extent of its Asiatic population, both absolutely and relatively, came the Transvaal, with a total of 16,000, still small and concentrated, but growing; while the Cape of Good Hope had 7,700 (excluding the Malays, now regarded as indigenes), and the Orange Free State province, which has resisted the oriental invaders more resolutely than any other province, had only four hundred.

Here it is pertinent to remark that many of the Indians of South Africa retain their domicile in India, and others regularly send their sons to be educated in that country, both acts indicating where their true interests lie; while the last Census Report states that many Asiatics have entered the Union on false declarations of previous residence and that there is much wilful exaggeration of the term of residence.

The problem of how to hold back the Indian invasion is no new one. All the four provinces, while still independent States, attempted to deal with it in different ways, and with partial success; while since the establishment of the Union the question has repeatedly exercised both the Central Legislature and the subordinate Provincial Councils. Five years ago the Asiatic Inquiry Commission was appointed to investigate and report on the subject, with the result of a series of recommendations, to only one of which, relating to the already existing provision of facilities for the voluntary repatriation of Asiatics, the Government has as yet given effect. Indians—chiefly agricultural labourers—have, in fact, been returning to their country during the last few years at the rate of 2,000 or 3,000 a year, though their aggregate number has not in consequence diminished.

But the numerical strength of this exotic and unassimilable element in the population is not the crux of the problem. The real difficulties are two—one economic, the other

political. As to the first the European traders object with some justification that owing to his lower standard of life the Asiatic is able to underbid and undersell him in every direction, while private residents and house owners complain that directly he settles down in their neighbourhood property at once falls in value and tenants migrate, if they can find other places to go to. The complaint that the Asiatic undersells the White trader is well grounded, though it should be added in fairness that it is in the main the White consumers who profit by the lower prices which rule in his store.

The majority of the trading licences issued in some of the towns of Natal run in Asiatic names. Durban suffers acutely from this competition. There are parts of the business centre which are practically Indian bazaars; Indians inhabit the best of the residential districts; and outside the city is a wide belt of Asiatic population living for the most part in dwellings of a very low quality. Indeed, some districts are already so monopolized by Indians that if the Class Areas Bill were to come into operation it would be the remaining White population and not the aliens who would have to remove. Again, at Ladysmith, one of the larger towns of Natal, which became famous in the Anglo-Boer War—Spion Kop is not many miles distant—only a very few stores continue in European hands, and the Asiatics have captured so much of the trade that some of them are able to employ European salesmen, while White women are common in Indian businesses. In other towns the Asiatics outnumber the Europeans.

How the Asiatic in Natal has advanced in material well-being may be illustrated by a comparison of property values at different dates. Thirty-six years ago the real estate (land and buildings) within the municipality of Durban was assessed at £1,700,000, of which less than one-fifth of one per cent. represented the property of Indians. To-day the valuation amounts to nearly £17,500,000, and the Indian share is six and a third per cent., showing a thirty-fold increase.

In the Transvaal the situation is far less serious, yet there, too, it is becoming acute in some localities. An enquiry made into the extent of the Asiatic invasion of Johannesburg showed that while during the past three years there had

been an increase of 18 per cent. in the number of White traders in the southern suburbs of this city, the increase of Asiatic traders had been 85 per cent.

But systematic underselling is not the European's only complaint against the Asiatic as a trade rival. He objects also that owing to his low standard of life he is able to work on a margin of profit which would not yield a civilized livelihood as Europeans understand it. One instance of this, brought before the Asiatic Inquiry Commission in 1920, related to Potchefstroom, and may be cited:

> "It was shown that an Asiatic trader, doing a very large turnover, and employing several assistants, was living in a little mud house with his family, for which he paid 12s. 6d. per annum as assessment rate to the municipality. The largest White storekeeper in Potchefstroom with a similar turnover has a salary bill of £350 per month. He has several married men in his employ, and they all contribute a substantial amount to the taxes of the town, whereas the Asiatic assistants are all herded together in a small wood and iron building at the back of the shop. By doing this they evade the municipal assessment rate on their place of residence, whereas this charge is paid either directly or indirectly by the White trader and his assistants."

From the standpoint of public health, too, much can be said against the housing conditions in which Indians of the humbler orders live—the interchangeability of living-room and store, the undue prominence occupied by garbage where these people pitch their tents, and in general their easy toleration of dirt and squalor.

At the same time it would be doing the Asiatic population a serious wrong to suggest that all the objections set forth above apply indiscriminately. Fair-minded Europeans are ready to admit that the best of their Indian neighbours are quiet and unassuming in civic and business relationships, keeping themselves to themselves, rendering ready obedience to the laws of the country so far as they are known and understood, and maintaining an orderly and exemplary domestic life.

Important and legitimate as is the economic aspect of the question, however, it is the political aspect that creates most anxiety. For the Indians now demand equal rights with Europeans, basing the claims upon the entirely untenable plea that their British nationality entitles them to complete parity of political and civic status in every part of the

Empire. That demand is in flat contradiction to the constitutional rights of the community which has accepted them as guests and now has reason to regret it. The Union Naturalization of Aliens Act of 1910 confers upon those who acquire the citizenship of the Union "all the rights, powers, and privileges" of a natural-born British subject in the country "unless the law provides otherwise." In the case of Asiatics the law does provide otherwise, since in Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State province Asiatics (with the exception of a few early immigrants in Natal) are debarred from exercising the political franchise by the laws of the old States (now reduced to provinces), while Article 44 of the Union constitution expressly reserves to "British subjects of European descent" the right to be elected to the House of Assembly and the Senate.

These provisions the Indians wish to evade, in spite of the fact that the admission of their claim would put in their hands the right and power, in virtue of numerical predominance, to override the voice and vote of the White population of Natal in the national Legislature, and, if the same principle were applied in provincial government, to determine and control the entire administration of that province.

It would thus be a grave mistake to view the Asiatic problem as merely one of commercial competition, material interest, or racial prejudice. In the eyes of the European population generally it is but one phase of the struggle, carried on so long and at so great a sacrifice, to win South Africa for the White races and for Western civilization. The fact that Briton and Dutch, divided upon some other questions, are fighting shoulder to shoulder on this is the best proof of the intensity of national feeling.

A brief review of the development of the legislation relating to the Asiatics will enable the reader to understand the situation as it is to-day. Naturally it will relate chiefly to Natal, where the Asiatic pressure is strongest. It was there that the trouble began in the middle of last century, when the sugar planters of Natal imported low-paid indentured Indian labour with a view to the cheaper and speedier development of that industry. It was a short-sighted measure, though neither the Governor nor the statesmen of the Colony recognized at that time that they were sowing

seeds of future trouble. The policy was discontinued for some years, but in 1874, under pressure of a temporary shortage of labour, it was revived, and it only ceased finally in 1911.

Originally the Indian coolie contracted for five years, and at the expiration of that period he was expected to return home, though if he remained he was liable to pay a fee of £3 a year for the privilege. In due time the fee was abandoned while the privilege of remaining was retained, and to-day most of the coolies are engaged in small trades, agricultural occupations, gardening, hawking, and other "non-productive" ways. Much of the common labour of the province is done by the coolies, who are said to be untiring workers, though in some parts of the Union Indians have given place to Chinese in the laundries and to Greeks in the fruit business. The great increase in the number of these aliens and of other immigrants from India, mostly traders, eventually led to the imposition on them of special taxation, but this was soon abolished. Since 1913 the immigration of adult Asiatic males into any part of the Union has been prohibited by law, while a law of 1914 provides for the voluntary repatriation of Indians and their families at the public expense, and under it 27,000 persons were sent home during the years 1911 to 1921 inclusive.

Coming to the question of political rights, prior to 1896 the Indians of Natal enjoyed the franchise under the general franchise law of the Colony (as it then was), though under 300 were enrolled. In that year a Bill was introduced which would have disfranchised all Indians except those already on the electors' list. At that time Natal did not enjoy responsible government, but was subject to stepmotherly guidance and control by a Colonial Office unduly fond of making its influence felt. Accordingly Mr. Chamberlain, then Colonial Secretary, on receiving notification of the measure, wrote to the Governor, "Your Ministers will not be unprepared to learn that a measure of this sweeping nature is regarded by Her Majesty's Government as open to the very gravest objection." The Bill was reconsidered and superseded by one which disqualified for the future residents "being natives of countries which have not hitherto possessed elective representative institutions founded on the Parliamentary franchise," a definition which brought

the Indian population under the law, and to-day only a few Indians in the province exercise the Parliamentary vote.

The other provinces of the Union, profiting by the experience of Natal, took care betimes to keep the Asiatic immigration within safe limits. The Legislature of Cape Colony promptly adopted restrictive measures when an exceptional influx began early in this century, and since 1913 it has had the protection afforded by the general prohibition already mentioned. Under the law of the Transvaal republic Asiatics, from 1885 forward, were required to be registered and to pay a special tax. In 1906 the law was made more stringent, and it was stoutly resisted by the aliens under the leadership of the well-known Mr. M. K. Gandhi until he returned to India in 1914. Gandhi then, as at a later date in other circumstances, counselled "passive resistance" to what he regarded as an unjust statute, but the resistance at times took very active forms, as when in 1913 he attempted a march of several thousand Indians from Natal into the Transvaal by way of protest. The Orange Free State, as has been shown, has succeeded in entirely keeping the Indian invasion at bay. No Asiatic can cross the frontier of the province without permit, and as soon as the time allowed for the transaction of his business has expired he must withdraw.

When the question was reopened two years ago it was again Natal which took the initiative. The Franchise Act of 1896 restricted the municipal as well as the political suffrage, providing that no person should be entitled to exercise it (even if otherwise qualified) who was a descendant in the male line of a native of a country without representative electoral institutions, though this condition was not to apply to persons already on the electors' roll. This limited franchise the Natal Provincial Ordinance of 1923 proposed to annul, and such was the strength of public feeling behind it that that although the Administrator of the Province urged delay, with a view to ascertaining whether the Ordinance might not prove *ultra vires*, on the ground that the cancelling of the municipal franchise would disqualify Indians from voting for the Provincial Council, the promoters rushed the measure through at a single sitting.

Oil was added to the flames when simultaneously the

Union Government introduced the Class Areas Bill for the local segregation of Indian communities. The latter idea was no new one, for the Asiatic Inquiry Commission of 1920, along with many other recommendations which have remained inoperative, proposed a system of voluntary segregation under which municipalities were to be empowered to lay out residential areas for the use of Asiatics and to set aside certain streets or portions of streets for Asiatic traders, The Bill gave to this recommendation form and substance. It applied to Natal and the Transvaal, and in these provinces proposed to reserve residential and trading areas in urban districts for the exclusive use of Asiatics, who were to be compulsorily concentrated therein.

The measure proposed was drastic, but it was designed to meet an evil which will only succumb to drastic remedies. It implied segregation, and the word has a hard sound. Yet though segregation seems to suggest ostracism, it need not mean anything of the kind. In practice alien communities have a habit of segregating themselves voluntarily, with the result that American cities have their China towns, Italian towns, Negro towns, not to speak of their Jewish ghettoes; while outside Philadelphia there has been a Germantown for two and a half centuries. Within limits, indeed, the Asiatics of South Africa segregate themselves at present, and the tendency is natural. What the proposed law contemplated was the application of this process of concentration more extensively and systematically.

The hasty decision of the late Prime Minister to dissolve Parliament and appeal to the country on other issues led to the withdrawal of the Class Areas Bill, but it is impossible that the problem which it was designed to meet can long be ignored. In the meantime, the Natal Provincial Ordinance, after having been repeatedly approved by the Provincial Council, has received the formal assent of the Governor-General in Council (December, 1924).

It is right to say that the segregation policy has strong critics as well as strong advocates. Its critics urge the extension of the policy of voluntary repatriation on terms far more generous than hitherto, in the hope that the undesired aliens would welcome the opportunity of leaving a country which so obviously grudges them the old hos-

pitality. The cost of such a policy would be enormous, but it might be worth paying if it offered the prospect of success in the end. That, however, is a bold hypothesis, and most people are inclined to doubt whether voluntary action would alone be sufficient. It is probable that many Asiatic labourers and others of the humbler class would be willing to leave the country if they were able to carry with them a premium sufficient to set them up in life in India or elsewhere. But these Asiatics are not the real cause of offence, at least to the commercial section of the community, from which the principal complaints come, nor are they the people who clamour for political equality.

On the other hand, compulsory repatriation has never been proposed by responsible politicians. Against such a policy the most cogent warning known to modern history is afforded by Bismarck's attempt—continued, as it was bound to be, by his successors at the helm of affairs until Germany ceased to be an autocracy—to get rid of the Polish landlords and Polish tenant farmers in the Sarmatian provinces of the Prussian monarchy. It failed, yet in failing it created intense bitterness, which widened the Polish problem for Prussia and Germany, making it no longer a national but a racial one, and the latest development of the story we know, though not perhaps the last chapter.

An alternative procedure which does not appear to have been discussed, possibly because the provinces might not be able to agree on the subject, would be, while allowing no more Asiatics to enter the country except on condition of a corresponding number of departures, to apply a variation of the old Roman principle, and distribute a large part of the present Indian population of Natal throughout the country, so relieving the districts which now suffer most acutely from concentrated pressure. It is obvious that such a measure could only be adopted with the goodwill of the other provinces, yet the Cape and Transvaal provinces have at present so few of these aliens that their European population of a million and a quarter would hardly feel the addition of a few thousand more of them. All exchanges of new immigrants for present residents would naturally be independent of such voluntary repatriations as might be possible with the offer of more liberal terms.

Whatever measure might be applied supplementary to the present system of repatriation, whether distribution or segregation, all possible care would have to be taken to prevent avoidable hardship. A well-known Nationalist leader, now a Minister of State, assured his audiences during the late election that the Asiatics who were born in the Union would be " placed in bazaars, and no one would enter those bazaars or do business with them," while all others would be " kicked out of the country." Public men who talk in such fashion stand greatly in need of a dose of their own medicine. Happily the utterances of that kind need not be regarded as typical of public opinion, and the known sense of justice of the head of the new Government is a guarantee that when he takes this question in hand it will be with a desire to solve it with a minimum of inconvenience to those most concerned.

It is a point of importance that the very segregation of the Asiatics would be an implicit recognition of their right to remain in the country and hence would give to the question of their political status a position of increased prominence, and make it difficult to deny them some sort of participation in civil and political life. Here a compromise would have to be found. The claim to enjoy equal rights with Europeans in a country in which they have no historical interest, and to whose civilization they are not in a position to make any serious contribution, is unreasonable; but it might be expedient to give them some modified form of representation first and experimentally in the Provincial Councils, and later, if the results justified it, in the Central Legislature, subject to the condition that their representatives in either case would be entitled to speak and vote only on any question which was declared by the Administrator of the Province and the Speaker of the House of Assembly in agreement to be one of direct interest to them as a community. Even though, in the event of divisions on such questions, they were outvoted, they would at least have the satisfaction of knowing that their case and claims had had full advocacy and a fair hearing. The student of constitutional history will remember how a similar dual system of representation was applied in the first Diet of the North German Confederation, to which representatives from the South German

States were admitted for the deliberation and decision of Customs questions only.

Even assuming, however, that local segregation were thus applied to the Asiatics, the Europeans of Natal need to remember that the most effective relief from the pressure of which they complain can only be obtained if they, for their part, put forth the maximum degree of effort and efficiency. No doubt the climate of the province proves at times a handicap to them, and it may perhaps explain the words spoken for my enlightenment while I was there, "The coolie is a curse to the country: he is so industrious." As is the coolie, so is his son, whose day is made up of work —school in the morning, odd jobs in the afternoon, and school again in the evening, for always he is doing something for his present or future advantage, just as his father is always forging ahead. In Durban I was assured that among the European tradesmen who most complain of the inroads of the Asiatics are some who notoriously employ all the cheap labour they can, the fact being that it is not of low-priced labour that such tradesmen complain but of low-priced commodities. In both these matters mere restrictions would be of little avail, and the Europeans can already, to a large extent, help themselves if they will.

What South Africa will not tolerate is dictation or even officious admonition from the outside on the question of the Asiatic menace and how it should be met. Bad feeling was created last summer by the publication in the South African Press of a speech made by a certain Indian Maharajah who had the bad taste to incite one political party against the other, and even to associate the Prince of Wales with the controversy.* Equally tactless was the action of Mr. Surendranath Banerjen, President of the Indian Association of Calcutta, who on the coming to office of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald at once cabled his congratulations and the hope that he would "vindicate" the principle of "equal status for Indians in all parts of the Empire." All such attempts to mobilize outside influence illicitly against the South African Government are to be deprecated, for they will only embitter public sentiment, which is already sufficiently heated.

* The Prince of Wales was to have visited South Africa last summer, and all the arrangements had been made, when Parliament was dissolved and the visit had to be postponed.

The further attempt of the Indians to make their status in South Africa a grievance against the Empire and the Imperial Government is both illogical and unjust. The Government and the European population of the Union have been driven to remedial measures in sheer self-defence, since to allow the present state of things to continue would, in the words of General Smuts, " kill our towns and paralyse us as a people," and in acting as they are doing they are entirely within their constitutional rights. Moreover, it is inconsistent and even arrogant for high-caste Hindoos to preach the untenable doctrine of race equality in a country in which Indians are aliens, and to some extent sojourners, while ignoring the cruel wrongs suffered by millions of their own low-caste countrymen at home.

In one of her rhetorical addresses, made at Johannesburg, Mrs. Naidu harangued a meeting of Indians with the words : " On behalf of my nation I have brought you an assurance : not with impunity shall any nation, any Government, any authority, no matter how strong, dare to trample upon your inalienable birthright to equal status." When men talk to him like that the average Englishman either smiles in pity or doubles his fists. In truth equal status never was the birthright of any Indian in South Africa, and as he does not now possess it, it is not being taken from him. That he wants and claims it is true, but that is another matter. It is certain that no reprisals that Indians may decide to adopt will affect the attitude of South Africans on this question, which for them is one of racial life or death.

But not less do South Africans resent any suggestion of active interference by the Imperial Government or Parliament on this question, and repudiate the idea that they should suffer because a measure needful for their own life as a European community may be viewed unfavourably in India, to them a country of quite secondary moment. Both in the Transvaal and Natal, in fact, political leaders of influence who should have known better have openly threatened that rather than give way on the Asiatic question they would be prepared to " cut the painter." Menacing language of that kind cannot be regarded as of the " intelligent anticipation " order, and is even more reprehensible on the South African side than the Indian, for the time for giving effect to it will never come.

Nevertheless, on this question, just as on the Native question, the late Colonial Secretary, when visiting Natal last summer, managed to say the wrong thing, forgetting that indiscreet words would only strengthen the Asiatics and make more difficult the position of the European inhabitants of an essentially British province. Speaking at Maritzburg, the capital of the province, he said that he could "understand the Indians saying, 'We were brought here to develop this country.'" He would have done better had he said that he could not understand such a claim, for it is baseless. The Indians who really constitute the menace of Natal are not developing and never have developed the economic resources of the country in any appreciable degree, but are middlemen who live by trading—by buying goods cheaply and selling them just as dear as they dare without ceasing to be able to cut out their White competitors. Even more tactless were Mr. Thomas's remarks in the same speech, "We do not want to treat you like children," and his injunction that the South Africans were "playing with fire," though he had the good sense to decline an interview sought by the Indians, who nevertheless served on him a statement of their case, going over the heads of the Governor General and the Union Ministers of State in so doing.

Mr. Thomas no longer presides over the Colonial Office, having come and gone in a double sense, and excellent as are his capacities, and engaging as is his *bonhomie* when exercised over less delicate matters, it is not to be regretted that there have been reinstated in the direction of that Department the old and mature counsels of discretion and restraint. The British of South Africa, and particularly of Natal, look to their kinsmen in the country which for so many of them, even those born across the seas, is still the beloved home-land, to give to their case not merely a fair but an indulgent appreciation, not thoughtlessly letting their hearts run away with their heads, as so often happens, but grasping in its full significance what the rivalry and menace of Asiatic modes and standards of life and civilization mean for them.

Granted that an earlier and short-sighted generation prepared the way for the present troubles, the admission of that fact cannot justify the claim that a mistake once

made should be perpetuated for all time; and, moreover, for that mistake the present generation bears no responsibility whatever. It is easy to philosophize for other people, and to lecture them in the language of highly refined morality, when your own interests are in no wise affected. Yet, were the same problem to arise in Great Britain, then, whatever might be the attitude of Governments, always eager to shirk inconvenient difficulties, and hand them on to their successors for the sake of an easy time, it would be seen that the community at large would not rest until effective remedies had been discovered.

It is true that in the past we have similarly allowed whole areas of the metropolis and other large cities to pass into the hands of alien races. Foolish and blameworthy though such indifference to the national interest is, it can at least be claimed that these aliens—as a rule more British in their protestations than the British themselves, except in time of war and national danger—are for the most part European, and form but a small proportion of the aggregate population; and that in their case the principle of segregation, so hateful to the Indians of South Africa, has for practical purposes been applied by themselves, since they naturally gravitate to their own quarters.

In the case of Natal, however, the alien element is oriental and outnumbers the European population, yet it puts forward the preposterous claim of equal civil and political rights with Europeans—a claim which, if conceded, would give it a dominating position and power in the province. South Africans wish well to all respectable Indians in their midst, as fellow-subjects of the Empire, and they entertain towards them no petty and narrow-minded prejudice of the Jew-baiting type which flourishes on the European Continent. All they ask is that the Asiatics shall develop their special civilization as communities apart, leaving the descendants of the White pioneers of Western culture in South Africa, whether British or Dutch, to carry on and complete in peace, after so many generations of effort, struggle, and sacrifice, the work to which their fathers laid their hands. It is a reasonable demand, and one which the natural-born inhabitants of the British Islands would immediately and cordially endorse were the positions reversed.

CHAPTER XIX

JUSTICE FOR THE NATIVES

IN one of his novels Walter Besant paid a high but probably undeserved tribute to the moral impulses of the general run of mankind when he reflected that no more uncomfortable feeling can exist than that which comes over a man when he sits down to his dinner knowing that the cupboard of his next-door neighbour is bare. The poor next-door neighbours of the Europeans in South Africa are the Coloured people, and it is to be feared that there is not sufficient understanding of the fact that whatever measures may be needed in order to afford Europeans justifiable protection against the menacing tide of colour, and so preserve the country for Western civilization, the first and greatest obligation of the dominant races is to do justice to the Natives whom they have taken into their care.

People may perplex themselves over the abstract question whether, in view of the unequal opportunities and possibilities open to civilized and undeveloped populations respectively, there may not be such a thing as relativity in the moral value of human life; yet no answer to that question could justify a nation in disowning responsibilities to inferior races which have once been deliberately assumed. In South Africa the honourable recognition of these responsibilities, besides being a clear duty, is also good policy, since a large Native population will inhabit the country permanently, whether the White races maintain predominance there or not.

At present an amazing amount of vagueness and obscurity exists in the public mind on this subject. Except among the more thoughtful people, and what may be termed "expert" circles,* there is a disposition to regard the Natives as a quite subordinate and almost negligible fact in the social

* Particular mention may be made of the books of Theal, Evans, Willoughby, Loram and Brookes, and the Reports and Memoranda of successive Union and Provincial Administrators of Public Education, which are marked by a lofty sense of responsibility to the Native population.

order, as a piece of mechanism existing for the sole benefit of the two master races, to be used and exploited by them at will, and to assume that the relations between Whites and Blacks will continue indefinitely as hitherto. It is inconceivable, however, that the Natives can long be contented to remain the docile Children of Ham, in an economic system in which the only right they possess is the right to work, if they can get work, for a pitiable pittance, and live what is little better than an animal life. Whatever may be the assumed interest of agriculture and industry, the demands of morality and of any rational idea of trusteeship in the name of civilization will alone compel the Central Government and all authorities upon which rests responsibility for the welfare of the Native population to insist upon a great, if gradual, levelling up of the entire status of the Black races, who have borne so long, and bear still, an inordinately heavy share of what in other undeveloped Dominions is the White man's special burden. So long as the Natives are governed by Europeans they must be governed more and more for their own good.

I do not suggest or believe that injustice or unkindness is being done consciously to these patient, much enduring, pathetic *protégés* of the Empire, and it may be conceded that the normal White man has at least a subconscious feeling that his relation to them is that of a guardian. I came across much evidence of individual solicitude for their welfare; the conditions of domestic service in particular are usually quite apart in their superiority to labour conditions generally; the Government Departments and officials dealing with Native affairs are doing a noble work in an enthusiastic spirit; and the miscellaneous efforts of the religious and philanthropic agencies are beyond praise. Nevertheless, I was forced to the very definite conviction that the master races which "run" South Africa are not on the whole seriously trying to civilize the Natives. If they were, they would not tolerate for a day longer than was necessary the degrading conditions of life in which the vast majority of these helpless supplicants for the crumbs which fall from their own well-supplied tables are compelled to pass their existence.

Granted that a wide gulf divides the European and the

Native in all the essentials of civilization, yet the fundamental characteristics of human nature are the same in each, and the needs and cravings and aspirations which are shared in common by the two races call for equal satisfaction. A spokesman of the Coloured people might ask, quite as justifiably as Shylock asked on behalf of his race, "Hath not a Native eyes? Hath not a Native hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die? And if you wrong us, shall not we revenge? If we are like you in the rest, we will resemble you in that."

The great danger is lest those in whose hands the welfare of the Native population mainly rests—the innumerable White employers of farm and veld, of factory and workshop—should fail to remember that justice is a progressive thing, the right of yesterday being the wrong of to-day. Even should his masters forget that fact, the Native will not. For he is being educated, and more effectually he is educating himself; he is beginning to organize; and he is gradually evolving a race consciousness which will in time express itself in political claims difficult to satisfy, yet also difficult to reject. And all the time he is thinking! Often as I have looked into his stolid, inscrutable face I have wondered—is his thought of the past, the present, or the future? Yet is it possible to doubt?

No one with whom I discussed the Native question entertained the least fear of any future concerted outbreaks, in the absence of treatment in violent conflict with the Black man's keen sense of justice. While accepting this hopeful view, however, I am confident that the surpassing docility with which the Native is now generally credited should not be counted on too confidently, since it is contrary to the nature of a race so progressive as the Bantu race is, and it is at best uncertain how Natives, so emotional are they, might act in the event, say, of serious labour quarrels, arousing strong feeling on both sides. Already a certain ferment is working. A newspaper recently told how a Native worker, who believed himself to have been underpaid, wrote to his employer, "I want the money of the other month: you must know that the slaves are free." A few years ago such

an audacious proceeding would have been impossible; but the times have changed, and the Natives with them, since the war, and the appeal made, in the name of the blessed doctrine of "self-determination," to that aspiration for a full liberty which is latent in every human breast. It remains also to be seen what the civilization which the Native is appropriating owing to contact with Europeans will make of him in the end, and whether it will be the White man's virtues or his vices that will give the determining stamp to Native character and life.

An ominous fact, which may have many explanations, is the ground which Europeans have lost in the estimation and confidence of the Natives, at least in some walks of life. In one of the heart-to-heart addresses in which he rallies his countrymen from time to time, General Smuts recently called attention to this fact.

> "For generations," he said, "we, the White people on this continent, were looked upon as gods by the Natives, and that was due very largely to the work of Dr. Livingstone and the men who followed him. Unfortunately, that is not the position now. We are not looked upon as gods any more. Perhaps it is better so, for neither man nor woman should be put on a higher pedestal than they deserve, and the Native has gauged us quite well. He sees us as we are . . . Native psychology has changed; times have changed, and the Natives are no longer prepared to accept our word or gospel at its face value. They are looking below the surface of things."

Those are the words of a Dutch South African, but I repeatedly heard the same thing, put from various standpoints, from Englishmen who were either born in the country or had lived the better part of their lives there. Not once and in one place, but often and in different localities—though chiefly in the towns—I was assured that Native antagonism is spreading and deepening. The more intelligent the Native workman becomes, the more he works without the consciousness of getting any "forrader," and sees his aspirations for a fuller and higher life disregarded or obstructed, the more strongly he feels that he is not receiving that "fair and square deal" which the White man always and with great keenness claims for himself. And so far as the Native thinks like this he is right, though it may be doubtful

whether the consciousness of inequitable treatment is felt by any large section of the Black people. Quite recently I read how, in the course of an address, a Native leader in one of the industrial towns told a meeting of his kinsmen that "they must never think of fighting the English." Strange that the admonition should be thought necessary!

Leaving to the concluding chapter the consideration of the question what should or might be the ultimate position of the Native races in South Africa, and therewith the land question, I will suggest here several directions in which justice is not now being fully done to them.

(1) *Public Education.*

First, they are not being educated. That is not to say that education of some sort is not placed within the reach of a certain proportion of them, but that the great mass are entirely outside the influence of schools and instructors. When we talk of the Native races as being in the stage of childhood, and as needing treatment accordingly, it would be well to add that comparatively little is being done to help them to pass beyond that stage. Wherever he has had any sort of a chance the Native has shown himself amazingly progressive, but the opportunities offered to him have hitherto been very restricted, and this is particularly the case in regard to education. It is estimated that eighty per cent. of the Negro population of the United States have received a fair education, and in the North there are areas in which the illiterate Blacks form only six per cent. of the whole, for America recognizes not only the unwisdom but the danger of harbouring in her midst ignorant and degraded races. In South Africa nearly 90 per cent. of the Bantu are illiterate; taking the sexes together only eleven per cent. can either read and write or read only. There anything deserving of the name of education for the Native races in general has yet to come, for the smattering of rudimentary instruction which is doled out to a small portion of them cannot with any pretence of decency be forced under that definition. In America Negroes who omit to send their children to school are fined; in South Africa there is no compulsion in the case of Native children, since that would involve the liability of providing schools for them.

Article 147 of the Union Constitution, providing that

" the control and administration of Native affairs . . . shall vest in the Governor-General in Council," virtually made Native education the concern of the Central Government, yet when the Provincial Governments were organized and all education " other than higher " (which was reserved for the Central Executive) was placed in their hands, Native education was in consequence allowed to become a provincial affair. The result has been unsatisfactory, since the degree of public sympathy with the education of the Natives differs greatly in the several provinces. In none of them is the provision even of primary instruction either ample in quantity or adequate in quality, while the facilities for secondary and higher education, depending as they largely do upon the efforts of the various missions, are lamentably few. More is done for Native education in the Cape than the other three provinces, and least in the Orange Free State, where several years ago it was estimated that there were 300,000 Native children for whose education no more than £4,000 a year, or threepence a head, was assigned from State funds. But for the devotion and self-sacrifice of the churches the Black population of the Free State would to-day be as backward as half a century ago. The Phelps-Stokes Commission (1922) came to the conclusion that " one-fifth of the non-European children between six and fourteen are enrolled in schools."

Here are other significant figures. The number of White children enrolled in the primary State and State-aided schools of all grades is equal to 22 per cent. of the population ; but the proportion of Native children is only four per cent. of the corresponding population, and in Transvaal and Orange Free State together only two and a half per cent. Taking the country as a whole, while in a recent year the State spent on the education of European scholars £18 17s. a head, equal to £4 2s. a head of the entire White population, its contribution to non-European (including Native) education amounted to a pittance of 2s. 4d. a head of the population intended to be served. These figures are, of course, independent of the expenditure of the provinces out of their own revenues.

In practice Native education has been left to the churches and their missions, the State and the Provincial Councils

supporting their efforts by very inadequate grants. In this laudable but unconscionably starved work all the churches, British and Dutch, Protestant and Roman Catholic, take an active part. I was informed that in the schools carried on by the Church of England 24,000 Native and 13,000 Coloured children are being educated, and that in its training institutions some hundreds of young Natives are being trained as teachers of their own race. The work here represented may form but a minute part of the State's duty to the Native population, but it is only by such voluntary efforts that the credit of the European races in this matter is saved in any degree whatever. Usually the churches are even expected to provide the school buildings, with the unavoidable result that these are seldom adequate to their purpose. "Our Native schools," said an English religious leader in the Transvaal recently, "are fearful and wonderful things, absolutely inefficient in buildings and equipment, and it is no wonder that the Native looks with envious eyes at our European primary and high schools." What applies to the Transvaal applies to the rest of the country.

It is often said that the contribution of the Natives towards national and local taxation is very small; but so also are their means, while in most places the benefits received by them in return are niggardly. In the Cape the cost of Native education is about equal to the proceeds of the hut tax levied on the Natives, but in the Orange Free State it does not amount to six per cent. of the revenue derived from that source, and in the Transvaal it is only one-twelfth of the revenue from Native taxation and pass fees. A well-known Capetown clergyman recently stated that for every pound paid by the Natives of the Transvaal a "tickey" (3d.) was returned to them in the form of education. The actual proportion would appear to be six times this sum, but it is nevertheless so small as to be beneath contempt.

Money in plenty, even in excess, as many maintain, is spent on the education of the master races, but the Natives have to be contented with the dry crumbs that fall from the White man's table. Even Coloured children, the kin more or less distant of the Whites, are debarred from secondary

education except in institutions of a religious and philanthropic character, barely tolerated by the Government if the State help they receive be a fair index of its attitude to them.* The Financial Relations Act of 1922 was a step in advance, but only one of many that will be needed before the question of Native education will have been put on even a tolerable basis.

From their visits to Native centres in 1923 the members of the Native Affairs Commission brought back the report, "From all parts it was clear that the mass of the people is awakening and demanding education." This demand the Government and the White races which it represents will be obliged to meet more sympathetically and liberally than hitherto, not merely as an act of equity and justice, but in their own interest. For if a progressive Native population might in certain circumstances prove a menace to White domination, it is equally true that the continued existence of millions of ignorant and illiterate Blacks, who are bound to fall steadily lower unless brought under the complementary influences of education and religion, represents a potentiality of untold danger.

In some parts of the country there is a movement among the Natives in favour of secularizing education, not so much, perhaps, from any reasoned preference for secular instruction, as from a feeling that under such a system the control of the schools would in some degree pass into their own hands. More tenable is the common claim for Government schools and the transference of Native education from the Provincial Councils to the Central Executive as the best corrective to the present policy of starving the Native schools. This is one of the recommendations of the Native Affairs Commission, which sees in Government initiative the only possibility of a genuine forward movement on principles uniform as to methods and standards.

* Even so there is a section of public opinion which would willingly keep matters as they are. It may be illustrated by a letter written to the *Cape Times* while I was in Capetown; it is so short and to the point that it deserves to be quoted in full:

"While the White people are paying increased school fees, it is most unjust and unwise that any money at all should be spent on Coloured and Native schools. The White race is the better and ruling race, and, in my opinion, no money should be spent on the Coloured people until all the needs of the Whites have been satisfied."

In other words, "Let the children first be (literally) filled."

"Native education is a solid fact and a political force growing in power in the country. You cannot put back the clock without a social or a political revolution." So said over twenty years ago a professor of the Lovedale Missionary Institution. This institution has done so much educational work amongst the Natives that more particular reference must be made to it in this place. "Lovedale," which can already look back upon a career of over eighty years, is situated near the little town of Alice, inland from East London, and was founded in 1841 by the Glasgow Missionary Society, though later it became a branch of the missionary work of the Scottish United Free Church. The buildings are distributed over some 50 acres of the Institution's estate of over 1,400 acres, and land, buildings, and equipment together represent an expenditure of £70,000. Its mission, now as ever, is the elevation of the Native and Coloured peoples of South Africa by means of religious effort, by general and specialized education, and by the development of technical training. Europeans are admitted in special circumstances, but their number in 1923 was only six in an aggregate of 959, of whom nearly two-thirds were males.

There are at Lovedale primary and higher schools for boys and girls, a training school for teachers, practising schools, a domestic science school, an industrial department, in which a number of trades and handicrafts are taught, with a farm and orchards worked mainly by students. Attached to the Institution is a hospital which cares for the Natives of the surrounding country and trains Native nurses and orderlies. Very moderate fees are charged for tuition and boarding, the revenue from this source being a little under £10,000. Another important branch of work, of recent date, is the Summer School, which is designed to assist Natives generally, but particularly "the educated men and women who have gone out from the often hot-house influences of the training institutions into the isolation, loneliness, and stagnation of Native tribal conditions."

Lovedale sends many of its students for higher education to the South African Native College at Fort Hare, which owes its existence to financial co-operation between the Government, the missionary societies and the Native

Councils of the Transkeian Territories and Basutoland. At the present time the project of a medical school for Native students is being matured at that College. The idea is that, after matriculating, students shall undergo a two years' course of instruction in medical science at the college, to be followed by a three years' course of clinical work in the Durban Coloured hospital, thus complying with the condition of registration by the South African General Medical Council.

I have said that there is no compulsion on Native parents to send their children to school, even when schools exist. Compulsion is unnecessary, however, for they are far readier to have their boys and girls taught than the State and the Provincial Councils are to provide schools for them. I heard of schools attached to Dutch Reformed Native churches in which every single child of qualifying age is in regular attendance. Often the Natives are more willing than the Whites to make sacrifice for education. Of this contrast a striking instance came to my knowledge in the Cape Province.

Up to a year or so ago free education in that province included in the case of the primary schools free books and material of all kinds. Now these things have to be paid for, and the obligation applies to Native schools equally with those attended by European children, though in each case there is provision for excusing payment where desirable. The Dutch clerical manager of a Native school in the Cape told me how this change was accepted without the slightest demur by the poor parents of the children in attendance. He called them together and explained the position, making it clear that, while payment was intended to be the rule, exemption could be claimed where the new liability would entail hardship. He told his hearers that some of them would certainly be entitled to exemption, yet he reminded them of the difficulty of drawing the line where practically all parents lived in poverty. He therefore suggested that discussion should be directed to the question whether all should pay or all seek the relief to which they might be entitled.

His exposition completed, a dusky parent promptly rose and after praising education as an excellent thing, to be

valued and sought after, he proposed that they should all pay. The resolution was immediately seconded, and it was adopted with unanimity. I was assured that since then pare ts connected with that Native school have paid as much as 8s. 6d. a term (i.e., four times a year) for books and material, yet it is doubtful whether their average earnings exceed 15s. or 20s. a week.

Relating this incident to a well-informed fellow railway traveller, with whom I was discussing the question of Native education, he commented, "I can well believe it, and I will tell you another story by way of contrast, for I am a teacher. I know a locality in the same province where European parents have deliberately removed outside the compulsory attendance area, so that they might avoid the obligation to send their children to school." It struck me that such action was a singularly efficient method of creating "poor Whites."

Evidence of the Natives' longing for knowledge, whatever be the governing motive, abounds in the literature devoted to the subject. In his interesting book, "The Education of the South African Native" (1917) Dr. C. T. Loram, a member of the Native Affairs Commission, writes that the Inspector in charge of Native Schools in Natal assured him a few years ago that he could open sixty new Native schools in a week if only he had the teachers and the money. He adds: "Masters and mistresses in towns are often astonished at the requests of their old retainers who ask to be allowed to attend school in the evenings. One of the difficulties in the administration of Native schools is to exclude grown-up men and women from the infant classes" (p. 32).*

And yet at present only the fringe of the Native world has been touched by education, and the more you get away from the towns the nearer to the primitive state the Native is seen to be. The most urgent needs are a great increase in the supply of primary schools, particularly in the rural districts, the raising of the level of the urban schools, which now stop at the sixth standard, and a more generous provision for secondary education. The importance of emphasizing religious and ethical teaching in schools of

* To this book the reader may be referred for a full discussion of the question of Native education as it is and as it should be.

all types is everywhere admitted, and there is also general agreement that manual and vocational instruction, directed particularly to agriculture and the simpler handicrafts, should be increasingly fostered. It is also recognized that the object of all education should be to train the Natives to live a more independent economic life, to assist them to work out their own civilization, to evolve the instinct of citizenship and the habit of communal service, and to evoke leaders and men of action of their own race.

There are zealous friends of Native education who advocate the policy of the " open door " in relation even to the higher schools and colleges. Such a rate of progress, however, is beyond reason, and it is doubtful whether the Native races are ready for it. Not so conspicuously in mental powers, perhaps, but certainly in the degree of their development and in knowledge of the world, the Native is still in the first form, and every educationist is conscious of the danger of unduly forcing young minds and of the wisdom of building slowly and surely on broad and solid foundations. There are, indeed, no signs of any tendency to push the Native forward too fast; public opinion would not favour such action, and hitherto the Government and Legislature have seldom shown themselves in advance of public opinion on questions relating to the treatment of the Native races.

At the risk of appearing unfaithful to my contention that in education right has not been done to the Natives, I would yet venture to put in a word here on behalf of that section of the White population which everywhere first feels the effects of Native competition. Even in the present day the British youth of highly intelligent working-class parentage is able only in rare individual cases to gain entrance to the highest seats of learning. In South Africa youths born in the *kraal* pass every year into the Native university of Fort Hare, and there are those who, in exaggerated zeal for a good cause, would extend this practice almost indefinitely. But complete sympathy with Native progress is compatible with the view that, remembering how the labouring classes of Europe, and not least of our own country, only passed from a state of economic bondage to one of theoretical independence after centuries of struggle, buffeting, and vain attempts, there could be no justification

whatever for freeing that process from all obstacles in the case of the Native, and no purpose in so doing. By all means let the transition be eased and within reason shortened, but to hustle him at once into the broad highways of civilization by questionable short-cuts might be as bad for him as it would certainly be for those whom he would at once begin to elbow out of the way.

(2) *The Christian Missions.*

The Native president of the Transvaal African Congress recently said, "If there is any mistake at all in the Native civilization it lies with the European missionaries and Europeans as a whole. These are the people who brought us from our heathen state to European standards." The words certainly do not state a complete truth, and I quote them, not as endorsing them, but because they point the Christian churches to the existence of a great unfulfilled task. Beneficent as is the work which these organizations are doing amongst the Coloured population, their utmost efforts will be necessary if the existing needs are to be met. The oldest mission in the country is located at a place known as Genadendal, or "Valley of Grace," which is reached from Caledon, in the Cape Province, and was founded by the Moravian Brethren nearly two hundred years ago (1737). There is still a thriving Native community at Genadendal, where Dutch is the language of the school and home. The mission has also its own press, which has printed the Bible in Bantu and now issues a bi-weekly newspaper. Of the British churches the Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational are specially active, and the Roman Catholic Church works effectively in its own quiet way. The Dutch Reformed Church has behind it a longer history than any other South African church, and its Native churches and stations cover the whole country. There are also branches of the Paris Evangelical Mission, working particularly in Basutoland, and German missions.

There is a section of the Dutch clergy which appears to resent missionary activity amongst the Bantu by foreigners —among whom it counts some or all of the British missions —and claims that only the Dutch are rightly ordained to carry on this work. I had this view put before me, politely and tactfully, by one of their number, and since returning

home I notice that there has been newspaper controversy on the subject in the Transvaal, a fact which might seem to indicate that the view in question is specially prevalent in the Dutch States. The clergyman referred to suggested that his church could, with advantage to the cause of evangelization, take over the entire task. I am inclined to believe, however, that the Dutch clergy are chiefly troubled lest the religion taught to the Natives by others should depart too much from their own still somewhat austere Calvinistic type, and that is a scruple quite easy to understand and within limits to sympathize with. Whether more and better missionary work could not be done by co-operation on some agreed basis of doctrine and ritual, so lessening the confusion which must be caused in Native minds by the presentation in so many different ways of religious doctrines, themselves contradictory or inconsistent, is another question, the answer to which is beyond both my power and my province. The normal layman, however, cannot but think that the rival sections of Christendom do a hideous wrong to Native populations everywhere in compelling them to take sides in their pitiable religious and confessional quarrels.*

On the question of the degree of success which attends this missionary effort I cannot claim to have any reasoned opinion, and indeed before such a question could be answered, or even profitably discussed, it would be necessary to define the meaning of success in such a relation, a matter on which presumably the utmost diversity of view would prevail. While, however, there can be little doubt that the religion of many evangelized Natives is formal and ceremonial, rather than a practical rule of conduct and a new way of life, and that the motives which lead to its acceptance are often far from spiritual, the work of the Christian missions has unquestionably the highest moral value both for the Natives themselves and the community of which they form part. The census of 1921 classified nearly two and a half millions of Bantu people—about one half of the total—as of

* It may be worth while to mention, as possibly deserving of enquiry by those to whose studies the matter is germane, the actual effect upon the minds and imaginations of people of colour of the practice of representing the Virgin Mary and her Son in picture and symbol as white, and the question whether the practice is likely to be a source of difficulty at some future advanced stage of Native development.

"no religion." It would be wrong, however, to conclude that the Natives so described for statistical purposes are all blank pagans, though probably the figures do broadly connote those who have not been brought into direct contact with organized religion or who still live ethically under more or less primitive tribal conditions. In any case, it is clear that the Native population still offers much virgin ground for discreet and constructive missionary work.

I was, indeed, assured by one religious worker that missionaries prefer to get hold of the Native in his raw state, before he had come under the influence of civilization. He is said to be then more plastic than later; he is still under the shadow of great and subtle superstition, but there are no grotesque and half-digested misconceptions of Christianity to combat and remove—a process which even in the case of intelligent people is often a source of mental confusion and spiritual unsettlement. From this standpoint missionary work amongst the Natives of South Africa is said to be attended, in general, with fewer obstacles than have to be met in dealing with the Mohammedan tribes of the Central and Northern parts of the continent. Not only so, but while the Native has behind him a long tradition of tribal law and custom, it is entirely oral, and in the secular arena it is engaged in an unequal contest with Western jurisprudence, of which the issue cannot be uncertain. It is still easier, of course, to establish a religious and doctrinal *rapport* with the half-castes, for they have inherited, together with their strain of white blood, glimmerings of European mentality and a readier perception of religious ideas as embodied in the Christian faith.

That genuinely spiritual and devout characters are common amongst Christianized Natives is a fact which any European missionary will attest from his own experience. In all tribes the religious instinct is said to be very strong, though less conspicuous in the young than the older generations, and most marked in women, for these share to the full the emotional characteristics of their White sisters. A Dutch minister in charge of a Native church told me that quite 70 per cent. of the regular attendants of that church were women, a larger proportion, he said, than applies in European churches; though from such figures it does not

follow that 70 per cent. of the women and only 30 per cent. of the men of any given Native community are church-goers. Natives and Coloured people are alike in showing a strong feeling of attachment to the church of their choice, and there is little running about from one place to another. Nevertheless, their support of religious ministrations is not as generous as formerly, though in view of the slowness of their material advancement this fact may not suggest backsliding or involve reproach.

Whatever the measure of his support of the pastor, however, the Native dearly likes the pastor's sermons and the music. After attending a three-quarters-empty Anglican church in a small though predominantly British country town one Sunday evening, I noticed when returning to my hotel that the far larger Native church of the place was densely packed, with groups clustered round the open doors and windows. Not only so, but that service must have lasted fully three hours from first to last. Later I was told that one of the chief difficulties of the pastor of a Native church is to convince the worshippers that a service can be long enough.

There is a growing wish on the part both of Natives and Coloured people to have churches of their own, with ministers of their own kith and kin. It is an expression of a racial self-consciousness observable in many directions, and unquestionably destined to take, in time, more serious forms. Some religious leaders attribute the visible slackening of interest in Native church life to the stronger influence of this racial awakening. Already there are over seventy separatist churches, served by Native pastors, and the number steadily increases, while about a hundred Native ministers of these churches are qualified to perform the marriage rite. It is said that separation is not invariably dictated by religious zeal, but is often the fruit of jealousy and petty ambition—causes of religious division which are not unknown in more definitely Christian countries. Recognizing the trend of events, the United Free Church of Scotland, working at Lovedale, has just given autonomy to the Native missions under its protection, uniting them in the "Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa." Though affiliated to the Assembly of the parent Church,

the new organization is outside its jurisdiction. In sympathy with this measure of decentralization the European missionaries are more and more to be replaced by Natives in the distinctively Native areas.

(3) *The Administration of Justice.*

Are law and the justice which it is the purpose of law to uphold meted with equal hand to Black and White in South Africa? Perhaps to ask the question is almost to suggest what the answer will be. Let me say at once that nothing pleased me more in the course of my travels and investigations than the many evidences which were visible that the religious leaders of South Africa are determined that the Native's sense of justice, which is so warmly praised when it takes the form of self-reproof, shall not be outraged by the European. If in this connexion I particularly mention the Anglican Church, with its bishops and other members of the hierarchy, the only reason is that their courageous stand for right dealing came more frequently before my notice.

You often hear in South Africa that the views on Native affairs which the Missionary Societies are supposed specially to represent are unpopular, and in time you begin to understand why. The fact is that far too often two standards of personal morality, and even contradictory standards of law and justice, are applied to Whites and Natives respectively, and that it falls to these societies to combat such inconsistencies, normally at the risk of unpopularity. Wherever a higher race is called upon to judge a lower inequity of the kind is not infrequent, and it would be idle to pretend that in South Africa the life of a Native counts with Europeans in general as equal in legal or moral value to that of a White of any grade. Judicial proceedings continually illustrate the distinction which is drawn between the two. It is hardly going too far to say that while no doubt can ever exist that a Native who commits wrong against a European will meet to the full his just deserts, there is never a certainty that the same treatment will befall a European when the injured suitor is a Native. This conflict of law and morality is nowhere so flagrant as in the case of sexual crimes and those of violence.

Archbishop Carter, of Capetown, put the matter very temperately a short time ago when he said, "There have



STREET IN UMTATA, TEMBULAND



THE PITSO, OR NATIVE FOLKMOTE

certainly been cases lately in which apparently injustice has been done, and it is a very distinct reproach upon our Christian civilization that it can be said or thought that there is one law for the Native and another for the European." The accusation was made more pointedly by a Roman Catholic priest of Pretoria who, in stating recently that "the only part of South Africa in which he had found Native children show fear of the Europeans and scurry past them was the Northern Transvaal," condemned those Europeans who resented the punishment of White offenders, adding, "It is hard to gauge the mentality and soul of a people who are angry, not at the commission of a crime, but only at its denunciation as such. Throughout a large portion of South Africa the White man is sowing hatred, brutality, and injustice, and the Black soil in which he sows is receptive and fertile."

The evil is one on which the Lovedale Missionary Institution cannot keep silence, for a recent report, in speaking of a "somewhat needed vindication of Native life," says, "Reviewing the situation generally, there is, it is our firm belief, a tide setting on all hands towards a better treatment of, and better relations with, the Natives, but at times its movement seems hopelessly slow." Even while writing this chapter (October, 1924) I observe that, not for the first or second time, the Pretoria synod of the Anglican Church, "forced by repeated injustices done to Natives," has adopted a resolution of protest on the subject. It will sound odd in most English ears to be told that only last year a private Member's Bill was introduced in the House of Assembly proposing to discourage illicit sexual relations between the races by making White offenders liable to five years' imprisonment, while Black men guilty either of the act or an attempt to commit it were to have imprisonment for a year longer and fifteen strokes in addition. All such incidents tell a tale that is certainly not flattering to the European.

The jury system directly encourages this indefensible distinction made between European and Native crimes and criminals, though one must believe that if the tone of public opinion were everywhere sufficiently high juries would hardly dare so unblushingly to weight the scales

of justice. Hence it has been suggested that crimes of passion in which Europeans are involved on either side should be adjudicated on by a judge alone or assisted with assessors. The Native himself would rather see the jury system abolished to-day than to-morrow, for he has ceased to believe in the possibility of justice from that quarter. "What are the functions of a jury?" a Native asked of a Bloemfontein magistrate a short time ago, and on receiving the information asked for, he promptly rejoined, "I want the judge alone." So it is in other parts of the country, even in Natal. An educated member of the Natal Native Congress, speaking on this subject recently, obviously from the Zulu standpoint, said, "We are all of the opinion that your Dutch Government when dealing with us—the Black people of Natal—are unable to forget Dingaan's Day. One thing we will not have, and that is trial by a White jury. A White jury can never be fair when dealing with a Black man." If that is so, it follows that the White jury should go.

It is unnecessary to say more upon the subject, except that there is need for vigilant care lest perpetual contact with the subordinate and at present impotent millions of the Black population, and the easy habit of regarding them as inferior beings, should weaken in the dominant race the sense of political as well as of moral responsibility. A social order which is built on foundations any one of which is unsound is to that extent insecure, and no political foundation is so untrustworthy as injustice. To create in the Native mind even the suspicion that fair and equal treatment cannot be expected under European government would be a direct incitement to racial antagonisms and conflicts, in comparison with which the present frictions between the British and Dutch are of no account whatever, and as a result of which European civilization in South Africa might conceivably be submerged.

(4) *The Pass System and Taxation.*

There is great need for a generous alleviation of the pass system, which at present is everywhere unnecessarily rigorous and in some parts of the country presses on the Natives with unintelligent hardship. When the Union constitution was drawn up the enactment of "free inter-

course for the inhabitants of the territories" did not apply to the Natives, who continued subject to the existing Pass Laws. These laws, as enacted in the early days, were devised for such purposes as checking and controlling the indiscriminate influx of barbarous tribes from the adjacent territories, affording a means of enforcing labour contracts concluded by White employers, and providing a safeguard against common crimes like stock theft. With the extension of the magisterial and police system these purposes can all be served by other means, and at present the pass system is chiefly valued as a convenient method of taxation.

The Native asks for and has a right to greater freedom of movement, instead of being restricted and controlled in every direction and treated like a convict on parole. He recognizes that a pass system of some kind is expedient, but he complains of the lack of uniformity, the irritating requirement of special passes for short journeys, and the chicanery often practised by the Native police, who seem to delight in magnifying their powers when dealing with men of their own colour. The late Government was understood to favour the issue of a pass valid for life, but it made no attempt to carry this preference into effect.

It is interesting to view the same question from another angle, that of the European farmers, since to do so shows how hard it is for White people to be just to Black. A congress of the South African Agricultural Union recently adopted a resolution protesting against the provisions of the Natives Registration and Protection Bill, as calculated "to interfere with the farmers' control of the 'boys'," and proposed the following alterations: "that exemptions in one province should not hold good in another; that exemptions should be more restricted and none issued under any education test; that it should be necessary for a Native to obtain written permission from the owner or occupier of the farm to leave it, either to look for work, or to go visiting; and that no ticket should be issued to a Native on the railway unless he produces a written pass from the farm where he resides, excepting to return to his home." Such conditions would amount to practical serfage of the kind enforced by the Dutch a century ago.

The existing inequality of Native taxation is also a cause

of irritation, particularly in the Transvaal, where the Natives are more highly taxed than in the other provinces, though the least is done for their welfare. The Native Affairs Commission has endorsed the general complaint and has recommended the adoption of a uniform scale of taxation approximating the moderate scale in force in the Cape and Natal provinces.

(5) *The Liquor Traffic.*

The liquor question exercises the more enlightened minds amongst the Native population. Left to himself the Native would and does drink anything that intoxicates, and drinks it to any extent, and when he is drunk he is apt to be a demon. Drink is, in fact, the worst enemy both of the individual and the race. In general the law against the supply of liquor to Natives is strict, it is enforced equally though not with equal success, and infraction of it is severely punished. I notice that twenty-three fines imposed for this offence (in many cases on Europeans) in Pietermaritzburg in 1922 ranged from £10 to £100, with alternatives of imprisonment for terms varying from six months to two years, with hard labour. Nevertheless, in spite of prohibitions and penalties, the Native is often able to get more beer than is good for him, while his liberty to consume what is known as "Native beer," which is wrongly assumed to be innocuous, is subject to little or no restraint. Here more efficient control is clearly needed, and it can hardly be too severe.

(6) *The Amelioration of Social Conditions.*

Though low down on the list, the first and greatest act of justice due to the Native is the improvement of his conditions of life as represented by housing arrangements and the remuneration of labour. The inadequacy of the latter has already been referred to and it is not necessary to emphasize it again here. As to the former, though the word housing is used, at present the Native is not housed at all, but where he has left the *kraal* is only boxed or stabled. The only really painful impressions which I carried away from South Africa—and they were the more painful simply because of the host of experiences of a delightful kind—were those created by the Native locations and living quarters in general. Yet if, as we all agree, the basis of the White man's civilization is the home and family life, why should

it be otherwise with the Black man? A move in the right direction has been taken by the passing of the Native (Urban Areas) Act, which came into operation at the beginning of 1924. Its enactment throws a lurid light upon the conditions of Native life in urban and industrial centres. Natives are not allowed to occupy dwellings amongst Europeans except in the slums, and even if allowed their restricted means would prevent them. Hence have arisen the makeshifts of compounds and locations for the accommodation of Native labourers in bulk, supplemented by a miscellaneous and more or less primitive provision of lodging made by individual employers for their unskilled workers and those engaged in domestic service.

In the mining districts the employers have so many Native workers on their hands that, philanthropic and humane considerations apart, the necessity of keeping the labour battalions under effective control led inevitably to the compounds. The provision of this kind made on the Rand in particular is excellent, and the care otherwise bestowed on the welfare of the workers creditable to the mine companies, while no doubt advantageous from the standpoint of labour efficiency.

For labourers engaged in industrial and miscellaneous employments many towns have built the locations mentioned. Until last year the practice in regard thereto differed greatly in the four provinces. In the Cape Province locations were common, but except in Capetown and Port Elizabeth the Natives were not compelled to live in them. The local authorities might adopt and enforce in the locations sanitary regulations, but no legal obligation of the kind rested on them. In Natal local authorities had power both to establish locations and to require the residence of Natives therein, but only at Durban and Pietermaritzburg were these powers applied, and squatting on the town lands was the general rule. The position in the Transvaal was much the same as in the Cape Province, while in the Orange Free State locations could be established at local discretion, though anything in the nature of sanitation regulation was regarded as of secondary importance.

At best the locations, with isolated exceptions, consist of dwellings of the most primitive kind, suggestive rather

of outhouses than homes, but often, owing either to the great expense of proper accommodation or to the common idea that hovels of any sort are good enough for the Blacks, the locations are squalid and insanitary in the extreme. The slums of some British industrial and shipping towns are bad, but uglier, more repellent, more depressing spectacles could scarcely be imagined than are offered by the Native locations and quarters of some towns of the Union, and these by no means the largest. The miserable shacks in which the Natives are here herded together have bare earthen floors; there is often neither fire-place, window, nor any other opening for ventilation beyond a single crazy doorway, facilities for washing are likewise absent, and there is hardly a trace of workshop-made furniture.

How the Natives and their families can live in these indescribably unhealthy conditions is a problem to be wondered at; how they die is more easily understood. The rate of mortality amongst the Natives is extremely high, and it is usually attributed to their insanitary habits. That explanation is merely an ungenerous way of obscuring the fact that the European population, while justifiably objecting to rub shoulders with them, segregate them under conditions which are themselves insanitary and often devoid of the most elementary requirements of civilized life. If, therefore, they often contract typhoid fever owing to drinking impure water, as is often the case, it is as likely as not that no other water is within their reach. Visiting a town whose location is one of the worst, I said to the Medical Officer of Health, "You are solving the Native problem here!" And his question "How so?" I answered by reminding him that the Native mortality returns showed that over 50 per cent. of the children were dying under the age of five. I should add that the existing conditions had been repeatedly condemned by this officer, whose professional zeal was in no wise at fault. The blame lay rather with the local authorities—perhaps, too, though I only conjecture, with insufficiency of pressure from the controlling powers above.*

* Reporting on the Native mortality for last year this official describes it as "still frightfully high," viz., 26 per cent. under one year and 40 per cent. under five years, comparing with rates of 9 and 15 per cent. respectively in the case of European children.

It is notorious, however, how easily people who are not by nature callous become habituated to social evils until these cease altogether to impress them. Within sight of a certain Government Agricultural College which I visited there is to-day a Native quarter which for primitive squalor baffles description. Into the best of these broken-down huts of board and tin the instructors in animal husbandry hard by would never dream of putting the humblest and hardiest beast in their care.

In domestic service the practice of living-in is rare, and hence it is a common arrangement to assign a hut to the house "boy" or woman, or it may be to an entire family, while for a plurality of employees some sort of bothy is provided. These erections are located in a corner of the back garden or some other convenient place, and the accommodation counts as part of the wages. This arrangement, too, is objectionable from various standpoints, and one wonders that White people, fastidious in so many ways, so readily tolerate and even favour it. The most pitiable case of all, however, is that of the Native women and girls without settled homes who, at the end of the day's work as domestic helps, are summarily turned out of the house, to find whatever shelter they can. The Bishop of Pretoria, who does not allow the Church to slumber when moral evils are insistent, said recently that "there was a great corruption of Native girls in that city," and he attributed it in part to the practice of mistresses sending their Black maids adrift every night, instead of making proper and safe provision for them. Hostels, under sympathetic supervision, are the natural remedy for this evil, and these institutions have been provided in some places.

The statute of 1923, "which aims at the remedying of the wretched and often scandalous circumstances of the Natives inhabiting town locations" (the description occurs in the Lovedale Institution's report just cited) is an instalment of social reform long overdue. It requires municipalities to provide improved conditions of housing for Natives in or near their areas, and in given cases to compel employers so to do; but if a municipality fails to use properly its powers in this regard the Government may step in, and do what it deems necessary, charging the costs to the rate-

payers, if needful by a special rate. The public provision may take the form of locations, Native villages, and hostels, the last named to meet the case of Natives not living under conditions of family life ; and there are stipulations relating to the segregation of Natives, the better administration of locations, the registration of Natives and the control of their contracts of service, and the regulation of the ingress of Natives into urban areas, and of the production, possession, and use of Kaffir beer and other intoxicating liquor.

How far the Act will prove effective will depend largely upon whether there are behind the local authorities responsible for its application a strong official stimulus and, still more, the driving force of an awakened public conscience. Radical measures are needed, and one that is increasingly favoured is the formation of Native townships, lying quite away from the European areas, on lines already adopted at Bloemfontein and some other towns. To create such a township, however, is an easy matter ; the important thing is to supply it with homes deserving of the name. Johannesburg, Capetown, and Pretoria have lost no time in taking steps to set their houses in order, and the Herculean work which confronts the first of these towns may be judged from the fact that the municipality proposes to supplement its existing locations and compounds by provision for 7,000 Natives, at a cost of £75,000.

The amelioration of housing conditions on the farms and in the agricultural districts, where the primitive kraal still holds its ground, is a more difficult matter, and progress will inevitably be slower there than it need be in the towns, but the rural aspect of the problem cannot be long disregarded. The bedrock fact of the entire problem of Native housing is that to allow the present miserable makeshifts and parodies of home life to continue is like trying to civilize the Natives under uncivilized conditions, and it cannot be done.

(7) *Political Rights.*

During the late election the Nationalist leader repeatedly stated that he was prepared to concede the parliamentary franchise to the Coloured (half-caste) people as soon as the Native question, by which he meant some form of segregation, had been settled. As the rival and predomin-

antly British political party is still more favourably disposed to that section of the non-European population, the franchise issue may here be narrowed down to the Natives. Granted, however, that it is yet early days to talk of enfranchising the Natives in any wholesale way it is not too early to be thinking about the question and asking what the first step should be and when it should be taken. It would be a mistake to delay action until the wish for concession takes the form of a collective and imperious demand. The mass instinct is strong in all undeveloped races, and in South Africa you hear everywhere that a genuine race consciousness is being awakened amongst the Native peoples. The tribes—Zulu, Basuto, Swazi, Xosa, Bechuana, and the rest—still largely keep apart, yet their leaders are constantly urging them to think more as a single community whose salvation must be sought in unity of aspiration and effort, and it is conceivable that an attractive political movement and cry, appealing to common sentiments and interests, might weld them into a great and powerful fighting force.

It behoves the Europeans, therefore, to understand the meaning of the strong tide of racial feeling that is running, and to meet it in the right spirit, not attempting to dam it, but providing safe channels for its overflow. Loose talking should be avoided just as much by one party as the other, for indiscreet promises and ill-considered decisions of the "never, never" kind are equally curses that sooner or later come home to roost.

Above all, let our British statesmen, when speaking *ex cathedrâ*, reserve their political theorizing for home consumption. The South African Native question is one for South Africans only, and the Union constitution justifies no outside interference. An unfortunate instance of good-natured and wholly unintended bungling occurred quite recently owing to forgetfulness of this fact. During the late election the question of extending political rights to the Native and Coloured population proved a "live" issue, and the political leaders were compelled to declare themselves regarding it. The Nationalist leader, while in favour of granting the franchise to Coloured people, as already stated, refused to consider such a concession in relation to the Natives, even

declaring that "the way in which the Native franchise had been granted in the Cape was a fatal blunder." When a little later the then Colonial Secretary visited the country he addressed a gathering of Natives, with characteristic geniality, as "friends and fellow-citizens." Of course, the compliment roused great enthusiasm, but it was embarrassing for General Hertzog, the Prime Minister, and the phrase itself is also a grave "terminological inexactitude." For a man cannot be your fellow-citizen unless he possesses the rights which constitute citizenship, and the constitution expressly restricts political rights to Europeans, except where the laws of the old Cape Colony provide otherwise. To that extent the "fellow-citizen" address must have excited false hopes in many breasts.

Nevertheless, enfranchisement of some kind and in some degree will come sooner or later, and it would be wiser to anticipate it than wait until the question becomes one of agitation and excited controversy. One may conceive as practicable, by way of experiment, either (*a*) a system of nominated representatives, which might take the form of tribal or local representation, the latter on a wide geographical basis; (*b*) separate and direct representation as part of the present system, on a franchise sufficiently restricted for a start by educational or property qualifications or both; or (*c*) some not too cumbrous method of indirect election based on a similar franchise, the holders of which would choose proxies who would vote for Parliamentary candidates either separately or conjointly with the Europeans. In any event the representation would need to be very limited, involving no challenge to the existing position of the White population.

The method (*b*) has been introduced already in New Zealand in the case of the Maoris, who vote in four electoral districts, on the basis of manhood and womanhood suffrage, and return to the House of Representatives one member for each district. Whatever the system of representation, however, it might be contended that the return of a relatively small number of representatives would promise no great practical results for the Natives. On the contrary, it might achieve the most desirable of all results, by removing a sense of inequitable treatment and preventing the existing

dissatisfaction from taking forms, and embodying itself in demands, which might be difficult to deal with.

The question of the municipal franchise can hardly be regarded as urgent from the standpoint of the Natives, few of whom would be able to qualify for the vote under the South African system of local taxation, which presumes house ownership or occupation.

Let it be said in conclusion that it is of paramount importance that the question of Native policy in its entirety should cease to be a party issue, so that the Natives and their leaders may not be tempted to adopt the European device of bargaining with one party against another. British and Dutch may and do differ in their views of the treatment due to the Natives and the length to which concession should go in matters of civil and political right; but because their interests *vis-à-vis* the Native population are identical they should see the wisdom of a policy of reasonable give-and-take with a view to agreement on main principles and even the general lines of action to be followed. Only to the extent that the problem in its various aspects is kept out of the unhealthy atmosphere of recriminatory controversy will it be possible to discover just solutions giving promise of permanency.

At the outset I spoke of the Natives as the European's poor neighbours. But neighbours should never live on a strained footing, and the good-will of the Natives is worth having and keeping even at a great price. The Asiatics may conceivably go as soon as the attractions of the country cease to draw sufficiently, but the Natives will be always there, since they have no other home to go to. If the Europeans recognize the duty of civilizing the Natives, a duty which exists even without their recognition, the necessity follows of awakening amongst them the consciousness of new needs and of putting them in the way of satisfying those needs. There is no reason to attempt too rapid progress, as rash enthusiasts are sometimes disposed to do, but somewhere between such a policy and a policy of comparative stagnation a golden middle way is possible, and if followed courageously and consistently it may for a long time keep abreast with all such Native aspirations and expectations as need be taken into serious account.

Even such a cautious and measured policy will call for greater sacrifice, and, what is of equal importance, greater sympathy, than the Europeans now exhibit in their concern for the Native population.

General Smuts went down to one of the bottom truths of this question when he said at a missionary congress held a year ago at Capetown (January 17, 1924):

> "I do not believe that the difficulties that are now arising in Native life, and in the groping forward towards a better Native civilization, will be solved by mere formulae or words—even long words. We must have a more open mind. We are too much in the grasp of preconceived notions about the superiority of the White man, the claims of the White man, and so on. We are too prone to condemn the Native because he does admittedly occupy a much lower plane of civilization, development and capacity than we do. What we want above all is more large-heartedness, and if *only that can be instilled into the White people I think* they will become in a large sense the missionary people of South Africa."

For that finely-tempered utterance both Scots and Englishmen, to whom the South African Native problem appeals first as a problem of humanity and morality, and only in the second place as one of Empire, will forgive General Smuts his grudge against Livingstone; for the utterance is Livingstoneism to the inmost core—it is Livingstone up to date.

CHAPTER XX

WILL SOUTH AFRICA GO BLACK?

THE greatest of all South African questions is the future of the European population and its civilization, built up by over two and a half centuries of painful effort, yet now required to fight for its existence against the races which it has lifted out of barbarism. The White man's burden is apt to be at times unconscionably heavy, and what makes this load particularly hard for the South African to bear is the fact that it was of his own or rather his fathers' choosing. Like Sinbad of the story the early settlers took the Native upon their shoulders, though with no benevolent intent, and there he still clings.

When in the seventeenth century the Dutch began the building of Cape Colony they imported slave labour, and having begun they continued to import it as long as they needed it and were allowed, since no White man was willing to be a drudge when labour could be had so cheaply. In this way the European settlers came to regard "common" or hard physical effort as beneath them, and when the trade in slaves was forbidden, they commandeered the aboriginal Natives more than ever, treating them pretty much as serfs without calling them such.

Not understanding how great was the mistake thus made, Natal, wishful to start sugar plantations in the middle of last century, committed the same indiscretion by importing coolies, and now the province finds itself with an Asiatic population outnumbering the Europeans. For both of these miscalculations South Africa is to-day paying a heavy penalty, and a still heavier remains to be paid as the price of relief.

But is there any certainty, or even any likelihood, that the Black menace can be averted? And if so, are the Europeans prepared to face the necessary sacrifices? In a recent American novel of great power a delicate phase of the Black problem of the United States—a phase not unknown in South Africa—is touched with skilful hand.*

* "The Bent Twig," by Dorothy Canfield.

A case of conscience, arising out of it, having presented itself to a college professor's daughters, they dutifully submitted it to the mature paternal judgment, and this is what followed:

> "He cleared his throat, and hesitated before beginning, and had none of his usual fluency as he went on. What he finally said was: 'Well, children, you've stumbled into about the hardest problem there is in this country, and the honest truth is that we don't any of us know what's right to do about it. . . . The best we can do is to *hope* that after a great many people have lived and died, all trying to do their best, maybe folks will have learned to manage better."

In South Africa, too, people are similarly hoping that their colour problem will somehow settle itself. Hope is excellent, and there is Holy Writ for warrant that men are saved by it; yet a wise nation will prefer a somewhat stronger lifeline. Let it be admitted that the difficulties in the way of any solution offering a prospect of success are immense, yet that fact only the more emphasizes the urgency of the problem and the danger of procrastination. Both the economic system and the political organization of South Africa rest on a basis which, if the existing numerical relationship of the White and Coloured races is allowed to continue, must in the long run prove untenable. As the races cannot be fused, an entirely new set of conditions, promising the reversal of the present disparity, is essential if the country is not to be abandoned eventually to the aboriginal tribes.

Yet the truth needs to be iterated and reiterated that the Europeans as a whole are doing their best to make impossible the ideal of a White South Africa to which they all pay lip service. More or less every section of the community views the colour question from its own interested standpoint and with the prejudices of its order. The spokesmen of industrial capital say "Leave us alone, to reduce the costs of production, as we best know how, by the application of natural influences"—and they mean by this the maintenance of a ratio of, at the most, one quarter of White to three-quarters of Black labourers, and a smaller as soon as practicable. The agriculturists say "Do all you can for us, and we shall be able to employ more labour"—but they

mean not Europeans, even "poor Whites," but Natives. The labour unions, while professing Socialism to be a comprehensive and final panacea for social inequalities, abandon the very principles of their creed where these seem opposed to their interests, and enforce a colour bar with the two-fold effect of preventing the Natives from doing skilled work and the White workmen from doing any other. The mass of consumers, who are neither capitalists nor work-people, say to both industrialists and agriculturists, "Do, for the sake of patriotism and the white skin common to all of us, employ all the European labour you possibly can, but leave us our Black domestics, and in heaven's name no higher prices!" So the question moves in a vicious circle, and makes no progress.

There are many questions which will have to be severely probed before anything like a common advance on this question will be possible, and it is high time that it was done. For example, is Native labour really cheap, or is the perpetual talk of the South African's low wages bill, as compared with the British employer's, a mere fairy tale, with no other basis than imagination? Does the White workman in general put his back into his work, and if he does not is it that he cannot or that he will not? If the latter, what is the reason—is it the baneful effect of the "boss" obsession and the contempt, first for the Kaffir and consequentially for the Kaffir's work? That wages and salaries will and should follow the cost of living is axiomatic, but can it be said that they unreasonably exceed it? (I express no opinion on the point). What, apart from the price of labour and service, makes the cost of living high in certain directions where the opposite should be expected? Why should South African meat be relatively cheap, yet wheat and flour be so dear, though "cheap" Native labour is largely employed in the production of all three commodities? Why should the wheaten loaf cost over 50 per cent. more than in Great Britain, which imports a far larger proportion of her food grain than South Africa, and why should the butter made on the White-labour farms of Free Trade Denmark, likewise over six thousand miles away, be able to undersell South African butter made on farms staffed with "cheap" Black labour? Can it be

that the profits taken by the producer, whether agriculturist or manufacturer, the merchant, and the retailer, or any of them, are excessive, and if so is there no remedy? Questions like these suggest factors which must have a direct bearing upon the question under discussion, though the "weighting" of them may differ greatly.

What is the position in industry, in particular, to-day? In the greater part of the country the whole of the heavy and so-called "common" labour is done by Natives, who only in the Cape are allowed to perform freely other kinds of labour. The largest proportion of European workers occurs in the high-grade metal-working and engineering trades, inclusive of the railway and mine workshops, viz., about 50 per cent.; while the lowest proportion, as might be expected, occurs in industries engaged in the treatment of raw materials (mining, quarrying, etc.), where it falls to under 10 per cent. The proportion of White workers employed in the manufacturing industries varies considerably, and in many industrial establishments, particularly in the Cape Province, where the prejudice against Native labour is less strong than in any other part of the Union, it is larger than elsewhere, reaching in individual cases the ratio of two to one. In general, however, three Blacks are employed for every White in these industries.

To show how far the leading industry of the country, the gold-mining industry, is from taking a broad national view of the Colour question, I quote from a recent publication of the Chamber of Mines, to which reference has already been made, a passage in which its claims are reinforced by direct appeals to the self-interest of the farming community:

> "There is nothing," the farmers are assured, "in this very natural desire on the part of the mines to obtain as many Natives as possible from Portuguese East Africa which is in any way inconsistent with the best interests of the agricultural industry. On the contrary, it should be beneficial to farmers, because if the mines can obtain as much labour from Mozambique as they require, there will be less interference with the farmers' local supplies and less tendency for cut-throat competition to raise the cost of Native labour, and as it has already been shown that huge sums are spent by the mines in respect of Native foodstuffs it is all to the advantage of South African farmers that the mines should have an adequate supply of Natives."*
>
> * "The Gold of the Rand," pp. 73, 74.

What, in plain English, does this mean? This and only this—"Let our two powerful interests join hands and insist on retaining the Natives as the basis of industry, even to the extent of importing more of them, so further menacing European civilization; and let us keep down Native wages, so frustrating industrial development, since that will be impossible without a larger and more receptive home market." When not long ago a Minister, speculating upon the prospect of South Africa becoming more than now a White man's country, dared to suggest that the number of imported Native labourers should be kept to a smaller figure, a newspaper zealous for the gold mining industry took him severely to task, talked of the industry's "*natural* reserves of unskilled Coloured labour in Portuguese East Africa," and drew a pathetic picture of shareholders looking in vain for dividends because all the pick-and-shovel work of the mines was done by White men in receipt of a pound a day.* The transition from Black to White labour will never happen in that way. Whatever changes, in this or any other industry, may be called for by regard for national interests larger than those of the wealthiest corporations, they will and should be gradual, and afford the utmost possible opportunity for adaptation and the necessary readjustments.

Those who categorically assert that the replacement of Native by White labour, even with such safeguards, would destroy the principal industries of the northern part of the Union have to explain why the employment of Coloured and Native workers in skilled and semi-skilled occupations in the Cape Province at wages approximating to full "civilized" rates has not had that result. Both in Australia and Canada every kind of mining, factory, and other industrial work, besides all farm work, is done exclusively by White labour, likewise paid at high "civilized" rates, and all these enterprises prosper and expand from year to year.

It is often pleaded as an insuperable objection to a change-over to White labour that it would ruin agriculture. The fact is that the agricultural aspect of the question, though difficult, is the least urgent. There would, indeed, be a

* Since September, 1924, the importation of Natives from north of latitude 22° 7′ has been prohibited, both in the case of the mines and of agriculture.

great advantage in applying this new form of the "Colour bar" only to industry for a start, leaving agriculture to fall in at leisure. For the competition between these two great branches of national production is not a competition in commodities but in labour, and it would be a positive benefit both to industrial enterprise and the working classes if the farmers were to continue for a time to employ their cheap Natives, if by so doing the nation's food bill were kept down during a time of transition. Yet even the corn grower and pastoralist, the grazier and stock farmer would in the end find themselves compelled to pay higher wages, in order to retain their labour supply, and by so doing they would, even against their will, be giving a helping hand to the good work of creating for White labour openings in agriculture which to-day exist in only an insignificant degree.

It is only in Government workshops and on Government undertakings, such as the railways, irrigation works, and afforestation, that the national standpoint receives the consideration which it deserves; and whether the increasing employment of White workmen where Natives have been employed in the past entails higher cost or not the policy is the only right one, and the more it is adopted the greater will be the inducement to private employers to follow suit and perhaps the pressure compelling them to do so.

Since I was in the country the official report on the Census of 1921 has appeared, and the most important part is that in which the Director of Census (now Secretary for Labour) points out, in language perhaps more direct and gravely monitory than has yet been devoted to the subject in official publications, wherein the present dangers lie, and what is the certain prospect for South Africa if these dangers are not boldy faced and grappled with.* Comparing the

* "Report on the third census of the population of the Union of South Africa, enumerated 3rd May, 1921." (Pretoria, 1924.) Mr. C. W. Cousins is the official in question, and I take this opportunity of bearing testimony to the excellence of another official publication for which he is responsible—I mean the Year Book of the Union, a volume unique in design and completeness, and with his other works fairly entitling its editor to a prominent place in the front rank of living administrative statisticians. What a man of his outstanding ability, if put at the head of the International Labour Office at Geneva, might do to give greater practical efficiency to that inordinately costly institution can only be imagined.

increase of the European and non-European populations of the country during the thirty years from 1891 to 1921, it is shown that in the first twenty of these years the European population doubled itself (as it had done between 1871 and 1891), but in the succeeding decade it only increased by 19 per cent. On the other hand, the non-European population increased by 69 per cent. between 1891 and 1911, but in the following decade by only 15 per cent., the increase for the Bantu races being 16·9 per cent., for the Asiatics 8·9 per cent., and for the mixed races 3·7 per cent. During 1918, however, an epidemic of influenza carried off half a million of non-Europeans, chiefly of course, Natives, who otherwise would have contributed a further increase of 11 per cent.

What is particularly disconcerting is the fact that while the increase of the non-European population is entirely due to natural causes—i.e., excess of births over deaths—the European increase between 1911–1921 (in number only a quarter of a million) was in part due to immigration, which has of late tended to decline. Another deplorable fact is the steady migration of White population from the rural districts to the towns, with the result that the proportion on non-Europeans in those districts has greatly increased. Thus during the last inter-censal period the rural White population of the Orange Free State decreased by 6,400 and the Coloured people by 7,200, but the Natives increased by 78,300. The Europeans still predominate in the towns as a whole, though with a host of exceptions, many on the Rand being particularly striking, yet in almost all towns the non-Europeans are steadily gaining ground. It is hardly too much to say that "every day and in every way" South Africa is growing blacker and blacker. Mr. Cousins writes:

> "It will require very little calculation to show that if the White race is to hold its own in South Africa, it will be necessary to secure an immense development of White civilization during the next fifty years, or perhaps only the next twenty-five years. This comparatively short time may, and in all probability will, decide once and for all the issue upon which speculation has turned—whether the White race is to have any part in the ultimate development of South Africa, or whether it is to be entirely outnumbered and crowded out by the aboriginal population."*

* "Census Report," p. 27.

That is the prospect, soberly stated, and mere refusal to face facts will not alter it. There are superior persons of a pseudo-philosophic frame of mind to whom a shade or two more of tar or ochre do not matter, and who would as lief see humanity black or coffee-coloured as white. But such people do not live in South Africa or wherever else the race shoe pinches, and their cheap philanthropy may be ignored. More dangerous than this flippancy is indifference. Man, with his gamester instincts, is given to taking chances, but in a contest with nature, whose ways, blind and unmotived as they often appear to us, are yet always inexorable, to follow such a course is to invite almost certain defeat and disaster. No mistake could be greater or graver than to trust to the hope that something will turn up—some happy development of events that will rescue the Europeans from their perilous predicament independently of their own deliberate efforts. The hope is vain. Not only is there no likelihood that the present movement of population will be deflected by factors, now unsuspected, favourable to European predominance, but every known and visible element in the problem is on the side of the aboriginal races.

It is clear that these races as a whole are not going to succumb as the aborigines of Australia have done, or even to fall behind as the Maoris of New Zealand and the Negroes of the United States are slowly doing to-day.* For it is one of the greatest ironies of the situation that the very conditions which forbid any hope of a more rapid natural increase of Europeans make such an increase all but inevitable in the case of the Native races. I refer to the respective rates of natality and mortality.† For while

* The Negro population of the United States increased between 1910 and 1920 from 9,828,000 to 10,463,000, an increase of 635,000, or 6.5 per cent., while the increase of the total population had been 16 per cent. The proportion of the Negroes per 1,000 of the population fell from 107 to 99.

† "The Abantu are a prolific people not hampered in their progress by the considerations which have so seriously diminished the increase among many Europeans. Every woman marries, and an unmarried adult man is rare."—M. S. Evans, "Black and White in South East Africa" (1911), p. 60. The late Dr. Theal, one of the highest authorities on the Bantu, wrote that in the middle of the 19th century they were "a people possessing greater power of increasing their numbers rapidly than any other on the face of the earth." Since the date referred to Native wars have ceased, and in almost all other matters affecting the life of Native communities time is on their side.

in the case of the Europeans we see a gradually declining birth-rate (the mean for the five years 1918–22 being 28 per 1,000 as compared with 30 for the years 1913–17), with a death-rate now so favourable that any further reduction must fall within very narrow limits, in the case of the Natives a very high birth-rate goes hand in hand with a high death-rate which yet is steadily falling, particularly amongst children, and, owing to improving conditions of housing and sanitation generally, will probably continue to fall for many years to come.

It is unfortunate, though in the circumstances of Native life unavoidable, that no aggregate statistics relating to Native natality and mortality rates are available, but a reference to the figures published by municipal authorities shows both rates to be now unusually high, the general death-rate often exceeding 20 per 1,000 and the death-rate amongst children under five years being anything up to 30 or 40 per cent. It will be recalled that nearly all the ameliorative measures touched on in the chapter entitled "Justice for the Natives" bear more or less directly upon their physical welfare—e.g., improved and more sanitary housing, better education, the further restriction of the opportunities for alcoholic indulgence, etc.—and the more attention is devoted to these and other matters the less will become the present heavy wastage of Native life at all ages.

There is, of course, the possibility that the strain of European civilization may prove a check upon Native virility and growth, but here, again, it is to be remembered that it is one of the purposes of the present policy of cultivating Native reserves, and will be that of any future policy of "segregation," to lessen the points of contact with that civilization, and to the extent that this is done the strain should be relaxed. It remains also to be seen how far the Natives will prove able to resist such of the White man's diseases and vices as they are already familiar with. Among the former tuberculosis, typhoid, small pox, pneumonia, and influenza exact a heavy toll. Influenza in particular at times mows them down in sheaves, and I have been told that a town "boy" will hurry home to his distant kraal on the first premonition of this dreaded

disease, which he fears more than the worst surgical operation. While, however, these and other possibilities and uncertainties are legitimate matter for speculation, the only line of safety is to ignore them and to accept the known and visible facts, which are a feeble and almost imperceptible rate of progression in the case of the Europeans and in the case of the Native races a vigorous rate of increase, accompanied by conditions which must make for acceleration.

Taking a survey of the next fifty years the writer of the Census Report speculates on three different yet possible hypotheses as follows:

> "If the rate of progress in the next fifty years is that of the thirty years 1891-1921, *i.e.*, assuming on the one hand, on the terms most favourable for the European population, not only a natural increase, but a progressive increase by immigration in addition to a natural increase, and at a rate proportionate to that recorded in the previous period (in itself a most uncertain ground of expectation), and assuming for the non-European population the most unfavourable conditions, such as a serious retardation of natural increase similar to that of the late decennium, in fifty years a population of 6,500,000 Europeans (2,500,000 of whom will be immigrants or the children of immigrants) will live side by side with a population of 16,500,000 non-Europeans.
>
> "In order to point out, however, the importance of immigration, it may be said that, allowing for Europeans a two per cent. per annum, *i.e.*, a liberal, rate of natural increase, but excluding immigration and its consequences, the European population would increase to roughly 4,000,000 in fifty years; and the non-European population, excluding eventualities of a type similar to the influenza epidemic of 1918, would increase to roughly 19,000,000. In other words, the one race would add 2,500,000 to its numbers, and the other races would add no less than 13,500,000.
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> "By calculating the progressions on a third basis, less favourable to Europeans, although it represents only a continuance of the actual experience of the last intercensal (1911-1921) period, it will be seen that the European population in 1971 would number only 3,650,000. And by calculating for non-Europeans a 3 per cent. annual increase—a rate far from impossible if anything is done to check infantile mortality and to improve hygienic conditions—it will be seen that this race would increase to roughly 24,000,000." (p.28).

It may be admitted that speculations of this kind are

proverbially hazardous, since always the unknown and incalculable *x*'s have to be allowed for. Did not Froude, with that expansive imagination of his, predict forty years ago, in his "Oceana," that in half a century Australia would have a population of fifty millions? Yet to-day it has only five and a half millions. In the case of South Africa, however, the only quantity which can be regarded as quite incommensurable is the extent of future immigration, and for the rest the course of development can be anticipated with tolerable accuracy.

Whichever of these or of other possible combinations of circumstances be accepted, however, one assumption must be regarded as axiomatic—that in the absence of a new set of conditions, which will bring about a large and progressive increase of immigration, European civilization has no future. Mr. Cousins also is unquestionably justified in uttering the warning that the question "to be or not to be" will be decided one way or the other within fifty years, though in my opinion the best or the worst will be known within a very much shorter period. For if the worst is to happen, as it will if South Africa continues in the present path, whose end is the Tarpeian Rock, the intervening time would be one of such intolerable discomfort for both victim and victor that the issue would inevitably be anticipated, and long before the Coloured races formally took over the White man's patrimony the Europeans would have been engaged in a *coûte que coûte* struggle to get out of the country.

Drowning men are said to clutch even at straws, and those who, with no other justification than unwillingness to face facts, refuse to believe that the European tenure of South Africa is really so insecure as they are told, point to the fact that more than one half of the Natives are still in a primitive, pastoral stage of development, and that there is no evidence that the inertia which seems to inhere in the life of the kraal and the countryside is disappearing. Yet even granting that another thirty years might find this section of the Bantu races still pursuing the even tenor of its way, such would not be the case with the Natives into whose life has come the quickening leaven of the European spirit, with its restlessness, aspirations, and ambitions. And even in the rural districts, where the Native lives

under the conditions natural to him, and where the influence of immemorial tradition is extremely powerful, there are signs of movement and advance, due largely to the influences which the industrial workers bring back with them from the towns.

The moral is that if the Black menace is to be overcome at all it must be dealt with now, while its proportions, serious though they are, are perhaps still compassable. It will have to be attacked not from one but from many directions. The frontal attack will be a bold policy of settlement, made possible by the more vigorous and purposive development of the country's agricultural resources and the opening up of vast regions of fertile land now lying idle and waste owing to lack either of irrigation, transport facilities, or capital wherewith to put it to profitable use. Equally necessary and important will be the establishment of new and the expansion of existing industries on the basis of White labour by the use of the raw materials which exist in the country in such great variety and amount, yet are now sold oversea in order to be there manufactured.

But, further, the full success of measures of these kinds presupposes in the Europeans, of whatever class or grade, the highest standard of efficiency of which they are capable, and notoriously this standard is not universally maintained at the present time. The only Whites for whom South Africa has need are efficient Whites, and for them there is room enough and to spare. The race in life is not always to the swift, but it is unquestionably to the strong, whether in mind or muscle, and in that country not necessarily the White men, however long their lineage, but the fittest men, whoever they are and wherever they come from, will survive.

To allow the Coloured races to spread more and more over the surface of the land, and yet to cherish the hope of perpetuating European primacy, ascendancy, domination —call it what we will—by "Colour bars," "Kaffir work" prejudices, Native locations, exclusive political franchises, and what not, with an *ultima ratio* in the form of machine guns and aeroplane bombs reserved in the background, is fatuous. To the extent that the White and Coloured races continue to live together, permanent pre-eminence will

rest with the race which has on its side moral and intellectual superiority, with the material advantages which such superiority naturally confers.

Let primacy of this kind be maintained, and measures be taken to prevent the existing numerical ratio of the rival races changing to the further prejudice of the Europeans, and South Africa will remain a White man's country, but not otherwise. To this end there will have to be no slackening of effort, no weakening of the fine spirit of enterprise and adventure which inspired those great men of faith, the early pioneers, no deterioration of conduct, and no deflection from the strict, straight line of justice and fair dealing in the relations between the advanced and the backward races. Is the White man conscious of the call upon his character and powers which this severe test will imply? It is a question that calls, on his part, for very earnest consideration.

The European workman, too, will have to play his part, and play it unselfishly, giving his country "a fair and square deal." He can best do that by abandoning the "boss" obsession and his idea that any work below "skilled" work, as he understands and defines it, is humiliating, for both are luxuries too costly for a country still in an early stage of development.

Here may be found one of the greatest obstacles to the expansion of industry, yet unless such an expansion takes place the doom of European civilization is already pronounced. South African White men cannot do "Kaffir's work"—never, never! But why should they be so fastidious? The chief objection raised to "unskilled" work is simply that because Kaffirs have been taught and told to do it, it is tainted. The answer to this objection is that labour only degrades itself and its calling by despising any honest work as common and unclean. There is no kind of work that can truly be called even unskilled, for though there are endless degrees of skill, the skill is not in the work but the worker. If this elementary fact were better understood we should not have the absurd and cruel anomaly of ploughmen, thatchers, and hedge-layers, those highly skilled craftsmen of the countryside, having to subsist on five shillings a day, while the ticket-punchers of London's omnibuses are paid several times as much.

No less tenable is the common plea that physically the White man is unable to do heavy work in South Africa. Defending the work of his Department in the House of Assembly on February 5, 1924, Colonel Reitz, then Minister of Lands, claimed that the late Government had definitely proved that he can do all that the Native labourer now does, and that it pays so to employ him. This experience was gained while dealing with the unemployment question. Discarding the old and easy system of unprofitable relief works, the Government determined to put to the test the accepted opinion that Europeans were no good at unskilled work of the navvy kind. Of twenty-one railways sanctioned by Parliament thirteen were built entirely by the labour of "poor Whites," employed on piece work at "economic" rates of wages, the average rate being 8s. a day, which was more than they could have earned on farms or even in many industries. The experiment succeeded completely. As Colonel Reitz told the House, "Under the day wage system the 'poor White' remained a 'poor White,' but under the piece rate system the 'poor White' has proved that he can work as well as any labourer in the world."

Here I may recall an incident which fell within my own experience. Wishing to meet a professional man of a certain town to whom I had an introduction I called at his office, only to learn that he had gone to a farm some miles away. Thither I motored, and arrived at the farm the first thing I saw was the stalwart figure of the owner, well up in years, who was busily feeding a threshing machine under the broiling sun, with one or two other Europeans stripped to the waist, engaged on the same task, but never a Black man in sight. I introduced myself and asked after my quarry. "Here he is!" came from behind me. With a grin the lawyer emerged from under a great forkful of straw, and after he had shaken himself we were soon deep in conversation. He explained that he was "just giving a hand." He proved to be the farmer-proprietor's son-in-law, and this was his way of spending an off-day.

The truth is that there are in the labour world of South Africa to-day far too many men on pedestals, far too many Jacks who want to be masters, and the country cannot afford to keep them. No one wants to see skilled workmen

there or anywhere else, fall to a lower level, any more than to see Poets-laureate devote to turnip-growing the gifts meant for mankind; but neither skilled workmen nor Poets-laureate have any right to prevent men who have not their capacity from employing such capacity as they possess in humbler occupations.

Nothing—no Act of Parliament that could be passed, no protective tariff that could be enforced, no bounties to industry that a House of Assembly could be induced to vote—would give such a stimulus to the economic development of South Africa as the abandonment of the superstition that the White man cannot do unskilled work, and should not, simply because he is not a Black man. After the American Civil War and the abolition of slavery many of the Whites of the Southern States showed for a time signs of despondency; they had never worked seriously and they were sure they could never learn; but they pulled themselves together, took up the Black man's burden in many trades, and made good. The same thing would happen in South Africa if the "Kaffir's work" prejudice were once overcome.

In saying this I make no suggestion that the skilled workers of South Africa are more egoistic than those of other countries. After all, "Kaffir work" only means "unskilled work" in Europe, and the attitude of the *élite* of trade unionists in South Africa is virtually that of the same class at home, the only difference being that the colour is that of human beings in one case and of coin in the other. I am ready to go further, and to admit that vocational egoism within limits is justifiable, and may in certain circumstances be to the advantage of wider circles than those which practise it. But at least if we are to be egoistic let our egoism be intelligent; and that the egoism of the South African skilled workman is not.

Admitting the need for a large immigration, as consequential upon the intensive development both of agriculture and industry, it is clear that the influence of these measures upon the ratio of the White and Coloured races will only be gradual, and many years must pass before there can be any hope of making a serious inroad upon the existing disproportion. In the meantime help will have to be sought

in other directions, and in particular from such a form of segregation as, applied without harshness or injustice, will give to the European population a fair chance of maintaining its position, and will simultaneously allow of the Native races developing on safe and healthy lines. And last, though not least, greater national unity and harmony is imperative, in politics, in economic relationships, in social life, and if in religion—alas, in practice the great divider of mankind—so much the better. For the Coloured races are not heedless of the prevailing dissension, and their leaders are constantly saying, "You cannot rule yourselves: why, then, do you presume to rule us?"

As all the practical measures enumerated above are discussed in earlier or later pages, further reference to them is unnecessary here. They involve something more than an operation in painless dentistry. They will mean the abandonment of the traditions and conventions of generations, bold departures from old use and wont, radical readjustments of all kinds, and also great material sacrifices, for wisdom's ways are not always those of pleasantness and sometimes they are desperately hard. Yet if the maintenance of European civilization in South Africa is worth while, then all these things will be worth while likewise. For nations, as for the men and women who compose nations, life is always a becoming, and to a nation still immersed, as the South Africans are, in the clash of formative forces the words of Germany's greatest poet apply with special force:

> "Nur der verdient sich Freiheit wie das Leben,
> Der täglich sie erobern muss."*

Yet who can doubt that the economic life of the community would, in not too long a time, adjust itself harmoniously to the new basis of production and social organization? How again and again British industry has successfully adapted itself to changes identical in effect though different in kind is well known, and other countries have passed through a similar experience. Forty or fifty years ago what were called "hunger wages" were common in Germany, and under pressure of poverty her labourers were emi-

* A translation would be:
"For only he deserves his liberty and life
Who wins them as his guerdon in a daily strife."

grating to the number of 200,000 a year. As industry expanded emigration steadily fell from the beginning of the 'nineties until it practically ceased. During the whole of this time the tendency of wages was upward, until on the eve of the Great War skilled workmen received little less, and in some industries more, than in England, while unskilled workmen were on the whole better paid than with us. There is no reason to suppose that South Africa would have a different experience, though for a time the transition might be more trying. Yet long before the process had been consummated people would have begun to wonder why they had opposed and delayed it.

Let South Africans be under no delusion: the issue between the White and Coloured races will be decided as they will it by their own deliberate acts of commission or omission. Writing upon the Native question a short time ago a thoughtful Capetown correspondent of *The Times* spoke of South Africa as "rolling along to her appointed destiny without any social or political convulsions." Happily the present outlook justifies no fear of solutions wrought by blood and fire—of which, God knows, that country has had more than a sufficiency already—yet the developments ahead, whatever form they may take, depend to a large extent upon what the dominant races want them to be and apply themselves to accomplish. For the destinies of nations are not "appointed" but made. Things seem simply to "happen," but always they happen because other things have been done or not done before; and oftentimes long before the effects of operating causes clearly show themselves the tendency of events may be traced by all who have eyes to see. For, as Bishop Butler wrote, "Things are as they are, and the consequences of them will be what they will be; why, therefore, should we deceive ourselves?"

CHAPTER XXI

THE NATIVE AT SCHOOL

It is usual in South Africa to speak of the Natives as a child-race. There is much that is child-like in their nature, mental characteristics, and habits, though at times the observer finds himself brought up against facts which shake almost to its foundation this idea of the Native as only beginning life, with behind him no past, no history, and no civilization, but only, and in comparatively recent times, a blind groping out of the barbaric existence of forest, jungle, and cave.

We admire, and wonder at, the rapidity with which Japan has assimilated modern ideas and institutions and taken her place in the front rank of world-States. But Japan has a history and a civilization going back nearly a millennium and a half; and striking as is the national and cultural progress which she has made during the past half century the feat pales before the far more startlingly sudden leap which has carried the Natives of South Africa and other parts of a once benighted Continent out of the darkness of the kraal into the light of civilization. "Miracles do not happen," wrote a famous English essayist. But how much less than a miracle is the transformation which within living memory has made out of savage races of sanguinary warriors communities of intelligent, peaceful, and law-abiding citizens?

Much is being done, and far more will still have to be done, to help the Natives on the new paths which they are treading, and to establish their progress on a firm foundation. I want to show in this chapter how they are being helped to help themselves in the special sphere of self-government. In his raw state the Native has no strong idea of personality; he thinks not as an individual but in terms of the tribe, the community; even the chief exercising not his own will but that of his people as a whole. Here is a good foundation upon which to build. Take him in his primitive condition, and the Native has hardly a notion

of what self-government in the European sense means, and none of how to go about it. He has not even a word by which to express the idea. Yet put into the school of civics he makes a most ready and apt pupil, and before long he proves that much that has been done for him by Europeans as a matter of course he can do passably well for himself.

Before treating, necessarily in a summary way, this deeply interesting aspect of Native life something must be said of the general question of Native administration. Everywhere among thoughtful people I found that there existed a strong feeling of satisfaction that when the Act of Union was drawn up the home Government had the wisdom to leave the administration of Native affairs in the hands of the White people of South Africa and the Parliament and Executive to be created. There were those on the Imperial side of the negotiations who took the opposite view, but it was obvious that no Dominion could accept so serious a limitation of its powers. It cannot be said that the Government has done everything for the Native population that it might have done, yet at least the faults of its Native policy have been those of omission rather than of commission, and from all I learned about the adjacent Native Territories still reserved for Imperial administration without visiting them, much more has been left undone there than in the Union.

Before Union questions relating to the Natives fell to the competence of the four Colonial Executives, which issued regulations as the circumstances required, these being approved by the Governor concerned before promulgation. The result was much diversity as between the several territories in the treatment of the Natives. This diversity continues to some extent to-day, and it is one of the unfulfilled tasks of the Central Executive to introduce greater uniformity of practice on as high a level as is possible in the present somewhat lethargic mood of public opinion. By the Union Act the control and administration of Native affairs throughout the entire Union were vested in the Governor-General-in-Council, who also took over the existing powers and functions of the then Colonial Governments in relation thereto. This means that the executive authority now resides in the Minister of Native Affairs

and his Department, always subject in the last resort to the will of Parliament, except in the Transkeian Territories where the Minister may issue proclamations having the force of law without reference to the Legislature.

The questions and matters dealt with by this Department are specifically described as follows: the administration of all Acts relating specially to Natives, as well as the Native Territories in the Transkei, Zululand, and elsewhere, including the Native reserves; the direction and supervision of the recruitment of Native labour, particularly that engaged in mining; the control of Native taxation and the pass system; and the general supervision of all matters concerning the welfare of the Native races of the Union. The Department has a permanent Secretary for Native Affairs and an Under Secretary. A form of representation in the Legislative is given to the Native population in virtue of the provision that four members of the Senate must be "selected on the ground mainly of their thorough acquaintance, by reason of their official experience or otherwise, with the reasonable wants and wishes of the Coloured races in South Africa." Further, in the Cape Province the Natives possess the franchise on the same conditions as the Europeans, viz., in virtue of an educational and a property or wage-earning qualification.

A supplementary Act of 1920 established a permanent Native Affairs Commission, consisting now of three members. This was one of many acts by which General Smuts has attested his warm interest in the welfare of the Native population. The Commission's formal functions and duties comprise "the consideration of any matter relating to the general conduct of the administration of Native affairs or to legislation in so far as it may affect the Native population (other than matters of departmental administration), and the submission to the Minister of its recommendations on any such matters." They go beyond this, however, for projects of legislation on Native affairs are referred to the Commission for report before action is taken; and besides advising the Government, both on instruction and independently, the Commission may itself initiate legislative proposals in the hope of obtaining Government support for them, and it has the right to appeal to the

two Houses of Parliament, even over the head of the Minister of whose Department it is a section, when its recommendations are not carried out.

An equally important part of its work is keeping the Native communities informed of what is being done for them and why, so preventing suspicions, misunderstandings, and discontent, and advising them on the right ordering of their lives and institutions. Its routine work includes also periodical visits to Native territories and conferences with the inhabitants there, an experience which brings it into intimate contact with local conditions, sentiment, and wishes. In its own words, it aspires to be "primarily and essentially the friend of the Native people." and by giving to their needs, aspirations, and progress sympathetic consideration to foster the most harmonious relations possible between the White and Black races. The Prime Minister is nominally chairman of the Commission, but owing to the pressure of other duties General Smuts found it necessary to delegate his duties to a colleague.

Owing to historical reasons there are five more or less different systems of Native administration, each having distinctive features. They are shortly as follows:

(1) In the Transkeian Territories of the Cape Province an officer styled the Chief Magistrate, assisted by a number of Magistrates, exercises wide judicial and administrative powers, and is responsible to the Minister of Native Affairs. He has also the advice of a General Council meeting at Umtata.

(2) In the Cape Province proper (the Ciskeian system) the two Native districts of Herschel and Glen Grey are administered by Magistrates controlled by the Department of Native Affairs; while in the other districts Magistrates of the Department of Justice administer Native affairs, being assisted in the more populous areas by Superintendents of Natives who are appointed by the Native Affairs Department. A Chief Native Commissioner, to co-ordinate administration in the Cape, has recently been created.

(3) In the province of Natal (including Zululand) an officer of the Native Affairs Department styled the Chief Native Commissioner is in charge of Native affairs and under his control are Superintendents of Natives, dipping

supervisors, and forest officials, all mainly concerned with matters arising in the Native Reserves. The Magistrates in this province are under the Department of Justice, but they act administratively for the Chief Native Commissioner.

(4) In the rural districts of the Transvaal the Magistrates are officers of the Department of Justice and are ex-officio Native Commissioners, exercising both judicial and administrative functions in relation to Natives. In addition Native Sub-Commissioners, appointed and controlled by the Department of Native Affairs, are stationed in certain districts where there is a large Native population, and they likewise exercise judicial and administrative functions in relation to Natives only. At Johannesburg there is an officer of the Native Affairs Department styled the Director of Native Labour, who looks after the interests of Natives engaged in mining areas and other labour districts. He is assisted by a staff of inspectors who exercise certain semi-judicial functions.

(5) Finally, in the Orange Free State Province all Magistrates are officers of the Department of Justice, but officials of the Native Affairs Department are stationed at two mining centres.

Public opinion is not altogether satisfied with the dual system of authority which exists in most parts of the country and urges that, at least in districts where the Natives form a majority of the population, the chief executive officer responsible to the Government for the administration of those areas should be appointed and altogether controlled by the Department of Native Affairs.

In all the provinces there are Native chiefs and headmen who are recognized and subsidized by the Government, which in many cases assigns to them limited civil jurisdiction. This jurisdiction is exercised, according to recognized tribal law and custom, over whole tribes, or sections of tribes, or Native locations, subject to a right of appeal to the European officials.

A step further brings us to the modern system of modified representative local government. Progressive in so many matters relating to the welfare of the Native population, the Cape gave the first impetus to the idea of Native partici-

pation in local affairs. Under the Cape Village Management Board Act of 1881 (i.e., thirteen years before Parish Councils were introduced in England) Natives were given the opportunity of managing their own civic concerns within limits, though it was not used to any large extent, and in 1921 the Cape Provincial Administration abolished the few Native Boards which still existed at that time.

In 1894 an experiment of another kind was tried in the same State by the Glen Grey Act, which created a Native Council consisting of twelve members, half appointed by the Governor-General and the rest elected by Native Location Boards, with the local Magistrate as Chairman. The Council is empowered to levy a rate of 5s. on every Native allotment owner and on every adult male Native resident in the district, the proceeds being expended on matters affecting Native welfare, such as education, public health, roads, irrigation, cattle dipping, etc. A year later the Glen Grey system was applied in an extended form to the Transkeian Territories. Each of the eighteen District Councils of the Transkei as now constituted is composed of a Resident Magistrate and six Native members, four elected and two nominated by the Governor-General. Each Council sends three members (two elected and one nominated) to act on a General Council (Bunga) for the territories. Ordinary meetings of the District Councils are held once a quarter, while the General Council meets once a year, in the autumn. The functions of both bodies are advisory only, but they are empowered to make proposals, they have full right of criticism and discussion, and as a training ground for the local administrators of the future they have great value. It has been the practice of the Government to consult the General Council before issuing the proclamations referred to above.

The Native Affairs Act of 1920 provided for the formation of District and General Councils in other Native areas on the model of those existing for the Transkeian and Glen Grey districts, but none has yet been established under the Act. In view of this fact Mr. F. S. Malan, the late Acting-Minister of Native Affairs, began the formation of Native advisory boards, to function in magisterial areas where Native Councils did not exist, with a view to keeping

the Magistrates in closer *rapport* with Native sentiment and seeking Native co-operation wherever it could be employed with advantage.

It is a curious inconsistency that while the functions of the Transkeian General Council are still limited to discussion and recommendations to the Chief Magistrate, as the representative of the Central Government, which may act on the advice given or reject it at will, the newer councils can elect their own Chairmen and control their own finances. Where opposition to the formation of local councils has been shown it has been due to two main causes. The advanced Natives are dissatisfied with anything short of full self-government on the European system, while the "raw" Natives are suspicious of new customs and show a preference for purely tribal government by the chiefs.

As the Transkeian General Council may be regarded as the classic example of Native organization for the purposes of self-government, and as the one most deserving of imitation, an explanation of its *modus operandi* and the range of its duties will be of interest.

Than the Transkei perhaps no part of the Union could have been more suitable for an experiment of this kind. It is a compact and limited coastal region of some 16,500 square miles, equal to that of Switzerland, with a population of about a million, situated in the extreme south-east of the Cape Province, with Natal and Basutoland to the east and north respectively. Essentially it is a Black man's country, for all but one and a half per cent. of its inhabitants are Natives, who live in very primitive conditions.

There are many small settled communities in the territory, chief amongst them Umtata, in the interior, the capital, and the seat of Government as well as of an English bishopric, but in the open country the Natives for the most part still inhabit the traditional kraals. The principal outlet to the sea is Port St. John's, lying amid picturesque scenery at the mouth of the St. John river, and now coming rapidly into popularity as a place of resort, though of little use as a seaport. The region contains a large expanse of forest, and iron, copper, and other minerals are to be found there, but it is as a fertile pastoral country, making it a suitable home for a large Native population, that the Transkei

specially interests the Union Government and all who are concerned for the right solution of the Native problem.

The *Bunga* of the Transkei meets once a year for about three weeks. The paramount chiefs and headmen play an important part in the proceedings, and, like the Native members generally, they have developed considerable debating powers, and show a grasp of the subjects dealt with which would do credit to many English local government bodies, even those not of the more rudimentary kind. Naturally questions relating to agriculture, public health, and Native customs largely monopolize attention, and the discussions thereon invariably elicit sound commonsense, though ultra-progressive and reactionary opinions are both as common as in more civilized civic assemblies.

As part of its work the Bunga maintains farm demonstrators, who advise the Natives on the improvement of their methods of cultivation; it encourages handicrafts amongst the population; and it subsidizes the Native schools, which are managed by the missions as elsewhere, the curriculum going to standard VIII of the European system. Some of the pupils proceed to higher schools, to training colleges, or to the South African Native College at Fort Hare, towards the building of which the Transkeian General Council made the handsome contribution of £10,000. Here it may be mentioned that at Mahashini, Nongoma, in Zululand, close to the royal kraal, there is a school for chiefs. Its forty-five students are all sons of chiefs or headmen, who receive, together with a fair literary education, instruction in agricultural subjects and in Native law. It is a new thing for chiefs to perform manual labour, but at Mahashini they may be seen on occasion making roads and doing all sorts of chores. The school may be regarded as an earnest of the Government's conviction that if tribalism is to remain the chiefs must be educated, and educated all round.

Of the revenue raised by the Bunga the proceeds of a hut tax of 10s. a household go to the Central Government, to meet the general costs of public administration, police, and defence; while the proceeds of a poll tax of 10s. for each male Native are retained to cover the cost of local administration, the maintenance of 4,000 miles of roads,

the extermination of noxious weeds, stock dipping arrangements, grants to education and a hospital, etc. As evidence of the latent capacity of the Natives it may be stated that almost all the junior and minor posts in the public service in point of salary and importance, e.g., the clerical staff and stock dipping officers, are held by them.

The official reports of the annual Bunga debates make a profoundly interesting study of the Native mind, which in this sphere at least would seem to have advanced far beyond the child-race stage. Inevitably the Native councillors often, with the best intentions, bring forward motions of whose meaning and implications they can have had no clear notion, but when this happens there is as a rule some sagacious Polonius among them—generally as voluble as the prototype—ready to restrain and rebuke exuberant zeal, with the vigilant ex-officio European element in reserve, quick to prevent the Council from straying into dangerous or forbidden ground. What impress one most about these discussions, however, are the fund of sound commonsense and mother wit, the flashes of insight, and the expressions of deep moral feeling which they contain alongside of much *naïf* and prolix verbosity. That the speeches are punctuated by parabole and metaphor, the natural outlet of the Native's lively imagination, will be expected. Here are a few illustrations taken at random from the debates for 1922:

> Councillor Makapela said he did not like to make a long speech, thereby causing certain springs in the rocks to burst out.
>
> Councillor Sakwe (on a proposal to save time in the Council's proceedings): He was one of those who would never allow anything to remain on his mind which he did not approve of, and he did not agree to anything which he did not understand. Their difficulty was that a great deal of time was wasted, but his fear was that in looking after time they would neglect other things.
>
> Councillor Mkatshwa: There were certain people who, when they listened to a speaker, were carried away by him; another speaker got up, and again they were carried further away. Men of that description had no opinion of their own. When a matter was brought before the Council, no matter who brought it, what they should consider were the reasons given in support of it.

There are vigilant protectors of the tribal rights on the Bunga, as witness a pungent remark on the question of land laws:

> Councillor Makapela: When the law was made the Natives had never been consulted. He did not know whether the Government had made the law, or whether it was the traders, *but it was done in the sleeping time of the Natives.*

There are also free traders:

> Councillor Sopela: Natives were being oppressed because of the high price they had to pay for goods, and the only thing to reduce prices was competition. What else was to stop the traders from getting high prices, knowing as they did that the Natives had nowhere else to go?

There are other types of mind which we all know at home—for example, the die-hard, except that our own die-hards are not so frank:

> Councillor Qotoyi said he was sorry he was always on the side of the opposition, but he could not help that, as he was built that way. He could not see any advantage in departing from an old custom and starting a new one.

Or take this as a sample of the intelligent progressive: the discussion was on tribal customs:

> Councillor Sopela said he felt like one who had just come out of the dobbo grass . . . Everything grew old; the clothes used by young men long ago did not suit them now, and if they continued to use the old clothes they would soon be naked, especially if they kept on saying they could not throw them away because they had grown up in them; and so it was with their customs, which they valued very much. The present generation was not fitted for the old coat, and they should be very careful in sticking to Native customs if they did not fit the present times. . . . They should build with material suited to the present times, and not with things used by people of olden times.

And here are some wise words of warning worthy of being noted by administrators and missionaries alike:

> Councillor Lehana: He did not know whether the Government officials knew the Native customs, and he felt very sorry to see the customs trampled upon. If the educated people were to go and sit at the old Native Councils, sit among the old Native people and learn and understand the Native customs, go to each tribe and learn the different customs of the tribes, they would understand that they were destroying the Natives by what they were doing nowadays. They had become Christians, but sometimes

> he thought they had not taken the right direction. . . . It was necessary that they should educate their children, but in the end it was necessary to teach them the old Native customs. He was very glad that the future generation of the Natives would be educated; that was quite right, but they should also try and find out what was the condition of the Natives in the olden days and what was the difference between the Natives of those days and the Natives of to-day. The Natives who were educated and uneducated had to progress bit by bit.

How much wiser, too, would be the laws passed by the best of civilized legislatures if the maxim of one Native Solomon were followed:

> Councillor Molketsi: It was said that a person who does not understand the motion should not vote, and as I do not understand it I will not vote.

When officialdom, straying from the arid path of exposition, becomes humanly anecdotal, it tells many interesting stories of Bunga life and experience. One was of a good old chief, a man above reproach and a paragon of the domestic proprieties, who never missed the meetings of the Transkeian Native Council. During a discussion of the question of education on one occasion he showed increasing signs of impatience, being obviously bored like others to the point of exhaustion by so dry a theme. At last, to his great relief, the discussion ended, and word rang out from the chair: "Next on the agenda—punishments for the crime of adultery." The old man was on his feet in a moment. "Education," he said, "is a difficult subject; it goes beyond most of us—far beyond us. But we all know something about adultery."

Enough will have been said to show not only the importance of the work which is being done in training the Natives for the duty and responsibility of the fuller self-government which will one day be theirs, but the success which is attending its efforts. The representative system indentified with the Transkeian Territories and other areas in the Cape Province has now been in operation for thirty years, and though it cannot be said to have yet advanced the Natives there to the stage of civic puberty it has produced results not merely important for the present time, but in the highest degree gratifying to those whose faith in the innate capacity of the Native encourages them to look

forward confidently to the time when he will be admitted to the status of citizenship in some more real form.

It is a special merit of these experiments in civics that the Native is being trained in his natural environment for the life which it is hoped he will continue to live there. The object is not simply to initiate him into European ways and modes of thought. The civilization desired for him and aimed after is one built up on the basis of his own traditions, customs, and laws, these being supplemented and corrected by Western ideas and example only to the extent necessary in order to keep Native life in harmony with the larger life outside, since only so can it be established on healthy and stable foundations. Very wisely, too, no attempt is made to hurry the Native forward unduly. As the Transkeian councillor quoted above said, it is better for the Native himself, as well as for the European, that he should learn "bit by bit." The recognition of this important truth is one reason amongst others why the Government is concerned to preserve tribal law and the authority of the chiefs wherever these have not been discarded or undermined, as has unfortunately happened to a large extent in the Cape Province.

I cannot end this brief account of what is being done to instil in the minds of the Natives the idea of citizenship without bearing testimony to the zeal of their educators. The representatives of the Native administrative service with whom I came in contact impressed me most strongly as men full of ideas and intensely alive, who brought to their noble work great enthusiasm and real human sympathy. In exploring and experimenting on ground more or less new, or at least continually evolving new aspects, such men may or may not always hit the mark, but I am certain that they will never be far out.

CHAPTER XXII

THE SEGREGATION QUESTION

THE Native problem has long knocked at the door, and a solution, or if not that at least the adoption of such a policy as will give reasonable promise of one, becomes every year more urgent. Yet one looks in vain for any indication of either a solution or a considered, coherent, and organic policy. There is, indeed, a singular inconsistency between the laudable activity of the Government and the organs of Native administration in some directions and their apparent failure to concentrate this activity upon some clear and practical purpose, some definite and final goal, however distant.

The Natives are being educated, in a more or less elementary way, and inasmuch as the Government and the public and private agencies to which it delegates the greater part of its responsibility in this domain are unable, with the means and powers at their command, to educate them sufficiently, they are educating themselves by contact with Europeans, to some extent by the reading of books and newspapers—of the latter they have already nineteen—and by intercourse with one another in their tribal communities, churches, and labour organizations.

But what is the end and object of Native advancement? What is at the back of the minds of the men at the head who direct Native affairs? The work of the Government, the Native Affairs Department and the Native Affairs Commission on behalf of the people of the Transkeian territories, for example, is beneficial in the highest degree. One may go further, and say that if the ultimate result should be to root in these territories by natural processes a solid, cohesive Native population, and to evolve therein an essentially Native civilization, there will have been accomplished a feat hardly paralleled in history.

But the people of the Transkeian reserves form but a small part—less than one-fourth—of the Native population of the Union. What is to be the destiny of the majority,

now distributed throughout a great country, half as large as Europe with Russia left out, pressing the Whites on every hand, increasing in the rural districts while the Europeans decrease, crowding the mines, filling more and more the cities, towns, and villages, and throwing over the whole land a shadow which seems to blot out the prospect of South Africa remaining a home for the White man and woman and their civilization? It has been shown that if the present rates of increase should continue the European population of the Union might grow in fifty years' time to six and a half millions, but the non-European population to nineteen millions, but if allowance be made for the probability of a large dimunition in the Native death-rate the disproportion might be still more to the disfavour of the Europeans.

And looming on the horizon is the fateful Ethiopian movement, as yet imperfectly organized, unshaped, and stumbling forward with no fixed purpose, yet foretelling with certainty a great awakening of the aboriginal races of the African continent and the ultimate assertion by them of a powerful self-consciousness which may threaten European domination from north to south and fron east to west.

Has nothing concrete, calculated, purposeful, comprehensive, to be done to meet dangers so real? Is nothing needed—is all right with South Africa? Sometimes when I put these questions to thoughtful men I received the answer, "We do not seem as yet to have any definite ideas in view," and to the inevitable suggestion that this implied a policy of "drift" came the rejoinder, "Perhaps for the present a policy of drift is the best, or at least the only practicable one."

This is emphatically a question for the Legislature, and the Legislature is continually talking about and around it, but always in generalities which mean little and lead nowhere. All parties alike are wanting in clarity, positive ideas and, most of all, courage. Take the following reference to the subject which occurred in a speech made not long ago by a member of the late Cabinet:

> "The biggest of all our problems, I think," he said, "is the question of population—the question of what is going to be the dominant race in the population of South

> Africa. The racial differences between the European race and those other races with which we are surrounded—that is the one great problem in front of South Africa. To questions affecting the relations between the European race and the other races you cannot arrive at a satisfactory solution from a Government that happens to be living from hand to mouth with a small Parliamentary majority."

Yes, it may all be true; but what does it mean? What policy lurks behind such vague utterances? For the speaker gave no indication whatever. Or did his vagueness conceal the lack of any clear ideas? Even such a lack would be no crime, though a reproach, if it were avowed frankly and justified by the difficulty of the question, which is indeed immense. What is altogether mischievous and dangerous is the "policy" so-called of "waiting for something to turn up" and of "letting sleeping dogs lie," since usually the things that "turn up" are not those which were expected or desired, and sleeping dogs awake sooner or later, and after bad dreams not always in a good temper.

It is, however, a misfortune for South Africa that the maxim that "Everything will come right" hangs like a pall of fatalism on so many minds, and that those who are fondest of quoting President Brand's famous saying invariably omit the end of it, wherein its real point and truth lay, for it ran—"so long as everyone does his duty." It is what Carlyle meant when he said "Not this man and that man but all men make up mankind, and their united tasks the tasks of mankind." For the same laws of interdependence and collective responsibility which unite individuals apply equally to the nations which are but segments of the grand human circle.

At Grahamstown I had the advantage of a conversation on this subject with Judge Sir Thomas Graham, whose opinions impressed me, as previously those of a late collegaue of his on the bench, by their broadmindedness. As Sir Thomas Graham, referring to the colloquy a little later in a public speech, repeated the substance of his remarks to me, I need have no hesitation in doing the same. While naturally, as a public official, he disclaimed the right to propose any policy he spoke with apprehension of the danger of Black ascendancy in an uncertain future as real,

and based his fears as much upon the potential capacity of the Natives as their numbers. Answering my question, "What, then, is the country's policy?" he spoke in parable.

"If you go down to Kowie Beach," he said, "and see a lot of children playing with sand castles you will realize our Native policy—little barriers to keep the sea out; and when the sea advances down come the barriers and you retreat a few yards inland and erect further barriers. That is our Native policy."

In other words, there was no constructive policy, no well-thought-out plan for repelling a menace which becomes more serious every year; the Europeans were still taking the racial challenge, if not lying down, at least not standing up. That was the actual position at the time of my visit, though the election has since focussed public attention, for the time being, more intently on the subject.

So far as political parties are concerned the only radical solution which has been seriously put forward is that known as "segregation," and with this policy theNationalists are specially identified. The adoption of the word segregation has been in many ways unfortunate. It is vague, and therefore capable of various definitions, and the slipshod way in which it has been bandied about by political speakers and writers has given rise to great confusion, and done much to discredit even moderate proposals for the alleviation of the Native problem on the lines of separation. General Hertzog himself used the word far more loosely in the early days than he is in the habit of doing at the present time. In the course of his late election campaign in particular he seemed to modify greatly the views regarding the treatment both of Coloured people and Natives which have hitherto been credited to him, and he disowned altogether the extreme position taken up on this question by some of his less reflective party colleagues and followers.

Now he draws a clear distinction between these two classes of non-Europeans. In so far as the Coloured people (i.e., the half-castes), have grown up amongst the Europeans and assimilated European customs, language, and habits he would treat them like Europeans, whether in the sphere of industry and commerce (here giving them equal rates

of pay with Whites) or of education. Once the Native question had been solved he would even extend the franchise to them everywhere, and allow them to return a certain number of members to Parliament—a sectional method of representation designed to prevent the swamping of European voters in constituencies having a large Coloured population, as in the Cape Province. Such concessions would go a long way towards conciliating the Coloured people, though any less liberal would be discreditable to the Whites.

The Natives, on the other hand, General Hertzog would still segregate, with a view to letting them work out their own social salvation under some system of administration managed, ultimately, by themselves. But how and where? Here all he says definitely is that "they would have to go to the areas which would be set apart for them;" though whether compulsorily, whether all without exception, whether *en masse* or gradually, and what would be their future employments—these are details upon which, though of the utmost importance, no light whatever has yet been thrown.

General Hertzog himself is far too wise and humane to propose, or give his support to, any measure that could be fairly regarded as callous and over-stepping the commonly accepted norms of political and social justice. Perhaps it is more important to know what the mass of his followers understand by segregation, and there can be no doubt that to their minds it conveys the idea of drastic measures by which the Black menace is to be removed from the face of the land by a single wave of the legislative wand.

Mr. Tielman Roos solves the difficulty with the assurance that the Natives would be summarily transplanted to the Basutoland and Swaziland reserves, which would be "acquired from the Imperial Government by Act of Parliament." He seems to ignore the fact that the Imperial Government could only transfer those reserves to the Union after first satisfying both themselves and the British Houses of Parliament that such a policy of coercive segregation was just and safe as well as practicable. Above all, he forgets that Basutoland and Swaziland together have an area of only 18,400 square

miles, and that the addition of only one half of the Natives of the Union to their existing population would give to these agricultural territories the impossible density of 160 people to the square mile, which is eleven times that of the Union, a third that of the industrialized United Kingdom, and almost equal to that of semi-industrialized France. Merely to mention these facts is sufficient to show how impracticable are Mr. Roos' ill-digested notions, and to illustrate the floundering way in which the blind are trying to lead the blind on this question.

And even if Basutoland and Swaziland were able to receive and sustain all the Natives whom Mr. Roos and those who think like him are prepared to eject from the present confines of the Union, a drastic measure of that kind would be one of appalling folly, for it would be certain to excite intense and dangerous hostility and resentment amongst the entire Black population, not only of the Union, but of other parts of the British Empire in the African Continent.

Nevertheless, there is no justification for rejecting the idea of segregation in any form simply because in the form best known to the public it is impossible.* If White labour, population, and civilization are to thrive, or even to be permanent, in the Union, protection of some sort and in some degree must be afforded against Native pressure. Yet, conversely, if the Natives are to have any hope of healthy development, economically, socially, and morally, and of retaining the best of their racial characteristics and tribal traditions, they, too, will need protection against European influence in so far as that influence is deteriorating or destructive.

The different needs are not incompatible, but in the truest sense complementary, and given goodwill the reconciliation of the two standpoints should not be impossible. Since his assumption of the responsibilities of office, indeed, Genéral Hertzog has spoken of segregation as "a method of treating the Natives and the Europeans respectively according to their particular wants and requirements

* While this book is being written it is announced from Adelaide that "A movement is in progress for petitioning the Commonwealth to create a separate State in Northern Australia exclusively for Natives."—(*The Times*, February 21st, 1925.)

within their respective areas," and with that definition there is no reason to complain.

On the other hand, most of the proposals alternative to a measure of segregation which have been put forward by private individuals—economists, sociologists, religious leaders, and others—are essentially palliative. They accept as permanent the juxtaposition of the White and Black races in social and industrial life more or less as it now exists, and their authors either trust to the doctrine of the survival of the fittest or cherish the belief that there is in the cosmic order a force which, independently of human effort, impels crooked things to become straight, if only men will be patient and wait long enough.

In contrast to what may be called the merely comfortable solutions of the Native problem—solutions which are really only evasions—are the serious contributions which have been made from time to time by Professor E. H. Brookes, of Johannesburg, who has latterly developed his views more systematically in a book bearing the title "History of Native Policy in South Africa." While a warm advocate of justice for the Native, and fully conscious of the menace which confronts European predominance, this thoughtful writer would not remove the colour bar, but only make its operation perpendicular, instead of vertical as now. In other words, the Native should cease to be treated as the "bottom dog"—as the drudge to which only the lower and lowest kinds of labour are assigned, and there should be assigned to him, not merely in industry but in the professions and other departments of life, certain of the higher grades of activity. Any form of territorial segregation he rules out as impracticable and impolitic, but in its stead he would introduce vocational "separation."

In effect, the Black man should no longer be told, "You must work down there, while we Europeans work up here," but "Work alongside of us if you will, but always in the squares and circles which we chalk out for you." It is contended that by this more equitable division of the sphere of labour, rivalry between the races would be eliminated, each race keeping within the confines assigned to it, while employment outside would be prohibited. Mr.

Brookes recognizes that economic separation of this kind could only be effected gradually and in the course of a long period, but he also admits that even the best devised arrangement of occupational compartments would not prevent overlapping, and the fear is that owing to this difficulty the whole project, for which otherwise much can be said, might break down.

A more practical proposal made by him is that of the increasing "Europeanization" of the labour market. From this standpoint the employment of the Natives in industry would be "discouraged" except where they lived as families in natural conditions or in Native villages near to the places of employment. It is quite probable that such a restriction would diminish Native competition indirectly by increasing the cost of Native labour, though whether alone it would level up that cost to the "civilized" standard set by the Whites, and so lead to the latter taking the place of Blacks, is at best uncertain.

Other measures proposed by the same writer relate to the more efficient administration of Native affairs, the extension of Native councils and advisory bodies, Native education and the provision of more and better facilities for technical instruction of various kinds, land tenure and cultivation, improved housing, and the alleviation of the present unnecessarily restrictive "pass" system. Most of the proposals made under these heads have long been discussed, and are simple measures of justice due to the Natives irrespective of what may be due to the Europeans.

Where a multitude of counsellors have as yet failed to agree the offer of further suggestions might seem like a needless attempt to increase the prevailing obscurity. For the observations which follow, therefore, the only justification claimed is that they come from a quite disinterested outsider who has approached the problem with only three definite convictions—one that a strenuous endeavour must be made to maintain European civilization in South Africa, another that there is no time to lose if the attempt is to succeed, and the third that no solution can be practical or deserving of thought which is at variance with strict justice.

I confess that from the first segregation, carefully defined

and exercised, appealed to me very strongly as a natural and effective way of treating this problem. The more it is considered, however, the greater are seen to be the objections to any strong coercive action of the kind. The idea of compulsorily transporting an entire population to new territories and into an uncertain life must be regarded as ruled out of court by the one fact that it would impose on a multitude of frugal, industrious, and more or less capable Natives a hard and wholly undeserved fate. These men and their families have been attracted to the mines, factories, and farms, and wherever else they are doing the drudgery of labour, for the convenience and gain of the White man, and not from any consideration for their welfare.

Still to-day labour recruiting agents systematically scour the Native areas of the Union, as of the contiguous territories, in search of " boys " to work the industrial and agricultural machinery of the country, and between the kraals and the locations and compounds set up in the purlieus of every European community there passes to and fro, year in and year out, a never-ending stream of Black labour. The claim of the Natives that they have contributed greatly to the economic development of the country, the profitable exploitation of its natural resources, and the creation of its national wealth is altogether justifiable, and is admitted. To " kick them out," in the graceful language of politicians of the impetuous type, in wholesale fashion at a day's or a month's notice, even granting that it could be done without disastrous results for the country, would be an act of monstrous cruelty, which would inevitably and justly bring upon the community which allowed it to be perpetrated a terrible retribution.

A Native knows better a Native's mind, and can better interpret it, than a European, and it would be well to take to heart some words spoken at the Transvaal Native Congress held at Pretoria in September, 1924, by Mr. S. M. Makgatho, the president. Lamenting the fact that by alienating the Natives from their natural surroundings the White man had destroyed the ties which bound them to the past, he said :

> " An injustice has been done, and not only the Natives in the Transvaal, but the Bantu people all over South

> Africa will feel the serious effects of this replacement. If the Natives in urban areas are put out of employment, I do not know how they are going to exist. The more enlightened Natives feel that they cannot go back to the kraals, because they have been brought up under European customs and civilization, and they would find it difficult to re-adapt themselves to the heathen state. They do not want their children to go back to the crude standard of civilization, because they wish them to progress along European lines."

The Natives who already have been industrialized will have to be allowed to remain so unless of their own will they choose otherwise; they cannot be returned to their old homes, for in most cases these exist no longer, or bidden to resume their old life, for between past and present lies an impassable gulf. However lightly people may talk of coercive segregation, however much they may honestly regard it as desirable, when it is recognized that, as the reactionaries understand and want it, it could only be applied by measures of a ruthless character, the healthy public sentiment of the community will revolt against it, and it will not succeed, nor yet be tried.

Not only so, but for the Native labourers who remain domiciled in or about European communities wider economic openings and prospects will sooner or later have to be provided. That they should for ever, or even for long, accept quietly their present subordinate status is unthinkable, and the sooner European employers and workmen apply their minds to the consideration of the first concessions which the situation demands, the better for the development of the entire Native problem, and for the life and harmony of the common country.

Here I cannot refrain from recalling some words which occurred in the course of a conversation on the subject which I had with a South African of worth, now passed away, who deservedly enjoyed public confidence and esteem in a high degree. They have a special interest as illustrating the fine type of mind which one meets amongst leaders of thought in the Union. I refer to the late Sir Arthur W. Mason, Judge of the Supreme Court, whose untimely death occurred last summer. After reprobating, in the earnest yet temperate language appropriate to his calling, any measure that

might produce in the Native mind a feeling of wrong, the late Judge added:

> "Injustice can never prosper. There is something in the order of human life—call it God, or Providence, or what you will—which seems to work for justice and to defeat injustice and bring retribution upon the wrong doer. Whatever may be done to relieve the pressure of the Native problem, injustice would not relieve but only increase our difficulties, and we must never as a Nation contemplate even the prospect of it, however great the temptation. Moreover, the Native has a strong sense of justice; he looks for and values it more than anything else, and when he thinks that it is refused to him, he feels a deep grievance."

I am confident that these words represent the views of the best minds of South Africa, and happily there as elsewhere, in spite of partial and temporary lapses, it is the counsels of such minds that prevail in the long run.

So far as agriculture is concerned, there is a very practical argument in favour of moving in this matter slowly and warily. You are told that the idea of segregation is nowhere so popular as amongst the Dutch farmers, particularly of the back-veld type. In so far as this is true it is probable that the farmers think of segregation merely as an instrument wherewith to flog the gold-mining and factory industry. It is certain that if they took the trouble to consider what the absence of Native labour would mean for themselves they would be less ready to play with the question. Their attitude recalls that of the agrarian anti-Semites of Germany forty or fifty years ago, and Bismarck's reproof of their shortsightedness. "What shall we do with the Jews?" was asked of him by one of their number, an eager advocate of "segregation." "What would you do without them?" drily rejoined the Iron Chancellor, who always struck at once direct at the heart of a problem.

Just as the Jews at that time provided German agriculture with dear money, so the Natives to-day provide South African agriculture with cheap and docile labour, and if this labour supply were to be abruptly withdrawn it would be the Whites and not the Blacks who would be first ruined. Official statistics show that six years ago no less than 359,000 Natives of both sexes were employed on farms in the Union, as against only 54,000 European employees,

a ratio of nearly seven to one. To substitute White workers for Black, even on the assumption that the former would do twice as much work as the latter, would on a moderate computation increase the wages bill of agriculture by anything between fifteen and twenty millions sterling a year, and that without taking into account the fact that houses would have to be provided for White employees, where the Native labourers are allowed to live in kraals, huts, or wherever else they can crawl for nightly shelter. Where the White labour would be obtained is another aspect of the question, and not the least difficult.

While, therefore, wholesale coercive segregation as from any given date would be impracticable, and in the highest degree impolitic even were it not, these objections would not apply to the alternative of partial segregation to be effected naturally, and in the course of time, by regulating the future employment of Native labour generally, just as is now done in the case of the mines. By restricting the flow at the fountain-head Native pressure might eventually be reduced to compassable proportions without injustice to a single individual now employed in industry, agriculture, or any other occupation, whether in town or country, and thereby the ideal of a White South Africa be brought gradually nearer. It is upon relief of this kind and the measures by which it might be obtained that public attention and legislative action should, in my opinion, be concentrated.

Such a measure at once suggests the question, what would be the outlook of those who were no longer to be free to sell their labour to White employers as and where they would? The answer is that as the Native originally came from the land, and finds his natural habitat there even now, the problem of his future should be approached from the agricultural angle, though there is no need to limit Native enterprise solely to agriculture, even in a pastoral environment. Here the Native Affairs Department is already pointing the way by its work in the Transkeian Territories and elsewhere. All that is necessary is to extend that work on a large scale throughout the Union and the adjacent Imperial Protectorates.

In proof that this view commends itself to South African

students of the Native problem who approach that problem —as it should be approached—from the standpoint of Native welfare and tradition, some words of M. S. Evans may be quoted.

> "Our Native people of South Africa," he writes, "are a race whose whole tradition is that of a pastoral and agricultural life, who, if uninfluenced by the White man, and free from the economic pressure done to his presence, would ask nothing better than a life on the land. Forced by circumstances to leave their homes and go to centres of industrialism to earn a livelihood, they yet yearn with a great yearning for the old life, and return to it as soon as possible. It is unhappily too true that the pleasures of city life are ensnaring some of the young people, and they find the life led by their fathers tame and insipid, and in some cases never return to it. I feel that this tendency, if allowed to develop, will lead to the demoralization of both races, and will engender race conflict.... In the interest of posterity we should see to it that the Bantu people have sufficient land on which they may live their natural life." *

Action on the lines suggested would entail all sorts of economic and social adaptations and readjustments, and some of them might for a long time subject large sections of the European population to inconvenience and even hardship. This would be regrettable, but it could not be helped. Such hardship would have to be accepted as part of the penalty to be paid for the mistake of going about the development of South Africa in the wrong way—for the blindness which preferred the temporary advantage of mere cheapness to the permanent advantage of higher-paid efficiency; or, to put it another way, it would a be form of restitution for illicit benefits which have been enjoyed in the past, a ransom for emancipation from toils which will inevitably become more and more galling the longer they are borne.

Two conditions of any action on segregation lines are paramount—one is that such action should carry the sanction and endorsement of all political parties, so that the whole question might from the first be kept outside the sphere of contention; and the other is that no measures should be forced on the Native populations without taking them fully into confidence and counsel beforehand, and

* "Black and White in the Southern States" (1915), pp. 233-4.

paying all possible regard to their sentiments and interests. South Africa has statesmanship able enough—if only imagination and courage be not lacking—to hack a way through the jungle. But first it must make up its mind that this is no mere peddling question of provincial politics but a national and racial problem of tremendous importance —one of the biggest which has ever faced a White community, and that, if soluble at all, it can only be solved on large and bold lines.

In the following paragraphs the suggestions made above are expanded and set forth in the form of broad propositions as a contribution to the common stock of ideas :

(1) It should be accepted as a fundamental principle that any measure of segregation should apply only to the Native races, and even so subject to the exemption of all Natives now in European employment, unless replaced by Whites by the discretionary action of their employers. All Coloured persons (i.e., half-castes) should be exempted without reservation. But, further, wherever Natives, either individually or in communities, are at the present time engaged in independent enterprise, whether in agriculture or otherwise, there would be neither justice nor reason in interfering with them, since here there could be no question of serious menace to White labour or the White population.

(2) There must be a frank recognition of the fact that European paramountcy and civilization cannot be permanently assured in South Africa unless the broad basis of the country's economic life is changed by gradual stages to White labour. The late Government set an excellent example by employing unskilled White labour in place of Black wherever practicable on public works. The present Government is increasing the pace in this matter, but there can be no resting until by the operation of this legitimate preference the available supply of White labour has been absorbed. At the same time progress will need to be gradual, so as not to inflict needless hardship upon present Native employees, or shock the tender consciences of the economic purists who are honestly convinced that it is a cardinal sin to employ labour of any kind which fails to produce the due quota of what Karl Marx called " surplus value."

The same principle might properly be applied by stages, and with due regard to circumstances, to private industries and undertakings carried on with public assistance, whether in the form of direct subsidies or of tariff protection.

(3) The supply of Native labour on which independent private industrial enterprise at present draws indiscriminately at need should henceforth be regulated, employers being rationed proportionately to the total number of their workpeople, and this proportion being gradually varied in favour of the White contingent. There would need to be discrimination between various industries in accordance with their greater or less dependence on unskilled labour. This is the method which France, for many years before the War, regulated the employment of the cheaper Belgian and Italian labour to the injury of her nationals. For the future Natives who in the ordinary course would have been absorbed by industry and miscellaneous unskilled employments other outlets should be provided in the present and additional areas reserved exclusively for Native communities. These communities should be organized mainly on agricultural lines, but also equipped with crafts and industries suited to Native capacity and producing articles for which there is a constant market.

There could be no radical interference with the existing order of things until these areas were prepared and efficient for their purpose. Further, Native labourers already in industrial or cognate employment should be liable to interference only when, owing to inability to find work, they became destitute and threatened to become a charge on public charity, in which event it would be permissible to settle them in the reserved areas, where the State should gratuitously equip them for a new beginning in life, see them through the early stages, and subsequently afford them all necessary guidance and help. Voluntary migration to the Native areas should, however, be encouraged in suitable cases, and the rising generation of Natives should be accustomed to contemplate the pursuit of agriculture in their own reserves as their natural outlook, and their education should have a bias in that sense.

(4) It is obvious that the existing Native territories and reserves of the Union would be entirely inadequate to any

successful system of racial separation. The British Government should therefore be asked to co-operate in this work of building up Native communities in their own areas, so assuring in the rest of South Africa the future of European civilization, by pooling in such a scheme the territories of Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland, now under Imperial administration, subject in the case of the first-named territory of such frontier rectifications as might be expedient in favour of Rhodesia.* All these territories are practically virgin ground from the standpoint of Native administration, and in none of them have the difficulties created by the presence of Europeans to be contended with, as in other parts of South Africa. Whether they were brought into a segregation scheme now or only later, it would be well if they were added to the Union without undue delay, subject to proper safeguards, so that the education and training of all the Native populations might follow uniform lines.

The incorporation of the territories would enable the Union Government to dispose of Native reserves with an aggregate area of between 300,000 and 400,000 square miles, and with a present Native population of something over two millions, giving an density of from six to seven persons to the square mile, which is not half that of the Union in its present extent.

The population of all the foregoing territories is already almost solidly Native, and it would have to remain so. To that end the Europeans who have acquired so much of the best land might have to be bought out on terms fair to them and to the Natives. Perhaps Swaziland would offer the greatest difficulty.† In a publication on this

* Since this chapter was written the Union Prime Minister has received deputations from all three territories petitioning for absorption. While receiving the suggestion sympathetically, General Hertzog replied in each case that it would be necessary, as a preliminary step, to ascertain the views of the Imperial Government. Clearly the first questions upon which the Imperial Government would need information would be the purposes to which the territories would be put and the proposed treatment of the Natives. It follows that before incorporation would be possible the Government and people of South Africa would have to come to definite conclusions on the Native problem, and it will be a good thing for the country if a decision can at long last be forced in this way.

† Writing of the "mischief wrought by European adventurers" who in earlier times were allowed to appropriate Native lands at will in South Africa, Willoughby says, "Swaziland is an example of what took place

territory which is circulated by the Union Government authorities the following passage occurs:

> "The total area of the territory is 6,500 square miles. Of this area about 2,300 square miles have been allocated for Native settlements. The remaining area of 4,000 square miles is reserved for European settlement, the title being Crown title in perpetuity. The greater portion of the land is owned by European companies and individuals, many of the owners being absentees, though represented in the territory. The division of the country between Europeans and Natives *was fair and equitable, and neither race has any monopoly in quality of advantage.*"

Yet it is added in a later page:

> "In the middle of the 'eighties the late paramount chief granted to Europeans large tracts of territory under favourable terms for the purpose of working minerals. These rights were subsequently confirmed by a judicial court appointed with the approval of the British Government, and to-day *the mineral rights over a greater part of Swaziland are owned by companies and private individuals.*"

It would be interesting to know how "favourable" the terms above mentioned were, and whether the distribution of land and mineral rights was from the Native standpoint as "fair and equitable" as the Europeans regard it In any case no existing proprietorial claims, whether European or Native, should be allowed to stand in the way of whatever changes might be needed in order to make Swaziland for all time a purely Native territory.

(5) It would be useless to restrict the present stream of Natives into the European communities unless immigration into the Union from the North were carefully regulated. From this standpoint it may even be doubtful whether it would be politic for a long time to enter into a political union with contiguous autonomous territories which would bring into the Union any such increase of Black labour as would intensify existing difficulties.

(6) The most vital part of the scheme here outlined is

to a lesser extent in many parts of Africa. . . . Many of these adventurers entered Swaziland before the Government and induced chiefs, who knew nothing of legal documents, to grant them all sorts of monopolies. The trick was to make the chiefs happy with 'scoff,' liquor, and blarney, and then induce them to sign documents in return for tempting trifles. . . . Documents of this kind were largely relied upon for securing title to huge areas of Bantu Africa."—"Race Problems in the New Africa" (1923), pp. 166-8.

the development of the Native reserves, present and future, so as to make them suitable to be the homes of the Bantu races. This is a subject which would call for careful and thorough survey by the best minds that could be brought together. The opportunity is here offered for a great experiment, not only in town and village planning, but in regional and country planning on a novel scale. Each reserve would need to be systematically designed for the purposes which it could most usefully serve, and rural and urban areas alike would be duly equipped for those purposes. Agriculture would be the main basis of economic life, but such of the existing kraal handicrafts as are vigorous or can become so would also be encouraged, and new ones introduced, while factory industry would doubtless follow in due time, at first tentatively.

There would have to be a liberal provision of schools of a kind which would never be possible within the life of this generation so long as the Natives commingled with the European populations in the present way—schools no longer of the mean and paltry kind now thought good enough, or too good, for Black children, but levelled up, not all at once in the scope of the education given, but in efficiency, to the standard of those which White communities expect as of right. In the primary schools manual training for both sexes would have a prominent place, and in the case of girls emphasis would be laid on the domestic crafts, with a view to implanting in the Native mind for the first time true ideas of home and home life. Secondary schools would be provided as the need arose, and while no attempt would be made to manufacture Native prodigies it should be possible for boys and girls of outstanding capacity to proceed to Native colleges. Ample provision should also be made for technical instruction, particularly in relation to agriculture, horticulture, and handicrafts.

No part of the economy of the Native territories as so organized would need greater care than the housing arrangements, particularly from the standpoint of the labourers who would go to them from the towns. One often hears of the unwillingness of these to return to the squalor of the kraals, from which the seductions of the labour agents and the lure of money drew them. Such an attitude is creditable

rather than the reverse, for it is evidence of a desire to advance in the scale of civilization, and the desire is one to be encouraged. But why should a ramshackle kraal be the only outlook for the Native who has had a sufficiency of town life and the municipal location, and whose natural bent is towards agriculture? If the Native reserves are to be real aids to progress they must accustom their inhabitants to a higher standard of housing and make possible homes as Europeans understand them. The provision of decent cottages, hostels and the like should, therefore, be an essential feature of every regional plan.

It would be too much to expect that these communities could for a long time, if ever, hope to be absolutely self-contained. There would need to be a large reciprocal exchange of commodities as between rural and urban areas, and between both and the rest of the country, and this would require the organization of markets. There is no reason why both production and distribution should not be systematized on co-operative lines, and were it not that the mass of people see bogies in phrases it might even be suggested that Native reserves so planned would offer admirable scope for experiments in collectivist organization and enterprise. There could be no prospect of affluence in these rural communities, but to affluence the Native is not accustomed; and it is a strong point in favour of such an experiment that at present his needs are few and easily satisfied. Employment yielding a return of only thirty to forty pounds a year in money value, supplemented by garden produce, would easily support a normal "civilized" Native household on present standards, while to "heathen" households such a return would be riches; and it would be a moderate one to expect from either farming or handicraft.

Life in the reserves and its prospects should be made as attractive as possible, so that Native families would have no wish to leave them, even if they had other homes to go to, In such a scheme there must be no room for the suggestion of injustice. For any advantages which the Native might appear to lose by being allowed no longer to consort at will with Europeans he should be given equal or greater advantages. The system of local administration, too, should pay due regard to Native sentiment, law, custom, and idiosyn-

crasy, and while for a long time it would be under European guidance and direction the co-operation of the inhabitants in its practical working should be freely enlisted from the first.

These territories, so organized, would in effect be nurseries and schools for the training and education of the child races of the sub-continent. It would be segregation, but segregation of a sympathetic kind, preservative and constructive and not merely restrictive, and effected not by a barbed wire fence of harsh, unreasoning exclusions, as proposed by Nationalist reactionaries, but by an evergreen privet hedge, pleasant-looking, neighbourly, and suggestive of comfort and harmony.

All the work of the Department of Native Affairs and its admirable Native Affairs Commission, whether intended or not, might seem to have been a preparation for such a bold forward movement as this, whose object it would be to evolve in natural environment a true Native civilization in place of one of an artificial and nondescript kind, by which Native life is now being robbed of vigour and individuality. A task so great would be the work of years, and would only be completed when the Native population had been trained beyond childhood and adolescence to puberty, and had produced leaders of their own in number and capacity sufficient to take the work out of European hands.

(7) While so much was being done for Natives within the pale thought would need to be given to those who would remain outside. Not only would there be no reason for interference with those now engaged in agriculture on their own account, but it might be expedient to create a larger class of small Native owners who, while managing their own holdings, would provide a reserve labour force from which European farmers would be able to supplement their White labour. Gradually the present Native labourers, with their necessarily low standard of life and civilization, would be supplanted by Whites together with these small owners and their dependants. In South Africa there is land enough for all, given proper cultivation, and if in any direction Native competition is free from objection it is in agriculture, where the White man is entirely irreplaceable.

Under the Native Land Acts passed between 1913 and 1920, large areas have already been set apart in various

parts of the country for the exclusive or special use of the Natives, but far more could be done in that direction. If the stringent regulations which in some provinces make difficult the acquisition of land by Natives were relaxed it is probable that a Native drift from the towns back to the country would even now set in automatically. The Rev. A. Mtimkulu, a delegate to the Native Welfare Congress held at Johannesburg a short time ago, emphasized the importance of the land question. "The Native question is the land question," he said. "The day when there will be enough land for the Native will see the solution of the problem. Until the Native Lands Act of 1920 is repealed the difficulty will remain. The Native population outnumbers the European by six to one—what is the Black man going to do unless he gets land? There is plenty that could be worked by the Natives." Not the whole truth about the Native question, but certainly an important part of it is here stated.

(8) Remembering also that the majority of the Native people would remain for a long time, and a large proportion permanently, outside the reserved territories, an endeavour should be made to secure its interest and goodwill. Perhaps something might be done in this direction by making a bold concession to the race consciousness and aspirations of the Bantu population. I suggest nothing less than the formal recognition of the Natives as politically a community entirely apart from and independent of the Whites; then, instead of haggling about Native suffrages and partial suffrages, let the Natives of the Union have their own National Council, subordinate to the existing Legislature, and representative of the entire Bantu population domiciled in the country. It should be eligible at first on a limited franchise, but one that would gradually be broadened as larger and ever larger sections of the race, responding to the civilizing influences of education and religion, acquired the qualifications entitling them to exercise fuller rights of citizenship.

The functions and powers of such a body would be formally defined and provision would have to be made for the needful balance and checks, while European and official guidance would play a large part in the administration of the scheme. All adult males of Bantu race, as defined, would

be entitled to vote for this Council subject to the qualifications and general conditions laid down. To that extent the present demand made on behalf of the Natives for their enfranchisement as part of the White community would be weakened, though the abolition of existing political rights in the Cape might be inexpedient. Such an initiation into political self-government in a modified form might prove a helpful preparation for the larger enfranchisement of Natives permanently domiciled in European communities when the time came for that measure, which now, to use the memorable phrase applied by Lord Derby to the British Reform Act of 1867, would be little better than " a leap in the dark."

From such a system of representation the Coloured people, i.e., the descendants of mixed White and Black unions, regular or otherwise, would be excluded, inasmuch as all political parties in the Union now appear to be agreed that if the present Native pressure were substantially relaxed no justification would remain for treating Coloured persons, either vocationally or politically, differently from Europeans.

(9) In the meantime, one of the most urgent of reforms is the strengthening of the machinery connected with the administration of Native affairs. An arrangement which throws the responsibility upon an overworked Prime Minister is inadequate. It is true that the late head of the Government delegated the duty to an able colleague, as with so many other claims upon his attention he was bound to do, but the duties of Minister of Native Affairs are sufficiently important to require the undivided thought and time of the best man available. The part-time system of administration means that the work must either be only partially done or fall more and more into the hands of the permanent officials. The latter alternative might imply no lack of efficiency, enthusiasm, or sympathy, since the corps of officials assigned to Native affairs is one of the highest order; the great objection is that it would have the effect of weakening parliamentary control over, and *pro tanto* lessening parliamentary and public interest in, Native questions and their administration.

It is self-evident that the goal which is here suggested could only be reached by *étapes*, and the stages taken would

have to be carefully adapted to the conditions of the route to be travelled. People often talk lightly of segregation as though it were merely a matter of moving trainloads of live stock from one part of the country to another, where stalls and pastures would be in readiness for their reception. It would really be one of the greatest experiments in nation building ever attempted.

It must also be frankly admitted that such an experiment would only be justified if the White man's present status in the country justified the hope of its being maintained and strengthened. Perhaps few thoughtful people are really as confident upon this question as they may think themselves to be, yet there is at least strong reason for believing that history has not yet decided the issue whether the European races are destined to be dominant on a permanent tenure in South Africa, or are merely temporary caretakers there, entitled to remain just until the Native peoples, grown to full maturity and strength, shall be pleased to say to them, "Now you may go—this is our house and for the future we intend to be masters in it."

Such a crisis has occurred before and may occur again in the history of empires built up by alien conquerors out of various and unassimilable ethnical elements; the history both of ancient and modern Europe is full of examples of the kind. For nations wax and wane, empires rise and fall; only civilization—and it is not always *their* civilization—endures, and marches forward on its steadfast course. Eclipse may not be the fate reserved for Western civilization as we know it in South Africa, but it will come one day of a certainty unless the White races master thoroughly the facts of the situation betimes, and in the light of such full knowledge resolve to shape events instead of passively awaiting them.

And even if the struggle for a White South Africa should only be a gamble, it is worth while; for the cost is only that of a humane and civilizing work which duty and interest alike dictate, and should the gamble fail it is an encouraging thought that the law of retributive justice which governs human life operates no less benignantly than the reverse, rewarding good for good, even as evil for evil. It can hardly be doubted that by the elevation of the Black races the White races themselves will first and perhaps most benefit.

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